

# Birla Central Library

PILANI (Jaipur State)

Class No :- 323.25451

Book No :- Y95F

Accession No :- 29243





# FRONTIER SPEAKS



**THE FATHER OF THE MOVEMENT**

# FRONTIER SPEAKS

BY  
MOHAMMAD YUNUS

WITH A FOREWORD BY  
PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

AND

A PREFACE BY  
KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN



**HIND KITABS LTD.**

PUBLISHERS : : BOMBAY

1947

*Second Edition, July 1947*

**COPYRIGHT**

**PRINTED AT THE HOSALI PRESS, 1-A, SOUTH PARADE, BANGALORE; AND  
PUBLISHED BY V. KULKARNI, HIND KITABS LTD., 261-263, HORNEY ROAD, BOMBAY**

TO MY BROTHER  
ABDUR REHMAN (BEY)  
WHOM I NEVER SAW, AND WHO DIED  
A MARTYR'S DEATH IN ISTANBUL IN 1925





## 'FOREWORD'

Last year, as the days lengthened and summer approached, I received a message in Dehra Dun Jail from my young friend and comrade, Mohammad Yunus. He told me that he was writing a book about the Frontier and the people who live there. He wanted me to see his manuscript when it was finished. Ever since my release from prison in December last I have had to shoulder heavy responsibilities and face difficult problems. But I found time to glance through the greater part of this manuscript.

As I read it, the long panorama of this land of story and legend and brave and reckless deeds came before me, and vivid pictures filled my mind. For who can forget the past of this borderland of ours, or the present which is so full of significance for India?

Yunus has written with the exuberance of youth, with pride in his heritage, and above all with an abounding love for his people. He has used harsh words occasionally and his judgements of the past and the present may be over-weighted and liable to criticism. I do not hold with all of them, but I think it is right that he should give expression to his own deeply-felt convictions in his own words, for he shares those convictions with the vast majority of the people of the Frontier. For us, living in other parts of India, it is important that we should know more about these people, how they feel and think and act, and the future they look forward to. For various reasons, and chiefly because of British policy, the Frontier Province and, even more, the Tribal areas were long isolated from the rest of India and were supposed to be lands of mystery and violent deeds. A mental barrier, based on ignorance and fear, was deliberately built up by our foreign rulers, and a policy was pursued which not only resulted in continuous harassment of the Tribal people and in vast expenditure of Indian money and resources, but, what was worse, in breeding ill-will all

round. That policy continues still; yet the barrier has already been pierced.

That barrier was shaken by the winds that blew all over India waking the masses from their long slumber and lethargy. The national movement spread from the wide plains to the mountain valleys and reached the narrow defiles of the Khyber Pass. That barrier was pierced ultimately by that remarkable man, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, whom his own people and we delight to call Badshah Khan and Fakhr-i-Afghan.

When the history of the present day comes to be written only very few of those who occupy public attention now will perhaps find mention in it. But among those very few there will be the outstanding and commanding figure of Badshah Khan. Straight and simple, faithful and true, with a finely chiselled face that compels attention, and a character built up in the fire of long suffering and painful ordeal, full of the hardness of the man of faith believing in his mission, and yet soft with the gentleness of one who loves his kind exceedingly. Watch him among his own people as they gather round him and look up to him with affection and admiration. He speaks to them in his well-loved Pushto, and though he may chide them often enough for their failings, his voice is soft and gentle and full of tenderness. Watch him again with little children, with his eyes sparkling as he plays with them and his hard face resolving into frequent laughter.

This borderland of India may well serve in many ways as an epitome of India's past history. Here was the meeting place in the days of old for the three great cultures of Asia—the Indian, the Chinese and the Iranian. Here Greece met India in cultural fellowship and philosophical camaraderie. To its great university of Taxila came seekers after knowledge from many lands. Through that forbidding and yet inviting portal of India, the Khyber Pass, came many peoples and many races, bringing their distinctive contribution to India and yet ultimately merging themselves into the sea of Indian humanity. Centre of Indian culture for long centuries,

this border country was so well known throughout India that when brave expeditions went out from South India to colonize the islands and archipelagoes of the eastern seas that envelop Malaysia, they took many a place name with them from the Valley of the Kabul River.

But that is the history of long ago. I think of it again because this land is likely soon to become the meeting place of mighty countries and great movements. Its days of isolation are past, and, though it is still industrially and educationally backward, a new life throbs through it, and all round it people are awake and astir. To the south there are, of course, their own countrymen of India; to the west Afghanistan and Iran; to the north the Soviet Union with the beginnings of a new civilization; and to the north-east China. Out of the storm and stress of the present, the future already peeps out, a future when India will be closely associated with China, the Soviet Union and the countries of western Asia. Our Frontier Province will again be their meeting ground and thus history will repeat itself, but, as always, in a different way and on a different plane.

The problems that have afflicted the Frontier ever since British rule came to India already seem to be fading out. The Forward Policy of the British Government, which has brought so much misery to the Tribal areas and which has prevented peaceful relations from developing, will hardly survive this second World War. It has always seemed to me that a wise Government, representative of and in touch with the people, could have easily made friends with these Tribes and solved their problems. Sometimes I have thought that it was the British Government's deliberate policy to keep the Frontier in a state of ferment. However that may be, all these policies of the past will go into oblivion and a new chapter will begin. The old world dies, yielding place to the new, though what that new world is going to be is yet uncertain. Meanwhile, for us in India, wherever we may live, in the Frontier or elsewhere, there is travail and heavy sorrow, and sometimes that

darkness of the spirit which is more difficult to endure than physical pain.

I have written about Abdul Ghaffar Khan. There is nothing so surprising about our Frontier Province as the conversion of a war-like people to the doctrine of non-violence. That conversion is, of course, far from complete and the Pathan does not worry himself about philosophical or metaphysical speculations. But it is patent that in action he has been remarkably non-violent. The man who loved his gun better than his child or brother, who valued life cheaply and cared nought for death, who avenged the slightest insult with the thrust of a dagger, has suddenly become the bravest and most enduring of India's non-violent soldiers. That was due undoubtedly to the influence of one man—Abdul Ghaffar Khan—whose word was almost law to his people, for they loved him and trusted him. The remarkable thing is that Badshah Khan, typical Pathan that he is, should have taken to non-violence so earnestly and so thoroughly. He influenced thereby not only his own province but other parts of India also.

The future is dark with uncertainty all over the world. At India's threshold stand new invaders and the Empire that has so long dominated over us fades away. Curiously enough, the Frontier Province, through which danger came in the past, is at present perhaps the farthest removed from risk of invasion, and the eastern borderland and the entire sea-coast of India is the new frontier that is open to invasion. That in itself is significant of the way events are changing the face of things.

We are face to face with perils and dangers and no man can tell what the outcome will be. But in this perilous hour it is good to think of our comrades of the Frontier, brave men and true, who have marched with us so often through the valley of the shadow.

ALLAHABAD  
June 5, 1942 }

Jawaharlal Nehru

## PREFACE

I am glad Mohammad Yunus has written this book about the Pathans and the popular movement embracing them on the North-West Frontier of India today. It is the only effort of its kind to link up the past with present-day affairs. In his youthful enthusiasm, Yunus has laid great emphasis on personal factors; and more especially on me, but great movements have deep underlying causes, and therefore, the credit for creating a national awakening and building up powerful organizations does not belong to an individual, but to a people as a whole.

To many the story of the North has been a dual phenomenon—the complete individuality of the Pathan and yet his unity with the rest of India towards the attainment of a common goal. This finds adequate manifestation in the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement growing out of the very soil of the Frontier Province and slowly finding a place in the larger Freedom Movement of a big sub-continent. In this connexion it is significant to note that while the Pathans are intensely freedom-loving and resent any kind of subjugation, most of them are beginning to understand that their freedom can well harmonize with the conception of Indian Freedom, and that is why they have joined hands with the rest of their countrymen in a common struggle, instead of favouring the scheme of breaking up India into many States. They have come to realize that the division of India will result in an all-round weakness in the modern world, where no part of it will have sufficient resources and strength to preserve its own freedom. The days of isolationism are no more. A new conception of international collaboration and co-operation is seeking to be born. The Pathans hate compulsion and dictation of any type, but out of their own free will, they are prepared to work in unity and co-operation with others in this country as well as their brethren of the

Tribal Territories, who have so long been kept aloof from us and forced to lead a life unworthy of a people.

But while I share these sentiments with my people, I cannot for a moment deny them the right of self-determination. There can be no forced conversion to a doctrine, and at the proper time, each unit will automatically exercise its own discretion to decide any future, yet the desirability of India as a whole developing close relations and endeavouring to build up a powerful federation of Asiatic peoples to resist aggression from outside, cannot be ruled out and will act as the chief factor to compel the forces of separatism to think differently and establish close contacts with those they are opposing today. The Asiatic countries will not be aggressive or hostile to others in the world and will strive to develop friendly relations with them. But on no account will they permit the present form of things to continue and labour under adverse conditions.

It is encouraging to find that there are many who envisage such a bloc of peace and freedom in the East and look to it for ushering in a new era. This is the larger view that we must keep before us in this hour of pain and sorrow enveloping humanity everywhere, and when we are ourselves face to face with a life and death struggle. The Frontier Province is so situated that, as in the past, it will inevitably become the pivot and centre of all these great changes and alliances, and will begin to play an important role not only in a free India, but in free Asia.

Yunus has written at length about certain problems facing the people on the Frontier and has expressed himself in most unambiguous terms. The Frontier was kept in a state of isolation till quite recently and very few knew anything about the actual state of affairs here. Therefore, at places Yunus's judgement may sound harsh and uncharitable, but he has the distinction of sharing these views with the vast majority of his people and represents the true sentiments of his innumerable colleagues. He has contributed a chapter about Non-Violence also, and has attempted to explain its force and

utility for us on the Frontier and others in India. It is a complex problem and the number of its critics, who fail to find any value in it, is not small. But this cannot change or minimize its force. To me Non-Violence has come to represent a panacea for all the evils that surround my people, and, therefore, I am devoting all my energies towards the establishment of a society that should be based on its principles of truth and peace.

In the end I wish Yunus, every success in his present enterprise and a bright future to champion the cause he has so devotedly chosen and pursued so far.

MARKAZ-I-ALA

SARDARYAB

July 4, 1942







## INTRODUCTION

I was with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for some months during 1939-40. I had been deputed by my chief to acquire the necessary guidance from him in studying the working of the Indian National Congress, and thus prepare myself for political work in the Frontier Province. The period was helpful, and I used to watch that high-souled Indian patriot, from contact with whose shining personality I derived many imperishable benefits. My present undertaking has been an outcome of that association, and the inspiration has been entirely his.

My task was not easy, and my subject was not a very popular one either. It did not furnish sufficient material for investigation. I had all along been in search of facts and a correct background for my book, which would have remained incomplete but for the encouragement I received from my friends in different walks of life. I bow to them with a sense of deep gratitude and thankfulness.

Young that I am, I have not been able to curb the crudities of an emotional and youthful style, and I have set down my observations as they came at the moment of writing this volume. While collecting material for my work, I read various tales, full of horror, of the ruthless machinations that had been devised by the ingenuity of an unrestrained imperialism working towards the 'speedy development of the border tribes on the path of progress and democracy'. Knowledge of such incidents could not leave me untouched; and some of the severe expressions in this book are due entirely to the injustices meted out to the helpless men of the Frontier, as well as those living across the so-called Settled Border.

\*Marā dardeest andar dil agar goyam zabān sozad  
Wagar dam dar kasham tarsam ke magze ustaḡhān  
sozad

---

\* The anguish in my heart would, if uttered, blister my tongue.

But should I suppress it, it would burn the very marrow of my bones.

My original idea was to write a short account of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Soon after I began my work, it occurred to me to furnish a suitable background for the story of this remarkable Pathan leader's life-long sacrifice. I began a survey of the early history of the Pathans, and prepared the first part of this book. This deals with the role of the Pathans both in India and across the Frontier Province, in Afghanistan. In doing that I found myself buried in old and forgotten tales of ancient generations. I had to labour in difficult circumstances to collect data for a subject that has been treated most unkindly by the historians of the Mughal era in India, because the Mughal Emperors were jealous of the wonderful record of administration left by Sher Shah the Great, and the continuous Pathan hostility to their rule in this vast country.

In writing the early accounts of the people, I reflected on the continuity of history, and on how a little effort on the part of certain historians had taken us back from our Buddhist conception of Indian civilization to the Sumerian period, which presented a new standard to the world for understanding our background and the various phases of Indian development. I was prompted by a similar desire, and became eager to put my own story of these elemental beings before readers and remind them of the humble contribution of the Pathans in the past towards the social welfare of India, and of its ultimate part in shaping the existing national structure. I was in search of certain missing links, and keen to explain the present role of these people under their leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

During the course of my writing, I was reminded of the artificial gulf dividing India and the Pathans, and how, in spite of so great a collaboration in the past, the two peoples had been led to consider themselves different from each other. I also came across certain false and malicious charges laid against these northern highlanders in order to discredit them as well as to set them up against others in India. Most of the books written about the Frontier problem had a set purpose in view.

The misrepresentation of facts regarding the Pathans as a whole, and especially about the Tribes, caused me great pain. It, therefore, led me to prepare a case on their behalf, as I wanted to refute the baseless charges made by several English authors.

The second part of the book deals with the Frontier Tribes, and the tension that has prevailed there ever since the advent of British rule. The Tribal question has assumed a particular shape, and has made our confusion worse-confounded, thanks to the mistaken path pursued by the Government of India.\* We know that, despite their own failure, they are prevented by a false sense of prestige from handing over the handling of affairs to someone else. This obstinacy on the part of the Government is responsible for the continued state of insecurity on the north-western border of this country. The time has come for us in India to understand our problems one by one, and to find out their solutions. We must be convinced that howsoever complex they might appear, a bold and honest approach on our side is bound to remove the barriers that have been created by the clever devices of the empire-builders to preserve and protect their own interests.

Part three of the book deals with the life of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and the gradual growth of the Frontier Movement under him. The fourth part is in continuation of the third. In it I have described the events leading up to the 1942 Movement. The Epilogue brings the book up to date.

Words fail me in acknowledging Jawaharlalji's assistance. He has not only written the Foreword to this book, but has been kind enough carefully to go through the major part of this volume. But for him my labour would have borne no fruit. In spite of his manifold responsibilities, he helped me to complete it in its present form. To Maulana Abul Kalam Azad I am thankful for giving me a few instructive talks on the Muslim

---

\* The situation has taken a turn, and a change in the old policies is being visualized. The task of the Interim Government is difficult, but we are hopeful of the future.

period, and especially on Jamal-ud-Din Afghani. To my wife I feel indebted for going through the whole revised manuscript, and assuring me of its fitness for the second edition.

May the pages of this book succeed in removing some of the illusions now current, and help to foster friendlier relations between the different communities inhabiting this vast sub-continent of our common heritage.

' Drive my dead thoughts over the universe  
Like withered leaves to quicken a new birth!  
. . . . . Be through my lips to unawakened earth,  
The trumpet of a prophecy! O wind!  
If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?'

*W. H. D. Young*

KOHATI GATE  
PESHAWAR, N.-W.F.P.

1946

## CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
FOREWORD ... ..	vii
PREFACE ... ..	xi
INTRODUCTION ... ..	xv
I. THE PATHANS ... ..	1
II. THE TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE ... ..	55
III. ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN AND HIS MOVE- MENT ... ..	99
IV. THE GENERAL ELECTIONS—1936-37 ...	139
V. THE CONGRESS GOVERNMENT OF THE N.-W. F. P.—1937-39 ... ..	147
VI. THE RISE OF OTHER PARTIES SINCE 1937 ... ..	159
VII. NON-VIOLENCE AND THE PATHANS ...	166
EPILOGUE ... ..	178
APPENDIX ... ..	195
INDEX ... ..	199



## CHAPTER I .

# THE PATHANS

Let my son often read and reflect on history :  
this is the only true philosophy.

— *Napoleon*

### 1. GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

The land of the Pathans is a contrast of light and shade, of gaiety and tragedy, of romance and reality, of kindness and hatred, of hurried and fierce products of the mechanized age and relics of customs and traditions dating back to Abraham. Today, we see East and West meet, but without ever blending, and watch the continuous struggle of rulers and the ruled in a region marked by startling variations. The story of the country and its people has indeed been a romantic puzzle throughout a period of gradual evolution.

On one side there are the fertile and beautiful plains of Peshawar and Mardan, the snow-clad mountains of Swat and Hazara, the groves of sheesham and the green expanse of young wheat interspersed with fields of sugar-cane, and the rich and beautiful fruit orchards that produce delicious peaches and oranges; and on the other, there are the flat barren plains of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, the rugged ravines and the desolate rocky hills of the tribal territory that produce nothing but trouble! It is not only in the Frontier Province and the Tribal Belt that these conditions obtain; Afghanistan, the original home of the Pathans, from where they have always drawn their strength, shares the same features.

Afghanistan is a country of mountains and deserts, with certain cultivable tracts near the rivers or artificially irrigated areas worked by the people, who are great irrigation engineers and are surpassed by the Chinese alone in this art. The fertile tracts serve as



the mainstay of the population and are among the most renowned fruit-growing areas of Central Asia. This country, which consists of a fableland and high hills that reach an elevation of twelve to eighteen thousand feet, has few benefits to offer to its people. It is only important politically and geographically. It is in these hills and plains to the north-west of India that a strong and sturdy warrior race wrings the barest needs of daily life from unkind nature.

The country of the Pathans, long reckoned as unproductive, is rich in mineral resources. These have lain hidden and untouched. We have learnt about them through certain recent official agencies, more especially through the report prepared by Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, who was appointed by the first Congress Ministry to investigate the resources of the province. We have discovered the presence of gold, silver, iron, coal, sulphur, lead, antimony, copper, rubies and nitre. In the district of Dera Ismail Khan there is oil issuing from certain springs and wells used by the inhabitants for drinking purposes. The Afridi hills are rich in marble, which has already found a ready market. The Mahsuds and the Waziris carry on in Kabul and Herat a meagre trade in iron obtained from the ore found in their mountains. The Khattaks of Kohat and the Marwats of Bannu possess ample quantities of salt, controlled and utilized by the Central Excise in India. There is great scope for starting the paper industry in the province, while the existing hide market can be organized to feed a first-class tannery in the province. All these constitute priceless material for the development and amelioration of the people; but we have hitherto looked on helplessly while wealth was being drained away in ventures profitable neither to the inhabitants nor to the administrators.

## 2. LANGUAGE, CHARACTER AND CUSTOMS

The entire population, with exceptions in Hazara and the towns, speak Pushto. It is a virile language, deep and rich in quality, capable of expressing ideas

with neatness and accuracy, and reflecting the character of the people, and their rugged mountain home.

Pushto is richer in poetry than in other forms of literary expression, and abounds in excellent material on varied branches of learning. The works of the warrior poet, Khushal Khan Khattak, the great mystic, Abdul Rehman Baba, and a few others would find a place in any good anthology.

Pushto uses the Persian alphabet; its grammar is not very complicated. The Pathans cherish a great love for their language. It is said that a Pathan once left his province and on meeting an old man, somewhere abroad, began talking to him in his own Pushto, but the man expressed his inability to understand the language. The Pathan was very much astonished and said to himself: 'This man is soon to die, and I wonder when he is going to learn Pushto!'

The Pathans are frank, outspoken and open-hearted, and observe no distinction of rank. They are seldom rude, and treat age with great respect. It is difficult to intimidate them with modern devices. The people are hard and active; the nature of their country makes them excellent mountaineers. They are industrious and hard working and lack the refinement and subtlety of their neighbours in India on the one side and Iran on the other. They despise ease and luxury. Writing in his book, *Kingdom of Cabul*, Elphinstone describes their character as follows: 'Their vices are revenge, envy, avarice, rapacity and obstinacy, on the other hand, they are fond of liberty, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependents, hospitable, brave, hardy, frugal, laborious and prudent, and they are less disposed than the nations in their neighbourhood to falsehood, intrigue and deceit . . . I know no people in Asia who have fewer vices, or are less voluptuous or debauched.' The famous Turkish writer and patriot, Halide Edib, once described them as follows: 'They are sane in body and in mind; they are honest in action and in thought; they have common sense which only can create a workable society and just balance between

material and spiritual forces ; they have physical courage of a high kind, but what is more valuable, they have brave minds which do not shrink from facing realities.'

The people are very cheerful, humorous and witty, and always appreciate a joke, even if it be at their own expense. They like fair-play ; and any fancied or real instance of partiality or injustice incenses them. They are very proud of their descent. Dr Collin Davies points out in his book, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier* : 'One cannot but admire his proud bearing and resolute step, his martial instincts and independent spirit, his frank and open manners and festive temperament, his hatred of control and his wonderful powers of endurance.'

The Pathans have a natural fondness for field sports and are greatly interested in shooting and hunting, while hawking is also popular in certain parts of the province. Fighting rams and quails are fairly popular among the villages. The Pathans are fond of music, poetry and folk dances, and derive great joy from these in their leisure hours. Their instruments of music are the flute, bagpipe, *Rabab*, and drum. Pathan music is lively, and arouses strong emotions among the listeners. They have different folk dances which among people who do not speak Pushto are known as Khattak dances. They are very much like the Russian Cossack dances.

Their laws are very simple, as simple as is their way of living, and though there is no regular administrative machinery to enforce them, the verbal Code is followed very strictly by the people in the tribal territory. To them these few obligations form the basis of social intercourse. As it conflicts with the Indian Penal Code in various respects, this ancient law cannot be followed in its true spirit in the settled districts of the province. This results in so many complications, but we know fully well that the internal security of the tribes, who lack all modern means of maintaining law and order in their territory, is much greater than that which the people enjoy under Pax Britannica. The following are the four main items of the verbal Code :





(i) *Pukhtoon Walli*.—It embraces the general conduct of a Pathan, and governs his entire social code. It is a combination of a few obligations based on equality and retaliation, which helps to settle all disputes. A rough similarity can be found between this social code and some of the conventions in famous universities. Its sanction lies in traditions, and its very mention will compel a Pathan to rise to the occasion and act in the 'proper' manner.

(ii) *Nanawatae*.—This entails giving protection to someone even at the risk of one's own life. But usually it implies a deputation of the aggressors to the aggrieved for forgiveness. It is an excellent system of ending feuds and bringing the different warring elements together. Some disinterested persons assemble and, taking the aggressor along, go to the aggrieved and seek his pardon, and in atonement for the offence, present a few lambs for sacrifice. According to this system, any boon claimed is granted by one whose threshold has been crossed by the petitioner.

(iii) *Melmestai*.—It means hospitality, which has become proverbial, and which is considered one of the most sacred duties of an individual. It is observed by all, each according to his own limited means.

(iv) *Badal*.—This means vendetta, and is exacted for personal insults or other wrongs. It is a debt of honour, which descends from father to son, and, if left undischarged, brings contempt on all relations and is greatly resented by the womenfolk.

This verbal Code, which guides the conduct of the people in their day-to-day life, has the sanction of the tribal assembly, known as *Jirga*, which has the power to raise a *Lashkar* (armed force) against those who refuse or violate the principles of these laws, and though each tribesman is a law unto himself, yet they seldom choose to act against the fundamentals of these age-long traditions and institutions.

### 3. EARLY HISTORY

Having made a brief survey of the country and its laws, let me now turn to its people. A rapid glance at their history will bring before our eyes the cultural evolution of the Pathans over a period of thirty-five centuries. This can be divided into many distinct parts. Each period of this history runs for ages, and would compare well with the entire story of many a modern people. We know that the present North-West Frontier Province has for centuries been the only corridor between India and Central Asia, that it has always been an important melting-pot, into which Aryans, Assyrians, Medeans, Iranians, Greeks, Scythians, Turks, and Turco-Mongols flowed in successive waves, influencing the life of the original inhabitants through the ages. It was here that these foreigners tried to strengthen their roots, and it was from this land that they attempted to establish their supremacy over the rest of India. History bears out that though this part of India was overrun so often by conquering hordes from Central Asia, it successfully retained its peculiar identity. Pathan customs and Pathan ways always prevailed.

These northern hills of Afghanistan and the Frontier were first penetrated, between two thousand and three thousand years B.C., by adventurous bands of Aryans, who, leaving their original homes in quest of food, plunder and subsequently kingdom, developed these holdings for themselves. The new settlers were full of vigour and had the capacity for active enterprise. The Aryans were a pastoral people and were full of the joy and spirit of adventure. It is not easy to ascertain the exact nature of their migration, but Professor Max Muller asserts that their first division was into two distinct groups, *viz.* the European and the Asiatic. They were separated into two branches, and have never met since.

Some of the recent observations link up this Aryan invasion with the period of the famous civilization of Mohenjodaro. Both might have been contemporary civilizations. The Aryans composed their early hymns

in these hills, and their initial scriptures speak of the local rivers, Kabul and Gomai, as sacred streams, though these were later replaced by the Ganges and the Jumna when they moved eastwards. The Aryans probably gathered together and settled down here, and subsequently marched into the more fertile plains of the Punjab and spread even beyond. This process has been repeated so many times in the history of our country. The *Rig Veda* was possibly composed when the Aryans occupied the Frontier areas and parts of the Punjab.

It is only this little that is known about the earlier stages. The following few centuries of Pathan history are hidden in obscurity, and have given rise to divergent theories among historians. It is not easy to accept or reject any one theory. Some of the well-known writers tell us that the Pathans are descendants of one of the twelve tribes of Israel. This is supported by certain traditions among the Pathans and they even claim to be *Bani Israil* (sons of Israel), though a few historians hold the view that the Pathans are not of Jewish origin, but that those who introduced Islam among them were converted Jews. The celebrated Orientalist, M. Ruffin, regards them as having originated from the Albanians of Asia, who were transported from one extremity of Persia to the other as far as Khorassan, and were known by the name of *Aghvan* or *Aughan*. It seems as if the name alone influenced that learned man to draw that novel conclusion. Farishta, the famous historian of Emperor Jehangir, describes them as having descended from the Copts of the race of Pharaoh. There are some Pathan historians who admit the Jewish link and tell us that *Afghana*, son of Jeremiah, and grandson of Saul, a lineal descendant of Abraham and commander of the army of Sulaiman, gave his name to these people about 1000 B.C. There is yet another theory over which most of the local and foreign writers agree. According to them, about 600 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar (Bakht-ul-Naseer), king of Babylon and conqueror of Jerusalem, sent some of his soldiers and men captur-



ed in his new domains to the mountains of Ghor and Sulaiman, thereby turning the place into a strong colony, from where those settlers could communicate with their home country. The above theories have, however, been repudiated by Professor Dorn of Kharkov University. He was a great Pushto scholar and has translated many Pushto books into the Russian language during the middle of the nineteenth century. His translation of the Afghan History of M Naimatullah, with his additional notes, has made that work most interesting. He finds it difficult to draw any rational conclusion from the very confused facts available; he cannot trace their origin beyond their present abode.

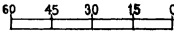
About 327 B.C., Alexander the Great invaded India through these hills and was opposed by the powerful ruler of Taxila and his dependencies that comprised these mountains. Herodotus, the famous Greek historian, has described the people of this area as *Pakthyme* Buddhists. The invasion of that ambitious conqueror failed to leave any marked impression on this territory; yet his brilliant achievements indirectly produced certain effects, and the subsequent development of art and culture here was somewhat influenced by the Greeks. In any event, it has been pointed out that from the fifth century B.C., up to the fifth century A.D., this country attracted and absorbed seven different dynasties, the Iranians, the Macedonians, the Mauryas, the Bactrian Greeks, the Scythians, the Kushans and the White Huns, each being repulsed by the other in turn.

Soon after the invasion of Alexander, the Buddhists founded a powerful empire here. For centuries this tract remained a centre of the Buddhist faith and culture. Making this place his seat, the great Asoka won fame for his deeds. It is said that his ancestors belonged to Swat, and his grandfather, Chandragupta, has been described by Herodotus to have been wandering about this country during Alexander's invasion of India. Chandragupta later succeeded in carving out a kingdom for his dynasty. During the reign of Asoka.



# NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

Scale 1" = 60 M.  
ENGLISH MILES



- DURAND LINE
- PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY
- ..... TRIBAL AREA



land of the Pathans \* that the new art of sculpture took birth and developed and spread to the far-off corners of China, Korea and Japan.

During those years the Pathans achieved great brilliance, and their academic traditions and language reached their zenith. The literary contribution of the people dates as far back as the fourth century A.D., and an interesting work of those days was recently discovered in an old shrine in Japan, while some copies are reported to be in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand. It is a thoughtful translation from Pali of a dialogue that is reputed to have taken place between the Buddhist king, Milinda, and the celebrated Buddhist philosopher, Nagasena. It is known as the *Milinda-Panho* (The Questions of Milinda). Further proof of the high intellectual level attained by the Pathans is furnished by the fact that when the famous university was founded at Nalanda in the fourth century A.D., most of the scholars there came from this part of the Buddhist domain.

The great Kushans reigned up to the middle of the fifth century A.D., when, about 450 A.D., the White Huns, a Mongolian race, invaded the country, and their chief, Totamana, and his son, Mihirakula, whom Kalhana, the author of *Rajatarangini*, describes as the 'slayer of three crores of humanity', set up their own regime. Mihirakula and his Huns destroyed the Buddhist temples and educational institutions in order to set up their own Saiva faith.

While the Huns were destroying Buddhism with all the power at their command, the country was enveloped by Hindu philosophy and doctrine, which soon replaced Buddhism and established themselves throughout the country. It is asserted that the Hindu Brahmin kings captured power and dominated India and Afghanistan until as late as the beginning of the ninth century, when the Islamic invasions began.

---

\* The latest finds such as images, statuettes and stupas of the Buddhist period in parts of the Frontier and the tribal areas revive the link with the past. It is a pity that the Archæological Department hardly functions in our province. Often times valuable relics are dug up in the course of ploughing operations and thrown away by the ignorant peasants.

An interesting account of the Buddhist days has been recorded by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hian, who visited the country at the beginning of the fifth century (405 A.D.). Among the places he visited was the Kurram Valley, in the Frontier Province. Again, in the seventh century (631 A.D.), the celebrated Chinese traveller, Hiuen-Tsang, visited this part of India. He has left a very vivid picture of those days. His memoirs are unique of their kind, but since he was primarily a religious man, his observations throw little light on the political history of those days.

#### 4. DAWN OF ISLAM

So far we have dwelt on the rise and fall of the different empires. Since most of them lacked an inner urge or spontaneous momentum, they failed to touch the heart of the country and left no definite mark on the masses. This holds good for the empire that followed in their train. The ordinary people lived according to their own ancient traditions. During these years the Pathans also contributed their share towards the shaping and reconstruction of India and other areas under the sway of their monarchs. But at times they remained in the background.

Earlier pages have stressed the unity that existed between India and the parts now known as Afghanistan and the Frontier Province. The bonds grew stronger till their separation during the last days of the Mughal Empire in India. We know that Afghanistan, until it developed into a national state under Ahmad Shah Abdali, was an important Indian province, where either an Afghan ruler reigned or some Indian monarch held sway. And if we look at the configuration of the mountain range between Kashmir, the Frontier and Afghanistan, it is one continuous barrier, forming a lofty tableland between India and Central Asia. The separatist tendencies as between the highlanders and those living on the plains result from the differences in the conditions of life in these two areas. But this does not mean that they are two different peoples. This aspect of

history has a profound significance for us in India, and its right understanding is bound to help solve some of our problems. I was once discussing the Pathans with an eminent Indian educationist and was describing to him some of my views on this matter. After listening to my arguments very sympathetically, he observed: 'The unity of the two countries is indisputable, and it is in their interest to reunite. I wish the Afghan Government to appreciate the benefits of this union, and in order to pave the way for such unity, introduce Urdu as a secondary language in their schools. It will help to foster friendly relations and bring these two different but essentially one people together.' This suggestion may sound fantastic, but we must not dismiss it out without giving it a fair trial.\*

The mists that obscure Pathan history lift as we approach the seventh century when Islam makes its appearance. Khalid-bin-Walid, a Jew convert to the new Faith, is said to have written to these Pathans urging them to embrace Islam. Khalid's persuasion prevailed. These highlanders sent a deputation to the Prophet in order to establish personal contacts and to form an estimate of the new religion. A party of elders left for Mecca, and among others who undertook that journey was their chief, Kais, who claimed to be a direct descendant of Saul. On reaching the Holy City, the delegation discussed the proposition with responsible people, and it is asserted that those conversations resulted in their agreeing to embrace Islam. Kais was named Abdur Rashid, and it is further stated that Khalid gave his daughter in marriage to Rashid. The legend of this matrimonial alliance is particularly cherished by the Pathans, and they take pride in being related to that illustrious and selfless Muslim General of the Prophet's days. It is also alleged that the Prophet bestowed the title of *Bathan* (meaning 'rudder' or 'leader' in the Syrian language) on the chief of the delegation. The title sounded like *Pathan*, and this renaming of the

\* Since writing this, the Afghan Government have introduced Urdu as a second language in their schools.

people, whom Herodotus has referred to as *Pakthynes*, has caused confusion to some writers, but it is possible that on inquiring who they were, the Prophet may have enlightened them as to the meaning of the word in the Syrian language and asked the chief to act as the real leader of his people.

The delegation returned to their mountains and explained the significance of their mission to their countrymen and succeeded in converting the majority of the people to the new religion. Some of the local tales tell us that, soon afterwards, these people organized themselves into a powerful and compact unit and took part in the early Islamic campaigns under the orthodox Caliphs of Iran. Later, they were successful in drawing the Gandharies and others of the Ghor hills to their ranks. They were all gradually absorbed by the Muslim Pathans, and became one distinct group.

The unified growth of the people seems amazing to an average student of history and is likely to mislead him. It is not easy to explain this strange phenomenon. The only key to this problem seems to lie in their peculiar character. The natural surroundings of their country produce instincts that compel them to think and act unitedly in an emergency, and after the need is over, scatter as before. Their excessive pride and inherent strength must have been chief factors in fusing the new elements with the old. To any observer today the uniformity of life among the Pathans is outstandingly clear.

Going back some 3,800 years, we find the Hindu scriptures mentioning these people. They are supposed to have fought in the epic war of the *Mahabharata*, and are described as an Indian border race known by the name of *Pukhtoon*. It is related that the Pandava princes spent a year of their exile in Gandhara as guests of its powerful ruler, who protected them from the eldest of the Kurus, Duryodhan, when he tried to attack them in the forests of that country. These stories lead us to assume the presence of these people in that mountainous country long before the supposed Jewish incursion. Again, there is a very vague reference of a Gujerati



race, Yudu, having migrated from their country about 1200 B.C. and taking shelter in the tract lying between the rivers Kabul and Indus. It is possible that the business instincts of the people attracted the Yudus to these hills, but we find no trace of them there today. This strange legend derives some support from certain modern observations. If we compare certain Pushto words with Gujerati, their similarity will astonish us greatly. Though I am alive to the vast difference between the physique of the Pathan and that of the vegetarian Gujerati, it is just possible that history is repeating itself in the context of present-day facts, for, after 3,000 years of association, there now appears a strong political alliance between the Giant Highlander and the Little Mahatma, who are both busy with the single task of uplifting their countrymen from a state of utter despondency through similar means. I am not competent enough to pass judgement on such a thesis, but I hope some student of history will pursue this investigation.

## 5. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Tracing the story of the Pathans, one finds an outstanding predominance of Aryan features, and the conquests of this race have left deep marks on the population. But as we have stated before, there has been so much intermixture that it is difficult to determine the various elements that have entered into the composition of each individual tribe. And yet, certain similarities can be traced among the great variations of type. If we survey the Pathans today we may trace the various racial influences in their history. Even the short-lived Greek influence can be distinctly perceived ; and a visit to certain parts of Swabi sub-division in the Mardan district would present one with many specimens of that era. It would not be wrong to say that the whole of the Pathan land is a composite pattern of Aryan characteristics intermingled with certain Jewish traits.

Recent researches have made it fairly clear that there was some sort of Jewish association in the past. We are told that when Nadir Shah invaded India in 1739,

he halted at Peshawar to prepare himself for his offensive against the weakling on the throne of Delhi. The local chiefs are reported to have presented him with certain gifts, which included an old Bible written in Hebrew and a few other articles recognized as relics held in veneration by the Jews. These articles must have come down to them from their ancestors, and that must have seemed the right occasion to part with them.

Though the Pathan's exact origin is doubtful, this much is clear, that the entire population is not of one stock, and that each new race of invaders intermingled with the conquered one, with the result that a somewhat homogeneous people have come into being today.

The tribes of the North embraced Islam later than others. They opposed the forces of Mahmud of Ghazni in the beginning, but ultimately became his allies and helped him win his battles in India and Central Asia. Mahmud had discovered in the Pathans the best soldiers for his exploits and he made them an integral part of the great Ghaznavied Empire. Their role under that able General imbued them with the ambition for expansion, and soon there arose in the country small chieftains, important among whom were the Ghoris. Their doubtful allegiance was a source of constant uneasiness to the Ghaznavied Empire. The Ghoris always boasted that their ancestors had opposed the rulers of Iran during the early Islamic campaigns, and that in the case of Mahmud, they had reluctantly remained neutral. As the power of that empire began to decline, these people rose in revolt and helped their leader, Shahab-ud-Din Mohammad Ghoris, to attain the throne. Mohammad Ghoris was from the Hazara tribe of Afghanistan. He was a man of great vision and initiative, and by 1165 A.D. had established himself in his own land. Afterwards, he marched into India, and having defeated the local opposition in a few encounters, he laid the foundations of his rule on the ruins of his predecessors, the Arabs and Turks. By 1183, Shahab-ud-Din had set up a powerful government, which lasted, under different dynasties, till 1526, when Babar defeated and snatched

away dominion from the last Pathan king, Ibrahim Lodi, at the battle of Panipat.

The rise of the Ghoris as a power, after the Ghaznavis, proved a landmark in the history of India. The new conqueror, Mohammad Ghor, not only raided the country but also tried to set himself up as a great ruler. He generated powerful political forces, and from the very beginning adopted a policy quite contrary to that pursued by Mahmud of Ghazni, whose only interest in his Indian campaigns had been to carry away vast resources from India in order to develop his empire in Central Asia. The entire record of the Ghoris was political, and the stamp of their particular genius is to be found in every little thing—even their matrimonial alliances with the Hindus were based on political grounds. It was entirely owing to Mohammad Ghor's ambition that a powerful Muslim kingdom was established in this country, and though sovereignty slipped from his hands into those of his Turkish slaves, a beginning had been made, which opened the eyes of the Pathans and made them look for still greater exploits.

Shahab-ud-Din left no heir to succeed him on the throne of Delhi and Ghor. His territorial boundaries were intact during his lifetime. That he was heirless hardly worried him—he had implicit faith in his Turkish slaves. He seldom realized the effects of such transference of power on his own people, and used to say: 'Other monarchs have one or two sons: I have so many thousands, who will be heirs to my throne and all its dependencies.' On his death, Qutb-ud-Din, the ablest of his Turkish slaves, attempted to control the whole empire of his master, but party politics and friction among the Pathans compelled him to rest content with sovereignty over India alone, and he thanked his stars for securing safe conduct through the hills of Ghazni and Ghor to his capital in Delhi.

## 6. PATHAN INFLUENCES IN INDIA

The advent of these simple and virile highlanders shook India from a deep slumber, and instilled vitality

and a passion for progress and unity into her people. It marked the beginning of a new era of cultural contacts, between the Pathans and Indians. Besides other things, it led to the rise of many movements for religious and social reform. The conquest brought about changes in Indian architecture too, and the monuments of those days tell a tale of simple grandeur. It gave to the people an architectural pattern, which was later developed by the Mughals in their own historic buildings. Change in the prevailing style of architecture was most essential because it had become decadent and morbid. The simplicity of the new settlers influenced the inhabitants and imparted fresh grace and vitality to their creative work. In this connexion, Fergusson has pointed out: 'Nothing could be more brilliant, and at the same time more characteristic, than the commencement of the architectural career of these Pathans in India. . . . A nation of soldiers, equipped for conquest and that only, they of course brought with them neither artists nor architects, but like all nations of Turanian origin, they had strong architectural instincts, and having a style of their own, they could hardly go wrong in any architectural project they might attempt.' In India the credit for the development of this art goes to the Mughals, who, having copied the existing Pathan designs, introduced certain changes and evolved an excellent pattern of their own. The great and initial contribution of the Pathans was ignored by the historians of Mughal days, who seem to have been engaged by their patrons to publicize their own greatness. Is it any wonder they omitted all mention of Pathan achievements? Sir John Marshall throws light on this aspect of Pathan activity. In *The Cambridge History of India* he says: 'Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Hindu and Mohamadan, meeting and mingling together. The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergence in their culture and their religions, make the history of their impact peculiarly instructive and lend an added

interest to the art and above all to the architecture which their united genius called into being.

‘How much precisely this Indo-Islamic art owed to India and how much to Islam, has been a moot point..... By the close of the twelfth century, when the Muslims established their power permanently in India, it was no longer a case of their having to be tutored by their new subjects in the art of building: they themselves were already possessed of a highly developed architecture of their own, as varied and magnificent as the contemporary architecture of Christian Europe, and the Muslims, moreover, who conquered India, men of Afghan, Persian and Turkish blood, were endowed with remarkably good taste and a natural talent for building. The picture that some writers have drawn of them as wild and semi-barbarous hillmen descending on an ancient and vastly superior civilization, is far from the truth.’

## 7. BAHLOL LODI

The period of Pathan prosperity in India lasted till 1526. From 1183 to 1454, they were rulers of Hindustan for a short while under Shahab-ud-Din Mohammad Ghori, and later, constituted the nobility in the courts of the Slave Kings of Delhi. In those years they formed the bulk of the army and filled most of the higher military posts. In 1454, the Pathan once again captured the throne of Delhi, when Bahlol Lodi succeeded in establishing in this country a sovereignty powerful enough to last for three long generations.

Bahlol was a remarkable person, and he utilized his talents in carving out a strong state for his dynasty. He was most energetic in his habits and his military genius was displayed in many exploits. As an administrator, he was second to none. Humble and sympathetic towards his people, he often used to say to them: ‘If you consider me unfit for the job, then choose someone else and bestow on me some other office.’ The great encouragement that the Pathans received from his policy of appeasement drew large numbers from among them to settle down in India. Among others who came, was

the grandfather of the celebrated Sher Shah Suri. Bahlol persuaded his countrymen to occupy the plains of India and his standing order to his Indian nobles was: 'If I hear of one Pathan returning for want of a livelihood or employment, then I will forthwith resume the Jagir of that noble and hand it over to the one thus denied.'

Bahlol Lodi may be described as the first Pathan ruler who based his policy on strong nationalistic lines, and endeavoured to improve the distracted condition of his countrymen. His methods helped infuse unity among the ranks of his restless followers and guide them towards a noble destiny. He consolidated the position of certain families by granting them big Jagirs and high posts in the state, while his administrative genius brought the warring factions together under his able command. For over thirty-five years he ruled, and when he died in 1489, he was succeeded by his son, Sikander, whom some historians consider even more brilliant and much stronger than his father.

## 8. SHER SHAH SURI

The power and influence of the Lodis began to decline in the days of the third ruler, Ibrahim Lodi, when some of his nobles started intriguing with Babar, who was then fighting to restore his fortunes across the hills. To him this undertaking seemed fairly easy. He gathered his forces together and, promising them victory, brought them to the plains of India, met the forces of Ibrahim at Panipat, and smashed them completely. Babar laid the foundations of his dynasty on Indian soil and began his enterprising rule. Little could he have dreamed then of the fate that awaited his son at the hands of these revengeful Pathans, whose weak monarch he had overpowered. It was destined that the avenger should grow under the very shadow of the conqueror, for Sher Shah carried out his initial schemes for the advancement of his race while under Babar's protection.

The original name of Sher Shah was Farid. He was born in 1486. His father, Hassan Khan, held a

big Jagir under the ruler of Bihar at Sisram. But the family originally belonged to a small village near Peshawar. The gifted child received his early education at Jaunpur, where he displayed his brilliance in Arabic and Persian, and a great zeal for learning history, which provided the lure for his ultimate adventures. As he grew up, his father sent him to join the service of the Bihar Governor, and it was there, having exhibited his courage, he won the title of Sher Khan from his master. Later, he joined the service of Babar and accompanied him on his earlier campaigns, and thus won his admiration. But the royal favour was short-lived, and the Mughal Emperor began suspecting his protege. The king once said to Khalifa, his minister : 'Keep an eye on Sher Khan. He is a clever man and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead. I have seen many Afghan nobles, greater men than he, but they never made any impression on me, but as soon as I saw this man, it entered my mind that he ought to be arrested, for I find in him the qualities of greatness and the marks of mightiness.' Babar was not wrong in his observations, and it is said that during the siege of Chanderi, Sher Khan told his comrades : 'If luck aided me and fortune stood my friend, I could oust the Mughals from Hindustan.' Soon the suspicious attentions of the Mughal Emperor came to the notice of Sher Khan. When during a feast he cut the meat with his dagger drawn from his waist, Babar watched him intently and whispered something into his minister's ear. This gave the youthful Pathan a hint of what was brewing. He told his friends : 'The King looked long at me today; and said something to his minister, casting evil glances at me. I feel this is no longer a safe place for me to live in.' Sher Khan left the Mughal Court and once again settled down on his father's Jagir, and later became deputy to the young ruler of Bihar and its dependencies.

Sher Khan's ability was great and profound, and, as Babar had remarked, he had 'marks of mightiness' in his bearing. He had set a lofty ideal before himself,

and succeeded in living up to the expectations of those who reposed trust in him. He took to organizing his people, and by 1536, he had defeated the King of Bengal. Then he commenced preparations for his real objective. His skill was remarkable and his determination firm, and by very clever strategy, he shattered the forces of the Mughals; by 1540, there was no trace of them left. Stories tell that the Mughal Emperor, Humayun, was saved by a water-carrier after his defeat at Kanauj. The throne of India lay at Sher Shah's feet, and he employed himself diligently in reconstruction of his dominions. His authority was challenged by the warlike Rajputs, but by his skill and valour, and superior tactics, he annihilated all his enemies.

Sher Shah's rule, though short-lived and autocratic in form, was most vigorous, cultured and enlightened. He has left a unique record of administrative achievements—a legacy not only of a splendid chapter of peace and tranquillity, but also of a wonderful national structure, which, notwithstanding its manifold limitations, revealed his ability and intelligence, and his love for his subjects. He was tolerant in his policy. He respected the priestly class himself, but his temporal obligations compelled him to keep them under control, never allowing them the initiative in any important matter. By the power of his strong arm he restrained the turbulence of his people and quelled all tribal conflicts. His creative genius made him popular among the Pathans, who learnt to look upon him as their saviour. His benevolent approach to the problems confronting the country produced such gratitude among his reckless followers that they readily surrendered to him all they possessed. Professor Kanoongo comments on this as follows: 'His people implicitly submitted to all hardships, not as the slaves of an Oriental despot, but as comrades of an adored commander . . . . Originality and boldness of action and rapidity of movement, and an eye for strategic situations characterized Sher Shah's campaigns. He was averse to unnecessary bloodshed and cruelty and had no passion for a fight.' He often used to warn his



people: 'Crime and violence are enemies of prosperity.'

A careful study of Sher Shah's career would convince one that he was, in every respect, one of the greatest rulers of medieval India. There is none who excelled him in valour, enterprise, courage and foresight. H. G. Keene has described him in the following terms: 'This farsighted man, even after his death and the subversion of his dynasty, remained the originator of all that was done by the medieval Indian rulers for the good of the people.' His land revenue system formed the basis of Akbar's admirable scheme, while his religious toleration bore witness to his astute sense of statesmanship. He was an active and hard-working monarch and often used to remark: 'It behoves the great to be always active; they should consider no affair of the kingdom too small or petty to attend to for one of their own lofty rank, for if they do, they place undue reliance on their ministers and other subordinates.' He was a shrewd administrator, and his one endeavour was to be just to everyone of his subjects. Sher Shah maintained a nice balance between his temporal duties and his devotion to the Creator, and he was of a most pious disposition. Professor Kanoongo furnishes a good basis for an examination of the personality of this illustrious Pathan when he says: 'The activity of Sher Shah was not the industry of Philip II or Aurangzeb, who laboured only to destroy what their predecessors had left, but more akin to that of Julius Cæsar and Napoleon. He had above all a heart which soldiers and statesmen often lacked. He could feel for the misfortune of his enemy . . . He was one of the most humane conquerors, and was a tamer of wild nature, born to ride upon the whirlwind and guide the thunder. He was a monarch, but he never played the king. He never hesitated to handle the spade like his meanest soldier . . . His genius is akin to that of Alexander the Great, who dreamt of uniting the East and the West.

'Of all rulers of medieval times Sher Shah stands as the ideal of the new India of Hindus and Muslims

united in heart and spirit . . . . It is only the reign of Sher Shah which both Hindus and Musalmans can read without a blush, a period during which Islam was honoured yet Hinduism was not slighted. His age could not appreciate him fully: he sacrificed the favour of his contemporaries for the blessings of posterity. He was a veritable father to his people, stern to the unruly, but all kindness and love to the weak, the disabled and the destitute.'

This striking monarch, whom Sir Harry Haig has described in *The Cambridge History of India* as 'the greatest ruler who ever sat upon the throne of Delhi', was the first of India's monarchs to undertake the construction of roads on a big scale and link up the whole country with excellent highways and quick means of transport, which helped to increase the trade and commerce of the nation. He introduced an efficient and quick postal service. It took five days for the Imperial post from Peshawar to reach the neighbourhood of present-day Calcutta. This was made possible by swift-moving horsemen, changed from halt to halt, and riding day and night. His law courts dispensed strict justice, and his personal surveillance further checked corruption in the various branches of the State. Sher Shah is also responsible for reform of the coinage and V. A. Smith asserts: 'Sher Shah is entitled to the honour of establishing the reformed system of currency, which lasted throughout the Mughal period, was maintained by the East India Company down to 1835, and is the basis of the existing English currency.' He organized a police force and raised an efficient army, of which he was a most capable General. Speaking of his military genius, the famous historian, Erskine, has said: 'In his military character there was a rare union of caution and enterprise.' His success was due to courage, tact and an absolute faith in himself and in God, and by virtue of these qualities he rose to the pinnacle of glory from humble surroundings, where he had faced storms, but kept himself well above disaster. The history of his rule makes fascinating reading, and Keene

is not wrong when he declared in his book, *Turks and India*: 'No government, not even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan.' And it was the same king whose beneficial rule forced the famous orthodox historian, Badauni, to exclaim to his associates: 'Thank God I was born in the reign of so just a king!'

Sher Shah Suri, the pride of the Pathan race, died on the 22nd of May, 1545, with the laurels of victory still on his brow, but with the ambition of consolidating his rule unfulfilled. The memory of his five years' rule remains a brilliant legacy to his proud and indomitable people!

### 9. ROT SETS IN

Sher Shah was no more, and despite the most frenzied and desperate efforts of his son, Jalal Khan or Salim Shah, the situation in the country continued to deteriorate. Jalal Khan found himself incapable of doing anything to restore order and security. He had to face not only the turbulence of his own people, but also the forces of the Mughals under Humayun, who had been hovering on the horizon ever since his defeat in 1540, and watching for an opportunity to pounce upon his lost empire. This was not possible during the lifetime of Sher Shah, but he seized the first chance after the death of that powerful adversary, and succeeded in recapturing the throne for himself.

Pathan history from the twelfth century to the fifteenth is part of the story of India. Circumstances sometimes placed a Pathan king on the throne of Delhi, and sometimes an Indian monarch over Afghanistan and its dependencies. This has been responsible for certain modern problems; several vexatious issues of the present day may be traced to happenings in those centuries. It is difficult to explain, in the compass of this short volume, the influence of those events on Indian political life; for, besides affecting local conditions in India, these three centuries witnessed vast changes even among the Pathans, and it is that side of the problem that I am tackling at present.

Bahlol Lodi and Sher Shah Suri had temporarily removed many of the economic disabilities under which their subjects laboured; but since they had not succeeded in wiping out the basic ills, the situation deteriorated deplorably after the passing away of Sher Shah, and the Pathans were forced to look for means of livelihood everywhere around them.

The Mughal Empire in India under its distinguished Emperor, Akbar, pursued a strong imperialistic policy for the establishment of his suzerainty. I do not wish to analyse his various attempts towards this end, but the most unfortunate part of his activities was his disastrous Frontier Policy. In order to contact Afghanistan, the Mughals tried to subjugate the Frontier tribes. The Pathans resisted these attempts with the utmost ferocity. Instead of winning them over to their side, the Mughals turned them into bitter enemies—something to be reckoned with at all times. That policy produced its repercussions and a long tale of misery was unfolded; the distracted condition of the people was exploited by the imperialist forces throughout their long rule in India.

The deterioration in the economic condition of the people led to the migration of the Pathans from their barren hills in search of food and other necessities, and hordes of them started pouring into the plains of the present North-West Frontier and, beyond the Indus, farther into India. About the end of the sixteenth century, a tribe known as the Ghorias, consisting of the Mohmands, Khalils, Daudzais and a part of the Shinwaris, journeyed towards the Khyber; the Shinwaris were left behind at Ningrhar, the Mohmands occupied the hills between Lalpura and Doraba and the adjoining Afridi hills, while the Khalils and the Daudzais settled down in the plains of Peshawar, whence they drove the old inhabitants, the Dilazaks, into the present Yusufzai home. On the other side, sections of the Gigianis, Tarkanris and Mohmadzais, who had owned the country of Ningrhar, were driven out by the advancing Ghorias, and compelled to abandon their homes and join their kinsmen in Hashtnagar and Doraba. The incursions

of all these new tribes made the situation unpleasant for the Dilazaks, and by 1608, conditions became so serious that Emperor Jehangir had to employ his forces to compel the Dilazaks to leave their country and migrate farther into the Indian plains. The tribes spent the next twenty years in consolidating their holdings and adapting themselves to their new environs.

At a time when the Pathans were busy abandoning their homes in quest of food, their own country adjoining Iran was overrun by the forces of the Shah of Iran, who held sway over the provinces of Kandahar and Herat till the beginning of the eighteenth century (1708), when after about fifty years' rule, Persian authority was challenged and destroyed by the renowned Ghilzai Chief, Mir Wass.

#### 10. KHUSHAL KHAN KHATTAK

The history of the Pathans from 1630 to 1660 A.D. is uneventful. The story of those days imperceptibly shades off into oblivion. This dreariness was at last broken by a young man who, by a supreme combination of the diverse talents of soldier, poet, scholar, and agitator, moulded his people and roused them against the appalling conditions prevailing throughout the country. That outstanding figure was a Khattak Chief, Khushal Khan, who became popular among his people and organized them against the hostile forces of the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb Alamgir.

Khushal Khan was born in the year 1613 A.D. Shahbaz Khan, his father, was Chief of the Khattak tribe, in the village of Akora, in Peshawar district. He grew up amidst the mountains, and spent his time learning poetry, riding and hawking and preparing himself for fighting his future battles. From early childhood, he was rash and bold. He achieved great fame as a poet. He has left a big collection of patriotic verse along with other works dealing with history, philosophy, medicine, nature and beauty. About 1641, he became Chief of his large tribe, which was spread over areas now comprising Peshawar and Kohat districts. He was soon engaged

in hostilities against the Mughals, and strove to rally his countrymen under his banner of revolt.

The unique qualities of Khushal attracted the attention of the Imperial Government, and in 1660, he was invited by the Emperor's Deputy to attend a Durbar at Peshawar. The fearless Chief accepted the invitation without any misgivings, but it turned out to be a plot to arrest him. Khushal was taken as a captive, first to Delhi and later to Gwalior, where he remained until he was released in 1664. He describes in one of his poems how he begged his admirers not to make any attempts to secure his liberty. He narrates the tale of his exile in pathetic couplets, giving long accounts of the political and social conditions prevailing around him. In those poems he speaks of the decay of Mughal power in India, and prophesies, its approaching downfall.

After he had been set free, he plunged into the task of uniting the various tribes against his enemies. A confused state of war ensued, and at last Aurangzeb had to go out in person with a strong force to stamp out Khushal's rebellion. The Mughals met with stout resistance, and the Emperor was forced to employ methods other than military. Aurangzeb succeeded in seducing some of Khushal's followers and, having gained some success, left the country, only to hear of another rising.

Khushal's influence over the Afridis and his own tribe was tremendous, and all his life he relied on their support for the amelioration of his people. Throughout his career he remained undaunted and full of vengeance towards the Mughals; he never allowed a craven thought to cross his mind. All along he had snapped his fingers at his enemies, and, lying on his death-bed, his last words to the people around him were: 'Bury me where the dust of Mughal horsemen shall not reach my grave.' In his long-drawn-out struggle against his enemies, Khushal had been fortunate enough to have the assistance of Afridi chiefs who wielded great influence over the tribe.

Khushal Khan's position as a poet is unrivalled. His large collection of heroic poetry has inspired a

fervent spirit of nationalism among many generations of Pathans. In the midst of his warlike activities, he wrote exquisite love lyrics, and vigorous martial poems as well. The Khattak, all through his life, distinguished himself for courage and patriotism, sometimes succeeding in his mission of destroying his opponents, and often wandering friendless through these mountains. But nothing could check the ardour of his poesy and the unconquerable spirit that gave it birth. He was an earnest man, and took his calling seriously. Through his own untiring efforts and flaming appeals, Khushal created new values and a new glory, and roused the people to fight against a decadent Empire that had grown indifferent to the welfare of its subjects. It was his profound optimism that made him look upon the Mughals as a spent force. To him life was a grim struggle against heavy odds. His poetry has a style of its own, and is built round core of a well-defined philosophy.

The country of the Pathans has given birth to great rulers, but Khushal was the first leader to give his followers a clear lead on political lines and to instil in them the idea of a single nation. That he did not succeed in his endeavours is of little consequence. The value of his contribution to Pathan literature, however, is undisputed, and the brilliant role that he played, both as an agitator and thinker, reveals his extraordinary vigour of mind and exceptional versatility. His keen intellect, his acute powers of observation, and his profound knowledge of human problems, as exhibited in his Pushto and Persian works, are truly astonishing, especially when one considers his restless career, the age he lived in, and the state of utter backwardness of his people. Khushal was, indeed, a man far ahead of his time, and it is a pity he has not received proper recognition at the hands of his people and has remained almost unknown to the world at large.

The parts of Khushal's poetry where his nationalistic ideas resemble those of Friedrich Nietzsche were translated into the German language a long time ago ;

and recently some of his poems were translated into English by a few writers to serve as a text-book for British officers in the N.-W. F. Province. The translations lack the force and the spirit of the originals, yet certain stanzas, dealing with various aspect of life, may give the reader some idea of the poet's greatness. In this connexion, we are indebted to Professor Baldoff, of Cambridge University, and Major Ravetory, who have translated parts of Khushal Khan's poetry into English and thus rendered some service to this neglected poet. I hope some earnest student of today will produce a good translation of his works (some of which were unknown even to Pushto-speaking people until they were discovered recently) and serve to rescue the author from comparative obscurity. I venture here to quote a few stanzas of this venerable Pathan.

His conception of a good and noble character may be studied in these lines :

A man, indeed, is he, that is brave, yet full of kindness,  
 Courteous to his fellows in his life and conversation,  
 Little in speech, great in action, but in silence  
 Like a rose bud, his breast open to his mouth,  
 In greatness like heavens, in humility like the earth,  
 In dignified bearing like the cypress, in generosity  
 With boughs drooping on all sides like the vine.

He illustrates his conception of courage and manliness thus :

He who fears to risk his life,  
 Or who grudges money spent,  
 Never will he be chief or monarch,  
 Nor will the conquered lands be his.  
 Either the throne or the bier :  
 Such is the resting place of kings,  
 He who has not a warrior's heart  
 Armies bring him no success.

And again :

On the battle-field it is good that bleeding heads should be  
 lying,  
 Far better than that their hearts should be filled with ill blood.  
 Either like a man loosen the turban over thy forehead  
 Or wear in its place a woman's veil.



In Khushal Khan's opinion, real happiness lies in this :

He whose heart is filled with goodwill towards his kind,  
 A happy man is he ; he has an empire in his heart.  
 On the ladder of manly actions never can he ascend  
 Who possesses deficiency of courage in heart.  
 Blackened face has he, both in this world and hereafter,  
 Who against his fellows has blackness in his heart.

Proclaiming his absolute faith in God, the poet says :

Were all the world a sharpened sword,  
 All men on thy death intent,  
 Without fate thou wilt not die  
 By the sword nor yet by bullet.  
 Wield the sword then, have no fear,  
 As long as you live and breathe,  
 As the youthful warrior's actions,  
 Such are not wrought by the old.

His attitude towards enemies of the country may be studied in the following lines :

From the disturber of thy country do thou never stay thy hand,  
 Howsoever much the priests may entreat in his favour.

Khushal Khan's advice on the conduct of rulers is :  
 He that finds fault with thy rule, leave him not in thy country,  
 Be thou quit of him, by gold, treachery or by force of arms,  
 Such as is accomplished by the sword, the arrow or the spear,  
 A hundredfold is gained by skill and by strategy.  
 Slain be thy son and brother, for the security of thy kingdom,  
 And closely be thy rivals all guarded in thy jails,  
 Besides the water of the sword, no other streams are there,  
 Which cool the fevered blood of those that seek for power.

The poet describes the following as the goal of a warrior :

In the world there are choices two which honour offer,  
 Either to lose one's life or to succeed in one's design.

Condemning war and violence, the poet observes :  
 In war and violence there is no profit, Khushal ;  
 The fire burns up alike the grain and the chaff.

Proud of his own freedom and in exultation over that, the poet says :

Praise be to God that my will is now my own ;  
 No care is mine for his court nor yet for council.  
 Like a bright star fortunate is my destiny ;  
 Everyday is to me a holiday of independence.  
 What though others weep ? I am mad with joy,  
 Enough for a Pathan his rug and blanket.  
 No care is mine for couches or cushions,  
 Freedom is mine, though plain and coarse my clothes.  
 Relieved now am I of velvet and of brocade,  
 A grass-built hut is now so dear to me.  
 Content I live, and peaceful are my pursuits,  
 What though my food is soup and curds ?  
 I had rather be settled there than the marble palaces,  
 Because the wealth of the Mughals I despise.  
 The opposition which I have is for faith and honour :  
 Were I to waver in my designs as a girl, I should be doomed...  
 It is for the Afghan's honour that my sword I have bound  
beside me,
 I, Khushal Khattak, am the only proud Afghan of the day.

## 11. MIR WASS GHILZAI

While the Mughals were busy suppressing the Pathans from the Indian side, the other side of the country was being overrun by the Iranians, who had begun their incursions in 1642 A. D. These ordeals compelled one section of the people, comprising the Marwats and Daulat Khels, who lived round the Ghazni hills, to cross the Sulaiman range and settle down in the tract between Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. During this same period, the Waziris started encroaching on the plains from behind the high hills and founded settlements on their present holdings. During the second half of the seventeenth century, the condition of the people worsened steadily, until at last it took a turn for the better when Mir Wass, a Ghilzai Chief, arose to organize his countrymen and divert their energies towards a definite goal.

Mir Wass, who is one of the outstanding figures of his country, was the headman of his tribe during the Iranian rule. He was a fine fighter and organizer, and his amiable manners, broadmindedness, great intelligence and persuasive eloquence endeared him to his fellows, who looked to him for their deliverance from foreign domination.

Shah Nawaz, who was the Shah's Deputy at Kandahar, disliked Mir Wass, because the latter fearlessly condemned his ruthless ways with his Pathan subjects. In order to get rid of Mir Wass the Deputy charged him with treason, and conspiracy, and had him arrested and despatched to Iran to stand his trial. On reaching the Shah's capital, Ispahan, Mir Wass observed the corruption rampant on all sides; he judiciously scattered a little gold around, and succeeded in establishing his innocence. Such was the versatility of his mind that he was soon friends with the nobles and a trusted man in Iranian official circles.

By dint of fruitful industry Mir Wass carved out an honoured place for himself in the land of his captivity, and having won the nobility over to his side, he tried to solve the problem of his motherland. He realized that a government full of such worthless and corrupt individuals had little right to rule the Pathans. Sure of his ability to rouse his people, he was confident of the future, and while yet a captive, he nourished the ambition of returning to Iran as an invader. Day and night he worked on plans and prepared himself for that great task. After long deliberations it occurred to him to obtain the Shah's sanction for a pilgrimage to Mecca. His idea was to secure the support of the Arabian *Maulvis* and persuade them to issue a *Fatwa* (a religious command) addressed to the Pathans to overthrow the alien rulers of their country. In addition to this, he solicited the release of his Pathan comrades who had been sent to Ispahan as suspects along with him. The Ghilzai succeeded in getting both his requests conceded, and, in taking leave of his men, said: 'The time to prove our courage has arrived; but the prudence of the serpent that watches overcomes the strength of the lion that permits himself to slumber. We must conceal our swords in a bed of roses, and those who have sufficient faith in me to place their destiny in my hands should be convinced that the most profound secrecy is the first condition of our success.'

Mir Wass then left on his political mission to Mecca, where he began his manœuvres. He prevailed upon the Arabian *Maulvis* to issue *Fatwas* and special appeals addressed to the Pathans. After discussing many important problems and equipping himself with the necessary documents, he returned to Ispahan.

Mir Wass had accomplished one stage, but the task ahead was full of dangers and risks. It was only his optimism and firm determination that enabled him to surmount various obstacles and march steadily towards his goal. In Ispahan he ingeniously established contacts with the enemies of Shah Nawaz at the imperial court, and persuaded them to prejudice the Shah's mind against his Deputy at Kandahar. It was decided to charge Shah Nawaz with treachery—with being in league with the Tsar to overthrow the Iranian monarch. The matter was broached so skilfully that the Shah believed the story, and since he had implicit trust in Mir Wass's fidelity, he sent that brave Pathan back to his country in order to spy upon the Deputy.

The lion was free. The clever Ghilzai Chief travelled from Ispahan through Kirman and Sistan, studying local conditions that he was soon to exploit to his own advantage. He came across people who showed their eagerness to assist him at the opportune moment, and he took them into his confidence. At every stage he used caution and intelligence to forward his project.

During his absence from his country, many accounts had reached Shah Nawaz of the influence Mir Wass commanded in the court at Ispahan. So, when the Ghilzai reached Kandahar, the Deputy tried to come to terms with him and asked for his daughter's hand in marriage. It struck Mir Wass that the tyrant's object might be to disgrace him by making the girl his concubine. He was greatly enraged at this impertinence, but, holding his anger in check, and taking his equally infuriated comrades into his confidence, he persuaded one of his slave girls to go to Shah Nawaz, with instructions to impersonate the Ghilzai's daughter.

The incident won the Deputy's trust, and Mir Wass went forward with his plans with renewed energy. His friendship with Shah Nawaz was anything but sincere. He utilized it for organizing his followers and uniting the different warring elements among them. When all preparations were complete, he invited the Iranian Deputy and his staff to a big feast, and while they were at the height of their carousal, soldiers appointed by the Ghilzai Chief attacked and killed them all. Later, he marched through the streets of Kandahar and entered the fort, where he proclaimed himself master. His coronation in 1708 was hailed on all sides, and he began ruling a vast area of his country. In order to suppress this rebellion, the Shah sent strong Iranian forces, but the Pathans harassed and destroyed them completely in a number of encounters. But his mission was not yet fully accomplished; he had to undertake the invasion of Iran.

Mir Wass had won his position by endless intrigue, it is true, but it was all for the sake of redeeming the Pathans from alien rule. Fortune, however, did not favour him long, and he breathed his last in 1715.

The goal that Mir Wass had set before himself was, however, achieved by his worthy son, Mir Mahmud, who succeeded in conquering Iran and ruling that country till the end of 1730. Mahmud had inherited the qualities of his father, and his fifteen years' rule was memorable for its achievements. His power was, however, challenged by the Persian General, Nadir Shah, who overthrew that dynasty, and later marched into India, where his thoroughgoing sack of the capital caused great panic and distress among the inhabitants.

## 12. AHMAD SHAH ABDALI

The amazing Mir Wass and his successful son were followed by a totally different type of man. After the assassination of Nadir Shah in 1747, Ahmad Shah Abdali, who was one of his most trusted generals, stepped into his shoes and declared himself the rightful heir to all his domains. By his bravery and ability, Abdali

succeeded in transforming the warring elements among the Afghans into a united nation and in making Afghanistan their national State. Some historians charge him with having paved the way for the British domination of India, because he fought and destroyed strong Indian forces and rendered the people too helpless to offer any effective opposition to the British regime. But if Ahmad Shah did not choose to stay in this country after he had crushed all those who had opposed him among the Sikhs and the Mahrattas, it was entirely on account of difficulties at home, which he wanted to surmount, and for which purpose he required wealth from the Indian Exchequer. These considerations forced him to adopt that particular policy, and he went ahead with his plans for enriching his motherland.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was born about 1722. His father was the Chief of a tribe called the Abdalis. At a very early age he showed signs of genius, and soon became a leading General in Nadir Shah's Army. His master was murdered in 1747, and this youthful enthusiast proclaimed himself king of his country and of all his possessions. Ahmad Shah was hardly twenty-five when he assumed control of the government, and having established his influence in Afghanistan, he strove to acquire the outlying territory that had been annexed by Nadir Shah.

Soon after assuming kingship, Ahmad Shah set his heart on the reconstruction of his backward kingdom and tried to knit together all the opposing elements in the country and lead them towards a higher destiny. By dint of his industry and vision he mustered a strong army, which defeated the powerful forces of the Sikhs and the Mahrattas. In these campaigns he collected vast resources, which he used for the task of reconstruction and social reform in his own domains. It was never his desire to rule India; he contented himself with appointing his own puppets as Governors of the Indian Provinces. The colossal wealth he obtained from India enabled him to build up his nation and carry out various rehabilitation schemes without imposing burdensome

taxes on his people. His policy resulted in a substantial increase in the general welfare and prosperity of the Pathans. They ceased to indulge in raids or other similar activities, and each tribe looked upon its holdings as permanent. There have been no large-scale migrations since then. The people began to look upon their settlements as their rightful possessions.

This new Pathan king was a born soldier, and possessed the ability to lead armies and win laurels for them. His resourcefulness and untiring zeal made him popular with his subjects; and he won for himself great distinction by curbing the restless nature of his countrymen and guiding it into fruitful channels. Abdali may be compared to Sher Shah Suri, with the only difference that while the latter's fame was confined solely to India, Ahmad Shah's renown was intimately bound up with the fortunes of his own race and land. Besides being a great ruler and an able general, he was also a talented scholar and a well-known Pushto and Persian poet. Abdali's poetry had a tinge of Sufi mysticism, and portions of it have been translated into English. A few lines from his works will give the reader an idea of his philosophy.

Friendship is like the rose; but its prudence is the thorn,  
 The thorn becometh sharp, and, alas, to the quick it pierceth,  
 Why grieveest thou, Ahmad Shah, for it is a period of joy;  
 The drum of meeting soundeth; alas, union's hour is near?  
 It behoveth us here the world to renounce, for it is inconsistent;  
 Alas, it possesseth neither good nor advantage to carry away.  
 O Ahmad, seek thou help from the Almighty,  
 But not from pomp and grandeur's aid.

Ahmad Shah's character was most admirable, and he was endowed with every quality necessary to help him on in his career. Writing in his book, *The Kingdom of Cabul*, M. Elphinstone has observed: 'His military courage and activity are spoken of with admiration both by his own nation and the nations with whom he was engaged, either in wars or alliances. He seems to have been naturally disposed to mildness and clemency, and though it is impossible to acquire sovereign power, and perhaps in Asia, to maintain it, without crimes, yet the

memory of no Eastern Prince is stained with fewer acts of cruelty and injustice . . . . If ever an Asiatic king deserved the gratitude of his country, it was Ahmad Shah, the Pearl of Duranis. In his personal character he seems to have been cheerful, affable and good natured. He maintained considerable dignity on State occasions, but at other times his manners were plain and familiar . . . . He was himself a divine and an author, and was always ambitious of the character of a saint.'

The historic reign of Abdali came to an end in 1772, when at the age of fifty, after having ruled his country for over twenty-four years, he died at Kandahar. His tomb is a place of pilgrimage in Afghanistan today.

After Ahmad Shah's death the throne of Kabul became a bone of contention among various aspirants, and the fears which had prevented Ahmad Shah from settling down in India soon came true. The distracted condition of the people invited trouble, and they had to wage a continuous struggle against outside elements. The Sikhs, whom Abdali had crushed somewhat effectively during his eight attacks on India, rose under their generals and set out on the path of aggression. The entire period of Sikh incursions was a dark spell of incessant forays and vengefulness, which was finally brought to an end by the advance of the British Imperialists. That reminds us of the multitude of wrongs committed against our people, and brings up before our mind's eye the record of many military expeditions and blockades carried out against Afghanistan and the tribes adjoining the Frontier Province.

We know that until the middle of the nineteenth century, India had always been invaded from the North, but from then onward, the approach to the country changed; instead of the mountain passes, water gates of the ocean were utilized for invasion. Yet the country of the Pathans has remained open to Central Asian influences. The past seems to survive, and we find how certain ancient values and philosophies appear to come to life again in the land that gave them birth many centuries ago. Those age-long edicts of Asoka cut in



the various rocks of Shahbazghara and other Frontier towns find an echo in our minds today, and the people find the Buddhist teachings of non-violence and tolerance forming an outstanding feature of the nationalist movement conducted by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan throughout the province.

Till the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the situation in Afghanistan and the Frontier Province continued to worsen.

During this period many things happened and the throne of Kabul was occupied by unimportant kings who deserve no mention. There was, however, the dynamic personality of Akbar Khan. His gallant attempt to smash all the enemies of his country failed; fortune did not smile on his efforts to carve out a fitting place for himself in the annals of his country. But he lived and died a soldier of great repute among his people. Many ruling families came to India in their exile, and we find most of their descendants living in abject poverty. Unfortunately, their superiority complex has prevented them from entering any of the professions.

### 13. JAMAL-UD-DIN AFGHANI

A new dawn should have come when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Jamal-ud-Din appeared on the scene and showed signs of a greatness and power capable of releasing the people from the misery and utter confusion surrounding them. But he failed to achieve his ambition. Those were the days when the British were engaged in unending intrigue to make Afghanistan a buffer state between India and Russia. Since Afghani was not the man to become a puppet in their hands he found himself obliged to leave his country.

Our history is full of leaders who might have been great had they not been thwarted by foreign intrigue. Jamal-ud-Din, who was one of the most striking characters of his age, is a classic example.

Afghani was born in 1838 at Assadabad, a small town in Afghanistan. He received his early education

in his native land and for a short while at Ludhiana in the Punjab, where his father had come with certain Afghan nobles in exile. By the age of eighteen, he had studied all the available books on Islamic literature and philosophy. In 1857, he went to Mecca on a pilgrimage and visited India during the days of her great upheaval. On his return to Afghanistan, he joined the service of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, and by the force of his personality, he soon became one of his trusted ministers. British imperialistic interests were then getting a foothold in Afghanistan. A patriot like Jamal could not be tolerated by them. Ironically enough, he was made to look a traitor in the eyes of his government, and the ruler was obliged to banish him from the country.

The same year Afghani left for Cairo through India. He soon came into contact with Jamia-i-Azhar circles. He remained there for some time; and by 1870, his fame as a politician and a learned man had spread in all directions. When he went to Constantinople in 1870, he was accorded an enthusiastic reception by the leading Turkish organizations. He was taken on the Council of Education, and invited to deliver lectures at all important State centres. His views, which were most revolutionary and much in advance of his times, evoked opposition from Hassan Tehmi, the then Sheikh-ul-Islam. Seeing the intrigues around him, Afghani left Constantinople. He returned to Cairo, where the government and other responsible quarters made him welcome. The Egyptian Government offered him a salary without assigning any particular duty or obligations to fulfil. He took classes occasionally and delivered lectures on philosophy and theology, and preached the true spirit of national and political revival to those around him. His influence inspired the people with feelings of self-reliance and a zeal to strive after a great destiny. But he soon discovered that, on the one side, his lessons and inflammatory political theories were detrimental to the dominating influence of the British, while, on the other, his advanced doctrines

clashed with the prestige of the conservative elements in the Jamia-i-Azhar. So the British forced the Egyptian authorities, who had grown feeble and ineffective, to expel this great thinker and well-wisher of the people from the country.

Jamal-ud-Din left Cairo under orders to proceed to India, where he was first detained at Hyderabad and later taken to Calcutta. His movements were watched, and so, except for a few articles on the Refutation of Materialism, he could do little work. During this time he also collected impressions about the various cross-currents of Indian politics, which helped him in later years to champion her cause from Paris through his writings. Soon after his release from India, he went to America and tried to carry on his propaganda there. Getting a very poor response, he went to London in 1883. The Imperial City was even more unsuited for his mission, and so, in 1884, he ultimately selected Paris as the centre for his agitation. From that fair city of Europe, Paris, of many thrills and revolutions, home of art, culture and romance, he commenced his trenchant criticism of British policy in Muslim countries. He tried to reach the reading public of both the East and the West and lay bare before them the injustices meted out to the Musalmans by Great Britain. Some of the leading French papers published his contributions containing astonishing revelations about the Eastern Policy of British Imperialism. In March, 1884, he published his own Arabic journal in order to place his view-point more clearly before his readers and to teach them how to organize according to his plans. His unsparing criticism of British methods in the East led to the suspension of his paper, but he continued to rouse the Muslims through other sources at his disposal. In Paris he had mostly concentrated on the fate of Indians and Egyptians, though his writings were read throughout the Muslim world, where they infused a new spirit of national revival among the masses. The different national movements in Muslim States owe their roots to the untiring zeal of that great thinker and politician, the late Jamal-ud-Din Afghani.

Afghani's capacity for work was tremendous and his exceptionally clear foresight helped him achieve the most brilliant results. In the words of E.G. Brown, 'he was at once a philosopher, author, orator, and journalist, but above all, he was a politician regarded by his opponents as a dangerous agitator.' Besides speaking the Eastern languages, he could speak most of the Continental languages as well. It is said that during his stay in Paris in 1884, Monsieur Renan, the famous French Orientalist, expressed a desire to meet him. Afghani invited him to call a few days later, and during the interval learnt French. When the French writer called on him, the two began discussing certain problems. Jamal later apologized to his distinguished visitor for having kept him waiting so long. The French celebrity was greatly impressed, and in a subsequent interview told his associates that Jamal's personality reminded him of the ancient scholars and that during his discussions he had felt as though he were talking to the famous Muslim philosopher, Avicenna. Jamal's broad outlook on life and his unique capacity to adjust himself to the varied conditions of the different countries he frequently visited helped him to feel one with their people, and thus influence them from within rather than from outside.

The ceaseless activity of Jamal-ud-Din had made him famous among Muslims of all classes, and the ruler of Iran, Nasir-ud-Din Kachar, had been especially struck by his able expositions. He invited him to his capital and bestowed many state honours on his distinguished guest. Such honours might have corrupted many a man, but true philosopher that he was, Afghani looked upon these worldly glories as mere baubles. Nothing could divert him from his revolutionary path. He studied the Iranian situation and expressed his views boldly. The Shah soon became suspicious of his guest. All manner of restrictions were imposed on him. Afghani realized that he could only carry on his mission from a more congenial place. He, therefore, proceeded to Russia, and soon after, became an important link

between Russia and the Crescent. He remained there till the middle of 1889, when he returned to Paris.

Certain recent comments and observations by a few influential persons have tended to cast aspersions on his conduct. It has been pointed out that certain Russian documents accuse him of obstinacy with regard to a Russo-Turkish Agreement that would have given a free hand to Turkey in the East, provided she undertook to keep aloof from European politics. He is charged with having played, knowingly or unknowingly, the game of the English diplomats, and ruined Turkey's chances of exercising her influence in the East. Such charges look absurd when one thinks of the whole career of Afghani and the part he played in the uplift of the Musalmans.

As I have already said, he was in Paris in 1889, and the Shah of Iran, who was there in connexion with the famous Paris Exhibition, met Afghani at Munich and induced him to accompany him to his capital. He befriended the 'rebel' again. This time Jamal-ud-Din's influence over the Shah earned for him the hostility of the nobles, who began to intrigue against him. It is always easy to play on the credulity of despots, and the plots set in motion by the Iranian Ministers succeeded in producing in the ruler's mind distrust and contempt for Afghani. He was ordered to leave the Shah's domains. His expulsion and Jamal's reference to it in his subsequent articles created a stir throughout Iran. When Nasir-ud-Din granted the oil and tobacco monopoly to the British, Jamal-ud-Din was infuriated by the economic considerations involved, and said to those around him: 'O my God, is there no one to go and kill Kachar and save Iran from ruin?' His wishes could hardly go unfulfilled, and in 1896, Nasir-ud-Din Kachar was killed by one of his disciples.\*

By 1890, Afghani had become an internationalist of the first rank and wielded great influence in Muslim

\*It is said that a League had been formed at that time to assassinate all the monarchs of Europe and Asia. Attempts were made elsewhere too, but Kachar was the only victim.

countries. In spite of his expulsions from various countries every now and again, his prestige among the masses remained at its zenith. In 1892, he went back to Constantinople as a royal guest and was allotted a palace to live in. He did not enjoy that princely life; he felt as if he were being confined in a gilded cage. He wished to propagate his views, and arouse the people from their pitiable torpor under rotten governments. Years rolled by and he continued to labour under unfavourable conditions. On the 9th of March, 1897, he died, and it was freely rumoured that his death was due to poisoning.

Thus ended a personality who had brought about an awakening in so many lands, and infused a new consciousness among the people. All his life he had agitated for the liberation of the Muslims from oppression and exploitation. Jamal-ud-Din was the originator of the Pan-Islamic idea and remained its convinced champion till the very end. His most cherished ideal was a uniform system of government for all Muslim States. He visualized a truly republican Islamic State like the one that existed in the days of the orthodox Caliphs, but brought in line with new conditions. He was an able theologian, but his political preoccupations left him little leisure to make his mark in this direction. He remained an agitator to the bitter end, and never bothered about other interests in life. Curiously enough, in 1925, Abdur Rehman of Peshawar, who shared his views and was associated with him, was buried beside him at Constantinople. Jamal's body has, however, been brought back to Kabul now, and he rests in the country of his birth where he could find no harbour in his lifetime.

#### 14. AMIR ABDUR REHMAN KHAN

After the death of Ahmad Shah Abdali, Kabul watched the coming and going of a number of persons aspiring to be masters of its throne. Not only was there internal disruption, which was continuously exploited by outside forces, but the country of the Pathans was

laced with threats from Tsarist Russia and Great Britain. Internal disputes and external aggression produced many hardships and the entire population was at bay. And out of this bloody confusion rose a man who, subduing the warring elements under him, exerted himself to organize and protect his motherland against foreign designs.

This unique man was Abdur Rehman. Born in 1844, he had to struggle against adversity in his early days, but ultimately succeeded in carving out a place for himself and his dynasty in Afghanistan. He was the product of long suffering; he was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. The new Amir was not a prince by accident of birth, but had to fight for that status and for the State that he subsequently ruled. He had spent his youth as an exile in Russia, and even in his own country he had to overcome tremendous difficulties. After a long conflict he made himself supreme in Afghanistan. He brought stability to his country, and handed over a peaceful government to his son and his illustrious grandson, Amanullah Khan. Amir Abdur Rehman has been rightly described as the most far-sighted and important ruler of his age. He strove to raise the general prosperity of his people and gave a great impetus to his country's trade and industry. He introduced partial production of ammunition, and took steps to improve his army. The new Amir commenced his reign with a firm grip and dealt severely with those who endeavoured to oppose him or violated his laws. To those who criticized his ways, his one answer was: 'I rule with an iron hand, because my people are made of iron.'

Amir Abdur Rehman ascended the throne during an abnormal phase in the history of Afghanistan. He was alive to his handicaps and difficulties, and his remark: 'My country is like a goat between the lion and the bear,' displayed his statesmanship. The mainspring of his policy was always the need to preserve his nation from the greedy designs of both Russia and England. His keen intellect helped him to carry out this policy

successfully, and though he was often molested by his European neighbours, he avoided a rupture, and always clung tenaciously to all that was really significant to him and his State. He was opposed to the vivisection of the Frontier Tribes from his sphere of influence in 1893, and when in spite of his warnings, the Indian Government sent their Commission to draw a line of demarcation between India and Afghanistan, the Amir used his tactics and nullified all the designs of the Commission to secure definite control over the tribes. This resulted in the confusion we witness today. The apprehensions he then entertained have turned out to be so true, and show that he was fully aware of the exact nature of the problem.\*

The task before the new ruler was stupendous, but by his skilful handling of the situation, he overcame all difficulties and finally established himself firmly on the throne. His means for achieving his ends were not always based on equity and justice, but since allowing a situation to slip out of his control was beset with incalculable risks, his policy was justified by his success. Some contemporary writers have called him a benevolent autocrat. He had the good of his subjects at heart, and has left the mark of his personality on his times. The late Amir wrote a frank and most revealing autobiography, and this has been described in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, as 'one of the most attractive and remarkable works ever produced by an Oriental monarch'. He was tactful not only with the ordinary citizen, but also with the priestly class, which has always played an important part in Afghan history, at times healthy and at times harmful. The priests were in his grip; he never allowed them to take the initiative in any affair that tended to affect the State. This founder of a new dynasty died in 1901, and was followed by his unworthy son, Amir Habibullah Khan. He was more a puppet than a ruler, and on his murder in 1919, he was

\* This aspect has been dealt with fully in the Chapters on the North-West Frontier Tribes.



succeeded by his renowned son, Amanullah—The Disillusioned.

The reign of Amir Abdur Rehman was marked by the division of the Pathans into different sections and increased hardships among those who came under the British sphere of control. Causes produce results, and in the beginning of the twentieth century, many changes occurred which proved of vital significance to the people of these Northern hills. On one side there was the dramatic appearance of Amanullah Khan in Afghanistan, while on the other, there was the ever-growing popularity of Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the Frontier Province, two towering personalities who became responsible for great risings by organizing the Pathans in their own respective spheres.

### 15. AMANULLAH KHAN

While Europe, exhausted by the Great War, was getting ready to make the world 'safe for democracy' in which she was naturally to play the dominant role, the winds of nationalism blew down this our valley of desolation. There was an urge for freedom everywhere, but the flame of liberty burnt far more brightly in the Muslim countries, which had long chafed under alien chains. The teachings of Jamal-ud-Din now bore fruit. A state of feverish activity was visible throughout the Crescent. In 1919, during this phase of international exhaustion, the world saw a young and ambitious Pathan of twenty-eight seize the throne of Afghanistan, which had fallen vacant on the death of his father, superseding his brothers. Amanullah introduced a series of reforms, as rapid as the unrolling of a cinema reel. Youthful enthusiast that he was, he ignored the frailties of human nature, more especially those of his own people. His intensified and accelerated introduction of Western apparatus produced appalling results, for which, though his was not the sole responsibility, he paid with his abdication in 1928.

In 1919, when Amanullah Khan assumed kingship in Afghanistan he noticed the exhausted mood envelop-

ing the nations who had participated in the World War. Seizing this opportunity, he took up arms against the British and declared *Jihad* (war for freedom). His action received the support of his people, who rallied round their new Chief. Even the border tribes of the Frontier Province assisted him in his noble struggle. The rising baffled the English forces considerably, and the Afghan General, Nadir Khan, actually captured Thall, which is a sub-division of Kohat district. The forces of Amanullah displayed indomitable valour and compelled their opponents to yield and recognize their freedom. Thus the goal which Amir Abdur Rehman had set before himself was at last achieved by his worthy grandson.

Freedom was won, and soon the young ruler directed his energies towards nation-building schemes. Foreign diplomats came to his court and offered him an opportunity of finding out the great progress made in other lands. That knowledge fired him with ambition, and he was eager to emulate the example of the European countries. He made a good start and sent many young Pathans to Western Universities. He invited foreign experts to come and help his countrymen in their various undertakings. Amanullah tried to infuse new life into his subjects. He knew the futility of maintaining the aristocracy that had grown round the city of Kabul, and forthwith attempted to abolish it. But the mistake he committed was that he made no effort to replace them by any popular group. These disbanded elements were utilized later by the very people whom this gallant warrior had defeated in a straight fight a few years before.

In Afghan politics, this group of aristocrats had played a peculiar role. It had supplied good material for the government machinery in the past, but when their offices became hereditary, the office-bearers tended to lose merit, and inevitably became stagnant. It was right to remove vested interests of this type, but such a step should have been followed by further reforms. Some replacement was necessary. The tribes

of the country, who constitute the backbone of the nation, and on whom the new ruler had relied so much, required to be organized and definitely moulded towards that end. Unless these tribes are brought into some form of direct alliance with their Government, no step can be taken even today to eliminate the worn-out fossils that cling to the existing system.

Came 1927, and at the invitation of many States, both European and Asiatic, Amanullah Khan left Kabul, along with his charming Queen, Surayya Khanum, on a tour that will ever remain a splendid memory of an Oriental king. He was hailed on all sides and honours were showered on him in a manner without parallel in history. In France he slept in the historic bed of Napoleon, and God knows off whose plate he ate his food! He went around the Continent and visited some of the Asiatic States. Wherever he might find himself, he thought of his country and its utter backwardness. Throughout his tour, the one idea that dominated his mind was how it would be possible for him to raise Afghanistan to the level of these countries. Unfortunately this obsession turned out to be the cause of his ruin.

The ambitious monarch returned from his magnificent tour full of reforming zeal and plans for the uplift of his motherland. The West, and particularly Ataturk's Turkey, became his model. In his eagerness to copy that fortunate Dictator, he lost his balance, and having only half-digested some of his impressions, he turned the tables against himself in his own country. His overflowing patriotism, coupled with his hasty and precipitate policy, produced unfortunate results. He began flying higher and higher, and, as usually happens, appeared so funny and insignificant to those who could not keep pace with him. He launched his campaign of reform and went on issuing instructions for the redress of certain defects in the social life of his countrymen. But, aided and incited by an outside power, the reactionaries in the country set themselves as an obstacle in his path.

While Amanullah Khan had been enjoying the hospitality of various foreign Courts, his adversaries had

sown the seeds of conspiracy at home. The bitter memories of those days bring back to us vividly the role of the British Legation at Kabul. It is painful to recollect how certain people were used to foster ill-will and hatred against Amanullah through various underhand tricks. One wonders why the British Legation ordered several hundred copies of the *Illustrated Weekly* containing Queen Surayya's photograph. The party concerned knew full well the reaction of the Pathan in the face of such provocation.

In history nothing appeals more to the imagination than the sight of a great and ambitious man struggling with adversity and boldly defying the frowns of an outrageous fate. Amanullah was confronted with trouble, but he could not rise above it, and though he himself had been regarded as the foe to be feared, he gave in and became the victim of circumstances. It needed only mild force to control the rising of the few adventurous dacoits, who had obviously been hired to create a disturbance. But where were the men for such a job? During his reign, Amanullah's policy had been to arm his tribes. All his Military Budgets had been absorbed by a people who could be utilized only against a foreign power. He had raised no regular army to fight his own subjects. And when the hour demanded a struggle against his own people, he proved his *bona fides* to the world and avoided bloodshed, even though it were only in order to save himself. He found that some people disapproved of his Government, and decided to go. Without the slightest hesitation Amanullah abdicated in favour of his elder brother, Inayatullah Khan, and left the capital along with his Queen.

The nation was totally unprepared for this step on the part of their monarch. It naturally caused a great stir. He began receiving messages of goodwill and support and requests to hold on until help arrived. But the king had been disillusioned, and he had made up his mind not to struggle any longer to retain the throne of a country he himself had liberated a few years ago. To quote his own words to his supporters: 'I realize

the force and value of your promises, but I do not wish to see the blood of my proud people flow simply to protect my existence as a ruler. The nation is greater than myself, and nothing would give me greater pleasure than to maintain the solidarity of my people at this critical juncture.' So, rejecting all offers, he left his capital for Kandahar and later reached Bombay, from where he sailed for his present abode in Rome. Amanullah had been ruined by his opponents; though not disgraced, his fortunes had been blasted, and he departed, cheated out of the fruits of his labours. This only showed how undeserving his people were of a future that promised glory. It was Amanullah's sad fate to have been born at a time when his countrymen could be deluded by the eternal 'misleaders' and by different agencies engaged for such treasonable acts.

Amanullah Khan saw his fate. But was that his fault? That is a question on which people who are in the know are the least willing to venture a straightforward opinion. It may cost them their fat-salaried posts and other benefits extracted from those who had played a part in that tragic episode. Whatever may be the truth, one thing stands to Amanullah's abiding credit that the present structure in Afghanistan owes its roots to his enterprise and the price he paid for taking that first step. His rule had further inspired the Frontier Tribes, while his victory over the British in 1919 influenced Indians to act confidently in their fight for liberation. It is difficult to say what matters he would have discussed with Mahatma Gandhi, if their proposed interview had materialized during his European tour in 1927.

## 16. THE AFGHAN REVOLUTION AND THE NEW DYNASTY

Thus ended the reign of Amanullah Khan, which might have changed the very face of Afghanistan. His abdication was followed by his brother's, who left Kabul after a three days' kingship. He was succeeded by

Baccha Saqao, who, during his nine months' rule, destroyed the entire national structure raised during many years of peaceful government. Baccha Saqao was an idiot, and it was only owing to certain peculiar circumstances that he assumed supremacy and guided the destinies of a guilty and ungrateful people. He belonged to a criminal class and acted consistently with his reputation for iniquity and wickedness.

The state of insecurity that had cast a gloom over the whole population was brought to an end by Nadir Khan. He came to champion the nation's cause from his seclusion in Paris, where he had settled down owing to certain differences with his youthful master. But hearing of the sad plight of his country, he set forth to deliver it from the hands of its worthless administrator. Nadir Khan came to the Frontier and promised to win the throne of Kabul for its rightful owner. This naturally swung popular sentiment to his side in the ensuing struggle, and he received the support of several tribes. Chief among them were the Wazirs, who were responsible for his ultimate success against the forces of disruption. Fortune favoured him, and although he could have made himself immortal, Nadir Khan chose to proclaim himself the ruler.

The new king was an able general and had many glorious exploits to his credit. He had the lesson of his predecessor to guide him in his administrative undertakings. He was further lucky in possessing three devoted and industrious brothers, Sardar Hashim Khan, Sardar Shah Mahmud Khan and Sardar Shah Wali Khan, who turned out to be his trusted lieutenants. The work of reconstruction was divided among these brothers and each took to his calling in a true spirit of self-abnegation.

Nadir Shah Ghazi, as he was called after his coronation, was a strong man, and had the good of his people at heart. He followed the path of caution, and strove to preserve his dynasty from the onslaughts of time. He was not spared long, however, and received a fatal bullet wound in 1933 at the hands of a supporter of the previous

regime. This was the slave of a General whom his Government had ordered to be hanged. On his death, his only son, young Zahir Shah, ascended the throne which his father and uncles had made fairly stable for him. The young king is a modern and enlightened person, whose country is ruled by 'three uncles'. Like the King-Emperor of Great Britain he has the good fortune to reign as a king without bothering to rule. In recent years he has made himself felt, and we often read about him in the papers. We hope he will keep moving in the right direction and see that his people get an adequate share in the administration of the country.

Sardar Hashim Khan, who was the Prime Minister, was the real man behind the throne until very recently. He has now retired in favour of his brother Shah Mahmud Khan. He was a shrewd administrator, and was largely responsible for establishing a Government which, if not just and liberal, is fairly strong and efficient. He succeeded to a great extent in controlling the unruly temper of his people and gave them peace after the flare-up of 1928-29. Hashim Khan had a good cabinet of ministers and in his conduct of the administration during the 17 years that he was in office, he could be compared to Amir Abdur Rehman Khan.

The most important man in Afghanistan today is the new Prime Minister, Sardar Shah Mahmud Khan. Before assuming this office he was the minister for National Defence. He is a tried soldier and has proved his skill as an able general on many occasions. He is charming, and is popular with the people. He holds very liberal views. Shah Mahmud Khan is a keen sportsman and has established a separate ministry for the encouragement of sport. He has the distinction of sending the first Afghan team to participate in the World Olympics of 1936, held at Berlin. Previous to that he had sent them on an extensive tour of India. The modernization of the army is due entirely to him. He is taking a keen interest in introducing an efficient Air Service in his country. When started, it will place Afghanistan on a new footing.

The present rule in the country is autocratic, and the administration is carried on by the Premier and his Council of Ministers. The Government may be credited with certain nation-building schemes and a desire to improve the economic condition of the country. They are assiduously tapping the mineral resources and increasing the general prosperity of the population. They have borrowed Western devices, which they are utilizing in their different national undertakings. There is a wave of industrialization, and the recent trade contacts with Russia and Germany\* have given a great impetus to trade. In exchange for their furs and dry fruits, the Afghans have been getting most of the necessaries of life.

For the first time in the history of any Afghan Government, they have introduced Paper Currency, and have evolved a stable banking system. In this connexion the name of the Trade Minister deserves mention. Abdul Majid Khan has rightly earned the gratitude of his people by giving them a sound fiscal system, adjusted to world conditions. In order to enhance national income, he is now promoting industry and modern methods in agriculture.

The present Government is further responsible for the introduction of Primary Education and for making Pushto the court language. It was ridiculous to function in any other language, depriving the mother-tongue of its rightful status and forcing an alien language on the people. A new educational experiment has been launched in the country, with English as the second language in schools and colleges.

It is not difficult to examine the present structure of the Government in Afghanistan and draw conclusions from what it is doing. But whatever the loyalties of this Government may have been in the past, its future will hold little of value for the masses if the present tendencies are continued. As if by some pre-ordained

---

\* Trade with Germany was suspended during the war, and now the gap is being made good by America. The Government is relying on the U. S. A. for technical assistance also, and is spending large sums of money under this head.



fate, we have witnessed the downfall of the old order all round us. There can be no escape for any unfortunate survivals. The future belongs to the masses. It is, therefore, in the interests of the present ruling class in Afghanistan to transfer power to the people and make them responsible for the coming changes. This step involves a certain amount of sacrifice, but failure to take it may result in even greater loss. A national rising can seldom be checked for any great length of time, and we must never forget how quickly it uproots even strongly entrenched monarchies. The revolt of the people thrilled Europe during the French Revolution; in Russia, it swept away the Tsar; and a minor one in Afghanistan removed a king whose dynasty was three generations old. There was, in every instance, lamentable lack of foresight, and it produced the natural results.

The world has so far functioned in a rather queer fashion. Most of us admit the futility of this capitalistic civilization. It has failed to achieve any basis for international peace, and its greatest successes have been in the matter of self-destruction. But there has been a different experiment as well, and it is this that must engage the attention of all countries. Socialism affords new and vital opportunities, and though we find Russia surrounded by enemies and struggling against tremendous difficulties, the greatness of this experiment cannot be easily ignored: slowly and surely the country will rise\* and convince the world about its manifold benefits. It will appear as the only sound solution for all their major conflicts. Let the present ruling class in Afghanistan declare that in their country there is the 'rule of the people, for the people, by the people'.

a

---

\* Since writing this, Russia has not only won the war, but has become a powerful factor to be reckoned with in world politics to the utter consternation of the imperialistic conquerors.

## CHAPTER II

# THE TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

Courage is reckoned the greatest of all virtues, because unless a man has that virtue, he has no security for preserving any other.

—*Dr Johnson*

### 1. THE FRONTIER PROBLEM

A huge mass of mountains buttressing the Afghan hills for hundreds of miles, held and owned by a people as hard as its peaks and precipices, forms the one great land frontier of India. To Sir John Simon it seemed 'an international frontier of the first magnitude from the military point of view for the whole empire'. Taking stock of happenings here, one realizes how this feeling has led the Indian Government to adopt a ridiculous policy. It has produced only chaos and instability. An examination of this policy reveals how the greater part of the so-called Indian Military Budget is a veiled subsidy to British Imperial interests. Colossal sums of Indian money have been recklessly spent on mischievous attempts to push the Indian Frontier towards Afghanistan in order to enable the British to meet the Russian menace away from the fertile plains of their newly occupied country. The fears that the Tsarist regime would move rapidly in its designs for supremacy in the East influenced Great Britain to chalk out forceful plans to crush these tribes, who inhabit a tract that is barren and unproductive.

A careful examination and an honest analysis of realities about the Frontier would reveal that nowhere else has the inefficiency of British statesmen been more glaring; never has their nervousness and lack of confidence been more apparent and seldom has any problem baffled them more than in their dealings with

the North-Western Frontier of India. Ever since the middle of the nineteenth century, when the winds of the European conflict stirred in this valley of desolation, the Frontier Question has been (as it will continue to be for some time to come) a thorn in the side of Downing Street and the irresponsible executive\* at the Centre in Delhi.

A survey of events would show that it was the geographical importance of these hills and the situation of Afghanistan between India and Russia that attracted the attention of the British Government towards this tract. The machinations of Palmerston and his colleagues in the British Cabinet were responsible for the formulation of the policy to be pursued by the then Indian Governor-General, Lord Auckland. He was instructed to embark on a policy of penetration and aggression against Afghanistan. Auckland sent strong forces into Afghan territory, but this ultimately resulted in disaster, and it was only 'good luck' that enabled Dr Brydon to escape from the jaws of death in the winter of 1841. He reached Peshawar all by himself, while the rest of the expedition suffered heavy losses on their way back through the snow-clad mountains. Disraeli criticized Palmerston for that fiasco, and he, in order to justify his policy, moved the proper authorities to recall Auckland for his failure. Auckland was succeeded by Ellenborough, who was asked to invade Afghanistan and avenge the earlier debacle. The British forces attacked the country with bitter determination and caused great havoc wherever they went. In his book *History of British India*, Lord Roberts describes those incidents as 'an inexcusable act of vandalism'. Disraeli had opposed this, but when he assumed power, the same madness, wickedness and infatuation actuated his Government. History repeated itself like an idiot. In his own characteristic manner, Disraeli

---

\* The situation has recently changed, and a National Government has taken office at Delhi. We look forward to a change in the old policy of tyranny and oppression, and hope things will improve in these neglected areas. The new Government must make careful moves and see that progress is not hampered by their subordinates.

pursued the same evil path. Instead of rectifying the original mistake, the British tried to justify it by a series of blunders, of which the present confusion and insecurity are but the logical culmination.

The Tribal Problem has assumed prominence in Indian affairs, and during the last few years most of the first-rank Indian leaders have had occasion to examine it. The great political and social changes in the settled districts of the Frontier have helped to place a true picture of the vexed conditions of the tribesmen before the world. The participation of popular representatives in the administration of the province from time to time has afforded occasions to our politicians to study this problem and draw their own conclusions regarding actual conditions there. Left to ourselves, we might have found some remedy, but the following pages will show how this has been denied to us.

Happenings on the Frontier are given a peculiar colour, and there are many in this country who accept as true all sorts of charges against our tribesmen. Events in Waziristan and other tribal areas receive great publicity, and produce strange notions throughout the length and breadth of India. The tribesmen lack means of propaganda to counteract the false stories circulated against them, and so I have taken it upon myself to present their case before the bar of world opinion.

## 2. THIS AND THAT OF IT

The North-West Frontier has had the privilege of presenting its problems to every Indian Government, past or present, and its people, who are democratic in their habits and fanatically attached to their liberty, have always resisted attempts directed towards bringing them under the control of any neighbouring monarchy. The Mughals tried to lord it over this area and pursued a policy of annexation, but in the words of Sir J. N. Sarkar: 'Ruinous as the Afghan war was to the Imperial Finances, its political effect was even more harmful. It made the employment of Afghans in the ensuing Rajput wars impossible, though Afghans were

just the class of soldiers who could have won victory for the Imperialists in that rugged and barren country.' The Mughals were followed by the Sikhs and later by the British, and each tried, though in vain, to crush these people.

A glimpse at the Frontier brings an interesting fact to our notice; there will appear two different frontiers functioning at the same time and making the situation delicate. There is the Durand Line, which divides India and Afghanistan. The other line, known as the Administered Boundary, runs irregularly along the whole province, demarcating the zone actually ruled by the British. The land between these two lines is a part of India on the map, but is not British India in fact. The King's writ does not run in this area. The division is most artificial, and it has, therefore, always to be borne in mind that, with minor exceptions, the people on both sides belong to, or are offshoots of, the same stock. This is true of Afghanistan as well, where the language, customs, conditions and religion of the people are the same as in the rest of the tract.

The Tribal Belt is a hilly country between the Frontier Province and the Durand Line, and is held by the four important tribes of Afridis, Mohmands, Wazirs and Mahsuds, and also the Swatis, Bajauris, Buneeris, Orakzais, Bhattanis, Shinwaris, Bangashs, Shiranis and Achakzais. The area can be called a British Protectorate, where the residents do not owe any direct allegiance to the Crown nor allow their lands to be annexed, but where 'moral obligations' influence this alien Government to function and inflict hardships on a people lying at their mercy, on the ground of their 'sympathy' for them.

Even like its structure, the Tribal Question is two-fold: internal and international. This international aspect resulted in the 'White Man's Burden', and subsequently involved the Westerner in its internal issues as well. It would, therefore, be better to examine the above-mentioned tribes one by one and get some idea of the exact composition of this territory, which

until quite recently was kept in complete isolation from the rest of India. No one was allowed to enter this area, and its name became a legend. The reality was hidden, and a factitious picture was presented to the people. It was painted as a mysterious country inhabited by a race who only knew how to kill and how to plunder.

The Tribal Territory has an area of about 26,000 square miles and a population of nearly forty lakhs. Not long ago, this territory was supposed to form part of the Afghan domain, though the people have never accepted any type of overlordship from Kabul. Instead, these tribesmen have always played a leading role in putting monarchs on the throne of Kabul, even while they have remained a constant threat to the ruling dynasties of Afghanistan.

### 3. THE AFRIDIS

Let us start with the most organized and powerful among the tribes. In his history of Alexander's invasion of India in 327 B.C. Herodotus describes these people as *Apraytæ*. It is a big and very powerful tribe inhabiting the lower and easternmost spurs of the Safed Koh range, including the valley of Bara and a large portion of Chaura and Tirah, lying to the west of Peshawar. The Afridis control the important Khyber Pass, which is a gloomy and narrow defile running through the rocky mountains and is rightly known as the 'great artery between India and Central Asia'. Sarojini Naidu called it the 'road to destiny'. The Pass is significant because of the strength of the hills forming its background and the resolve of its inhabitants to protect it from any invader. The importance of the Afridis lies in their geographical situation, commanding the two leading passes of Khyber and Kohat, which form the reason for British interest in this region. The bitter hostility aroused by a long record of encounters has incited the tribesmen to utilize every advantageous occasion to strike, although their country has the drawback of affording facilities to the enemy to shut them up

in these hills, which are devoid of any means of subsistence. It is perhaps one of the oldest tribes, and most writers consider them the purest of Pathans. Some historians describe them as descendants of men who belonged to the army of Alexander. It may sound fantastic, but certain Greek influences can be traced among the people. This may be attributed to the Greek invasion and the subsequent rule of the Greco-Bactrian monarchy over this country. The tribe is divided into eight separate clans, and further divided into innumerable sub-sections. Important among them are the Zakha Khels, who are known for their bravery and good marksmanship.

The Afridis occupy a tract of land that has a maximum length of eighty miles and a breadth varying from eight miles, due south of Fort Mackeson, to thirty-eight miles on a line drawn roughly from Tartara to the northern end of the Tirah River. The country is mountainous and barren, rugged and hopelessly inhospitable for those who have made it their home. And here the inhabitants struggle for the very right to live. The valleys of Bara and Chaura are somewhat different, and agriculture is carried on in these parts, so that there are supplies of a little wheat, some fruits, walnut trees and good potatoes. The small forests further provide them with firewood, and they manufacture a few simple articles like rough cloth and coarse nets, which find a market in Peshawar. The Afridi has a genuine passion for fine firearms and has discovered peculiar avenues for acquiring them. The British charge him with joining the army simply in order to secure a good rifle and later slipping away quietly into his unassailable mountains. After many years of restriction, the Government has recently allowed the Afridis to join the Indian Army. The Afridi hills show traces of certain mineral resources, and it has been lately asserted that there is a sufficient quantity of lead, while marble has already found an outlet into our markets. They manufacture rifles and guns on a small scale in certain parts.

The Afridis are fine-looking, tall, strong and athletic, and their springy step, even while walking along dusty streets of the towns, at once proclaims their mountain descent. They are lean, muscular, and possess long gaunt faces with high noses and cheekbones, and an ivory complexion. They are brave, hardy, and make excellent soldiers. They are known for their fine marksmanship. Their long-drawn-out conflicts with the British and their partial association with the Indian Army during the last World War have made first-class strategists and guerrilla fighters out of them. The tribe has been praised by many English writers. In his book, *A Record of Expeditions Against N.-W. F. Tribes*, Lt.-Col. W. H. Paget has admitted: 'The Afridi on the whole is the finest of the Pathan races. His appearance too is much in his favour, and he is really brave.....There are few brought into contact with him who do not at least begin with an enthusiastic admiration of his manliness. Hospitality is one of his virtues.'

The dress of the tribe consists of a shirt, loose trousers that close tightly round the ankles, neat *chappis* of straw or leather, a turban and a waistcoat, with a simple sheet thrown over their shoulders. One hardly ever sees the Afridis without rifles and the necessary amount of ammunition, as they move in search of food and the necessities of life in and out of their hills.

The people inhabiting these uninviting hills are usually disunited, but any danger to their freedom and security brings them together, albeit in a rather primitive manner. The different negotiating parties take a stone and, placing it in a particular spot, take a vow, and then, until the common struggle has finally been concluded and these stones have been removed, the feuds between the opposing groups remain dormant, the oaths taken on such occasions being seldom violated. This system is called *Tiga*. Thus we find that they are never at peace among themselves except when they go to war! The circumstances in which they live have made the tribe migratory in their habits, and they



descend from their hills during the autumn into the plains of Khajuri, which has been occupied by the Government since 1930, and Lower Bara. Spending the winter in these plains, they return in the spring to the strongholds of Tirah and Mardan.

The country of the Afridis forms the unit known as the Khyber Agency. It is controlled by the Political Department of the Indian Government through an Agent. He resides at Peshawar, and deals with the tribe through its chiefs, called *Maliks*. The *Maliks* are responsible to their clans and *Jirgas*, which consist of every adult member. The most important *Malik* of the tribe was the Old Man of Khyber, Nawab Mohammad Zaman Khan, who died in March 1945, at a very advanced age. The tribesmen get a nominal subsidy from the Government for maintaining law and order on the roads running through their territory. Some of them take up jobs like motor driving, government contracts and the local levy—the *Khasadars*. A few receive their lower and higher education at the Islamia College and its allied institutions lying at the foot of their pass, and thus find entry into the Provincial Services. Owing to their desertions during the last War and refusals to fight the Turks, they were, until very recently, excluded from Military Service. The tribe has an estimated population of four lakhs and a quarter, and can always raise a strong fighting force of over seventy thousand, who have proved themselves deadly fighters.

The British first came into conflict with the Afridis on 22nd July, 1839, when a contingent of Sikhs and other soldiers passed through the Khyber. This was an escort to an Afghan prince travelling to Kabul. The incident was the prelude to a series of operations against the tribe. Between 1849 and 1898, eight different expeditions were sent out against them, followed by many more in subsequent years.

The Afridis played a very significant part during the political disturbances of 1930, when the tragic happenings at Peshawar and other places in the settled





districts caused a stir among these people. They attacked military outposts and other strategic points in order to avenge the blood of the non-violent resisters in the Frontier Province. During those days a very interesting story went round. It was said that at the time of the Peace Conference with the Political Authorities their demands were: (a) The release of Badshah Khan (Abdul Gaffar Khan). (b) The release of Malang Baba (the Naked Fakir, meaning Gandhiji). (c) Inquilab (meaning revolution).

These were the three popular slogans of the people offering resistance in the Province.

#### 4. THE MOHMANDS

This is a tribe inhabiting the rocky hills to the north-west of Peshawar, between the Kabul and Swat Rivers. The Mohmands hold some of the wildest and most desolate hills of the North. The country is rugged and barren, and the intersecting ranges are rocky, with broken summits that are void of any vegetation. There are no good roads, and the only communication routes are those from Lalpura to Bajaur, and Konar to Pindialai, which can be traversed by camels and horses. There is great scarcity of water, and the womenfolk have to fetch it from distances varying from ten to twenty miles, and this too, from the most unreliable sources. The water problem is most acute in Gandab. The Mohmands live in villages which are poor collections of mud houses, usually situated in the valleys immediately at the foot of the steep hills, so that the enemy has only one approach. The tribe commands very meagre resources and the small acreage of land at its disposal, which is divided equally among its members, does not produce enough to satisfy the wants of the population.

The area of the territory that they occupy is about 1,200 sq. miles, and has an estimated population of over four lakhs. The tribe can collect a fighting force of about forty to forty-five thousand men within a few hours. The Mohmands are under the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar, whose assistant

resides at Shabkaddar for dealings with the tribesmen. The tribe gets a subsidy from the Political Department, while large numbers have settled down as cultivators with the landlords of Hashtnagar and some parts of Mardan, and of late have become a source of constant uneasiness to the landed aristocracy of this area.

The country of the Mohmands was separated from Afghanistan in 1893, when, under the Durand Agreement, the eastern part of the tribe came under the British and the remaining under the Amir of Kabul. The joint commission at that time failed to draw any definite line between India and Afghanistan, and thanks to the absence of any regular line of demarcation, culprits find it easy to evade the law by telling the authorities concerned that they belong to the other side. This has led to many complications, and most of the troubles on this border are due to the absence of any definite boundary between the two kingdoms.

Ever since the beginning of the British conquest of the Frontier region, the Mohmands, like all other tribes, have pitted themselves against the advancing armies of the British and sustained heavy losses. The initial operations were conducted against them in 1854. These operations caused great havoc among the tribesmen, because they did not possess weapons like the ones used against them by the new invaders. This state of affairs continued for many years, until at last, in 1914, the tribe came under the influence of the renowned Haji Abdul Wahid Sahib of Turangzai. The Haji Sahib guided the destinies of his people until his death in 1937, and succeeded in exerting a healthy influence over the tribal areas. The Mohmands played a remarkable part during the upheaval of 1930, and made the situation on their border very delicate for the authorities. Unfortunately, the late Haji Sahib's son, who has stepped into his father's place, is not playing the role expected of him.

The Mohmands are divided into eight clans. The important among them are the Alamzais, who are some of the best fighters and, by virtue of their great influence, provide safe escort to travellers. The Baizai

clan holds the richest lands and is, besides, noted for all-round tact and valour.

### 5. THE WAZIRS

It is a large tribe occupying the hills from the west of Thall, in the Miranzai Valley, right up to the Gomal Pass. The original home of the tribe is supposed to be Kanigoram, which is the southern base of the Pir Ghall Mountains, and which to this day functions as the seat of their divines. The Wazir hordes spread out from these strongholds as their numbers increased, and by the middle of the seventeenth century had reached the present limits, which they have held ever since. The tribe withdraws to its mountain fastnesses whenever there is any threat to their liberty. There the men are almost unassailable and in a position to 'hit and retire' with great ease.

The Wazirs are muscular, tall, courageous and very active on the mountains. The tribe has never pledged allegiance to the kings at Kabul or to sovereigns on this side of the Indus. They were among those who assisted the late King Nadir Khan to defeat his opponent, Baccha Saqao, in 1929, and who later, in 1930, opened hostilities against the British and inflicted heavy losses on them in retaliation for the treatment of the people in the settled districts of the Frontier.

The country of the Wazirs is hilly, but parts of it are fairly wooded and partially watered. The climate is bracing and invigorating. The hills to the east of Kurram are different from those to the west and are massed together, with huge cliffs, like gigantic castles, meeting the eye in all directions. The outer spurs are devoid of any soil or verdure, but as they recede from the plains, they are covered with olive, oak and pine trees. Owing to the aridity of the tract and the poverty of its soil, the trees are very small. In spite of these productive areas, however, the output is hardly sufficient to feed the vast population all the year round.

Some recent observations have made us aware of the presence in these hills of iron, which is secured by

the Wazirs near Makin and Bobra. The people utilize it for making plates and other vessels for sale in the bazaars of Kabul and Herat, while some of it is exported to Kalabagh. In 1939, this trade was estimated at a value of about Rs. 20,000 annually.

Since 1936, this tribe has come into great prominence. Their leader is Haji Mirza Ali Khan, better known as the Fakir of Ipi. Many fantastic legends have collected round his name. Events in Waziristan have been distorted, and the reality has been deliberately suppressed. It was given out at the beginning that the whole trouble had started over a young Hindu girl, who had embraced Islam, but who, because she was a minor, had been restored to her parents by the law courts. This is said to have incited the Wazirs to commence hostilities. Helen of Troy, according to legend, set two people at war for ten long years; but even in this twentieth century, the British are capable of inventing such fiction and giving it the seal of authority. Nearly eleven years have passed by, but this 'Helen of Waziristan' still continues to promote confusion. It is surprising that, instead of admitting its incompetence to do anything good, or solve difficulties of its own making, the Government should indulge in such meaningless explanations. Such failures and wrong tactics have compelled learned men like H. G. Wells to admit: 'We have had our chance and we have demonstrated nothing but the appalling dullness of our national imagination. We are not good enough to do anything with India.'

The key to this problem is that the British want trouble on the Frontier for three reasons. First, to give training to their troops. Secondly, to enrich officers of the Political Department. Thirdly, to raise a bogey, which serves as fuel to the fires of communalism. The strongest proof of this contention is that all through the war years, when British forces were needed elsewhere, it was all quiet in the tribal areas. Soon after the war had come to an end, we started hearing anew about Political Agents being kidnapped and casual firing here

and there. But we on the Frontier know how all this is organized. This 'kidnapping' of the Political Agent was followed by a bombing of the tribe, and resulted in unrest at a time when the Interim Government was about to assume office. The incident was so timed that the opponents of the Congress could go about telling the ignorant tribesmen that they had been bombed by the new Government. All these evil tactics of the bad old days must go, or else the troubles will never end.

The Wazirs have throughout toiled to be free, and in order to maintain their wild freedom, they have waged many fierce encounters with the strong forces employed against them by the British. The first clash took place in 1850 with the Kabal Khel Wazirs. Since then the people have become well acquainted with a Government that is 'toiling to improve their distracted condition'.

The population of the tribe has been estimated at about five lakhs and a half, and they can easily muster a tribal army of about a lakh to fight the country's cause, though this number has seldom taken part in any single conflict. The tribe is divided into two branches, Ahmedzais and Utmanzais, and further divided into subsections.

## 6. THE MAHSUDS

The Mahsuds are an important offshoot of the Wazirs, and occupy the country bounded on the north by the Tori Khel Wazirs, on the west by the Ahmedzai Wazirs, on the east by the Bhattanis, and on the south by the Shiranis and the Gomal River. The Mahsuds hold the heart of Waziristan and their tract is intersected by ravines flanked by high hills that occasionally recede and give the enclosed spaces the appearance of small valleys. The narrow gorges of these ravines are called *Tangis*, and are used as positions of defence against enemies. The Mahsuds possess some artificially irrigated lands, while their hills contain sufficient quantity of iron ore, which the people extract and melt in small furnaces constructed with conical roofs of poles



planted vertically in their houses, and sell for their livelihood. The iron trade is conducted by the Urmars, who held these hills before the Mahsuds had dispossessed them about the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Mahsuds are brave, but are not good strategists, and therefore suffer heavy losses in their encounters with the British. They attack a place without calculating their losses, and often succeed in capturing their objective. Ever since 1900, the people have been subjected to great suffering and it was the first tribe to be bombed from the air. It was probably to commemorate this event that the former Frontier Governor named the aircraft purchased out of funds raised in the province after the tribe.

From 1895 to 1914, the late Mullah Sahib of Powindah exerted a great influence over the tribe and organized the Mahsuds in a remarkable manner. They now lack leadership and a sound basis for joint effort. The tribe has been estimated at about two lakhs and they can raise a tribal *Lashkar* of twenty thousand men at short notice. They are divided into two main parts, Alizai and Balolzai, and are further sub-divided into small groups.

## 7. THE TRIBE OF SWAT STATE

We have studied the four main tribes, but as pointed out before, there are eight more tribes, besides a ninth that lives in the beautiful valley of Swat. These, with minor exceptions, have ceased to play any prominent part in tribal warfare. Swat has come under a powerful Chief and stands unique in many respects, and therefore, I tackle it first from this second list.

The Swatis are a big tribe, whose population, according to the latest census, is five lakhs, and whose territory has an area of well over 4,000 square miles. The country is most fascinating, very productive, and known for its deodar wood, rice, wheat, honey, and ghee. Swat is an ideal health resort, though it has yet to be developed and opened out to tourists. Its charm lies in its hills, valleys, streams and most fertile plains.

The State had an income of sixteen lakhs before the war, and was raised to its present level by its ex-ruler, Mian Gul Sahib, in 1917. He has now abdicated in favour of his son, Jahugh. Mian Gul Sahib chalked out a comprehensive plan, by which he ended all fratricidal feuds. He thus succeeded in establishing a strong Government throughout the area and brought the whole tribe under his control. He ruled his people with an iron hand. Though the tribe has lost much of its vigour and vitality, it has no doubt come under a strong and definite leadership.

Jahanzeb Khan, the new ruler stands as a ray of hope before us. He was born in 1908, and after being educated at the Islamia College, Peshawar, came under the direct influence of his father, who was then busy curbing his people and raising the present structure of his State. His modern outlook and the Western stamp on his personality make Jahanzeb Khan unique among the Chiefs. He has been fortunate to get administrative training under a self-made ruler, and one may naturally expect him to discharge his undertakings with confidence and success.

Times have changed, and we find most of the older institutions crumbling before our very eyes. Old loyalties can no longer guide our policies, and the new prince would do well to realize the temper of the times and adjust himself to the far-reaching changes taking place all around him. We know that his task is far more difficult than his father's. If he keeps pace with the times, he should introduce reforms.

In the Indian States we find a wave of mass awakening and the tendency among the subjects to establish responsible Governments in their respective areas. Some of the rulers are trying to adjust themselves to the inner urges of their subjects who have long suffered tribulations of all kinds. Their progress falls short of our expectations and a speeding up of the process is being demanded by the people in the Indian States. This issue has recently come to the forefront in India. Events in Kashmir and in other States prove

that this question can no more be isolated from the bigger question of Indian freedom. It would be in the interests of the present ruler of this beautiful Pathan State to fit in with other progressive forces in the province and evolve suitable machinery for the healthy growth of the Pathans as a whole.

The Frontier Province and the Tribal Belt together form a tract which is not very productive. It includes vast areas of barren hills and plains that can hardly sustain those who inhabit them. But there are fertile parts as well, which can contribute towards the general uplift of the Pathans. Swat, which has been so far cut off from the rest of the movement, is one of those areas that need expansion, and which are capable of shouldering this responsibility. In this fast-changing world, solitary units have proved failures, and we hear people talking about Federations and Confederations. Whatever the outcome of international disputes, we realize that these feudal relics are at their last gasp. We must strive to knit ourselves together and make the necessary preparation for the coming changes. It is not possible for small units to flourish independently, and we on the Frontier must clearly understand that we have to swim or sink together. If the Pathan masses are suffering today, those in power will suffer tomorrow, but suffer they must. When we want to fell down a tree we begin with the branches. And this process is already in operation.

## 8. THE OTHER TRIBES

(a) *The Bajauris*.—This tribe belongs to the same stock as the renowned Yusufzais, and inhabits the country between the Mohmands and the Swatis. It is a pastoral class, and has become very docile in habits and occupations. The Bajauris are well-built and tall, and have a tolerably fair complexion. Their principal town is Khar, and their Chief is known as the Khan of Khar.

(b) *The Shinwaris*.—This is an important tribe of Afghanistan, while the part inhabiting the hills round and near the Afridis does not count for much. In the

Afghan domain, the Shinwaris hold the tracts near Ningrhar, and on the other side they occupy the outskirts of Landikotal. The tribe has taken to work and derives pleasure from earning money. It played a very mean part in the unfortunate episode of Amanullah Khan, for which it is still looked down upon by most other tribes.

(c) *The Bangashs*.—The tribe inhabits the Miranzai Valley and the major part of Kohat district and the Kurrum Valley. It is divided into many sections and sub-sections. The Bangashs have been subjected to very severe criticism by the great national poet of the Pathans, Khushal Khan Khattak, because of their refusal to assist him in his struggle against the Mughals.

(d) *The Orakzais*.—The tribe holds the country lying to the north-west of Kohat district, and is divided into four main sections, Daulatzai, Ismailzai, Lashkarzai and Hamsayas. The Orakzais were the first to face the English invaders in their march towards subjugating the Pathans and lost an important place, Samana, which overlooks the southern side of Tirah, during one of their early encounters in 1890. Some of their spurs are fairly productive and afford opportunities for carrying on a little agriculture.

(e) *The Bhattanis*.—This tribe inhabits the hills lying between Tank and Bannu, from the Gabar Mountain in the north to the Gomal River in the south. The Bhattanis played a very aggressive part during the political rising of 1930, and were responsible for creating great difficulties for the authorities in their locality.

(f) *The Shiranis*.—It is a small tribe populating the mountains west of Gomal to Kot Thaga, adjoining the sub-divisions of Tank, Kulachi and Daraban. Like other tribes, the Shiranis are dealt with by the Political authorities and draw some allowance for maintaining law and order in their territory.

(g) *The Achakzais*.—This is a *Sarbani* tribe of the Pathans, and is an offshoot of the Abdalis, who were separated from the main stock by Ahmad Shah Abdali, and located in their present holdings of Chaman, Quetta

and other parts of Baluchistan. They are not Baluchis, as their holdings in Baluchistan might suggest, but to all intents and purposes, are part and parcel of the Pathans, and whenever India is reconstructed on a linguistic basis, Baluchistan is bound to become part of the Frontier Province, which may ultimately be called Pathanistan. The people speak Pushto and possess an outstanding Pathan stamp on their character. In order to study the conditions and possibilities of this arrangement, Abdul Ghaffar Khan toured throughout this territory in 1941, and found that the popular organization of the masses, the Anjuman-i-Wattan, shared that view to a very great extent.\* If the problem is rightly approached, we are sure there can be no two views on the issue.

## 9. THE FRONTIER PROVINCE AND ITS CHIEFTAINS

We have finished our study of the composition of the tribes living on the northern hills of our country. Along this whole tribal belt lies the settled area, known as the North-West Frontier Province. It commences from the top of the Kaghan glen near Chilas, passes round the north and north-western boundary of Hazara and east of the Indus to Torbela, crosses that river and, winding round the north-western boundary of Peshawar to Khyber, turns round the Afridi hills to the Kohat side, from where it goes through the western line of Kohat district along the Miranzai valley and, touching the Afghan domain, turns round to the Wazir hills and then reaching the Bannu line at the end of the Sulaiman range, it ends at the upper confines of Sind and Kalat State. This vast frontier is about eight hundred miles in length, and is most arduous in character. The language of the people, like that in Afghanistan, the Tribal area and the greater part of Baluchistan, is Pushto, and the bulk of the population profess Islam.

In 1901, Lord Curzon separated these northern districts from the Punjab and formed a separate province

---

\* Since writing this, there has been growing talk about the amalgamation of Baluchistan with the Frontier Province.

with a Chief Commissioner, who was directly under the Viceroy. This was done to enable the Indian Government to deal more effectively with the Frontier Problem, which had then become very acute. The province consisted of five districts to start with, but in 1936 Mardan was made a separate district. The two districts of Peshawar and Mardan are most fertile and productive, but conditions in the three southern districts of Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan are most appalling because of scarcity of water even for drinking purposes. The district of Hazara, again, is rich with forests and is comparatively better off in other respects as well. The people in the province are divided as follows :

- (a) *Peshawar*—Khalil, Mohmand, Mohmadzai, and small numbers of Khattak and Gigani. There has been considerable migration into the district during the last few decades.
- (b) *Mardan*—Yusufzai, Baizai, and Utman Khel.
- (c) *Kohat*—Khattak and Bangash.
- (d) *Bannu*—Banuchi, Marwat, Wazir, and Bhit-tani.
- (e) *Dera Ismail Khan*—Kundi, Gandapur, Lund, and Nutkani.
- (f) *Hazara*—Tanoli, Gakhar, Dhund, Swati, Tahir-khel, and Syed.

*The Chieftains.*—Leaving aside the tribal territory and the settled districts, there are a few small Chieftains around the Frontier. There is, besides, that important State of Chitral, ruled till recently by an educated and enlightened Chief, His Highness the late Sir Nasir-ul-Mulk, Mehtar of Chitral. The State has the distinction of touching the British Empire, China and the Soviet Union. Swat has already been mentioned, and the other notable estates are Dir, Amb, Teri, Tank, Hoti and Toru. Their Chiefs are big landlords, and represent, along with a few others, the vested interests in the province. The Nawab of Tank is an excellent shot, while the Nawab of Hoti is well known for his vigour and is the richest landlord in the Frontier. He

received considerable publicity during the last elections. Simple that he is, he announced at a big feast that he had been asked to stand as a League candidate by the Governor!

## 10. THE GOODWILL MISSION

Having read about the tribes, let us now try to study the problem that has cost us so much in money and all attempts to solve which have resulted only in failure. This failure has been admitted even by those who have been pursuing the present policy, as one of the Administrative Reports prepared by the Government of India reveals. It says: 'The web of policy, so carefully and patiently woven, has been rudely shattered. We have now to weave a fresh one, and we fear, a wider one, from undoubtedly weaker materials.' A survey of events would convince one that with each attempt on the part of the Government to resolve this tension, the situation has become more acute and the number of difficulties for those involved greater. More than a century has passed since the British started 'bossing' over this area, and if we look at the situation today, it would appear that all the different moves and activities of the Government have ended only in creating a regular state of insecurity, for which the Army authorities condemn the Political Department, the Political officials some one else, and so on. Such an attitude can hardly allay the local tension.

A history of British policy here reveals how aimlessly it was allowed to ebb and flow. In order to understand this attitude we must analyse the entire past. The main problem which engaged the British authorities was the creation of a strong barrier between themselves and their European adversary, Tsarist Russia. Guided by those larger imperial interests, and suffering from constant attacks of Russophobia, English statesmen chalked out their plans, and strangely enough, called them 'efforts at reformation'. Once they had become entangled in that big issue, so many local ones cropped up, which, though they increased the confusion for

the Government, gave them at the same time ample opportunities of carrying on their game of exploiting and enslaving our people. The Frontier warfare gave an excuse to the Government of India to employ troops and enlarge their army of occupation, for the continuous hostilities on the Frontier were a bugbear to the more timid among the people of India. This process of fighting the tribes with soldiers recruited from among Indians has resulted in fostering ill-will between ruler and the ruled, as well as between the different Indian communities, who are made to fight here, on the Frontier, for no rhyme or reason. If that was Government's motive—and a dispassionate survey suggests that it was—they have truly succeeded.

To assume that it was strategic necessity that brought the Government of India into conflict with the tribes is not to misrepresent facts. The following two official documents will make the position clear to the reader. On August 17th, 1887, the Indian Government sent the following instructions to the Punjab Government, under whose control this area was until its separation in 1901: 'It appears to the Government of India that the time has arrived when it becomes of extreme importance that an effort be made to bring under control, and if possible, to organize for purposes of defence against external aggression, the great belt of independent tribal territory which lies along our N.-W. Frontier and has hitherto been allowed to remain a formidable barrier against ourselves.' What was that policy 'hitherto'? In this regard the dispatch of Sir Neville Chamberlain, Commander of the Punjab and Frontier Forces, written during the Kabal Khel Operations of 1859, points out: 'To have to carry destruction, if not destitution, into the homes of some hundreds of families is the great drawback of border warfare, but with savage tribes, to whom there is no right but might, and no law to govern in their intercourse with the rest of mankind—save that which appeals to their own interest—the only course open as regards humanity as well as policy, is to make all suffer . . . . If objection be taken



to the nature of punishment inflicted as repugnant to civilization, the answer is that savages cannot be met and checked by civilized warfare, and that to spare their houses and crops would be to leave them unpunished and therefore, unrestrained . . . . In short, civilized warfare is inapplicable for the reasons put forth.' So the 'goodwill mission' was pursued without any consideration or regard for those who suffered under its effects. That policy of ruthless oppression had produced some indignation even among certain English Generals. In 1880, Lord Roberts wrote from Kabul as follows: 'I feel sure when I say that the less the Afghans see of us, the less they will dislike us . . . . We should have a better chance of attaching the Afghans to our interest, if we avoid interference with them in the meantime.' But such counsels found no favour with these 'petty shopkeepers', whose own greedy designs were involved in their Indian undertakings. It is said that one of their Viceroys planned to dismantle the Taj and sell its marble to an American firm! What good could one expect from such people.

The real aim of the Frontier Policy was to present a threat to Great Britain's European adversary. In doing that the British forgot their ethical obligations. The minor clash between Afghan and Russian forces at Panjdeh in March, 1885, brought matters to a head, and a regular series of strong military operations commenced, which twice took the form of actual war with the Afghan nation. The British forces always attempted to harass the tribesmen, and the policy behind this attitude may be studied from the observation of the Secretary to the Punjab Government during those days. He once remarked: 'Politically the advantages to be obtained will always much depend on the concomitant circumstances. The military success, which in varying degrees has always attended expeditions, and the demonstration that their roughest hills can be penetrated by our troops have done much more to subjugate the minds and compel the respect of the hill population.'

For some time, owing to the presence of two schools of thought among English statesmen, a type of wavering policy, which adopted compromise at times and challenged tribal freedom at others, was pursued on the Frontier. There was the Forward School, which wanted to push forward the Indian border and gain control of the area right up to the Durand Line or even beyond, and the Close Border School, which was content with the demarcation of a line in the vicinity of the Administered Boundary or even retirement to the old Indus Line. In their book, *The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, Edward Thompson and G. T. Garrett tell us that the Forward School was opposed by people like Lord Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington, Elphinstone and Bentinck; but the factors behind this sinister move were more potent than the advice of their compatriots, and the desire to become 'God's chosen' in the East, finally resulted in their adoption of a 'go ahead' policy.

The Panjdeh clash of 1885, had made the Government of India adopt a definite line of policy, and from then onward a quick train of military operations was let loose against the tribes. This was about the time Amir Abul Rehman had established himself firmly on the throne of Kabul. His ability and tactful handling of local affairs produced all manner of fears among his English 'friends'; they were alarmed by his extraordinary genius and foresight. 'He might win over the tribes of the Indian Border to his domain and utilize them against us.' This possibility was full of grave consequences. In order to dominate this belt, a strong force was sent against the Orakzais in 1890, which resulted in the loss of Samana in the Miranzai Valley. The next move was the demand on the Amir to welcome a Commission to draw an Indo-Afghan boundary. The Amir did not like the idea and warned the then Viceroy, as follows: 'If you should cut them away from my domain, they will not be of any use either to you or to me. You will always be engaged in fighting them or be involved in some other trouble with them, and they will

always go on plundering. In cutting away from me these frontier tribes, who are of my nationality and my religion, you will injure my prestige in the eyes of my subjects and weaken me; and my weakness is injurious to your Government.' But forcing the Commission's award on him, the British drew a line demarcating their zones of influence, and took charge of the present tribal belt, which has been productive of nothing but evil.

### 11. THE MISSION KEPT GOING

Having secured a definite boundary between India and the adjoining monarchy in Afghanistan, the English strove to bring this area under their jurisdiction. From 1893 to 1897, those attempts increased, and tribe after tribe fell victim to the machinations of the Forward School. At last the tribesmen broke out into revolt from one end to the other, and the situation looked very grave and dangerous to the authorities. That was during Lord Curzon's regime as Governor-General of India. Saying good-bye to certain old policies, he carved out fresh ones instead. The Frontier Province was separated from the Punjab and tribal responsibility was transferred to the Centre. The modifications that Curzon introduced seemed an improvement to the more unimaginatives among the people, but in reality he was following the advice of the Governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, who, outlining the basis of British policy in India on May 14th, 1859, had said: '*Divide et Impera* was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours.' The new policy aimed at creating divisions among the tribal population and devising means for their total annihilation. He raised local levies and militia and made them responsible for any breach of the law. The officers were given fat salaries, and the higher cadres were reserved for members of the White race alone. It was only a few years ago that the service was opened to Indians in a very restricted measure, and those recruited are subjected to all kinds of discriminatory treatment.

The creation of the new province by Lord Curzon was intended to facilitate the Central Administration's control over the people. There was no intention to improve the condition of the inhabitants. New laws were introduced, and the area was declared 'no-man's land'. The methods pursued soon made the Pathans feel that their self-respect had been trodden upon, their manhood crippled, and the most elementary human rights denied them. The entire process was designed to crush beyond redemption the spirit of heroism among the Pathans, who from frank, joyous and free souls were transformed into pitiable objects of misery and degradation. The story of the misdeeds on the Frontier brings up strange happenings that make one sick at heart. Unthinkable events not only become thinkable, but actually occur on the Frontier. In 1930, an overzealous youth, Habib Noor, tried to fire upon an English officer. But his revolver failed him. The unfortunate culprit was tried for that offence, and within forty-eight hours of the occurrence, the authorities had rushed through the whole legal procedure, and hanged him. Thus the Frontier Government showed how quick and efficient they were in administering their peculiar brand of the law, no matter how thoroughly inefficient they might be in all other matters.

The years rolled by, and our people groaned under the shadow of guns and other untold miseries. Happenings here attracted some attention, and certain writers championed the cause of the tribesmen and of the people of Afghanistan. Writing in her book, *England, India and Afghanistan*, Dr Annie Besant drew the following heartrending picture of local conditions: 'In India much wrong has been done, but in the eyes of many this wrong is hidden by the glamour of victory and of successful empire, which, like charity, "covereth a multitude of sins". In our dealings with Afghanistan, we have wrought much evil, wasted much treasure, spilt much blood, and have reaped only failure.

'This annexation ran through a well-defined cycle, first an English Resident, then advice urgently pressed,

then complaint of mis-government constantly published, then interference, then compulsion, then open annexation.

'We loudly proclaimed that we had no quarrel with the Afghan nation, yet we burnt their villages, destroyed their crops, stole their cattle, looted their homes, hanged their men as "rebels" if they resisted, while we drove out their women and children to perish in the snow. If thus we treat those with whom we have no quarrel, what distinction do we draw between our friends and foes? The word "civilized" is forgotten by our army in Afghanistan, and non-combatants share the fate of other rebels. Sword and halter are not enough, the torch is also called in to assist in the march of civilization . . . . While the combatants dangle in the air from the gallows, the non-combatants freeze to death on the ground.

'From out of the darkness that veils Afghanistan, moans of suffering reach us, and we shrink in horror from the work which is being done in our name. These starved babes wail out our condemnation. These frozen women cry aloud against us. These stiffened corpses, these fire-blackened districts, these snow-covered, blood-stained plains appear to humanity to curse us. Englishmen, with wives nestled warm in your bosoms, remember these Afghan husbands, maddened by their wrongs. Englishwomen, with babes smiling on your breasts, think of these sister-women, bereft of their little ones. The Afghan loves wife and children as ye do. He also is husband and father. To him also the home is happy, the hearth is sacred. To you he cries from his desolate fireside and from his ravaged land. In your hands is his cause.'

But did they listen? Will they ever listen?

It is the realization and memory of such a past that makes some of our people go astray. Once a tribesman is reported to have said: 'We think of our past under these *Farangis* and get mad with anger. They have done all that lies in their power to annihilate us, and therefore, to kill them at any time and at any place,

should be the keynote of our life. To forgive is divine, but then we are only Pathans! To forget our tribulations would lead to the extinguishment of the flame of national patriotism that burns so brightly in our souls.'

## 12. THE TASK BECOMES HEAVIER

Causes are always followed by results. The ruthless suppression of the tribes produced leaders among them who tried to organize their men against the English rule and maintain their primitive freedom intact. From 1895 to 1914, the Mullah Sahib of Powinda exerted great influence among the Mahsuds, and later, from 1914 to 1937, the renowned Haji Sahib of Turangzai dominated the scene in the Mohmand and Bajaur areas, though his activities influenced other tribes as well, and most of them took steps to secure themselves against the evil designs of the Government. The rise of Amanullah Khan to power in 1919 had given a great impetus to the imagination of the tribes. His friendly attitude towards the tribes was, however, viewed with suspicion by our 'benevolent' rulers. How could they tolerate the growth of wholesome elements among the people? To check the growth of this mass awakening, they intensified their efforts at 'reformation and welfare' by employing novel methods for crushing the people. Military expeditions were supplemented by economic sanctions, which were finally replaced by aerial warfare against an enemy who possessed only the ordinary rifle.

Frontier warfare had, until 1917, been restricted to the use of field forces only, but that proved insufficient to 'educate' these 'barbarous tribes'. The new weapon was a terrible experience, and went a long way towards shaking the morale of these northern highlanders. Their stubborn will, which had never yielded to the force of Mahmud of Ghazni or the might of the Mughals, was shattered to pieces. We know that Peshawar had always been used as an *entrepot* of Asiatic intercourse and a centre for the raising of troops; yet these Pathans had led a life of freedom, as pleased their fancy, and it

was owing to the instincts born of this way of life that they dared to pit themselves against such tremendous odds. It would be of interest to know that from 1849 to 1890, forty-two different expeditions were sent out against these tribes, and again, from 1890 to 1922, another series of thirty operations was carried out, while the story of the other decades is not free from such encounters either. The Indian Army was given sufficient training here and was assisted by British aeroplanes bombing our people.

The memory of the inhuman cruelty of aerial warfare is still fresh in our minds. Yet we are told how the British Government urged continuance of this barbarous method of warfare at the Disarmament Conference. In 1933, when practically all the Great Powers had agreed to abandon this device, Lord Londonderry, the then English Air Chief, insisted on its application for policing purposes on the North-Western Frontier of their empire in India. The responsibility of the British was heavy, and they succeeded in flouting the wishes of all assembled. Nations and peoples who have endured the horrors of aerial bombing would be shocked if they knew that their appalling misery is due to British obstinacy at Geneva a few years ago. Even worse, the British people themselves may have cursed their rulers. The taste of that misery during the War just ended must have made them realize the wrong done to our people during the last 30 years, and we wonder if they know that we have no air raid shelters too.

### 13. WHAT OF IT ?

A short survey of early British intentions has been made, but in order to arrive at some conclusion, we must review the whole situation very dispassionately. If we study conditions carefully, then the present Frontier unrest would resemble the situation in the Scottish Highlands in the past. Until their open rebellion in 1745, the sturdy Highlanders were a source of constant uneasiness to their better-placed neighbours. It was only after 1745 that they received sympathetic

treatment from England through various Acts of Parliament. They were offered posts in the Army, Navy and other branches of the Civil administration. This soon removed the cause of their unrest, and placed them on an equal footing with their English brethren. Similarly, on the Frontier, a benevolent path could be followed, and avenues opened up for providing some relief to these tribesmen and bringing them up to the level of their countrymen elsewhere in India.

A knowledge of conditions in the country would convince the observer that these tribes live on hills that do not yield sufficient food. To secure the bare necessities of life, they have to wage an incessant struggle, both against man and nature. Dealing with this problem, Dr Collins Davies remarks in his book, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, as follows: 'We can never hope to solve the Frontier Problem until the tribesmen are able to gain a livelihood without being forced to raid the settled districts. So long as hungry tribesmen inhabit barren hills which command open and fertile plains, so long will they resort to plundering incursions in order to obtain the necessities of life.'

The Government of India took up the task of solving the problem of this tract from very different motives. Their main aim, as we have already said, was to create a strong line of defence against any possible armed invasion from Tsarist Russia. Later it was the 'Red Menace' along the Indian Frontier which guided their policy. There was also the vicious group in the British Foreign Office which went on coining words like the 'Forward School', 'Close Border', 'Hit and Retire', 'Masterly Inactivity', 'Half Border', 'Peaceful Penetration', and 'Sandemanization'. They seldom approached the problem in the right spirit. This 'danger' became a good weapon in their hands to frighten some of our timid countrymen—fanatical Hindus mostly—and thus elicit their sanction for carrying on operations here. Military experience on the Frontier promises many fascinating adventures to young and ambitious products



of English public schools, and provide them with occasions for winning all sorts of military decorations in peace-time.

The British have long made a mess of affairs, and it is amazing to see their obstinacy in not allowing any one else to tackle this question. As I have pointed out in my introduction, notwithstanding their own failure, they are prevented by a false sense of prestige from handing over this task to more competent persons. We cannot deny the part they have played in constructing excellent roads for movement of their troops and for supply of delicious Kabul melons and other fruits to us in India, but surely these objectives do not justify such extravagance. Proper utilization of the large sums thus frittered away would have helped raise an entirely new national structure in the Frontier Province and solved most of its difficulties.

An undertaking either succeeds or fails. The British have been at this Frontier for well over a century and find themselves exactly where they were when they started, except that they have succeeded in bartering the blood and money of our people for nothing else but hatred among the people. One would naturally ask whether this failure has been due to sheer incompetence or to a deliberate effort not to succeed. In this particular case, the answer to both questions is 'Yes'! In the beginning, hostilities against the tribes resulted from Britain's foreign policy. Later, they gave the British a chance to undertake periodical operations, which afforded opportunities for their officers to win medals and for the troops to be in continual action. Constant confusion and insecurity served to frighten a few of our narrow-minded countrymen and made them seek British protection.

#### 14. THIS KIDNAPPING!

The events of the last century, and recent happenings in Waziristan have made the average Indian feel that a visit to the Frontier might result in his being kidnapped. Many people believe that the life of a

Hindu is not secure on the Frontier. As is usual, most people accept the many different stories narrated to them, without ascertaining their veracity. In India most of the 'facts' and news originate from State-controlled agencies, which are far from being impartial. So, in order to draw sane conclusions, we must have open minds and pull down the walls that obstruct our outlook.

Ever since the failure of the Indian people to wrest freedom from the English during their First War of Independence in 1857, the Government's one desire has been to segregate the Hindus from Musalmans, and make them quarrel over all sorts of imaginary issues. This recalls an interesting observation: I am reminded of what Lt.-Col. John Coke, Commandant at Moradabad in 1857, wrote in a dispatch. It runs as follows: 'Our endeavours should be to uphold in full force the separation which exists between the different religious races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. *Divide et Impera* should be the principle of Indian Government.' We know how faithfully this policy has been pursued by the British, and are put in mind of all the tactics employed to this end. In this way, stray happenings on the Frontier are magnified into stories circulated in devious ways, so as to foster a canker, injurious both to the Pathans and to others in this country.

In order to get a clear understanding of the situation, one must look at the reality, and not at what has been presented to us by the enemy-controlled press and other unreliable sources. If we try to study the problem ourselves and go through even the Official Reports prepared by the Provincial Government, it would become clear that all tribal outbursts have been due entirely to past military offensives, and that, therefore, all these raids, snipings, skirmishes, guerilla warfare, and kidnappings are inextricably connected with the blockades, expeditions and aerial bombardments. No incident on the Frontier can be treated as an isolated case of loot or plunder. The entire show forms one continuous struggle on the part of the tribesmen

against those who have destroyed their houses, burnt down their villages and killed their men with guns and planes. We know that the tribal offensive is always directed against the Government. But while the tribes are at war, they cannot sit in judgement and examine each individual case on its merits. It is utterly futile to expect them to discriminate at a time when their homes are being bombed and their bodies blasted by guns indiscriminately. To call their retaliatory measures 'love for loot or religious fanaticism' is fantastic, and only betrays ignorance of facts. Theirs has been a unique struggle for freedom, and exhibits the same power of resistance for which European nations have claimed our admiration. Does it behove those who love freedom to deny it to us?

Why this kidnapping? There are two kinds of hostilities leading to such outrages. The first and the more important one is a raid by the tribal *Lashkar* on some military post or other Government property. The second kind of kidnapping is carried out by certain fugitives and bad characters residing in and around some particular territory, who lack all means of livelihood and, therefore, utilize every possible occasion for an adventure of this type. It is their evil-doing that so often brings pain and sorrow upon the heads of innocent civilians. They stand condemned before us, and no decent person would ever try to justify their conduct. The scope of this form of activity is a measure of the weakness of this Government, which Sir John Marriot describes as 'strong, because it has been just, and just because it has been strong, and efficient, because it has been both', and which he, for that purpose, would not hand over to those who are 'less just, less strong, and less efficient'.

These kidnappings on the North-West Frontier are not novel in Indian history. If we turn over its pages, we encounter many similar happenings. During the period of the Mughals, who were more Indian than the present rulers can ever dream of becoming, the Sikhs and the Marhattas used to attack the Imperial forces of Aurang-

zeb and, when repulsed, they retreated, killing and plundering all who came in their way. They did this because, for one reason or another, they suspected the people of assisting their enemies. In the same way, when a tribal *Lashkar* takes up arms against the authorities, they are on the defensive as much as on the offensive, and they sometimes lay hands on innocent people, probably with the same motive that prompted the Sikhs and the Marhattas in those olden days.

We have kidnappings on the Frontier, it is true, but we deplore them more than anyone else. But to attribute these unfortunate happenings either to the struggle for livelihood or to communal bitterness would be foolish in the face of the official accounts supplied from time to time. It would be of interest to note that in no decade of the last century has the total amount of money looted exceeded five lakhs, and during the past decade, it has been only Rs. 1,24,097-0-7. It is absurd to imagine that a population of about thirty-five lakhs can sustain itself on such meagre fragments of criminally acquired wealth for the duration of a year or so. This assumption would be a slander of the first magnitude. Again, during the years 1932-33-34, the total amount of money or property carried away by certain outlaws and bandits throughout the province has been worked out at Rs. 3,000. So much to challenge the popular interpretation of the monetary aspect of these kidnappings. The communal colouring has been even more injurious, though events in Waziristan during these last eleven years or so, and their peculiar presentation, have led some foolish people to most annoying conclusions. How often do we come across statements urging the Government to take stronger steps against the tribes! Let such deluded persons realize that this is not the right way of overcoming the difficulties, that it might ultimately infuriate and drive these desperate highlanders into taking 'stronger steps' against the very people who plead for their application on the Frontier.

The communal motive of kidnappings has been already repudiated. The following tables might help

remove misunderstandings and bring light to those who have ceased to see things for themselves.

(i) The table shows the numbers of persons killed, wounded and kidnapped during the years 1923-36 throughout the whole province :

	Hindus	Muslims	Total
Killed	21	78	99
Wounded	18	93	111
Kidnapped	16	86	102

Since 1936, a continuous state of lawlessness has prevailed in the southern districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, and the disturbances in Waziristan have cast a gloom on the life of the people in these settled areas. Much has been said about the cases of killing and kidnapping here, and each has produced its own effect. Let us investigate the facts.

(ii) The following table shows the losses during the years 1936-41 :

	Hindus	Muslims	Total
1936 Kidnapped	1	10	11
1937 " "	23	22	45
" Killed	4	4	8
1938 " "	12	8	20
1939 " "	16	14	30
" Wounded	20	24	44
1940 Killed	14	38	52
" Kidnapped	74	59	133
1941 (June)			
" Killed	3	9	12
" Wounded	3	13	16
" Kidnapped	29	38	67

The total killed, wounded, and kidnapped number as follows :

	Hindus	Muslims	Total
Killed	49	73	122
Wounded	23	37	60
Kidnapped	127	129	256

## 15. AN IMPERTINENT CONCLUSION

The realities divulged might serve as the touchstone of British policy and intentions. It would be better to examine them more closely. The advent of the first Congress Ministry here, in 1937, offered the first opportunity for a lifting of the veil drawn over this tract. It gave a chance to Indian leaders to approach this problem on the spot and try to find a way out. Abdul Ghaffar Khan suggested that a conference of both tribal and provincial delegates should be called, and that if objection be taken to a secret meeting, then the Frontier Governor should himself be asked to preside over that assembly. The idea was to arrive at some settlement and put an end to the state of lawlessness in the province. But that move was reckoned by our rulers as tantamount to calling a Constituent Assembly of the Pathans, and so the plan was sabotaged. Ghaffar Khan was further willing to tour the tribal territory in order to get the verdict of the people on their future organization, and to encourage the adoption of useful occupations. But this too was disapproved by the Government of India. Then came the suggestion of the Indian National Congress to send a deputation to the tribal people to assure them of the goodwill of their Indian brethren and find out their difficulties. The late Mr Bhulabhai Desai and Mr Asaf Ali visited Peshawar in 1938 and expressed the desire to proceed to the tribal territory, but they were not even allowed to go to Bannu. The two distinguished guests discussed the situation with the local leaders, who thought it was no occasion to defy the ban. They had to return, therefore, without having approached the Tribal Belt.

These happenings clearly reveal the policy of the Government not to allow popular elements among the tribesmen to meet and thrash out their own problems. All the efforts of the authorities have been to hide the reality and, in their place, present a false picture of the Pathans by means of concocted stories. When such is their attitude, can we help declaring that this insecure Frontier serves imperial interests, and that all these kidnappings by local bandits and looting of towns like Bannu

are connived at, even inspired, by Government's agents, functioning on the North-West Frontier of India, who can rightly be held responsible for this most deplorable state of affairs in the province?

In recent years, the people of the Frontier have found many sympathetic comrades among the Indian masses, and more so among the first-rank national leaders. The conduct and character of these brave people have been upheld, and the men of the Frontier feel especially grateful to that noble son of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who, speaking about the Frontier problem generally, and more especially about the kidnappings, once gave a personal touch that warmed the hearts of the people. It was at Bannu in 1938, while he was addressing a vast audience, which included many thousands of people from the tribal territory. By his side sat Abdul Ghaffar Khan. The kidnapping scare was at its highest then, and many of the residents of Bannu were in a state of panic. He condemned all kidnappings, of course, and pointed out how the deeds of some evil characters were bringing disrepute to a gallant people. To all those who were frightened, he said that fear was only an invitation to evil characters. Only by confidence, goodwill and courage could they face the situation effectively. He asserted that the whole approach of the British Government had been wrong and worse than futile, and that they had to face the consequences of this policy. He said that the greatest sufferers had been the people of the Tribal territories, who had been bombed and harassed incessantly year after year. It was not surprising, therefore, if they stood at bay and retaliated and even misbehaved occasionally. He pointed out that the right approach was one of friendship and co-operation, accompanied by an attempt to understand the problem and solve it with the goodwill of all concerned. There was no reason why people on either side of this Frontier and in the Tribal tracts should not live amicably together. There were economic problems which could be easily tackled, the resources of the area could be developed, and livelihood and security found for the people. But all

this depended on an approach rooted in goodwill, not in hostility, as had been the British Government's way. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, sitting by him, was himself a living symbol and proof that the problem could easily be solved in a friendly way, for he was loved and trusted by everyone on either side of this Frontier and was in a position to do the right thing.

Jawaharlalji went on to say that the Pathan, whatever his weakness, was a brave and gallant person, appreciating courage in others and responding to a friendly approach. And then he said something which touched that great audience of rough warriors of the Tribal areas. 'I have a daughter,' he said, 'twenty years of age, who is far away in England now. She is my only child and she is dear to me. I have tried to teach her courage and self-reliance and to keep no company with fear whatsoever might happen. If she were with me here now I would unhesitatingly ask her to go alone and unaccompanied into the Tribal territories and to visit the people there and make friends with them. I would do so having faith in her and faith in those people who, I feel sure, would not abuse a confidence or treat one who came in friendship as other than a friend.'

So Jawaharlal spoke and he talked also of freedom—the freedom of India, which would comprise the freedom of all people, from the far north to the southern seas. And when he had finished, some of the Wazirs (whose tribe was then in conflict with the British Government) came to him and, having slightly misunderstood his remarks, asked him when his daughter would visit their homes. They pledged their word that she would have the freedom of the country, and not a hair of her head would be injured, for she would be their guest and their friend, and the daughter of a friend.

That was the striking result of an individual approach on a single occasion. How much then can be done if this friendly approach could be made on a national scale?

During the past few years our people on the Frontier have had occasions of coming close to the Indian



masses through the Indian National Congress, and we are growing closer and closer every day. But the lining up of the Pathans with the people in the rest of India since 1930 in the struggle for freedom has greatly disturbed the Government. It has all the time endeavoured to separate these Frontier-men from the rest of India. But that seems difficult now.

## 16. WHAT TO DO ?

The time has come for us in India to realize that if there is a field of policy where quickness of decision and promptness of execution are most essential today, it is in respect of the North-West Frontier problem. Lord Curzon once described the Frontiers as 'a razor's edge, on which hang suspended the modern issues of war and peace, of life or death to nations'. The statement sounds even more significant after we have seen strips of land causing havoc in Europe and forcing great nations to take up arms in their defence. Frontiers usually involve risks, and a wrong approach can increase our difficulties at any stage of national development. Foreign policies and Frontier considerations are the outcome of long-drawn-out developments of a political and social character. So, in order to avoid a catastrophe, Indians must strive to set this confusion right. It has so far cost the Indian taxpayer over four hundred crores of rupees, while its administration costs over twenty crores a year, besides the six crores spent in Baluchistan and the one crore of rupees given to the Frontier Province as a subvention from the Centre. This huge expenditure has gone towards the construction of a few watch towers, which simply stand as an eyesore to the tribesmen and incite them to continue their struggle. Beyond this, there are no signs of progress. The reader is bound to ask where all this money has gone. My answer is simple: he has to realize that all this money has gone towards the maintenance of an army and towards the continuous process of exploitation of the tribesmen. It also includes heavy salaries and other 'amenities' for those who exploit and rule the territory, and spend part of the

money in bribing certain elements among the tribes, who, in their turn, do all manner of suspicious things to please their 'local lords'. They thus assume the rôle of the 'king's party' in an otherwise lawless land. It is a rich hunting ground for corrupt English officers and their Indian henchmen, who have risen from obscurity to opulence during the past few decades.

I have frequently discussed British policy on the Frontier with people who have an insight into its present trends, and with those who were actually instrumental in shaping it many years ago. Most of them failed to justify the policy and often admitted its failure to bring forth any lasting results, and its inability to crush the tribes. Some of them could not suggest a way out. There are a few today who hold ideas of their own regarding the ending of this perpetual tussle. According to one school of thought the Army and the other official agencies functioning in the Tribal belt should be withdrawn altogether from across the settled districts, and instead, a strong line of defence should be established along the Administered Border of the Province. Having thus cleared the Tribal territory, the task of maintaining contacts with the tribesmen should be entrusted to an organization of local Scouts raised from every one of the different tribes. The heads of such bodies should act as agents of the Government, and their activities should be strictly confined to the vicinity of their respective borders. These agents should be given ample funds to tap the mineral resources of their own localities and provide work for the needy and indigent tribesmen under their jurisdiction. No money should be given to individuals, as at present, for extorting any political benefits, while efforts should be made to popularize education and open a network of hospitals in the Tribal areas with the consent of the residents. Such an approach, according to people belonging to this school of thought, will go a long way towards removing the economic disabilities of the population and thus eliminate the real cause of unrest. To one, this policy seemed essential from another point of view as well. I was

told that this scheme would help in checking the ever-growing suspicion among the Pathans that the British Government is the deadliest enemy of Islam, and is to be opposed at all costs.

I recently came across a thought-provoking article on this problem by a senior English Officer serving on the N.-W. Frontier. Discussing its various aspects, he says: 'In recent years, as contact with Government officials has increased, the tribal system of government has been subjected to a great strain. Government's objectives have not always coincided with the interests of the tribes, and Government officials with an imperfect knowledge of the tribal system have often unconsciously inflicted great harm on it, with a zeal which is praiseworthy on grounds of expediency alone. . . . At the heart of the problem, therefore, lies the inescapable fact that we are faced with a breakdown of the tribal system, a fact which constitutes a serious threat to the safety of India on the threshold of a new age. . . . Like all human problems, the one we are dealing with is complex, and is concerned with the whole range of human needs and aspirations from the government and welfare of the community as a whole to the health, happiness and livelihood of the individual. . . . And so we can reasonably assume that if we approach the tribes in a spirit of goodwill on this subject of government, we shall get an encouraging response, and that our problem will resolve itself into the comparatively simple one of discovering the form of government best suited to Pathan genius; and best calculated to bring the tribes into line with conditions prevailing in British India. . . . But let us not be satisfied with anything less than an expert scientific investigation into all aspects of this important matter. . . . There is an obvious value in testing by scientific observation of tribal systems all over the world the moral standards inherent in the Pathan tribal system and the extent to which reliance can be placed on it to promote the moral and material advancement of our tribal communities.'

These suggestions come from people who owe allegiance to those who hold us in bondage. But the schemes put forth by them can be further improved by setting up a Free India, which will never think in terms of creating 'strong lines of defence against these tribes', but will look to them for the defence of the northern gateway to our motherland. Our 'spirit of goodwill' will be different from the one visualized by the author of this article. The British Government cannot possibly function reasonably towards these tribes because it constantly thinks in terms of doubt and fear, and such an attitude is far from conducive to the 'goodwill' required. At the same time, we shall not belittle any Government effort to give a fair trial to the above modified plans of action.

The Frontier Problem has been studied by some of our leaders in India, who have become aware of the real nature of the trouble. It is not difficult to arrive at some settlement, and no one can dispute the frank admission of Jawaharlal Nehru, who once remarked: 'I am quite convinced that the trouble on the Frontier can be ended by a friendly approach on our part. One man alone, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, loved on either side of the Frontier could settle it.' And what is after all this trouble? Is it in any way different from the one engaging the attention of our leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan? We know that the tribesmen are dear to his heart and he feels very strongly about this problem. In order to get an insight into his mind, let us refer to his speech delivered during the Martyrs' Day celebrations at Peshawar, on the 23rd of April, 1945: 'The revolution which is on its march cannot leave us untouched,' he said. 'It is flowing like a powerful torrent, washing away those who attempt to check its course. In order to understand it, you must turn the pages of history. Take a lesson and prepare yourselves for the coming changes. The hour of your trial is fast approaching and I am here to warn you that the situation for us on the Frontier is far more dangerous than anywhere else in India. Our men residing across the settled border have been kept aloof from

us and we have been denied permission to establish contacts with them. This, in spite of our being one with them in everything. Our problems are one, and our difficulties are similar, and our one aim is to secure freedom from this empire that has long kept us in bondage. We find certain artificial barriers separating us today and have come to realize the harm they are doing to our people. The present position must end, and we should strive to unite and face all the coming dangers and perils together. I am quite clear in my mind about this and know that we shall have to swim or sink together.'

Ghaffar Khan is right when he calls the people of the Tribal areas and those living in the settled districts as 'one in everything.' He feels that both these wings should collaborate and shoulder the task of struggling for progress unitedly. It is not an easy proposition and needs careful spadework. We shall have to convince the tribes about the advantages of this union, and assure them about the sincerity of our desire to pull them out of their present condition. The approach has to be friendly, because, given an imaginary cause for suspicion, they would resist all attempts to draw them into any combination with India. We have to bear one fact in mind, that though the Tribal territory can be overrun by a mechanized army, local conditions make the invader's task very difficult. But we can easily win them over by love ; basing our policy towards the tribes on goodwill and reasonableness. The tract must cease to be a shooting preserve for the ambitious officers and other ranks of any army in India, and a totally different policy has to be adopted to end this state of tension. It was moral bankruptcy on the part of the British Government to have exploited the misery of these people and to have brought about the present chaos. These tribesmen have long suffered hardships, while all along watching others enjoying the luxuries of life. Times have changed and we expect a fair deal for our people.

The recent visit of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the Tribal territories was a signal for this change. The demonstrations staged against him by the stooges of the

Political Agents were an eye-opener for the general mass of the tribal people. Nothing could have convinced them better of the fact that Jawaharlal was an enemy of British imperialism, and, as such, their proven friend. The tribal people have always looked upon the Political Agents with suspicion and hatred, and any such manoeuvred display with the contempt it deserves. Before leaving the Frontier, Jawaharlal said: 'I came here with a message of love for the tribesmen, and I will come again whenever I can be of some use to them.' This was proof of his love for the tribesmen, and it was received by them as such. We hope that those living in the rich and fertile plains of India will rise to assist these countrymen of theirs in their fight against hunger and poverty. Let man try to be just where nature has been otherwise.

In August, 1942, Ghaffar Khan deputed some of his comrades to work in the Tribal areas and exchange views with the people there. The entry of Khudai Khidmatgars into these areas was a landmark in our history. They remained there during the time we were in jail from 1942 to March, 1945. They opened schools and gave such medical assistance as was possible. Besides this they carried our message of goodwill to the tribes. In spite of Government interference through their henchmen in every locality they enjoyed the hospitality of the tribesmen, and when, on our release in March, 1945, a political conference was held at Peshawar, scores of them came to attend it, and took back with them new ideas of unity and brotherhood. This response from the tribesmen holds a great promise for the makers of a new and free India. We are confident that they can easily be convinced of the benefits of unity. Once this is achieved we can tackle all our problems, and put our people on the road to progress. The Pathan genius is particularly suited to democracy, and if given the chance, we could evolve an enduring form of government. The money that is scandalously wasted today on demoralizing the inhabitants, can be utilized in making this area not only self-sufficient, but also highly productive in a few years' time. The achievements of a planned

economy can be seen in all parts of the Soviet Union. What has been done there can surely be accomplished in our own country. What occasion is there for despondency?

## CHAPTER III

# ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN AND HIS MOVEMENT

The names of those who in their lives fought for life,  
Who wore at their hearts the fire's centre.  
Born of the sun, they travelled a short while towards  
the sun,  
And left the vivid air signed with their honour.

—*Stephen Spender*

### 1. BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE

A happy, prosperous, and contended family which had not made any name for itself in the annals of the Frontier, much less of India, lived an honest and industrious life in the most fertile part of a province known for its barrenness. This at a time when the British were busy extending their 'scientific frontiers' by sending military expeditions and blockading the Tribal territory. We are reminded of the measures adopted by the Government to coerce our tribesmen, who, lacking leadership, frittered away their strength against the British through individual and ill-organized combat. Those were days of stagnation, when despair was rampant and hope seemed dead. That was a time when the Pathans needed someone to lead them out of such pitiful conditions. Who could have known that a man was destined to be sent into the world in order to avenge the injustices of the past and redress the grievances of the present?

In January, 1890, Bahram Khan, who was a well-to-do landowner of the Mohmadzai clan, living in the village of Utmanzai, of Peshawar district, became father of a son, whom he named Abdul Ghaffar. Little did he realize that his child was to play the historic rôle of a leader of his people and stand among the foremost men of his time.

Ghaffar Khan was born at a time when the world was passing through abnormal changes. Modern



capitalism was reaching its zenith in Europe and America, and the dynamic forces of mechanized industry were assuming gigantic proportions. This progress was novel in form and produced great contrasts in society. It led to the rise of anti-capitalist fronts both in Europe and America. The period was marked by the rise of democratic ideas among the people, and the introduction of general franchise in Western Parliaments. There was an increase of wealth in Europe, which automatically brought about certain beneficial results and made life easy and comfortable for the upper classes there. This stage was also distinguished by tremendous improvements in medicine and science and an all-round progress in Western countries. Means of communication improved and brought the various nations closer to one another, and afforded them occasions for exchange of their products. These changes and improvements affected the social life of the world, but at the same time there remained also the old and unfortunate intrigues and rivalries among the different nations. The world was witnessing the aggressive role of Europe and the passive part which Asia and Africa played. Those years present one long tale of evil acts and international immorality on the part of those engaged in the exploitation of the East, a conduct which in the case of individuals would have called for severe punishment. In order to establish themselves in Africa, India and other parts of Asia, the Whites chose the path of bloodshed, oppression and exploitation of a type hitherto unknown in the history of mankind. And in the face of this domination, a man had arisen in a slave country to organize, purify and unite his disorganized people. Ghaffar Khan was surely a giant thrown up out of the grief, sorrow and agony of his barren hills, born to challenge the appalling conditions prevailing in his province.

The years rolled by, and Abdul Ghaffar Khan grew up into a young lad in the typical Pathan fashion of his native village, where he received his early education. He played with those whom he was soon to guide, and when he was old enough to leave home, his father sent

him to Peshawar, where he joined his elder brother, Khan Sahib. He was first admitted to the Municipal Board School, where he remained till the completion of the primary stage. Later, both the brothers joined the Mission High School and came under the influence of a very able and pious missionary, Canon C. A. Wiggrim. The young Khan often speaks of him with profound respect and admiration, and tells of how much he owes to this wise man's guidance.

Ghaffar Khan was in his sixth middle class, when in November, 1906, his elder brother went to Bombay for a three-year course in medicine. From there he proceeded to England in February, 1909, for higher medical studies. Having completed his medical course, Doctor Khan Sahib joined the Hospital Corps and later, in 1916, received his Commission as a member of the I. M. S. During the last War, he was most of the time on the battlefields of France. He often relates to us his experiences of those days. While in England, he married an English wife, by whom he had a brilliant and charming son, Jan Khan Sahib. Jan Khan was educated throughout at English Public Schools and later at Oxford. He returned to Peshawar after having finished his Law course and died in the prime of his youth at a time when so much was expected of him. He had raised great hopes, and his death came as a severe blow to his friends, and, more especially to his own father and family. During his long stay in England, Dr Khan Sahib had met Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the two became great friends.

Khan Sahib was away from his province for well over thirteen years, and during that period much that had happened at home was kept secret from him that he might be spared the pain and shock such knowledge would cause. In March, 1920, he returned from England and was posted with the famous Guides Regiment at Mardan. Soon facts so far suppressed came to light, and they distressed him immensely. In 1921, his unit was ordered to proceed to Waziristan for action against the Waziris. Dr Khan refused to go and work against

his own kith and kin, and forthwith resigned his Commission as Captain in the I. M. S. He was free to adopt his profession, and soon established himself as a leading doctor. Later, the influence of his younger brother and the sight of the sufferings inflicted on his people in the Qissa Khwani Bazaar of Peshawar, on the 23rd of April, 1930, brought him into politics, and he followed his illustrious brother to the Hazaribagh Jail to undergo three years' imprisonment.

## 2. EARLY EDUCATION

To return to our hero once again. He took his lessons at the Mission School and lived in a small house in the compound of the Edwardes College, Peshawar. Ghaffar Khan led a quiet life after his own fancy, and it is said that though he was not keen on sports himself, he assisted his friends at their games by carrying their cricket bats and other sports equipment. It was during this time that he cultivated friendship with the late Abdur Rehman (Bey), who later joined the M. A.-O. College at Aligarh, and in 1911, accompanied the late Dr M. A. Ansari on his Red Crescent Mission to Turkey.

It was destined that these two friends should be separated and play their respective roles in different countries and bring glory each to his own cause. After the termination of the Balkan War, the Mission came back, but Abdur Rehman decided to stay on in Turkey, and expressed a desire to join the Turkish Army. His zeal and ability had attracted the attention of the famous Turkish patriots, Anwer Pasha and Rauf Bey, who got him admitted to the Military College at Ankara. By dint of his tact and forceful personality, Abdur Rehman carved out a place for himself in the vanguard of the Turkish Nationalist Movement, and when in 1922, Ataturk formed his Government, this enterprising non-Turk was selected to represent the young Republic in Afghanistan as the first Ambassador, which post he held till the middle of 1923. In Turkey he was regarded one of the leading patriots, and was held in great esteem by all. Ataturk looked upon him as a 'trusted friend', while

Rauf Bey, the wartime Premier, had described him as 'a better son to my mother and my country'.

While Ghaffar Khan was studying at Peshawar, his village servants used to see both British and Indian officers of the army going about in their smart uniforms. This appealed to the simple villagers, and they tried to persuade their young master to enter the army. Their persuasion bore fruit and Ghaffar Khan applied for a Commission. But about this time, while on a visit to a friend serving in the army, he witnessed an incident that greatly disturbed his proud Pathan spirit, and made him turn away with revulsion from the profession he had intended to adopt. He saw an English officer insulting an Indian. Such insolence was most painful, and he said to himself: 'If this is what one has to put up with, then why should I adopt an army career?' Soon the necessary permission for selection was granted, but Ghaffar Khan rejected the offer and continued his studies. Thus the high-handed behaviour of an English officer resulted not only in his refusal to join the army, but also, ultimately, in his dedicating himself to the service of his people.

The young Khan was to take his Matriculation examination. Having heard that Campbellpur, being a quiet spot, afforded facilities for work, he hurried thither, but soon got tired of it. In those days he had acquired a taste for Arabic studies, and the reputation of Maulvi Noor-ud-Din of Qadian attracted his attention. Ghaffar Khan left his province with a friend. They reached Qadian; but they had not yet secured admission to the *Madrasa*, when our hero had a peculiar dream. He saw himself approaching a well, but as he was about to fall into it, an old man appeared before him and warned him of the danger. Ghaffar Khan woke up, and drawing a lesson from the dream, left the place at once and proceeded to Aligarh, where he resumed his studies. While still at that premier seat of Muslim learning, he received instructions from his father to return home and get ready to sail for education abroad. His father's plan was to send his son to England in order to study engineering. All the arrangements were complete, even his passage had been booked

by one of the P. & O. steamers. But fate had destined otherwise, and the young man was preserved for greater things. Ghaffar Khan tells us that when the time for his departure drew near, he went to say good-bye to his mother, and found her in tears. She pleaded: 'One of my sons is already there. What will I do if you go away as well?' His mother's anxiety touched his heart, and he abandoned his plans. That was yet another triumph for his countrymen. The incident proved the turning point in his life, and after 1912, he applied himself to the task of leading his untamable, exceedingly proud, and temperamentally independent people along the path of noble endeavour.

### 3. TAKING UP HIS CALLING

The year 1912 marks the beginning of Abdul Ghaffar Khan's association with his people. He started his activities as a reformer, and soon came under the influence of that great divine, the late Haji Abdul Wahid Sahib, better known throughout the province as the Haji Sahib of Turangzai. He associated himself fully with the Haji Sahib's work of imparting simple religious education to the poor villagers. They established their centre at Gaddar, in Mardan district, and began opening schools all over Peshawar and Mardan districts. The orthodox mullas were then carrying on an agitation against the schools run by the Government, and since they presented no alternative, these two far-sighted comrades followed the constructive path and employed themselves in the field of village education. They initiated a vigorous campaign with a view to opening schools and persuading the people to utilize them. The influence of their work spread to other parts of the province, and soon a network of such institutions was established throughout the Frontier.

The outbreak of War in August, 1914, however, snatched the great Haji away from his youthful disciple. The young Khan was left to shoulder the great responsibility alone. Their work had made them popular among the people, and, fearing the influence of the Haji, who was busy moulding the lives of his followers on the pat-

tern of righteousness, the local authorities sought eagerly to separate these two workers. The Haji Sahib soon became aware of the evil designs of the officials, and, realizing how difficult it would be to carry on in the face of such opposition, made good his escape into tribal territory. He remained there until his death, undaunted and unbeaten by the varied forces employed to suppress him. His towering personality succeeded in uniting the warring elements among the Mohmands, Bajajurs and others, and holding them together against the forces of the English invaders always hovering around. Soon after Haji Abdul Wahid Sahib's escape, the Government arrested most of the teachers in the schools run by the two reformers, and thus deprived the villages of most of their educational institutions, till they were reorganized by Ghaffar Khan a few years later.

The departure of the Haji Sahib was not a small shock to the structure the two intrepid leaders had raised. His absence created many handicaps for his disciple. Ghaffar Khan, therefore, decided to establish himself in the tribal territory and look for chances of carrying on his mission there. He had already met some of the most progressive and revolutionary divines in India and had held discussions with Maulana Obeidullah Sindhi and Sheik-ul-Hind Maulvi Mahmudul Hassan of Deoband. Both of them held radical views on the problems facing the country in those days. He had imbibed their ideas, and planned to settle down among the tribes and enlist their support. In order to get higher guidance for his mission, he fasted and meditated for many long days, but discovering little chance of success, he returned to his old job. It was then that he reorganized all the schools, pursuing a uniform practical policy for their expansion.

The officials again took notice of this activity and expressed disapproval of his endeavours to educate the villagers in the remotest corners of the province. Once a highly placed English officer asked him: 'You go about educating these Pathans, but what security do you give that they won't revolt against us after they have been

educated and organized by you?' The question was typical of the imperialist mind. This suspicious attitude still guides our rulers, and they cannot brook any genuine attempt on the part of any of us to uplift our people. Thanks to the courage of our great leaders, the times have long since gone when they could attempt to break such movements. The history of our country has become one long record of organized resistance in every sphere of life. People have long ceased to think of Government directives, and least of all to be cowed by any repressive measures. They have learnt to go ahead heedless of the consequences.

The intensified activities of the Pathan reformer brought the Frontier Government out in open opposition. His old father, Bahram Khan, was asked to put a stop to the 'rebellious activities' of his son, who was engrossed in the 'sinful' task of spreading education. The father sent for his son and urged him to abstain from his work, to which the determined son replied: 'If these officials should ask you to prevent me from saying my prayers, will you urge me to do so?' 'No,' came the prompt answer. And then Ghaffar Khan declared that to him service of the poor formed the major portion of prayer, and that he would never give up his work, because 'I am eager to face the King of kings in a manner worthy of a righteous person.' The attitude of the son went a long way towards winning over the father to his side. He informed the authorities that he was unable to persuade his son to desist from his activities.

In the end the Government arrested Ghaffar Khan, his 95-year-old father, and other members of his family. This happened in 1919. The old man was imprisoned for the so-called subversive activities of his son in the Frontier Province, even while his other son had just finished fighting their battles in France and elsewhere on the Continent. Here was as fine an example of British 'kindness', 'justice' and 'fairplay' as one could ever desire! The Frontier Khan and the others arrested with him were released on King's Proclamation Day, and our great leader lost no time in resuming his work. About

the end of 1919, there was a very large gathering at Utmanzai, attended by almost all the principal workers. Besides discussing the many problems facing the Province, the meeting conferred on their beloved chief the title of Badshah Khan, meaning the 'King of Khans', as a token of affection from his people. He is addressed by this name all over the Province, and it has recently come into vogue even outside the Frontier.

#### 4. DIFFERENT PHASES

The happenings of 1920 form a very significant phase in the history of the Indian Nationalist movement. The attitude of Great Britain with regard to the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and the subjugation of other Muslim States like Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Arabia and Afghanistan, during and after the last War, had aroused great discontent and indignation among the Muslim masses of India. The situation offered a good opportunity to both the Hindus and the Musalmans to unite and fight the British in this country. It led to a settlement between the communities, and for the first time in recent history, Indians came close enough to wage a joint struggle. The Khilafat agitation, as it is called, drew the bulk of the Indian people into its fold. The enthusiasm was great, but since the issue before the people was not entirely their own, that unity, or rather that joint struggle, was soon overshadowed by other factors. And so matters drifted along. As the movement grew in momentum, more and more people came to join it. Many Indian Muslims decided to leave their country as a protest against Britain's policy towards their legitimate demands. Hordes of men came from all over India and made Peshawar and other Frontier towns their halting stations before pushing on into Afghanistan, where the dynamic personality of Amanullah Khan was attracting people in large numbers. The sight of those crowds deserting their homelands in despair influenced people on the Frontier as well, and Badshah Khan and his followers joined them in that *Hijrat* movement. Most of the people reached the Afghan domains and some even cross-



ed over into the Soviet Union. In Kabul, Ghaffar Khan met the victorious monarch and his nobles. He discussed the whole situation with them and exchanged views on different topics of the day. Ghaffar Khan agreed with Amanullah Khan that it was futile to run away from one's country and seek shelter abroad. Having come to that conclusion, he soon retraced his steps and returned to the Frontier through the territory of the Mohmands. On the way, he attempted once again to establish his headquarters there. He carefully examined the possibilities of starting work in that area, but after reviewing the entire situation, he decided to abandon all hopes of carrying on his mission in a place where it could not be done openly. Today he is convinced that this decision was right; he is opposed to any type of secret organization against the State. 'The British know that we don't want them here,' he often says, 'and our opposition to their rule should be quite open. We must express ourselves very clearly. It is not possible to do any large-scale work from behind the screen. I know that the little we can do only makes us timid, because we are always on our guard against danger. We do not need weaklings to fight our battles.'

After his return from Afghanistan, he began once again to knit together the different workers, and with their help, to build up a new organization for conducting various activities in the Frontier Province. His efforts soon bore fruit, and he succeeded in founding a body known as the 'Anjuman-i-Islah-e-Afaghina'. Its object was to popularize education, and reform the people all round. The new organization soon developed into a strong body with branches all over the Frontier. Badshah Khan undertook occasional tours and explained the aims and objects of his mission in the rural areas. With the advent of the Anjuman-i-Islah-e-Afaghina, he increased the scope of his work and started tackling the various defects in the social life of our people. He laid great stress on the Pathans' taking to professions other than agriculture, and in order to set an example, he himself opened a Commission Shop at Utmanzai. All these steps were

intended to reform the Pathans and persuade them to lead a peaceful life. The Government should have been thankful to him for discharging duties within their responsibility; but, instead, it soon became apparent that they wanted to put an end to all this great-hearted effort. The then Chief Commissioner of the Frontier, Sir John Maffey, warned him to abandon all his plans or face the consequences. Ignoring the threat, he carried on his mission with still greater energy. By 1921, he had toured every village in the Province and had executed most of his plans, before he was arrested and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment.

India has passed through far-reaching changes during these last two decades. Our national movements have transformed much that was intended to emasculate us. Of all the means employed to terrorize the people, the jail is now the least feared. A vast change has come over the jail administration, and thanks to the Congress Ministries in different provinces, conditions are slightly better now. But those were different days, and the Pathan convict was an individual of strong mettle. Those were the days when the British Government was trying to be 'strong, just and efficient', and their jails in India were the precursors of Nazi concentration camps. Ghaffar Khan was an 'enemy' and deserved no consideration. In order to teach him a good lesson, he was kept in jails with the worst reputation. It is, therefore, not surprising that on seeing his father in Mianwali Jail, dressed in a short shirt and the convict's short pyjamas and wooden slippers, and with hands and feet in fetters, and an iron bar round his neck, his eldest son, who was then quite young, should have burst into tears. His own accounts of jail life are most painful, and were read with great indignation when they were published in a series of articles in his Pushto journal, the *Pukhtoon*, under the heading, 'Twentieth Century Civilization and the Jails'. These articles dealt with general conditions prevailing in different jails and his own experiences during many years of imprisonment. He was made to do hard labour, and his daily routine was grinding fifteen

to twenty seers of gram. This resulted in his contracting chronic lumbago. Once a pair of fetters were brought for him, but they turned out to be too small. The jail staff, however, insisted on his putting them on and they injured his ankle. The Superintendent, on seeing his bleeding ankle, quietly remarked: 'You will soon get used to them.' The injury has left a permanent mark, and his disfigured ankle continually reminds us of an atrocity perpetrated in the not very distant past. Ghaffar Khan has also described how faithfully he obeyed the rules laid down by the jail authorities. He never looked for any favours, either from his fellow-convicts or from such of the jail staff as sympathized with him. His one answer to those people used to be: 'Once you compromise on a principle, you not only compromise with truth but also your self-respect. I know that those who did not think it a serious matter to receive contraband articles through obliging sources ended ultimately by saying good-bye to their honour and self-respect.'

Ghaffar Khan's term of imprisonment ended in 1924, and on his release, a very representative meeting was called at his village, which had by then become the centre of the Frontier Movement. The gathering included all the prominent workers and thousands of others from every one of the various districts of the province. They reviewed the situation and decided to start a vigorous mass contact movement. By that time our Chief had wholly captured the hearts of his people, and to express their love and respect for him, the assembly announced its resolve to call him Fakhri-Afghan (Pride of the Afghans), and we shout this name during our meetings, processions or other public occasions today.

Ghaffar Khan soon resumed his activities and his ever-growing followers looked up to him for guidance. The part that he had so long played among his people created in him an urge to study conditions in foreign countries and try to understand the policies they pursued to achieve their national objectives. So he planned a tour of Muslim States then busy shaping their national structure. He undertook this tour in

1926. It was in the same year that Sultan Ibn Saud of Arabia had called his Grand Conference at Mecca at the time of the Haj to discuss and devise a uniform plan of action for Musalmans throughout the world. Ghaffar Khan attended the Conference and watched the deliberations of this unique assembly of Muslims from all over the Crescent. He utilized the opportunity for his benefit and met delegates of various countries, who gave him an insight into the affairs of their homelands. The Conference, however, ended in a fiasco, owing to the peculiar attitude of the Indian Muslim leaders. Badshah Khan performed the Haj and later proceeded to other parts of Arabia, Iraq, the Lebanon, Egypt, Syria and Palestine. He tried to study for himself conditions in every country. He met people in different Muslim States and gathered their impressions about their co-religionists in India, how much they were detested abroad. It was widely felt that the subject condition of India had resulted in the enslavement of these other countries also. Everywhere he was told that if India should win her freedom, then with her half of the world would become free, because to keep her in bondage, Great Britain had had to enslave so many other States and utilize their vast resources to maintain such slavery. We know that Indian troops have not only been employed in the World Wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45, but used on numerous occasions in the Middle East, the Far East, Africa and China. They have fought against Afghans, Arabs, Iranians, Iraqis, Turks, Burmese and Indonesians, and helped to protect British interests in these countries. The major objective in view has always been to dominate the routes to India and thereby hold India in bondage. Thus we are not only slaves ourselves, but have been instrumental in depriving others of their freedom as well. If we are despised today, surely the fault lies with us.

## 5. KHUDAI KHIDMATGAR MOVEMENT

Before touring the Muslim States, Ghaffar Khan had toured among his own tribes and in Afghanistan.\* But his travels in the semi-independent countries opened his eyes to the great things happening all around. He returned from his tour with a much broader vision and a desire to utilize his experiences for the betterment of his people. He had seen for himself Muslims caught up in a wave of nationalism. He had noticed how the Pan-Islamic idea was being replaced by an aggressive form of nationalism all over the Muslim world. The Khilafat regime had been abolished in Turkey, where a powerful Republic had sprung up under Ataturk. Iran and Arabia had come under the strong hands of nationalist leaders like Reza Shah and Ibn Saud, each marching ahead independently of the other. He had seen the growth, under Zaghlul Pasha, of a purely Egyptian party, which was far from being communal and embraced all communities in its fold. All these observations produced their effects on this man, who was soon to become the living symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity in this unfortunate land of Hindustan. These reactions left their impress on him, and in spite of so much confused thinking in the country over the communal problem, Ghaffar Khan stands firm as a rock and feels that, sooner or later, his policy will prove to be the best for the Muslims of India.

Till 1926, Ghaffar Khan's work had been confined mostly to education and varied social activities. Soon after his return from that tour, he decided to give a new trend to his mission, and after consulting his colleagues, he laid the foundations of a party known as the 'Pukhtoon Jirga' (Afghan Youth League). Its members were mostly drawn from among those who had received their education in schools run by the leader, and also those who had long worked with him. Thus, in 1927, he launched his new programme, which was based on educa-

---

\* He again visited Afghanistan in August, 1946, at the invitation of the Afghan Government to attend their Independence Day celebrations. During his ten days' stay there, he met most of the Afghan notables, discussed various problems with them, and laid the foundations of closer understanding between Afghanistan and India.

tional, social, and political foundations. He also published a journal in Pushto known as the *Pukhtoon*, which contained articles from his own pen and other matter for the political education of the masses.

The new organization grew rapidly and Fakhr-i-Afghan took stock of the results achieved. As the movement grew, its scope expanded, and within two years, it was felt that it had to be further strengthened, that an even more vital organization had to be envisaged. Therefore, in 1929, he set up a new volunteer section of his party and named it *Khudai Khidmatgars* (Servants of God). It was to act as the effective and disciplined section of the *Jirgas*. The volunteers had to sign the following pledge before getting enrolled in the party:

- (1) I solemnly and truthfully register my name for enrolment.
- (2) I will sacrifice my life, wealth and comfort in the cause of the Motherland.
- (3) I will refrain from party friction, grudges, haughtiness, and will side with the oppressed against the oppressor.
- (4) I will not enrol myself in any other party, nor will I tender an apology when my party goes to war with the alien rulers.
- (5) I will always obey my officers.
- (6) I will always follow the path of non-violence.
- (7) I will serve all humanity, and my object shall be to win freedom for my country and religion.
- (8) I will always try to be good and just in my dealings.
- (9) I will never expect a reward for services rendered in His name.
- (10) All my endeavours shall be to please God without any regard for personal motive, gain or show.

This pledge and the Party song will give the reader some idea of the basic foundations of the powerful

Pathan movement and the manner in which it has been conducted since its inception in 1929. The sudden rising of the Frontier people in 1930 and in subsequent years has produced misgivings and apprehensions among certain classes in this country; some people in India even suspect the *bona fides* of this movement on the Frontier, ignoring the Pathans' great sacrifices at the altar of the Indian Freedom Movement.

The Party song sung by volunteers on the march runs as follows :

We are the army of God,  
By death or wealth unmoved,  
We march, our leader and we,  
Ready to die !

In the name of God we march,  
And in His name we die,  
We serve in the name of God,  
God's servants are we !

God is our king,  
And great is He,  
We serve our Lord,  
His slaves are we !

Our country's cause  
We serve with our breath,  
For such an end,  
Glorious is death !

We serve and we love  
Our people and our cause,  
Freedom is our aim,  
And our lives are its price.

We love our country,  
And respect our country,  
Zealously protect it,  
For the glory of the Lord.

By cannon or gun undismayed,  
 Soldiers and horsemen ;  
 None can come between,  
 Our work and our duty !

It is thus evident that the real object of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was to organize the Pathans, and by uniting all warring elements, lead them to a healthy and peaceful way of life. In this connexion I remember having heard Badshah Khan once declare : ' I have carefully glanced over the past history of my people. It is full of victories and tales of heroism, but there are some drawbacks in it too. Internal feuds and personal jealousies have always snatched away the gains achieved through vast sacrifices. They were dispossessed only because of their own inherent defects, never by any outside power, for who could oppose them on the battlefield? My desire is to make my people feel one in everything that lies before them, and I want to organize the Pathans morally, socially, politically and economically, and through the agency of this movement bring into being a people who will enhance the honour and prestige of this country.'

The new party appealed to the imagination of the masses, and soon a network of branches spread to the four corners of the province. The volunteers wore uniforms that varied in form and colour with every place and with every individual. It depended on how much one could spare to acquire such uniform, and, therefore, while some were dressed smartly, others simply had their ordinary costume dyed a deep-brick, which was very cheap. In the process of evolution, this led to the adoption of the red colour. This made some people think that the Pathan movement was being instigated and financed by the ' Reds ' of Russia. But that only betrays the self-centred and unimaginative mentality of our rulers, who could not understand the significance of the vast changes that had occurred everywhere in the world, or the force of events directing human urges in different directions.



The Khudai Khidmatgar movement had certain novel features that needed elucidation. In order to impress these points on his followers, Ghaffar Khan staged dramas that embodied the spirit of his ideas. Among other things, he had to educate the brave and reckless Pathans to embrace Non-Violence, which was a vital part of his movement. He had to teach them to act fearlessly and steadfastly in the face of force whenever and wherever it might be employed against them. His people needed practical lessons and the dramas furnished them. Later, he undertook an extensive tour of the province and tried to acquaint the northern highlanders with the new weapon of resistance. He was lucky in finding an excellent team of selfless workers, who faithfully carried out his instructions each in his respective area. It was not long before his followers were called upon to face as fiery a test as one could imagine. They were caught in the toils of a momentous struggle and gave a good account of themselves, while the world watched their new role with interest.

## 6. THE TRAGEDY OF 1930-32

For about twenty years, Ghaffar Khan had worked and suffered, and urged his men towards the attainment of their goal. The fire of his personality had shaken them from their lassitude and state of disorganization. His efforts had transformed them into a living and compact body, ready to face any test. He had filled their hearts with hope and had infused them with courage for the struggle to throw off their yoke of bondage. His slow, uphill labour had prepared the people for the conflict forced upon them by a Government that had now become openly hostile to their cause.

This period is marked by various acts of brutality on the part of the authorities. Like the year 1920, the years 1930-32 were also epoch-making in the national life of our country. These years saw the eruption of a powerful volcano that had been lying dormant. The Frontier lined itself up alongside other provinces in the Indian struggle for freedom to the surprise of not a

few. Its people were swept up along the strong current of Indian nationalism. And yet the movement was neither sudden nor sporadic. It had strong foundations and was full of meaning for the people. Ever since 1925, our leader had been attending the sessions of the Indian National Congress in his individual capacity. He had all along tried to bring his people into line with nationalist elements. Though he joined the Indian National Congress only at a much later date, when events forced him to do so, he had always been an admirer of the aspirations represented by that organization. His partial participation had strengthened his convictions, and he succeeded in implementing those principles in the Frontier.

The Lahore session of the Congress held in December, 1929, under its popular President, Jawaharlal Nehru, had a marked effect on the movement in the Frontier Province. Lahore was easily accessible, and large numbers of Pathans accompanied Badshah Khan as visitors. That session was a notable one as it was there that the creed of independence was adopted amidst scenes of unbounded popular enthusiasm. The Pathans were powerfully affected by this. The delegates from the rest of India were equally impressed by these stalwart men from the Frontier. It was a happy mutual discovery, and the bonds of comradeship in a common cause were forged. The visitors from the Frontier carried back the infectious inspiration of a full-blooded nationalism to their own struggle for freedom.

The Non-Co-operation Movement of 1930 presented Fakhri-Afghan with an occasion to vindicate the honour of his people, and he plunged into it with his innumerable Khudai Khidmatgars. In taking this step he himself faced great hardships, while he saw his followers subjected to the worst tribulations. An account of those days will furnish the future historian with the basis for an estimate of those who ruled our land in this twentieth century. Among many extraordinary and unfortunate occurrences was that of April 23, 1930, when hundreds of peaceful demonstrators were done to death

by the military in the streets of Peshawar. It was on that day also that a Garhwali Regiment covered themselves with glory by refusing to fire on their peaceful and unarmed countrymen. That day, known as Martyrs' Day, has since been solemnly celebrated year after year all over the province.

Next day, April 24, 1930, Ghaffar Khan was arrested and his workers were rounded up, one and all. He was tried under the scandalous Frontier Crimes Regulation Act at Risalpur, an insignificant cantonment on the Frontier. This was done in order to avoid public attention. He was then taken away from the theatre of coming operations and confined in the Gujerat Central Jail. His journal, the *Pukhtoon*, was declared illegal, and its publication stopped. This was followed by the memorable trial of his gallant comrades.

The two years that followed formed an astounding period of darkness for the province as a whole. Shootings, beatings and other acts of grave provocation were perpetrated against these people, who had never suffered before without avenging themselves. 'Gunning the Red Shirts was a popular sport and pastime of the British forces in the province,' observed an American tourist, and he has not exaggerated, for the fate of our people was very much worse than that. The memory of what Mr Jameson did in the subdivision of Charsadda is still fresh in our minds. This Assistant Superintendent of Police used to strip and beat the Khudai Khidmatgars, and later, on their refusal to yield or to abuse their beloved hero, have them thrown into the dirty ponds near by. I was once telling Jawaharlalji about these atrocities. When I told him about the cases of castration, he was greatly astonished and asked Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr Khan Sahib why sufficient publicity had not been given to this fact. Both the Frontier leaders replied: 'You do not know what other things have been done to our people.' Panditji was greatly touched by these revelations and gave expression to his emotions at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Wardha on the 15th of January, 1942.

He said: 'The entire background of our people towards this Government is one of hatred and hostility. We are reminded of our sufferings during the year 1857, then Jallianwala Bagh, and lately I have learnt about things that happened in the Frontier Province during 1930-32. Who can forget them?'

Government officers used to make our men run through cordons of soldiers, who kicked and prodded them with their rifles and bayonets. The gruesome incidents of Peshawar, where Mr IceMonger, the then Inspector-General of Police, kicked little children lying injured in the Qissa Khwani Street and prevented Dr Khan Sahib from rendering first-aid to people injured by bullets, have received some publicity through the Patel Report. At Kohat, in the bitter cold of the winter, our men were beaten up and later thrown into the icy stream running through the city. It was the same story at Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, where the Khudai Khidmatgars were subjected to all manner of hardships. These happenings turned the whole province into a seething volcano, while it offered ample opportunities to the army and the police to exercise their talents and show their capacity for 'fine work'. Our villages will always bear testimony to this 'gallantry', and most of our injured, disabled and castrated are alive to this day to remind us of that evil interlude.

The residents of Masho Khel and Sheikh Mohamadi in Peshawar district will always recall their sufferings when they watch the British Army of Occupation celebrate New Year's Day, because it was on that day in 1931 that their villages were raided by troops who made life hell for them. There are also the villagers of Takkar, in Mardan district, who watched the murder of their beloved comrades on the 28th of May, 1930. The residents of Swabi have seen their fields destroyed, their wheat stocks ruined by oil poured upon them. Our men were thrown down from house-tops in Utmanzai, and their dwellings set on fire. The office of the Khudai Khidmatgars was burnt down and its charred remnants still stand in their glory in the bazaar of Utmanzai. Once

while these stories were being discussed in an Army mess at Peshawar, an English captain, who had seen the firing at Peshawar and at a few other places on the Frontier, remarked: 'The whole show was an awful butchery.' This officer was promptly transferred to some remote station, and we do not know what has happened to him since.

Let us now examine how these inflictions were faced by the people. The true character of these brave fighters was displayed by their stubborn will, their sincere effort, and their staunch faith in the leader they were pledged to follow. Our people's past had been full of heroism, and they had a glorious legacy of many centuries behind them, but their present struggle was directed along new channels. Their conduct proved that the lapse of the centuries had only worked to fertilize their soil for a still richer harvest. The fearless struggle put up by the Pathans was unprecedented as well as admirable. It was a glorious spectacle—these people encountering danger. Ghaffar Khan's labour of love had produced thrilling results, and his efforts had imbued his people with a new vitality. It had aroused all sections, and they looked up to him for inspiration. Their love for him was unbounded, and people began to regard Fakhr-i-Afghan as a saint. The wells at which he drank water were quickly emptied by besieging crowds, who used the water for curing all sorts of diseases! They believed that his prayers would bring rains and that children would be cured by his touch. He had infused a new spirit among his countrymen and roused them from their slumber: how could a grateful people forget his selfless services?

## 7. MORE ABOUT 1930

The Khudai Khidmatgars, who had been subjected to so much misery during the crisis of 1930, were proclaimed to be agents of Moscow by the local authorities. It was thus attempted to segregate the movement from the rest of India. The old jealousies between Tsarist Russia and Great Britain are too well known, and though that rivalry had for us become a thing of the past, the imperia-

lists saw even greater danger in the new regime. They reckoned that by calling the Khudai Khidmatgars Russian agents, they could easily persuade their diehard Conservatives to permit them to cripple and crush the people. It was a case of giving the dog a bad name and hanging him.

As for Socialism, we approve of it generally, as we firmly believe that it will solve our problems. Our admiration for it is based on its intrinsic value, not on the fact of its adoption by Russia. It has now been proved beyond doubt that there never was any alliance, or even contact, between the Khudai Khidmatgars and the Soviet Union, and that the Government's suspicions were groundless. Nevertheless, our sympathy goes out to the Soviet Union, and we hope to apply some of their fundamental principles to our country.

During those two years all our prominent workers, along with thousands of others, were gagged behind prison bars, while the bulk of the population was passing through the severest of trials. During this period of chaos, three of our comrades, who had not been arrested, left the province and approached Indian Muslim leaders for help. They narrated to them their tale of anguish. But the Muslim leaders, to a man, refused to have anything to do with these people, who had chosen to oppose their 'benefactors'. They met the late Mian Sir Fazli-Hussain and sought his advice. That great statesman asked them to abandon all hopes of getting any help from the Muslim leaders and try to face the enemy alone; 'but in case you can't, as is evident, then go to the Congress, and see if they make your cause theirs.' Sir Fazli-Hussain knew where his co-religionists stood and in what direction their loyalties flowed. His advice was accepted by the Frontier delegates. Losing all hope of winning over the Muslim leadership, which clamours so loudly today about Muslim interests, those three comrades went and knocked at the Congress door. It was opened with good grace, and they found willing supporters, waiting to do their best for their comrades in the common struggle.

The Frontier delegates discussed their plans with the Congress leaders, and after Badshah Khan, who was then in the Gujerat Jail, had been apprised of the developments, it was decided to affiliate the Frontier Movement to the Indian National Congress. Thus a new chapter opened for our people. The Congress came to our rescue in the hour of trial and thus gave proof of its sympathy for the oppressed and suffering people of the Frontier. It not only expressed goodwill, but extended its support to the best of its ability. We cannot forget this, and no amount of false propaganda and communal talk by those who profess to be the standard-bearers of Islam can hoodwink us. Action alone has determined the destinies of a people. The Pathans have no respect for those who talk. We are waiting anxiously for the day when the Muslim leaders of India will stand up to their convictions, and suffer for them. That would be the time for us to make common cause with them, and we have faith that India will then attain that much-sought-after unity, and rise as a great and powerful country.

The alliance produced its effect within a few days of its inception, and the Congress took up our case in right earnest. During this very period, our province was visited by Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. He studied the situation at first hand, and we are told that during the Gandhi-Irwin talks, he adopted a favourable attitude towards the lifting of the ban on Ghaffar Khan and the withdrawal of the Special Ordinances here. The Congress appointed the late Vithalbhai J. Patel to inquire into the happenings at Peshawar, and his report, though proscribed soon after its publication, did furnish some idea of British misrule on the Frontier. Our understanding with the Congress was responsible for the new situation that has developed ever since and has produced so much goodwill among the various communities inhabiting this great country. It further resulted in the release of our leader and the other workers soon after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

The Pact resulted in the suspension of the movement and the release of our workers from jails. Fakh-

i-Afghan was once again free to establish contact with the masses and prepare them for any eventuality. But the terms of the Pact were soon violated and the officials openly flouted the principles of the agreement. They began interfering with the normal activities of the Khudai Khidmatgars, and in a few months, thousands of our comrades found themselves back in their prison cells, while the two Khan Brothers were taken away to the Hazaribagh Jail in Bihar, where they remained till the end of 1934.

A word about conditions in Frontier jails during that period will throw further light on the kind of justice meted out to political prisoners. After being mercilessly belaboured outside, the Khudai Khidmatgars were subjected to the same 'discipline' in jails too. In the newly-built Haripur Jail, where over 12,000 prisoners were imprisoned, the English Superintendent distinguished himself by inventing new methods of punishment. Flogging was his favourite pastime! In the bitter winter of the place, he allotted one old blanket each to his 'wards'. His subordinates did not lag behind, and some of them even surpassed him in their misdeeds. One form of punishment was for jail warders to tread over the prisoners, who were forced to lie down. To crown it all, the corrupt jail officials swallowed the major part of the rations, leaving as little as they could for our men. Thus there was some incentive for them to be 'good administrators'!

#### 8. 1930 TO 1937

India was engrossed in the struggle for her right to self-determination, and thousands of her sons and daughters were undergoing trial, when the Government called its henchmen among the Indian people to the first Round Table Conference. As was expected, that Conference avoided facing the real problem by raising false and minor issues. Nothing important resulted from those long deliberations except the raising of the Frontier to the status of a Governor's Province. It ceased to be 'a gunpowder magazine, unsuited for any scheme of democratic



government'. This reflected a big change in the outlook of the British Government, to whom Sir John Simon had earlier suggested the maintenance of the *status quo*. We wonder how Sir John and men of his sort viewed that change. We know that the cause for this development had been the blood and sacrifice of our people; for in no other way could we have moved these imperialists.

In 1933 the Frontier became a Governor's Province and elections were held for the Provincial Council. These elections were boycotted by the majority of the people on the ground that the constitution granted was not what they had agitated for, and also, because most of their trusted leaders were still behind the bars. Only a few went to the polls. Charsadda took the lead in this boycott, and only one man went to cast his vote there. The results were a foregone conclusion, and a most reactionary set of persons was returned to the newly formed Council. A 'democratic cabinet' came into existence, with six Englishmen and the late Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan as the solitary Indian forming the team. That was a 'big step' towards our goal of independence! It is said Mr Churchill was not at all happy over this 'magnanimous generosity' of his Government.

Events moved rapidly, and Gandhiji, after various changes in the direction of the movement, called off the Non-Co-operation campaign. This led to some settling down, and one by one our Indian leaders were discharged from the jails. Ghaffar Khan was released in 1934, but served with a notice not to enter his province, or even the Punjab. The same order was applied to his elder brother, Dr Khan Sahib. The ban had, however, one beneficial aspect. It afforded the Pathan leader the occasion to acquaint himself with conditions in India. At the same time, the Indian masses obtained the opportunity of getting to know the Frontier leader, who had become a symbol of all their hopes and aspirations. During those days he toured Bengal, Bihar and Bombay, and was everywhere acclaimed by admiring crowds, whom his brave deeds had inspired a great deal. His exile

from the Frontier brought some of the Indian leaders, especially Gandhiji, into close contact with him. Their friendship and mutual understanding have continued to grow, and their names have become inseparable in Indian politics. It is amazing that in spite of their totally different backgrounds, these two leaders should think so much alike. Their perfect agreement on a vital subject like Non-Violence makes their rôles even more interesting, and lends the subject all the greater significance for us in India.

In 1934, the Frontier was given an elected seat in the Central Assembly. The Provincial Congress decided to contest it and nominated Dr Khan Sahib on its behalf. His papers were submitted and his seat was contested at a time when he was not even allowed to enter his province. His absence was fully exploited by the Frontier Government, and they let loose frenzied efforts to secure his defeat. But those endeavours did not mislead our people, and the Doctor swept the polls. This victory showed once again the implicit faith reposed by the Pathans in their leaders and the organization they had so long followed. Soon after his success, the ban was lifted, and Khan Sahib resumed his medical practice at Peshawar. Later, he distinguished himself in the Central Assembly, and his frank criticisms of the administration in his province threw a new light on conditions there. He remained there till the General Elections of 1937, when he was elected to the Provincial Assembly and asked to lead the Congress Party at home. At the time of his departure from the Central Assembly, the Leader of the Opposition gave a farewell party to those of his colleagues who had been elected to their respective Provincial Assemblies, and who were on their way to assume power in the eight different provinces of India. Warm tributes were paid to the outgoing members, and the ex-President of the Assembly, Sir Abdur Rahim, joined the chorus. Paying his own tribute to Dr Khan Sahib, he said: 'In you the House will be missing a very good shot.' And his 'shots' had been directed against all the minions of the

Government, and other upstarts who had basked and fattened in the glory of their masters.

During those years of exile, the Frontier Chief led a quiet life with Gandhiji at Wardha, and except for a little touring, spent most of his time with his new comrade. In 1934, he was invited to address an association of Young Christians at Bombay. Ghaffar Khan confined his speech merely to happenings in the Frontier Province, and gave an account of the various atrocities committed there in his own plain, unvarnished way. That speech led to his arrest, and he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. It is said that when news of his arrest reached Wardha, where his youngest son was then staying with Gandhiji, everyone was taken by surprise, and the Pathan lad came running to his host and asked: 'Why should my father be arrested when you are still out?' It must have been a job to convince the young boy how very dangerous was his father, whom an English journalist, Robert Bernays, has described in his book, *The Naked Faqir*, as follows: 'Abdul Ghaffar Khan is a kindly, gentle, and rather lovable man, looking the embodiment of the traditional paintings of Christ.'

At long last, after six weary years in jails and exile, 1937 saw the national hero of a grim tragedy welcomed back to his fatherland amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. It is difficult to forget that wild and passionate reception, a welcome springing spontaneously out of the intense affection in the hearts of his people. Ghaffar Khan was there, but he was a worn-out and huddled figure, and in his face one could find traces of the deep and excruciating misery inflicted upon him during those years. He had come to steer the ship once again through the turbulent and rapidly flowing currents and try to bring her into a safe harbour, and then on to fresh adventures. There were unmistakable signs of weakness in his massive figure, but his courage was undaunted. His reception was followed by a mass meeting at Peshawar. Addressing that vast gathering, he said: 'Thank God I am once again with you to share your joys. But the real joy has yet to come, and our happiness is meaningless

until we have achieved our goal of independence. Our struggle for freedom has reached a stage that calls for still greater sacrifices from us. I am sure all of you realize that. As for my part, let me tell you once again that I will continue to struggle for liberty until we have shaken off the foreign yoke and set up a true people's government in this country.'

The General Elections had taken place, and soon after Badshah Khan's return to the province, his lieutenants were called upon to form the Government of the North-West Frontier Province. That was surely his hour of triumph. After twenty-five years of endless labour and suffering, during which he had worked day and night, Fakhr-i-Afghan was watching his plant in artificial bloom, witnessing his party occupying places of partial authority. It was his courage, determination, skill, and judgement that had inspired his underfed, ill-equipped and rugged Khudai Khidmatgars challenge the might of the British Empire and wrest some share in the government for themselves.

## 9. A STUDY

The Indian national struggle has drawn remarkable types of persons to its ranks, and each one of them has played an admirable part in the reconstruction of his country. But no individual or event has been more striking and more unexpected than the appearance of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars on the Indian political scene. There has been a certain amount of confusion and misunderstanding about the Frontier Khan and his movement, and I cannot do better here than quote Jawaharlal Nehru, who, writing in his Autobiography, has said: 'Some government officials and some of our very timid countrymen look askance at the "Frontier Gandhi". They cannot take him at his word and can only think in terms of a deep intrigue. But the past years have brought him and other Frontier comrades very near to the Congress workers in other parts of India, and between them there has grown up a close comradeship and mutual appreciation and regard.'

Abdul Ghaffar Khan has been known and liked for many years in Congress circles. But he has grown to be something more than an individual comrade ; more and more he has come to be, in the eyes of the rest of India, the symbol of the courage and sacrifice of a gallant and indomitable people, comrades of ours in a common struggle.'

And now, what is Abdul Ghaffar Khan like ? Six-foot-three of sagacity, courage, endurance, love, fearlessness, and a determination that is proof against every shock of fortune. The late C. F. Andrews described him as ' a king among men by stature and dignity of bearing '. One has only to imagine how he must have looked in earlier days, before sufferings endured during long and frequent terms of imprisonment had left their scars on his giant frame. A magnificent man, truly royal in appearance and character ! His sufferings have been manifold, and the deep furrows on his face and the pale, sunken eyes tell their own pathetic tale. He is calm and resolute, truthful and modest, sincere and upright. Badshah Khan is very exacting and firm in the pursuit of his mission. His manners are simple and charming ; he is most considerate and hospitable. To him life is real and nothing can distract him from his lofty ideal. He likes reading the history of various world revolutions, and it seems as if of all people the one who has impressed him most is that great and noble revolutionary, Lenin. I remember his remarking once : ' Read history and you will discover how power made most great men lose their balance. Napoleon, after all his hardships and notwithstanding his many promises, assumed the rôle of a monarch and tried to retain power in his own family. Reza Shah and Nadir Shah, too, in their turn, were similarly intoxicated by power. They could have easily followed the inspiring example of selflessness set by the Prophet and the Caliphs. It was left to Lenin to live up to this glorious pattern by refusing to become supreme, although it was within his reach to do so.'

Fakhr-i-Afghan is a man of action and loves practical politics. He is shy when it comes to facing crowds,

and he rarely speaks outside the Frontier. But he is a fine orator in Pushto, and the words, coming from the depths of his heart and reinforced by his striking personality, make a deep impression on his audience. Like all great men, he depends on a few simple and clear-cut ideas, for the sake of which he has lived, battled and suffered. He is no lover of this world of warfare and hatred, misery and degradation. He strives to fashion a better substitute. He seeks the comradeship of the unsophisticated, poverty-stricken millions, who, in their hunger and nakedness, present a vivid and appalling spectacle of our national degeneration, and whom he wishes to liberate and lift up from utter ruin. As for rest for himself, he does not look for it here.

As I have said before, Ghaffar Khan began his career as a reformer with the Haji Sahib of Turangzai, and realizing that the political and religious traditions of his people were inextricably connected, he decided to play the dual rôle of politician and saint. His religious education and the deep impress it had left on his character, along with his acquired political genius, enabled him to carry out this decision in a manner peculiarly his own.

History tells us of statesmen-saints, and if I may be allowed to make a somewhat sweeping remark, unless true religion becomes one of the guiding factors in politics, the recurrent cycle of wars and domination of the strong over the weak will always mock the fairest achievements of mankind through many centuries. We have to realize that so long as the forces of spiritualism and materialism do not react on one another to create a homogeneous whole from out of the welter of this present turmoil, where creeds are formulated to suit the exigencies of the moment, the salvation of the world will seem but a fantastic dream. And more especially, when it is suggested that our problems can be solved by the 'New World Order' and the 'Rights of Man'! These terms sound very pious, but when we think of the background of their originators, we cannot but feel that they represent the views of persons who wish to create

yet another League of Nations, where one Big Power should very modestly hold the balance of power in her hands until the entire structure is once again toppled down by the rise of a new totalitarianism. In contrast to this, we have the example of the orthodox Caliphs, more particularly that of Caliph Umar, who symbolized a synthesis of the opposing elements of Church and State, and built up an extremely harmonious society. His memory conjures up before our eyes a glorious record of human conduct, and displays the balance between doing good and remaining good. What is there in Milton, Iqbal and Tagore that attracts us more than in a host of other poets the world has produced? Why is Cromwell, in spite of his meagre achievements, so much praised by his English historians? What is it that has made Mahatma Gandhi what he is today? It is, if I understand aright, an intensely moral outlook on life and politics.

We must realize that we live in an age of grave social disorder. Modern civilization is both haphazard and lopsided, and in order to promote human happiness, we must discover a balance. Both ends and means are important; neither can be ignored. The West has failed. It is said that those whom God wishes to destroy He first drives mad. I have digressed from my point; from a description of our Pathan hero I have branched off into a consideration of the deep differences between the philosophies of India and Europe, but we have to understand these and appreciate the value and inner significance of our ideas.

Ghaffar Khan is no politician in the technical sense of the word; he hates the fuss that political activity entails. But he knows his job and is clear about his stand in the political arena of this vast sub-continent. He has seldom been guilty of indecision, and when the Poona Offer of 1939 caused confusion in Congress ranks, this straightforward fighter knew his mind and expressed it clearly and forcibly, even going to the extent of resigning from the Working Committee of the Congress. To him the Offer was not a light-hearted matter; he was

pledged to Non-Violence, and even apart from this as he told us: 'We are Khudai Khidmatgars, and our aim is to win freedom. But we are equally pledged to serve humanity, and I do not understand why we should go and fight another's battle in order to attain our goal. Such freedom would be a farce and would not last for any length of time. We have been condemning wars and their horrors, and now is the time to prove our sincerity and resist all attempts to dragoon us into a wicked combination for warlike purposes.' He considered the Poona Offer harmful and instead of wasting his time on academic discussions, he chose to resign. His action seemed hasty to some; and soon after his resignation Jawaharlalji wrote to me: 'I wish he had waited and not taken that decision, because, after all we have all to pull together, and though we cannot foretell events, they are bound to overtake us at any moment.' His stand, as was only natural, had the full support of the Frontier people. In a resolution passed at Abbottabad on the 9th of August, 1940, the Provincial Congress Committee endorsed his action unanimously. Events were moving fast, and soon after the Poona Offer, the Congress had to retrace its steps and resume its old position. It was then that one realized how Ghaffar Khan stood out unique among his comrades. Rarely have I seen a man of such lofty idealism, of such staunch loyalty to a cause. His purity and simplicity exalted him above his fellows, and his steadfastness to his ideal was as a beacon of inspiration.

Badshah Khan hates to be idle, and one rarely finds him unoccupied. A visit to him usually implies some sort of undertaking in the fields or wherever else he might happen to be, for he succeeds in persuading even the most obstinate visitor to do some manual work. He is happy while among his poor countrymen, and tries to influence the rural population even as one of them. His long association with the masses has given him a keen insight into the mind of the Pathans and he approaches them in a remarkably bold fashion. He usually talks to them of their drawbacks and vices, and



they listen to him with love and thankfulness that there is someone to warn them about their shortcomings. The Pathans have faith in him : they know that he lives for them and will die for them if need be.

Ghaffar Khan is essentially a man of God and looks at everything from the religious point of view. A keen student of world affairs, he tries to mould his policies in the light of the knowledge he has gleaned. He has read a good deal of Islamic history, and makes use of it in his speeches. This has helped his followers to appreciate the true spirit of Islam and endeavour to live up to its high principles. He is a great believer in God and seldom misses his prayers or a fast during the thirty days of Ramzan. He dislikes long discussions and meaningless talk and exhorts his followers to 'act, act in the living present'. He abhors slavery and has often told us in his public lectures and private conversations : 'I am opposed to the British Government because I consider it a crime to be a slave, and therefore, until we establish in this country a true People's Government, under which every community secures equal opportunities for expansion, you will find me struggling for freedom, no matter who dominates the scene. The Prophet had his handicaps, but he never gave up hope, and finally triumphed. He has left that lesson behind, and if we face our difficulties in the same spirit, I do not see why we should ever fail. The cause of freedom is always just and the fight against slavery is always noble. It behoves us to lay down our lives for this.' He utters these words with deep conviction, and one can read in his face, 'Life is real, life is earnest. . . .'

Like all true reformers, Fakhr-i-Afghan is an advocate of the rights of women also. He frequently tells his workers to treat them well and derive a lesson from what the Prophet has said upon this question. His ideas on the subject can be better understood from what he says himself. Speaking at a gathering of women at Togh, in Kohat district, on the 15th of December, 1941, he said : 'Let me assure you that when freedom has been won, you will have an equal share and place with

your brothers in this country. We are like the two wheels of a big chariot, and unless our movements have been mutually adjusted, our carriage will never move, and even if it does, there will be the constant fear of disaster. Islam has given you equality, and you did enjoy it during the days of the Prophet. We are told in the Quran that heaven lies at the feet of the mother. But in order to secure that position again, you must exert and prepare yourself for it. As for myself, you may trust me to uphold your cause, which I believe to be just. Our independence would be a farce and a fake if it deprived half of the population of an equal share within its orbit.'

I have already spoken of his simplicity. He has developed a wonderful capacity to put up cheerfully with every kind of difficulty. His tours, which are frequent and extensive, are conducted under very rough conditions. He has made it a practice to visit every village, and to do that he has to walk long distances, carrying his clothing, charkha, the necessary papers and such other small things himself. I have done a great deal of touring with him. We usually covered twenty to twenty-five miles a day on foot. He had to deliver three or four lectures, each of an hour's duration, every day. His vitality, even at the age of fifty-seven, is truly amazing. On reaching a village, he undertakes to clean up not only his own abode, but also such other places as the mosque or school that he finds in a particularly dirty condition. He usually stays amongst his poor followers, and until he retires to sleep after saying the last prayers, he is surrounded by the village folk. His life in his own village, where he looks after the fields and attends to many another domestic duty, is not easy either. Once, while busy repairing his wall, he injured his foot. Lately he has spun sufficient yarn to make himself two sets of clothing, which he thinks will suffice him for a year. In his village home at Shahibagh, he is visited by people from all over the province as well as from other parts of India, and it has been a tough job for his son to look after guests dropping in at all hours

of the day. Ghaffar Khan attends to his mail himself when he is not touring, and has proved to be a far better correspondent than Dr Khan Sahib, who is said to destroy his post sometimes without bothering to open it and read the contents! Once I mentioned this report to Doctor Sahib, who at once retorted: 'But I always write to my wife!' And we know that he seldom leaves her side to give rise to an occasion for correspondence!

Ghaffar Khan has at last fulfilled his dream of establishing a Centre for his work, and has settled down in a straw shed on the banks of the river at Sardaryab, 14 miles from Peshawar, since July, 1942. The new Centre has been named 'Markaz-i-Ala'. It is the headquarters of the Frontier Nationalist Movement. He intends enlarging it, and has asked all his principal workers to make their own rooms there. The foundations of the first building have been laid, and we hope this will soon be followed by others. It is not making much headway, as he insists on looking after everything himself. His frequent absences delay progress.

His habits are simple. Unlike other Pathans, he is opposed to the habitual drinking of tea. He enjoys listening to the radio and then commenting on the things he has heard. He reads a little, and has contributed a good deal to his Pushto journal, the publication of which was stopped during the 1942 movement. He hates backbiting and rebukes those who indulge in it in his presence. He is quiet and frugal, while in his work he is most energetic. In his human relationships, he cannot bear the stiff and the dry: his tenderness breaks through for the weak and the oppressed. He is very fond of children. He is a severe judge of men, more particularly of himself. He was born to be a leader and is every inch a hero.

I have referred to his fearlessness and his indefatigable zest for work. In this connexion I am reminded of a happening in the not very distant past. In January, 1941, I was touring with him in the southern districts of the Frontier, where, thanks to the British policy, things were (and still are) very insecure. In order to fulfil our

extensive tour programme, we had to travel at all hours in areas where not infrequently freebooters and highway robbers held sway. The people asked their leader not to risk his life by venturing into these danger zones. But his one answer to their entreaties was: 'There were attempts\* on my life in 1931, but God destined otherwise. I have survived to awaken my people from their slumbers. I have done my duty and the seed that I planted in 1912 has grown up into a shady tree with branches, giving shelter to the people who nursed it with their precious blood. Having done this why should I fear death and run away from my responsibilities? We have all to die one day, and it were better that death should come when one is engaged in doing good to His creation.'

And while I write these pages my mind goes to Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who is busy preparing his followers for the coming changes. Since his release in March, 1945, he has been tirelessly working among his people, and this in spite of failing health and advancing years.† His endless labours towards the reconstruction of society in the Frontier remind us of the memorable words of the great Chinese leader, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, who once told his men: 'If we perspire more in times of peace, we shall bleed less in times of war.' In the same way Badshah Khan tours the province and tells his audiences: 'You have long shouted *Inqilab Zindabad* (long live revolution). Now it is actually on us, and whether you like it or not, we live under its direct influence. The English may leave any moment, because we have grown stronger in our country, and general conditions in the world are forcing them to depart. We cannot continue to be slaves. The very idea is revolting,

\* In 1931, the Afridis killed a fugitive, Qazi, on the charge that he had been hired to assassinate Abdul Ghaffar Khan. They are said to have recovered Rs. 20,000 from this man, and the name of the officer, believed to have been behind this plot is known to every Pathan.

† In spite of failing health and preoccupations in the Frontier, he went to the rescue of riot affected Muslims in Bihar, and gave them courage and a spirit of self-reliance. His long stay there, which was followed by the presence of Gandhiji, has helped the people considerably, and thanks to God, things are returning to normal once again.

and it is a crime not to be free. Heavy responsibilities await us, and the whole world is eagerly watching us. If you want to please Him, and make your own lives happy, then I ask you to awake, arise, or be for ever fallen.'

A Muslim without bigotry, a fighter without cruelty, a foe without hate, and a friend without any trace of treachery—that is Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He is a public man without vices, a citizen without wrong, a neighbour without reproach, and a man without guilt. He is brave but not rash; he is a leader utterly without selfishness. Though the nation acclaimed his services by thrice offering him the Presidentship of the National Congress, he is the one man in India who has declined the great honour.

'The bravest are the tenderest—  
The loving are the daring.'

## 10. THE MUSALMANS DRIFT APART

In India we hear so much about clash of ideas and lack of unity among the major communities. The various parties are charged with ignoring realities and failing to arrive at a settlement. Where lies the fault? Much has been said, and we have heard a lot about charges and counter-charges. The events of the last few years stand vivid before our eyes, and it seems as if our present disputes cannot be solved except through a major surgical operation. Muslim leadership has of late succeeded in weaning Muslim sentiment away from the national aspirations, and a gulf has been created between the two most important political parties. This development is attributed to the injustices alleged to have been done to the Musalmans during the regime of the last Congress Ministries. This argument sounds quite futile to us on the Frontier. Are we to sidetrack our energies, to protect ourselves from these internal opponents, ignoring our real enemy the while? So let me proceed and try to explain why we on the Frontier move in a different direction and stand aloof from a party that claims to speak on our behalf as well.

The difficulties in India are multifarious, and I make bold to say that for the Musalmans, they are even worse. During the establishment of British rule in India, the Muslims were the worst sufferers in the first two decades. They were dispossessed by the British invaders and treated as suspects. And their own superiority complex prevented the Musalmans from approaching the new masters of the country for any favour. This resulted in their being left behind in the various walks of life, and for a while they were almost confused and paralysed, until the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan gave them a lead and pushed them towards the threshold of the alien rulers in India. Having made a late start, they naturally find others ahead of them today. Our mistake then was delay in taking to the British, while the recent policy of the Muslim leaders errs inasmuch as it is tardy in its dislike of all that has in reality been uprooting the Musalmans in India and elsewhere in the world. We are pained to find that instead of fighting their real opponents, the Muslim leaders are constituting themselves an obstacle in the way of a joint struggle for freedom. It is difficult to foretell the outcome of such a policy. But one thing is clear that their hymns of hatred and discord will not benefit the Muslim masses. We are sure that one day they will have to revise their methods. History tells us that no structure can ever be built up, least of all a lasting one, on a basis of false religious sentiments. We have already tasted a measure of this policy in India, and hope it will open our eyes to the dangers ahead.

The Frontier Province, under its great leader, has lined itself up alongside the powerful national organization and has thrown all its weight into the struggle. This attitude has been criticized by most of the Muslim politicians and they accuse Abdul Ghaffar Khan of misleading the Pathans and shepherding them into the Congress camp. This is a misstatement of facts that deliberately ignores the reality. What was responsible for this development? Our memories are not so short; we remember every word that was spoken to those three delegates of ours seeking assistance from the Muslim

'Lions and Leopards', who, though they claim to champion the cause of Islam against the Hindus, were afraid to help us a few years ago against the British. If such an occasion should arise again, we have no doubt as to what they will do. That is not all. There were irritants enough even in subsequent years. When Muslim leadership started organizing the League,\* they refused to take this compact and solid Muslim bloc, represented by the Khudai Khidmatgars, into their confidence. Instead, they tried to create disruptions in our province by setting up defeated reactionaries against the popular mass movement. It is not my desire to write anything against those who 'champion the cause of Islam' within our province, because people of the Frontier have themselves given the verdict on this question recently.

---

\* In this connexion, Mr Jinnah had repeatedly told me that his effort would be to win Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his Khudai Khidmatgars over to his side. Supporting any other group on the Frontier, he declared, would mean disrupting the Musalmans. Unfortunately Mr Jinnah did not translate these pious intentions into action, and is responsible, along with his 'supporters' for the hatred that is growing between the different sections in this province. The recent turmoil in the Frontier Province has been due to the hymns of hate sung by the Leaguers during the recent past. Instigated by their official lords, these British stooges have tarnished the fair name of the province by killing and looting the minority community in the name of Islam. Such a policy may have benefited a few for some time, but it can hardly lead a group towards a great destiny. We know that our people view their conduct with contempt, and when the time comes for them to decide their future course, they will do so in a befitting manner.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE GENERAL ELECTIONS—1936-37

By gaining people, the kingdom is gained : by losing the people, the kingdom is lost.

—*Confucius*

The Indian National Congress has faced many trials during its struggle against the foreign rulers, round whom cluster their satellites among the Indian people. This India of ours, which for generations had been dominated by aliens, and which had lost most of its vigour and vitality, rose and played an admirable part in this struggle. Many movements were launched for the attainment of our goal, and each helped to prepare our countrymen for the still harder tasks ahead. These campaigns were often suspended, but at no stage was the real struggle abandoned, and when the time came, the march was always resumed with enthusiasm. Each pause helped us to study the situation and consolidate our positions. Each stage of the conflict was a stepping-stone to the one that was to come, and helped to strengthen, energize and invigorate our people. The goal drew nearer and nearer, and today it is not only visible, but within our reach. There were some who criticized and ridiculed Congress methods, but even they had to recognize the success that crowned them. The Congress pursued its course with courage, and tried to oppose the alien Government as well as all internal forces of reaction with all its might.

The year 1936-37 was marked by a new approach to the struggle. The Government of India Act of 1935 had been imposed on an unwilling and hostile India. The Congress decided to contest the General Elections and to capture the various provincial legislatures. It hoped to wreck the Act and prove to the world the undisputed support it commanded throughout the country.



The Government had been carrying on widespread propaganda to show that the Act went very far and really transferred power to the people. In reality it did nothing of the kind, and real power and authority remained where it had always been. Foreign control and protection for reactionary and vested interests continued as before. We opposed this Act, because it was a consolidation of the forces of reaction and a barrier to real progress. We were pledged to independence and the framing of India's constitution by a Constituent Assembly, elected under an adult franchise, which would give every group the opportunity to press its own point of view. We had made it clear that every point dealing with the rights of the Musalmans and other minorities would be decided with the consent of the parties concerned. In the event of such agreement not being reached on any particular issue, that would be referred to an impartial tribunal for decision. If the third party was removed and the framing of the constitution left entirely to our own people, the pressure of circumstances would lead very probably to an amicable settlement. If, unfortunately, this did not come about, then there might be a conflict, and some decision would surely emerge from that. At any rate a problem that is considered intractable today would have been solved one way or the other.

When the constitutional struggle came, the Khudai Khidmatgars plunged into it with hope and confidence. They faced enormous difficulties, but succeeded in defeating most of the pillars of the bureaucracy. The electorate was confined to a bare ten per cent of our population. This was normally unfavourable to the Congress, whose strength depended on its popularity among the remaining 90 per cent. Nevertheless, we appealed to the people, and upset the cherished plans of the entrenched supporters of Government: the communalists, vested interests, and big landlords, who had been carefully nursed. Had the other ninety per cent been allowed to cast their votes, the Congress victory would have been still more remarkable, for the masses were more solidly for the Congress than the people who actually went to

the polls. The masses yearned for elimination of a system which had crushed them for so long.

The General Elections were fought throughout the country under unfavourable conditions, but the situation in the Frontier Province was especially deplorable. The leader of the Pathans, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, was not allowed to enter the province to conduct the elections personally. His absence was fully exploited by his opponents, who circulated fantastic stories about him to poison our minds. Jawaharlal Nehru, who carried on a lightning campaign throughout the country on behalf of the Congress, was not permitted to visit this 'mysterious land'. The entire official machinery was set in operation against Khudai Khidmatgar candidates. District Magistrates put restrictions in the way of our nominees and rejected the nomination papers of several Congress candidates on some pretext or other. Constituencies were so formed and divided up as to suit those who opposed the Red Shirts. The authorities used pressure to coerce the people into opposing the Khudai Khidmatgars. All this was done in spite of the well-worded invitation of the Frontier Governor to the Congress to participate in the elections. The ban on the party was not lifted, and its flag, which was soon to represent the party in power, remained an unlawful symbol.

Notwithstanding these cruel handicaps, the Congress carried on its mission with indefatigable energy. Its leaders tried to marshall all the forces at their disposal for the fight against some of the most influential elements in the province. It held meetings, big and small, and approached the people individually. It explained to them the significance of the impending contest and warned them about the part they were being called upon to play. Hundreds and thousands of people came to these gatherings, and their faces displayed hopes and urges long suppressed, and great expectations. They listened eagerly to the words of their comrades and pledged willing allegiance to the cause. Later, when voting time came, they marched to the polling booths ignoring the free conveyances offered by the big landlords, and defying, too,

the officials' pleadings or threats. This casting of the vote became a form of pilgrimage undertaken in a solemn spirit.

These Pathan crowds presented a remarkable spectacle in the Mardan and Swabi sub-divisions, where the resolve of the people to throw off the foreign yoke was at its peak. The biggest landlord of that territory was opposing the Khudai Khidmatgar candidate at Mardan. He was so sure of victory that he remarked to Dr Khan Sahib that out of the six thousand votes to be polled, three thousand were as good as in his pocket. But the Doctor retorted that he had made a hole in his rival's pocket, and that when polling day dawned, not a single vote would remain there. The statement was not mere wishful thinking; we defeated the landlord easily. At Swabi the late Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan, the most powerful of all our opponents, was confident of success, as the constituency was his home territory and the scene of his official benevolence. But he had to suffer an unexpected reverse. I need not describe in detail how so many other stalwarts came to grief in these contests. Like mushrooms, they disappeared, leaving no trace of their hold on Frontier politics. In this same way will most of our other obstacles be thrown down by the advancing tide of freedom, and Indian independence be achieved.

The elections had their other side too: the Khudai Khidmatgars lost some of the contests. They were usually defeated when they drifted from the straight path and raised false issues. We watched and raised timely protests against some of our over-zealous candidates raising absurd and ridiculous slogans, and indulging in personal criticism of their opponents, and thereby compromising the dignity of our organization and creating difficulties for the whole party. Such people failed to realize that our problems were the fruits of an oppressive system and not of the creation of individuals; and that without sufficient realism to guide our policies, we could never hope to overcome them. That was the most important lesson of the elections.

The General Elections were fought and won on fairly clear-cut policies placed before the masses. If they had any meaning or value, and were not an imperialist farce, then the people had given their verdict. They had spoken in such a manner that even the deaf might have heard. Our people had said to the Government: 'Leave us alone and get out of India. You have sufficiently exploited and injured our motherland, reducing her to utter poverty and misery. We have had enough of you, and we want to get on by ourselves.' But this seemed to have little effect on an imperialist Government which relied on its armed might to hold India and was anxious to preserve its special interests.

During the elections, as I have already pointed out, the Government made every possible attempt to wipe out the Congress from this heroic land and reinstate their own creatures to exploit the people. But the failure of the authorities in their evil designs was to them 'both unexpected and unfortunate'. The Government had raised a house of cards, and tried to keep it standing. But a slight touch brought down the entire structure, and the house collapsed ignominiously.

I have already mentioned how the Government refused permission to Ghaffar Khan to return to the Frontier and supervise the elections. In his unavoidable absence, the task of organizing the people and opposing the reactionary elements was shouldered by his elder brother, Dr Khan Sahib. He tried his utmost to get together a group of people who would be worthy members of the future Assembly. The task was not easy and the path of the Doctor was full of thorns. He made the best use of his opportunities, however, and succeeded in finding a fairly good team to work with. The experience he gained then will no doubt help him in the future. In this connexion it might be said that the Congress did not contest all the seats. Our party decided to support some of the independent candidates. They did succeed but naturally remained fluid elements in the Assembly.

Before the elections commenced, the All-India Congress Committee deputed Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and

the late Mr Bhulabhai Desai to visit the Frontier. They were to assist local workers to organize suitable election machinery and institute a Parliamentary Board of local leaders to function in place of the suspended and unlawful Congress Committees. They were also to tour the province and carry the Congress message to the different corners of this 'forbidden' land. But the Government issued instructions and banned their visit to other districts of the Province. Even the Islamia College, Peshawar, whose students and principal, Mr R. L. Holdsworth, were anxious to hear the eloquence of the late Mr Bhulabhai, failed to get the necessary permission. In this connexion it is pertinent to recall Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah's visit to the Frontier. He came a little before these Congress leaders visited the province. Though Mr Jinnah did not succeed in eliciting any support for his party, the official attitude was significant. It was the same policy as before—to counter progressive elements, and to endeavour to suppress them, and at the same time to encourage disruptive tendencies. This policy had been followed skilfully by them ever since the Great Revolt of 1857. Mr Jinnah was allowed to do whatever he liked, and there was not the slightest interference from the authorities. We are told that Mr Jinnah himself was embarrassed by this partiality towards him.

A tale of those days should include a picture of the official interference in the election campaigns. Yet it is difficult to set down in writing the innumerable instances of such interference. It is also not worth while or desirable to revive old quarrels and criticize individuals who acted dishonestly or indulged in corrupt practices. A Deputy Commissioner forcibly prevented voters from casting their votes, with the result that about six hundred people could not record their verdict. Another officer in charge of the elections throughout the province openly conspired with the rivals of the Congress and helped them to choose places and dates of polling, and gave polling officers a free hand to act in their interests. It is a pity that such a gang flourished even when the Congress came to power, and did not meet with the fate they

deserved. The policy was inexcusable from every point of view, and no amount of explanation can wash out the harm done to our movement through its application. Traitors deserve no sympathy, and only a foolish Indian Government would grant a fresh lease of life to a set of people out to destroy our national aspirations today. The dawn of Indian freedom must be followed by the elimination of all such elements. The memory of those election days and the official interference will live long in the minds of the people and will be a continuous reminder of the misbehaviour of the authorities. In addition to this, the blood of our people was still on their hands.\*

Much happened during those days, and every event was a lesson in itself. The Congress succeeded, because its cause was just. The reactionaries † circulated the most malicious lies about the beloved Pathan leader, but we witnessed the miserable failure of their attempts. Some of them raised the cry of 'Islam in danger'. It was interesting to watch these lotus-eaters of our politics, who had all along danced to foreign tunes, rise from their cosy beds to pick up the few crumbs that had been thrown into the field. They said a temporary good-bye to ease, sleep and repose, and became suddenly active with a passion and desperation born out of the painful

---

\* In the recent elections, this official bloc opposed us in a more subtle manner. They were in open conspiracy with the 'Champions of Islam'. They had the face to tell the people that they had been for the Congress so far, but that the fear of Hindu domination had driven them into the League fold. But our people could see behind their masks, and, boldly defying their might, won. They recognized in them a class which has always sold itself into the hands of the powers-that-be. Today they are for the British against the Hindus; tomorrow they may be with the Hindus against the Muslims. For they worship the gods of Self and Greed. One British Deputy Commissioner was so enthusiastic about the League that, while talking to Dr Khan Sahib, he described it as *his* party. Dr Khan Sahib, thereupon, asked him when he had been converted to Islam.

† Under Government pressure, this old set of reactionaries, who had opposed us individually last time, put forth a concerted effort against us, and all of them stood as League candidates. Knowing the Frontier to be a stronghold of the Congress, Mr Jinnah and his companions directed a great offensive against us. Somehow they became confident of success. But little did they realize that the Muslims here, unlike those in other provinces, were wide awake, and tried soldiers of freedom. It was difficult to enmesh such people through empty slogans. The result of all their propaganda was that the Congress won a greater victory in the recent elections than it had in 1937. In the last elections, we had captured 19 seats in all, while this time, we won 32 in a House of 50. We lost the other seats by very narrow margins.

realization that the privileges they had usurped and so long grievously misused were being snatched away from them. We saw them battling against an angry ocean, and taking refuge under religious slogans. These people had not only tainted the honour and dignity of their faith, but had always shown eagerness to barter it away for trifling gains. To hear such people declare Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who, according to an English journalist, 'is the relentless enemy of all that is British', a Hindu, was truly amazing. This man, whose life-long sacrifice has carved out a place for the Pathans in the fellowship of awakened people, was accused of betraying the Musalmans. But, if to oppose domination and make common cause with other communities in India means betrayal, then there is no room for argument with the fabricators of such fantastic allegations. We can only dismiss them as frivolous.

## CHAPTER V

# THE CONGRESS GOVERNMENT OF THE N.-W.F.P.—1937-39

Which is the best government ?  
That which teaches self-government.

—*Goethe*

For seventeen years the Indian National Congress had followed the general policy of non-co-operation with the British Government, though the application of this had varied, as circumstances required, from civil disobedience to a kind of constitutional opposition inside the legislatures and outside. Whatever the variations, the policy remained one of non-co-operation, and the Congress continued to wander in the wilderness so far as the government of the country was concerned. The General Elections of 1937 brought new problems and opened a new chapter. The question of Office Acceptance or the formation of Provincial Governments by the Congress majorities in the legislatures was, after long argument, finally decided by the All-India Congress Committee in Delhi in 1937, and confirmed by the National Convention held immediately afterwards. This decision permitted the formation of such Governments subject to certain assurances from the British Government that the Governors would not interfere with the discretion of the popular ministers. These assurances were not forthcoming for some months, and so, in many provinces the legislatures did not meet. Provisional arrangements were, therefore, made to carry on the administration. Later, certain assurances were given, which were considered satisfactory on the whole, and Congress Governments started functioning.

Soon after the elections, it was evident that a popular ministry might be formed in the Frontier Province. The matter was taken up with all-India leaders. The



Congress deputed Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr Rajendra Prasad to visit the province and find out the chances of that proposition. They came to Abbottabad, where the Assembly was to meet, and discussed the question with Ghaffar Khan, who had recently returned to his homeland from exile. They were satisfied about the strength of the party and later, when Congress Governments started functioning elsewhere, allowed them to form the Government of their province.

Before the Congress assumed power in the Frontier, the Governor had installed a ministry, which lacked popular support as well as a majority in the House. That farce had been kept up for the months during which the Congress refused to accept office without an undertaking that the Special Responsibilities of the Governors would not be exercised. During this period officials, high and low, good and bad, tried their best to get together all disgruntled elements and pitch them against the Khudai Khidmatgars. The different activities connected with that move and memories of the various Unity Boards then set up are still fresh in our minds. This Government reorganized all parties opposed to the Khudai Khidmatgars, and where none existed, brought new ones into being by every means at their disposal. Thus British Imperialism pursued its old course and tried to split up the nationalist movement and produce a balance between rival forces. But all their hopes came to grief on the rock of our solidarity, and as soon as the Assembly was summoned, this self-appointed and unrepresentative set of people constituting the ministry of the moment was thrown out by the express will of the people voiced by their representatives.

The interim ministry had been led by the late Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan. He was a man of extraordinary abilities. He was considered a moderate by a large section of the educated class, while to others he represented the British Government *par excellence*. By sheer dint of hard work and his wonderful capacity to tackle the acute problems of the Frontier, he had risen from an insignificant position in life to the highest post

that the province offered. His loyalty to the British had won him their confidence, and the Government had made him the centre of all opposition to the revolutionary and radical elements among the people. He was indeed an important bulwark of alien rule here, and had been responsible for raising a solid structure during his long tenure of service. It is a well-known fact that at heart he admired the ideal for which Ghaffar Khan struggled, but his strong loyalties dragged him into opposite channels. He was a great and enthusiastic champion of reforms for the Frontier and advocated this cause admirably at the Round Table Conference. It was owing to the confidence and whole-hearted support of the British Government that even without any substantial social backing or any definite political party, he held his own against the powerful landed aristocracy of the province and kept them in his grip.

Sir Abdul Qayyum was one of the founders of the famous Islamia College at Peshawar, and was its life-long Secretary. It may be said without fear of contradiction that the institution was dear to his heart and that he never let down its cause throughout his long trusteeship. He often caused annoyance to people in his zeal to secure something for this 'child' of his, and the college did suffer a great setback on his death. This remarkable old man of the Frontier died at the age of 73 (in November, 1937) in his village home at Topi, and with him ended the importance of the class that he had so long represented. The Sahibzada was indeed a typical aristocrat and a unique institution by himself.

The advent of the Congress Ministry astounded those who had all along opposed the Congress and had attempted to destroy its influence. Its translation from old barracks in jails to new but insecure seats of authority disturbed many, and a noted Englishman observed that the event was 'both unfortunate and unexpected'. It compelled a former Governor of our province, well known to be a clever schemer, to play the traditional British game of 'divide and rule'. For the first time in the history of British rule here, only a few days after

acceptance of office by the Congress, he invited the clerical staff of the Civil Secretariat to a tea-party in the Government House. But no one was duped by his 'hospitality'. Many of the clerks actually went and saluted their Premier, Dr Khan Sahib, for the honour done to them. There are many such instances of attempts to create disunity among the Pathans.

The formation of a popular Government was not at all a desirable event from the British point of view, and the typical imperialist reaction to the situation thus created may be studied from the views expressed by Sir William Barton. Writing in his book *India's North-West Frontier*, Sir William observes: 'Whatever the truth may be, Abdul Ghaffar has succeeded in acquiring an outstanding influence throughout the province, a unique achievement since the beginning of British rule. It is due almost entirely to him that thousands of young Pathans, educated or illiterate, have been drawn into the vortex of the Indian political movement and have enrolled themselves under the Red-Shirt banner. His success is mainly the outcome of the British policy of *laissez-faire*. The historian of the future will probably find it difficult to explain why a strong government allowed this wild fanatic a free hand to destroy the framework of law and order. Is it surprising that Pathans, watching the huge concourse of Gandhi-capped Pathans at a party given by the Frontier Premier in honour of Gandhi on the beautiful lawns of a great house, where British high officials once entertained the beauty and fashion of Peshawar, could avoid feeling that the British Raj was crumbling? That feeling would be strengthened by the sight of hundreds of young Pathan students at the Islamia College reading an address of welcome to the little Hindu Bania, eulogising him as the greatest of Indian patriots.' Most of the facts referred to are true, but their presentation reveals a particular attitude of mind, and though it is difficult to ascertain the reactions of the Pathans who watched that 'huge concourse of Gandhi-capped Pathans', one can easily understand the feelings of this English Knight and sympathize with his mood of despair.

The Congress Ministry was led by Dr Khan Sahib. His sterling qualities of honesty and straightforwardness made him popular with all classes, and even his opponents admired him for the manner in which he discharged his duties. His frankness, selflessness and sincerity of purpose helped him to surmount innumerable difficulties. His uncompromising impartiality sometimes offended us, and created many difficulties in the province. Loyalty to the cause and to his brother has been the keynote of his politics and has won him the affection of his comrades. Dr Khan Sahib holds very simple views and has stuck to them most tenaciously. He is a great believer in the common people and often calls himself a socialist, though that does not mean adherence to a particular economic theory. He is convinced that his creed will inevitably be accepted by his countrymen, and, therefore, he is opposed to breaking the unity of the masses so long as foreigners dominate the country.

His role as Premier of the Frontier Province makes an interesting study. His methods of handling the affairs of the province were novel. He was easily approachable, and his practice of granting open-air interviews to hundreds of villagers and deciding their cases on the spot was most amazing. He was often approached for the redress of the most amusing grievances, and he was never afraid or shy to face his people. The case of a woman who came to report the theft of her chicken, and who insisted on her Premier investigating the case himself was proof of the faith that the people reposed in him. The woman succeeded in utilizing his services, and Dr Khan Sahib had to instruct the police station staff to trace the lost 'property', which was quickly done. He dealt with Mercy Petitions in a rather peculiar fashion and never bothered about the implications. Once an old man approached him and solicited mercy for his condemned son. The Premier asked him to go and persuade the deceased's mother to come to him and forgive the murderer. But the old man insisted on his issuing orders himself, to which he replied: 'I am not God Almighty to forgive murderers: unless the deceased's mother comes and

forgives your son, my hands are tied, and I am unable to do anything in the matter.' In dealing with such cases, he used to say: 'Law is meant to dispense justice, but whenever it comes into conflict with justice, then it should be rejected and the situation dealt with in an "unlawful" manner.'

The new Government, as was anticipated, did not fail to remove some of the social barriers that had been erected between rulers and ruled. There is an Officers' Club at Peshawar, like so many of its kind in other important Indian Cantonments. Permanent membership of the Club was not open to Indian officers until quite recently. When the Congress assumed power, the Premier, realizing the injustice of this distinction, proclaimed his intention of starting a new club for Indians of all communities and classes. Army circles were unnerved by the move, and forthwith asked the Club authorities to relax their rules or else the lease of the ground would be annulled. The demand was immediately accepted and the colour distinction removed; there is no longer a bar against the rightful inhabitants enjoying equality of states in their motherland. In this connexion, the conduct of Col. A. H. Williams, of the 16th Light Cavalry, which is an Indianized Unit, was most admirable. This Colonel had resented the arbitrary attitude of the Club and had stopped lending his cavalry horses for the regular hunts organized for the British Officers. Col. Williams's stand had greatly encouraged the Indian officers, and his support had upheld the self-respect of his subordinates.

The emergence of the Khudai Khidmatgars from the dark night of suffering to this new position in life marked a vital change in the history of the Frontier. It put our entire society to a different test. The change infused new life, but also created peculiar tendencies, both inside and outside the province. Its invigorating influence was followed by feelings of restlessness and doubt. Many people expected quick results and special benefits for themselves. Failure to realize them produced unwholesome effects. The limitations of the 1935 Act, which had been so plainly condemned during the elections, were

ignored or never understood, and a feeling of suspicion started growing among the people. Instances are not lacking where even our elected representatives acted in a manner unbecoming to a great organization. Often it seemed as if all the hardships and sacrifices of the Pathans would be in vain, save for that trifling achievement. The authorities failed to realize fully their obligations. We saw the huge files of the bureaucratic administration absorbing the energies of our ministers and denying them the opportunities of attending to the greater issue of solving the problems of their people. The whole show seemed a 'paper kingdom' to the Premier of the province.

I have taken an extreme view of things. Human life has to pass through unpleasant stages, and without a transitional period of stress and pain no society has achieved success. These were the trials through which our people passed. Now is the time for preparation, and for realizing our failings and the fact that some of our comrades did not rise to their full stature on certain occasions. But Rome, they say, was not built in a day. It takes time to attain perfection. To grow impatient would mean the negation of all true effort. Let this short-lived experience of the past serve as an eye-opener and infuse us with the capacity to acquire the necessary qualities for future undertakings. We must criticize, but our criticism must be based on realities and aim at guiding us. It must not be directed against individuals, because then it is not only wrong, but it misses its real mark.

Until the advent of the Congress Ministry, the Frontier had been kept in a state of regular siege, and its people had been subjected to all sorts of tribulations. The territory was considered an imperial concern, and no one was allowed to have a glimpse of happenings here. As elsewhere in India, the Government had propped up formidable groups of aristocrats and vested interests. They could distinctly see the approaching doom of a decadent system, but laboured to cling to it for yet a while, and side with the outsiders against all movements designed to promote the progress and radical reconstruction of our

people. The Government itself had been pursuing a path of wrong doing and wrong thinking, and had never shown any desire to be just or humane. And naturally, therefore, the change was both 'unfortunate and unexpected'.

The new ministry was full of zeal and ambition for reform. It filled with hope and pride a people who had hitherto been treated so shabbily. One of the first things the Congress Ministry did was to abolish the institution known as the Honorary Magistracy. This was an executive branch and had grown into a regular public nuisance. Its members abused their powers and bothered the peasantry in many ways. All nominated blocs were removed from local bodies, and the villagers relieved of their duties as *Chowkidars*, a system that had assumed the form of forced labour. The *Inams* granted to those who had been traitors to their own people were stopped and the rotten practice of *Nambardari* was abandoned. Many agrarian measures were introduced to give relief to the peasantry, while the ministry tried its utmost to promote primary education. Most of the available funds were utilized for opening new schools in the villages. [Thanks to the British Government, these were closed down when the Congress resigned office in November, 1939.\*] The ministers tried to infuse a spirit of public service among officials and to end corruption. But more than all these benefits, the real achievement of those days was the development of a new outlook and self-confidence among the men of the Frontier. Knowledge of all these profound changes had filled the people with hope and determination to work for their ideals.

The difficulties that the ministry faced here were not unique; surely they existed elsewhere too. There was this fake constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. But the Frontier had a dual system of administration, which added to our confusion and produced acute anomalies. The dual system made the same

---

\* On resumption of office in March, 1945, the Congress Ministers began reopening these schools. Besides various reforms in primary and secondary schools, the ministry is considering a scheme for establishing a separate University, and considerable ground has been covered in this direction.

District Magistrate act both under the Provincial Government as well as the irresponsible Centre at Delhi. Thus transfers of local officers from the province to these Agencies created many complications. The process was a continuous embarrassment to a responsible ministry, because it helped to shield black sheep in the Provincial Services by sending them to Reserved areas under the Political Department of the Government of India. I have already said that the Tribal territory is held and controlled by the irresponsible executive at Delhi, and that this separation has acted as an obstacle to the successful maintenance of law and order in the province or the Tribal belt. The ministry worked under these difficulties and many others, and in spite of laborious and endless strife, they could not reach the end of the road.

To crown it all, there was resentment among officials who would not adapt themselves to the new order of things. They flouted the vague assurances that there would be no interference in the day-to-day activities of the ministers, and seldom tried to assist their new masters. In this connexion, one may recall how the orders of the Premier to close down a gambling den in a village failed to produce any results, and how even a personal visit to the place proved ineffectual in inducing official circles to take the necessary steps. Such flagrant instances of refusal to co-operate with the ministry are not few, and often the behaviour of the services compelled us to call the attention of our people towards official intrigue. Ghaffar Khan has often discussed this matter with his workers, and has expressed reluctance to shoulder responsibility without real power.

I have referred to the obstructive attitude of the services. Let us examine their structure. They include men who were undesirable for any type of public service, least of all to service under popular ministers. They themselves had opposed these ministers in the past and could hardly be expected to display goodwill towards them. They held together, defending and protecting one another, whatever misdemeanours they might be guilty of. Moral principles were thrown to the winds, and there



was the rare spectacle of British and Indian offenders joining hands in opposing all efforts at reform. The problem of corrupt services may exist elsewhere too, but here on the Frontier this class is unique in respect of its ineptitude. It receives by way of salaries a substantial portion of our revenues simply to check our progress! By virtue of its artificial glamour it has in recent years succeeded in luring away some of our most promising young men and has made them impediments to national advancement. This class needs complete overhauling. Some of the present Indian members might find a place in the structure of the future, but to give them a second trial might involve the destruction of the very cause for which we have been labouring all along. That way lies ruin.

The Congress had hesitated to accept office because most of its leaders were alive to the risk of sharing such divided responsibility. Most of those apprehensions were justified, and the defects of the Act were seen in every sphere of ministerial deliberation. It has now been proved beyond any doubt that responsibility without power is demoralizing. We must possess the dignity and reality of power and the creative authority behind it, and not the mere semblance of such power. The example of the Wafdist Party of Egypt is before us; it is evident that the fact that they agreed to shoulder divided responsibility brought about their defeat in the elections that followed. There were other factors no doubt, but the inability of the Wafdists to satisfy their electorate, due to inadequate control over the administration, was a tremendous blow to their popularity. Luckily for us in India, an almost similar situation produced somewhat different results. It was good that the ministerial ranks did not include our first-rank leaders, who continued to form the focus of all real activity and authority, and who kept the banner of revolt unfurled. The Working Committee of the Congress guided the eight provincial ministries from outside the legislatures, and as soon as they realized their futility, they asked them to resign. I venture to call that step a blessing of the first magnitude.

The Congress had accepted office on certain conditions. It had never intended to become the tool of a hypocritical bureaucracy or to play their game. The war in Europe soon brought matters to a head, and it became impossible for our ministries to function any longer with dignity, or without betraying the cause they had espoused. The declaration of war by Great Britain against the Axis Powers was justifiable in the situation confronting her. But to drag in India without any reference to her representatives was an insult that could not be tolerated without utterly jeopardizing our present and future. The Congress was, however, reluctant to embarrass Britain, because of its antipathy to the Axis Powers. Its leaders started negotiations with the British Government to arrive at some settlement. They hesitated for long to bargain for their freedom, for that amounted to exploiting their opponent's difficulties; but they could not forego their rights at that particular juncture, simply because the imperialist powers had turned mad with bitter hatred for one another. The Congress pressed its demand in modified terms, and exercised every restraint. That restraint indeed almost reached the point of self-extinction, and the long negotiations, lasting fifteen months, ended in failure. That the British Government, which was then fighting for its very existence, should have refused to budge an inch was most astonishing. They rejected all offers of friendly help and forced an unwilling Congress to launch a struggle for maintenance of national honour. The Congress took the first step and called upon its eight provincial Governments to resign. This first step was followed by the launching of a movement which, though carried on in a restricted form, took thousands of our comrades away to jails.\*

The Indian struggle commenced at a time when the world was passing through a period of stress and

\* During the Individual Satyagraha Movement, the Frontier Government pursued a different policy from the rest of India. We carried on anti-War propaganda here, but no one was arrested. The object of this policy was to isolate the Muslims from that struggle.

turmoil. These factors naturally overshadowed events in India, but we still carried on the fight. We were living in abnormal times and saw the old international fabric falling to pieces. We too belonged to this age, and the fate of our four hundred millions could not be dismissed light-heartedly as of no consequence by a few individuals who still lived in a bygone age and thought in imperialist terms.

The Armageddon from which the world has just emerged has not really ceased. It will continue until the root causes of social and economic conflict are removed. It is tragic that this international disaster has taught the great powers nothing. They still think in terms of privilege, and threaten the world with their Atom bomb tests. They continue to strengthen the foundations of racial and class conflict. Events are moving fast, and the day may not be far off when the peoples of the world will be dragged into another conflagration. We know that those who recently professed friendship with the progressive forces of the world are today brazenly trying to throw dust in our eyes, and are preparing to fight their erstwhile friends. In the midst of all this confusion, India stands at the cross-roads. No force can block her way to freedom, because Time is on her side. She has to choose between her friends and foes, and go ahead.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF OTHER PARTIES  
SINCE 1937

All your strength is in your union,  
All your danger is in discord.

—*Longfellow*

The assumption of power by the Congress in 1937 led to certain strange developments in the Frontier Province. On the one hand, there was enthusiasm and restlessness amongst the masses, who were, after a long period of waiting, filled with hope and expectation of happier times. On the other, it produced feelings of insecurity among the landed aristocracy, who began to dislike the ministry. They too might have felt a certain amount of enthusiasm, but fear of what might happen seemed to dominate them. The replacement of the official bloc by popular representatives created apprehension and hostility, and we soon found the different warring elements among the vested interests joining hands in an attempt to retrieve lost positions.

The ministry removed some of the decadent institutions that had outlived their day, and thus offended various groups throughout the province, which in consequence banded themselves together. The instinct of self-preservation brought all these strange fellows together in an unholy combination to oppose the Congress. They later formed themselves into what they called the provincial branch of the All-India Muslim League. The pity was that the main organization accepted this illegitimate child, never bothering to examine its credentials and the most ignominious role its members had played throughout their lives. So it was but natural for us on the Frontier to look at the main body of the League with suspicion, whatever its claims might be.

The opposition party in the Assembly, which consisted mostly of retired Government servants and a few big landlords, labelled itself as the Muslim League. It had no political programme and no discipline among its ranks. The party lacked a leader as well as a corporate mind. It was unable to deal with the real issues of the day, because the solution of these problems would in itself lead to its liquidation. Having no clear-cut policies to put before the people, it failed to make any impression on the life of this province. Its main object was to cling on to this alien system, since that alone could preserve it from extinction. The Muslim Leaguers of the Frontier were no match for the people they opposed. They raised the cry of 'Islam in danger', failing to realize that their own existence was injurious to its healthy advancement. The Leaguers started condemning the Khudai Khidmatgars and their beloved leader. In doing this they shut their eyes to the fact that the latter had become the living symbols of the people's suffering, and had upheld the country's cause at a time when these Leaguers were busy trying to crush the freedom movement. These new 'Champions of Islam' tried to oppose the march of a powerful mass movement, which may have made mistakes, but which could never be wrong in its basic and fundamental principles.

During the two years and a quarter that the Congress was in power, the main effort of the Leaguers was directed towards ousting the Khudai Khidmatgars from office, but they failed completely. When the Congress moved their War Resolution in the Assembly, on the 6th of November, 1939, there was not a soul to oppose it. The Frontier Assembly was the only legislature in India which adopted that resolution unanimously. Even outside the Assembly the Leaguers' record was not a glorious one. The Khudai Khidmatgars contested the elections to Village Panchayats throughout the province. Afraid of appealing to an electorate based on adult suffrage, few offered to oppose them in any of the constituencies. When the Congress relinquished office, these Leaguers gave up opposing the Government, because,

in their opinion, Islam could flourish only under British rule. Hence their amazing silence!

In Peshawar, there has been raised a small memorial in honour of those who were killed by the British forces on the 23rd of April, 1930. This day is celebrated every year with great solemnity, and commemorates the beginnings of the Frontier Movement of 1930-32. Thousands of red-robed Khudai Khidmatgars, bareheaded, pass the spot in silent procession. They are led by their indomitable chief, who, placing some flowers on the memorial, leads his devoted followers outside the city, where a huge gathering listens to a stirring speech from his lips. He reminds us of our past and warns us about the future. Ghaffar Khan exhorts his people to remember that day and urges them to be ready for similar sacrifices. In 1938, when the Congress was in power, an interesting feature of this day was that the Leaguers raised a memorial beside the one that represented the blood and bones of Pathans killed by their overlords. They came to honour our dead, and we were happy. But that happiness was short-lived. The situation changed, and the Congress no longer controlled the administration. In 1941, after our long and mournful procession had passed by, the assembled crowds waited to see the 'other one' appear too, but it never came. The Leaguers were either afraid of the Government, or had lost all support, perhaps both.

Another party in the Frontier Province was that of the Khaksars. They had functioned even before the General Elections, and were mostly engaged in social work. The Khaksars were often seen parading the streets of Peshawar. During those days, few took any notice of them, and as far as I can recollect, the Khudai Khidmatgars helped them whenever they were in difficulties. The party had, and still has, no definite political programme. Its leaders sometimes indulged in vague talk about Muslim domination of the world, but never went beyond that to explain their policy.\* The advent of the

---

\* In recent years their position has become even more ambiguous. In the last elections they were almost wiped out as a party.

Congress Ministry witnessed certain unfortunate developments. These were due to some Congress renegades' taking shelter in the fold of the Khaksars and using their platform for the purpose of opposing the organization they had deserted for purely personal reasons. Its leaders, barring a few, belonged to the towns and were unable to speak the language of the masses. The Khaksars soon changed their policy and began a regular tirade against the Congress. They failed to understand that movements always flourish on their own merits and are seldom affected by condemnation. This mistaken policy resulted in their failure to exercise any influence on the progressive people of our province. I need not refer here to their ill-conceived tactics in regard to certain happenings at Lucknow and Lahore during the years 1939-40, as that is a matter beyond the scope of this volume. But the Khaksars' failure there did affect their prestige here too, and most of their enthusiastic supporters were completely disillusioned.

I must mention another set of men as well. There was a Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party in the Frontier Assembly.\* If I am correct, it consisted of a leader, a deputy leader and an organizing secretary. The party was most active in condemning the Congress Ministry for its inability to stop kidnappings and restore order in the southern districts of the province. It never missed a chance of abusing the Congress for any of its shortcomings, and always advocated a policy of their own. Things have not improved since the Congress laid down the reins of government; on the contrary they have grown steadily worse.

I have so far discussed parties opposed to the Congress on broad fundamentals. We could not help pitying them. But as soon as the Khudai Khidmatgars had formed a ministry, we noticed divisions in the hitherto solid ranks of this organization. Outwardly these divisions appeared to be political, but they were, in reality, manifestations of personal jealousies and disappointed

\* This party has now ceased to exist.

hopes. They asked for favours, and refusal to meet their requests produced strange reactions. They carried on false propaganda to discredit their own party. A jarring and discordant note was struck by a few disappointed adventurers, and one could notice a certain amount of confusion in the Congress citadel. The leaders were, of course, perturbed, but they decided to remain silent until the situation had become normal again. For some time we heard revolutionary slogans raised by those who little understood their meaning or implications. But such activity lacked a sense of realism, and gradually ceased altogether.

Such disruption reminds me of a significant incident in the history of Islam. At the Battle of Tours in 732 A.D., the forces of Islam, under Abdur Rehman, which had reached the heart of France and had almost the whole of Europe lying at their feet, saw their dream of world domination finally shattered by Charles Martel. The great army of the Muslims was defeated even on the threshold of its greatest triumph because of dissensions in its ranks. The Muslim forces were squabbling over the division of the booty among themselves, and their quarrels weakened and destroyed their resolve to die for the cause that had carried them deep into Europe. Jealousy and disunity proved disastrous then. They are even more ruinous today, while we are in the grip of a ruthless imperialism.

The unreal cry of Socialism raised by a band of interested comrades\* created a false impression on those who supported that creed in the rest of the country. The disapproval accorded to the slogan of Socialism by the Provincial Congress led to a certain amount of confusion. Failure to clarify the implications of such disapproval caused unfortunate reactions among Leftist elements in India.

We on the Frontier realize the significance of Socialism and the great promise it holds for us in India. We cannot conceive of any impartial and sensible person

---

\* Some of these 'gentlemen', having been defeated in the last elections as Independents by the Congress, have lately joined the League.



opposed to Socialism. There can be no freedom in India unless it is broad-based on Socialism. There is no real substitute for Socialism. It is difficult to question its efficacy in removing the country's economic ills. We approve of it and are trying to prepare the ground for it. We endorse it, because other systems have been before us and we have witnessed their futility. The civilization of the West has produced many benefits, but has also brought two great international catastrophes. Economic systems now in vogue have been responsible for wheat rotting in Canada, while millions died of starvation elsewhere. We saw a complete lack of planning and co-ordination in the economic sphere, and unemployment and poverty mounting steadily in the midst of plenty. But we had quite a different example, too, and away from all the muddle of the Western world, our minds often travelled elsewhere, in the direction of Russia, not involved in this universal paradox. From being a backward and medieval State, the Soviet Union had rapidly advanced in all directions and pulled down the walls of ignorance that had surrounded her. It is most surprising how a nation looked upon with disdain and contempt by its neighbours should have moved forward so rapidly and become strong and well organized. Even her enemies, those who have hated and despised her, have been forced to recognize the value of Russia's magnificent experiment and to admire her wonderful triumph over Nazi aggression. All this would not have been possible unless Soviet Russia had accepted a new doctrine and organized her people in accordance with it. The pioneering work has been accomplished, and whatever might happen to the present Government of Russia, its contribution can never be wiped out. Some of the Soviet's tactics and methods might undergo a change, but the basis will remain.

In the same way we have yet to raise our national structure in India. We must abandon all talk based on foreign ideas that do not suit our people and try to speak in a language they can understand. It is no use converting a few intellectuals and issuing long statements that

fail to influence the teeming millions living in our villages. The task calls for a great effort. Merely labelling ourselves as Russia's admirers will not solve the problem. Russia's was a vital step, and it was the strong conviction and the heroic endeavour of her leaders and people that helped her to achieve her lofty objective. A mushroom growth without roots among the general masses will not endure. India and the Frontier have learnt from past failures, and we see how in spite of all the Communists and Socialists, the old Saint of Sabarmati still holds complete sway over the people of India, and also find Ghaffar Khan prevailing over his adversaries in the Frontier Province.

These problems have to be considered in all their bearings, and we feel convinced that on their right handling, depends the future glory of our motherland.

## CHAPTER VII

# NON-VIOLENCE AND THE PATHANS

A martyr is he who gives his life for things  
other than worldly goods.

—*Prophet Mohammad*

When, after the ghastly tragedies brought about by foreign rule in India during the last century and a half, the country seemed sullen and discontented, the masses were sunk in the abyss of sloth and despondency, and the self-respect and prestige of the Indian people were at their lowest ebb, there appeared India's man of destiny, who introduced a new theory and a new technique of revolution. That method was of momentous significance at such a time, and Mahatma Gandhi captured the imagination of the masses with his new weapon of Non-Violence. The same weapon was placed before the Pathans by an equally great man, who, disgusted by the constant fratricidal quarrels and skirmishes among his people, started to propound this technique with remarkable results. For Ghaffar Khan, Non-Violence was not a question of making a virtue of necessity, nor was his appeal directed to an unarmed community. The whole background of his people's history was one of violence, and to them this new form of peaceful warfare must have at first appeared utterly strange.

I have already stated that strife and bloodshed were common among the people. It must be borne in mind that the very physical structure of the country compels its population to lead what is bound to seem an abnormal life to one accustomed to the suavity and sophistication of modern ways.

The change in the outlook of the Frontier Pathans was due to the teachings of their leader, who brought home to them the lesson that by resorting to force, as they had done hitherto, they had failed to overcome their

difficulties, and that, in order to achieve their goal, they must take to another path. Lenin once said: 'It was a hellishly hard task to execute people, ruthlessly to split skulls open, while the ultimate political ideal was, on the other hand, the fight against violence.' Sher Shah Suri, centuries ago, observed that 'crime and violence prevent the development of prosperity.' And the same policy guided this Pathan leader, who soon had the satisfaction of seeing his people playing their part in an amazingly effective manner.

The past history of the Pathans was full of violence. It was but natural that their new role should be watched with mixed feelings of interest and suspicion. Some went as far as to doubt the very reality of happenings here. That stage has now passed. The emotional outburst of 1930 is over. Now the creed of Non-Violence has become the basis of Ghaffar Khan's political work. He considers this method a panacea for all evils, and believes that the ultimate salvation of his people will come only through following this path.

Badshah Khan's policy of Non-Violence has led certain people to declare that it is a process by which Mahatma Gandhi seeks to emasculate the brave Pathans. The same charge is levelled, too, against the greatest man living among the Pathans, who, by courage, skill, and determination, has organized the Pathans, into a great force. Such accusations are the more surprising in that they originate from quarters that should have been the last to charge others with weakness or timidity. The statement that Ghaffar Khan and his brave Khudai Khidmatgars, who have dedicated their lives to the uplift of their countrymen, are working to transform the Pathans into a 'spent force' at the instigation of the 'little Hindu bania' sounds fantastic to us on the Frontier.

It is unfortunate that, at this critical stage of our existence, some people should try to raise doubts regarding the efficacy of this technique and thereby create confusion among the rank and file of our great movement. One might have appreciated these critics if they had suggested a practical alternative. But their present attitude

is a negative one, and therefore most annoying. Gandhiji may forgive such persons, but we who 'follow the Mahatma' find it difficult to be so charitable. To the Pathans non-violence seems the only feasible form of action that, in the present state of things, can produce lasting effects. As to the future, Jawaharlal Nehru has rightly said in his *Autobiography*: 'It would be absurd to say that the people of the Frontier Province have given up all thoughts of ever indulging in violence; just as it would be absurd to say that of any other province. The masses are moved by waves of emotion, and no one can predict what they might do when so moved. But the self-discipline that the Frontier people showed in 1930 and subsequent years has been something amazing.'

Most of us had (and there are some even now who have) doubts and were not very enthusiastic about certain implications of non-violence. But the history of the last World War has brought home to us certain inescapable truths. It is glaringly evident that except for a few strong powers, for small nations to raise armies and try to protect themselves by force is, in the present scheme of things, an utterly hopeless affair.

The end of the War has not shaken our belief in non-violence. The horrors of war ultimately make war mongers act differently in dealing with one another; otherwise, as Bertrand Russell says, 'Humanity will destroy itself in the end.' We believe that if mankind is to save itself from utter destruction, it must accept the non-violent way, which, in other words, is international co-operation instead of international conflict. According to Emerson, 'the cause of peace is not the cause of cowardice. If peace is sought to be defended or preserved for the safety of the luxurious and the timid, it is a shame, and the peace will be base. If peace is to be maintained, it must be by brave men, who have come up to the same height as the hero, namely, the will to carry their life in their hand and stake it at any instant for their principle, but who have gone one step beyond the hero and will not seek another man's life.'

We know that there are many people who oppose war, but find themselves helpless when the actual time comes to remain aloof. It has now become quite clear that no amount of pacifism can change the world or bring about peace, until the really strong and fully armed nations lay down arms and submit to suffering without hitting back. And so, this new technique adopted by, of all people, the indomitable fighters of the North is worthy of recognition. It has the stamp of grandeur too. The way of non-violence is a difficult one indeed, and calls for great strength, courage, and determination among those who would follow it. The creed is not one that can be easily practised or understood. It involves great risks. Marshal Foch once said in an entirely different situation: 'The new kind of warfare has begun. The hearts of the soldiers have become a new weapon.' By adopting this new method, we may declare similarly, 'A new form of action has been introduced. The dignity and grandeur of humanity has found the means for its expression.'

If one investigates the causes of violence among the Pathans, it will be seen that this tendency has resulted from the peculiar circumstances of their life. The rugged nature of their country forces them to adopt every means at their disposal to eke out a livelihood. The wild climate makes for a strength that prompts them to satisfy their needs by force rather than go a-begging for them. The Code of Honour that guides them in their normal dealings implies might: an important element of it is vendetta, which is handed down from father to son as a debt of honour, failure to discharge which is frowned upon by the whole tribe as a grave dereliction of duty. This distorted outlook on life results in the most tragic happenings. Instances of indiscriminate murder on the Frontier are not few. It was in such an atmosphere and against such a background that Badshah Khan preached his gospel of Non-Violence. He was a witness to all these grim happenings in his province, and the sight of ever-increasing bloodshed among his people inspired him to the effort to divert their energies towards a nobler way of life. Ever since the beginning of his political career,

Ghaffar Khan has attempted to check these harmful practices, and has condemned violence in the most unambiguous terms.

The stand taken by Abdul Ghaffar Khan was most praiseworthy because the trouble here was not only political, but economic, and, as we have already pointed out in the preceding pages, racial as well. In 1929, he founded the Khudai Khidmatgar organization, and stipulated Non-Violence as one of the primary conditions for membership. He enforced a policy of 'live and let live'. At first, our people acquiesced in it not out of conviction, but only because of their admiration for their leader's personality. The subsequent years, however, demonstrated the efficacy of this technique. Badshah Khan has frequently told us the reasons that inclined him to this doctrine, and I can best do him justice by quoting his own comments on his acceptance of this policy. He once remarked: 'As I started my political work in the province, I came across many cases of violence and ruthless murders. Such incidents could not leave me untouched and I feared that things like that might result in the extermination of my people. I felt it my duty to check them from violent practices and lead them in a different direction, the basis of which would be peacefulness, truthfulness, and consideration for others. I have read the history of my people and I am proud of my ancestors. But, at the same time, I cannot ignore their failings. I realize that if these Pathans cultivate love for one another and learn to live peacefully, then no power can ever crush them. In the past they have always lost their authority owing to their own internal conflicts, for who could surpass them in fighting skill and valour?'

Ghaffar Khan is deeply religious in his outlook, and he derives most of his sanctions from his Islamic learning. He was aware of the emphasis that the Holy Quran lays on the need to be peace-loving and forgiving. He taught this lesson to his followers. He carried on his work with zeal. His preaching was soon put to the test; and what a triumph it was for him! The Pathans launched their Non-Violent struggle on the 23rd of April, 1930.

During the years that followed they saw their houses burnt down, their women insulted, their fields ravaged, their stocks of grain destroyed, their villages raided, their honour assailed, their bodies tortured, their meetings dispersed by indiscriminate firing, their friends and relations killed and thrown from the housetops, their children beaten and their organization crippled and crushed. But the Pathans, notwithstanding the fact that they had been brought up in an atmosphere of violence and bloodshed, stood unmoved by such provocations, and died peacefully in large numbers for the attainment of their goal.

During the crisis of 1930, there were some whose patience ran out and who wished to retaliate, but they were reminded of their pledge to the leader and held in restraint. So strict was the Pathans' adherence to the new method that not a single case of violent resistance occurred. In this connexion, the case of the three Khudai Khidmatgars of Utmanzai comes vividly to my mind. The three Red Shirts were badly beaten up and later asked to take off their uniforms. On hearing this, they lost their temper and dashed towards their houses for their revolvers to shoot the person who had issued the order. But their Commander shouted: 'Is your patience exhausted? You promised Badshah Khan to remain peaceful unto death!' This was enough: the three Red Shirts faced their aggressors calmly, while they were stripped naked and assaulted with boot and bayonet. Our villagers still remember vividly many such instances, and most of the men then beaten up and disfigured are still living to remind us of those grim days. They suffered fearlessly and their heroism stirred the entire province. Each man wanted to show how efficient he was in this new form of warfare, and every incident went to prove the efficacy of this process. A meeting was to take place at the village home of our leader. The police appeared on the scene and tried to disperse the gathering by threats. As the people refused to abandon their plans, they decided to open fire on them. Out of the crowd there rushed out a young girl who, facing the police rifles,



shouted, 'Kill me first and then those sitting behind me.' The meeting then went on. At Rustum, in the Mardan district, Fakhr-i-Afghan was to address a gathering. Again the police tried to scatter the assembled people. They ordered the gathering to disperse or to face bullets. The leader rose, ready to face the consequences. His courage and the determination of the crowd put the authorities to shame, and they refrained from action and merely looked on as the hero addressed his faithful followers.

The people in the Frontier had received only a brief training in this new method, but it is surprising how well they imbibed their lessons and adhered to them under every difficult situation. The success of this technique against the British here recalls to my mind the struggle waged in the middle of the nineteenth century by the Hungarians against the Austrians.

The Emperor of Austria, Franz Josef, intended to subjugate the Hungarians in contravention of the Treaty of Union. Francis Deak, a well-to-do landowner of Hungary, challenged the Emperor and organized his countrymen against foreign domination. He exhorted his followers not to pay taxes or to buy Austrian goods. Deak further urged his followers to refrain from all acts of violence and said: 'If suffering is necessary, suffer with dignity.' The people of Hungary followed their leader, and when the alien tax-collectors came, they refused to pay. The Austrian police seized all they could, but failed to find a single auctioneer in Hungary to sell the goods so seized. Austrian auctioneers were sent for, but they could find no buyers. It was soon discovered that the cost of collecting the taxes exceeded the amount realized. The Emperor resorted to several repressive measures, and for this purpose stationed his soldiers among the Hungarians. The troops soon noticed that they had been housed in quarters where everyone despised them, and so they refused to stay there. Jails were filled with those who disobeyed foreign laws, while the Hungarians refused to go and sit in the imperial parliament that had been formed for them. So complete was the non-co-

operation of the population that it forced the Emperor to abandon the scheme of subjugating the Hungarians. Ultimately, on 18th of February, 1867, he granted them their constitution.

The potency of this method of direct action has been sufficiently demonstrated in India. It has been responsible for rousing our people from their deep slumber and emboldening them to challenge the might of the British Empire in India. Non-Violence is capable of producing sympathy in the hearts of the opponent and demoralizing the forces of evil. In this connexion the case of the Garhwali soldiers who refused to open fire on the crowds at Peshawar is most striking. The British soldiers had killed hundreds of our comrades on the 23rd of April, 1930, and when these Garhwalis were brought in to relieve the foreign troops, they saw unarmed and peaceful crowds standing in front of them—ready to die over the blood of their comrades that had been flowing since that morning. It was a tragic sight, and these Garhwalis were touched by such scenes of heroic suffering. They refused to kill men struggling for their freedom, and thus subjected themselves to court-martial and long terms of imprisonment. Surely their conduct will go down in history and will be remembered with pride for generations to come.

In India, as in other countries, there are many people whose one object in life is to stay idle and criticize others. We often come across strange individuals who ask us all sorts of peculiar questions in regard to our national struggle. What amuses these people most is the Congress creed of Non-Violence, which they consider ineffective. They may be right, but why should they come in the way of our movement? Such people should find out other avenues for achieving Indian freedom and leave the Non-Violent resisters alone. Those who agree with us are convinced that it is by following this path that we have reached our present stage of development. It was this activity that inspired the hearts of our countrymen and gave them the courage to face the forces of a mighty empire.

Present conditions in India lead us to the conclusion that the only forceful, effective and yet relatively easy weapon for those who are eager to act, and not to remain idle, is that of Non-Violence. To believe that violent talk or a display of certain primitive weapons will help us in opposing the deadly inventions of the modern 'atomic' age only exposes us to confusion and disruption. The terrible destruction of the War just ended is bound to bring about a great change in international policies of the future and persuade politicians to adopt other than war-like methods to achieve their ends.

If we review the gradual growth of mankind, we are sure to be convinced that among the far-sighted there has always been general agreement regarding the attainment of the final goal of humanity. But various different means have been adopted for that purpose, often ones so ignoble and criminal that the very thought of them makes us sick at heart. In their attempts to approach the ideal, people have pursued different means and taken widely divergent paths, based on a fanatical adherence to violence. Confusion and hatred have grown and prevented the development of an atmosphere suitable for a harmonious society, in which 'nations shall no longer lift sword against nations, and the free development of each will lead to the free development of all'.

That age-long process has reached its climax now, and the world has come to what may well be its final crisis of violence and disruption. We cannot ignore the calamity that overshadows and envelops us. The present chaos, more than anything else, has convinced us that violence can only beget violence, and that therefore any activity based on it is doomed to failure. Wars have failed to end wars; instead, each has resulted in more hatred and suspicion among the opposing sides. And even while the chances of Non-Violence as a weapon in the present monstrous world conditions seem remote, we cannot afford to keep silent. We must strive every nerve to proclaim the potency of Non-Violence in order to guide people along the only road that promises a sound and beneficent social order.

We all desire peace, and even the European demigods like Hitler, Mussolini and Churchill proclaimed from the house-tops the slogan of a new world order based on the equality of men and peace among all nations. But they could never get this unless they gave up much that they clung to. The establishment of equality involves many sacrifices. It means the renunciation of empires, national disarmament, a structure based on equality and justice throughout the world, and the abdication of power and wealth by the few in favour of the masses in the various countries. But this sacrifice is in the interests of a glorious future, that the evils of today might be eliminated and goodness and co-operation take their place. We realized that non-violent action gave us an opportunity to resist the domination of an imperialist power. We could not submit to this injustice and oppression, because that would have amounted to cowardice and a blot on our honour and self-respect. Our past and present struggles have been attempts to awaken our masses to a sense of dignity and power, and to prepare them for great and vital undertakings in the future. So, whatever might happen, we have to act in accordance with the material at our disposal and faith in our ultimate success.

Non-Violence may not be a panacea for all our present ills, and peculiar situations and emergencies might arise that call for other methods. Even the Maginot Line collapsed in the Great War. The Non-Violent method can never collapse in that way, even though it may not be fully effective in every contingency. It fails to appeal to the ordinary man, because of his background of thousands of years of violence and because it demands individual courage and sacrifice of a high order. But it is, nevertheless, an effective weapon for social resistance as well as for carrying big masses forward to their destiny. Its success depends on the greatness of its exponents and calls for a revolutionary change in the outlook of men and women who now behave so often like brutes. It calls for a new way of thinking.

After centuries of Herculean effort, Western civilization has reached its zenith. Now the great thinkers and philosophers of the West admit, maybe somewhat reluctantly, that there is something basically wrong with this civilization. Bombed cities and the indiscriminate massacre of millions of innocent human beings are signs, not of civilization, but of barbarism. We have watched all such destruction with a sense of horror and of the futility of the present order. We think of India and of our goal and the means of achieving it, but we have to think also of the vast conflict in the international field. We are dragged more and more into the world drama, where the future envisages a world unity. But without an equitable adjustment of all international differences and the complete abandonment of force, we cannot hope to create that unity. Possibly, it may be necessary to have an international army and air force to enforce law and order against recalcitrant nations. But national armed units must be abolished. The West has failed to achieve this end. Let the East take the lead again. In the domain of spirituality the role of the East has always been remarkable and is likely to remain so. The time has come for the East to play her historic role in order to save itself and the rest of the world from utter disaster.

The world has witnessed great changes and seen mighty forces at work. Many revolutions have been staged and have changed the shape of things, but the basic troubles still beset us. 'A revolution is the historian's touchstone. They come and go, make or mar, but reveal the worth or vileness of the stock it take roots in.' The Indian people have acted in their own characteristic way and have endeavoured to show a new path to suffering millions everywhere. Our methods and their results will be judged and commented upon by future historians. But the glory of our revolution will not lie in the glamour of certain events, the drama of a few isolated scenes, or the wild physical heroism of a few actors, but in another, different kind of heroism, in the genuine mass effort, which will herald a new chapter in human history.

All this may sound strange to those reared in Western modes of thought and action, to whom force alone appeals. It is difficult to convince such people that there is a new method, different in outlook and application, capable of practical use and fairly effective too. Its power has been recognized in all ages, but since it needed rigorous training and a new environment, a mass application of it was not attempted previously.

## EPILOGUE

Dream ye the day of peace ?  
Let dream whom dream please !  
Now is the watchword !  
Victory rings afar !

—Goethe

I have gone through the whole manuscript, and made the necessary corrections and additions, in order to bring the book quite up to date. But, as will be clear to the reader, it was not possible to alter certain parts in the preceding pages. Hence the need for this Epilogue.

The first edition was published in December, 1942, when I was in jail along with thousands of others who had been arrested in the August Revolution of 1942. I could not see the final proofs, and the publishers brought it out at their own risk. Neither could I see the book when it was published, because the Frontier Government had not yet made any specific rules about allowing reading matter to political prisoners. And when we were allowed to receive books, *Frontier Speaks* had been banned, and as such, it could not penetrate those forbidden prison walls.

My narration had just come up to the point of the 1942 movement, when I had to give it up. Years have passed, and one is inclined to forget the memory of those days of suffering and dark trial in India. Today our country is in an absolutely different temper. We seem to be on the threshold of our long-cherished goal of freedom. But who can understand the India of today without picking up the threads of that period of revolution. History is one unrelenting process and whatever we have at present achieved is the fruit of that long night of waiting.

After the failure of the Cripps Mission of March, 1942, a feeling of frustration lay heavy on our minds.

The impression that the British Government had no intention to do justice deepened, and the people in India grew indifferent to the fate of an empire that had lorded it over us for so long. The victory of the Axis Powers in all theatres of War, however, set most of us thinking as to what would be the fate of our defenceless country in the event of a British collapse here. The plight of the people in the Far Eastern countries was a horrible warning to those watching events carefully. But after the fall of Singapore, and the cowardly withdrawal of the British forces, there was no doubt left as to what would be the line of action of His Majesty's Government. Faced by these considerations, we could not sit idle and watch the Japanese hordes enter our homes. So, the All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay in August, 1942, to take stock of the situation.

The Allies were professing to fight for freedom and democracy. This naturally led the Congress leaders to offer once again their hand of friendship to the Allies. They sought equal partnership in the War against Fascism, and authorized Gandhiji to meet the Viceroy for negotiations. It was further resolved to send copies of the historic August Resolution\* to the late President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Mr Winston Churchill, for their information and to seek their assistance in solving our dispute. If the British Government had been sincere, they would have responded to the Congress offer. But what happened? The ink was not dry on our resolution when Whitehall directed the Government of India to round up the Congress leaders. And thus did the British start their War of Indian Liberation!

Having arrested the top-rank leaders, the agents of democracy launched their offensive on unarmed and peaceful Indian crowds. Bombay, for example, was under police fire several times on the 9th of August. The panic fever spread rapidly in Government circles, and province after province experienced the wild

---

\* The August Resolution of the Congress, passed on the 8th at Bombay, is given at the end of the book.



brutalities of the custodians of Law and Order. Mass arrests and indiscriminate firings became a daily feature in every town and village of this vast sub-continent. The people's fury was aroused. Maddened by the tyranny of the Government, and leaderless as they had become, they took up the challenge of this hated rule, and did many things that went counter to the Congress Plan. We can easily criticize those actions now, but is there any popular movement that is unimpugnable? In what other way could they have shown their just anger? In any case, the occasional excesses of the people pale before the organized terror unleashed by the Government.

The ruthless frenzy continued unabated. Firing and machine-gunning were reinforced by serial bombardments. In the U. P. and Bihar, 'defiant' villages were razed to the ground, and their inhabitants driven out from their homes to fend for themselves. From out of this dreadful turmoil, came news of people's triumphs in places like Satara and Midnapur, where they actually established their own republics. Though such triumphs were short-lived, it showed the people's will to freedom. In other places also attacks launched by the Government were resisted in a manly way, and the masses held their heads high.

In the Frontier, the situation was entirely different in the beginning. Local conditions had prevented Abdul Ghaffar Khan from attending the A.-I.C.C. Session at Bombay. While he was engaged in discussing with his workers the steps to be taken here, news came of the arrest of the Congress leaders at Bombay. We anticipated trouble forthwith. Badshah Khan gave detailed instructions about how we were to act. He chalked out a two-fold programme. On one side he deputed batches of workers to enter the tribal areas and carry the message of freedom and brotherhood to the people there. They were also to open schools, and render relief to the needy. This was described as the constructive side of our movement. On the other side, we were to implement the Congress directives for attaining complete control of the country.

The deputations to the tribal areas were welcomed everywhere, and tribesmen listened to their brethren from the settled districts with affection. The Government tried to create difficulties through their hired agents, but failed to check our success. Our workers were, however, not allowed to enter Waziristan, the home of British intrigue and tyranny in recent years. Those sent there were arrested. The members of the deputations remained in the tribal zone until March, 1945, when they returned along with scores of tribal representatives to attend our Political Conference at Peshawar.

In the Frontier, we launched our movement with a general strike throughout the province. On the 10th of August, 1942, we held public meetings, and took out huge processions, and pledged our full support to the Quit India resolution of the Congress. There were strikes in schools and peaceful demonstrations before Government offices. Our programme included the picketing of liquor shops in the first instance, and later on refusal to recognize any foreign authority or its laws. We carried out all these instructions of our leader in a peaceful manner. The Frontier Government, unlike those of other provinces, did not start any offensive against us openly, but employed numerous underhand tricks to obstruct our work. This used to cause us pain and irritation, and most of us were puzzled by Government's policy. Badshah Khan, however, had no doubts, and he used to warn us that worse trials were in store for us. He would tell us that the Government's inactivity was temporary. They merely wanted to demonstrate to the world that Muslims had no stake in the struggle going on in the country. They knew that news of our participation in the movement, and of its suppression in a totally Muslim province, would falsify their own propaganda outside.

The Frontier Government had pursued the same clever policy during the Individual Satyagraha Campaign of 1940-41. But as the scope of that agitation had been limited to raising anti-war slogans only, the

authorities succeeded in their move, and thus avoided friction. It was not possible for them to pursue their tactics very far this time. We had set no limitations to our plan, and there was bound to be a clash.

Non-violent resistance can gather strength only under repression. The Government did not resort to this in the beginning. They thought that they would be able to demoralize the people by ignoring the movement. Instead of repressive measures they employed various dirty tricks to confuse us. They hired a number of *mullahs* to dance to their tune. These hirelings went about preaching and exciting false religious sentiments. This 'department' was organized by a few degraded Indian officers, who were all very intimate with the then Governor. The Government further arranged to get printed thousands of posters containing all manner of filthy matter against us over faked signatures. These were distributed lavishly in the villages and the tribal territory. All press telegrams carrying our news were stopped altogether and, instead, the Government arranged to send news of their own fabrication to the papers. These insidious messages were accepted by the Muslim papers of Lahore, and we are told a bearded Khan Bahadur was in charge of payments made in this connexion. God knows what percentage of money actually reached the papers concerned!

This war of nerves went on for about two months. The Government and their henchmen were all the time hoping that our movement would peter out. There is no doubt that a feeling of fatigue was stealing upon our spirits. Driven by impatience to overcome it, we would ask Badshah Khan what would be the reaction on people's mind in the rest of the country when they obtained news of our seeming inactivity. Counselling patience, he told us that if we stuck to his programme, the Government would either hand over power to us peacefully, or would inevitably range themselves in opposition against us. His assurance would temporarily give us peace, but the heartrending news of the sufferings of people in other provinces would once again let loose the tempest raging

inside each one of us. For we were anxious for that day to dawn when we would also be merged in that current of revolution sweeping the country.

Towards the end of September, 1942, Badshah Khan unfolded the final item of his plan. Large batches of Khudai Khidmatgars were to *raid* Government buildings, and thus assume control of the administration. This was a great step forward, and the logical culmination of all that we had been doing in the past two months. It was not going to be like the usual picketing of shops selling foreign goods or liquor that the Congress had carried on in the past. It was intended to be a peaceful means of taking over the Government of this province. \*

Khudai Khidmatgars in their different districts collected in powerful batches, and the first raids took place all over the province on the 4th of October. It was a sight to see hundreds of red-robed volunteers marching from their camps towards their appointed destinations, shouting slogans of freedom and revolution, and carrying their national flag to be hoisted on Government buildings. All courts and offices in the Frontier were strongly guarded by the military and the police. As our men tried to break through those cordons, they were lathi-charged mercilessly, and many were knocked down unconscious. The following day, the police used tear gas to frighten the raiders, but everywhere this proved ineffectual in deterring them from reaching their posts. They even mastered the method of minimizing the effects, and at places, hurled the tear gas bullets back at the police !

The previous day's incidents had infused new life into our men, and they stood up fearlessly to the force employed against them. It was proved once again that the Pathan cannot brook any show of force, and that the slightest display of might rouses him to action. It was this fear that had kept our 'friendly Government' in restraint. Most of the Red Shirts were seriously injured, and were taken away to relief centres run by the

\* It seems as if the term *raid* hurt the prestige of the Government, because they always use the word 'picket' instead of 'raid'.

Congress. Those who did not sustain injuries were carried away in police vans to distant places, where they were abandoned, to walk back home. In Peshawar, the City Magistrate outdid the baton-wielders by running his car over the Khudai Khidmatgars. In this way he peeled off their skins and left them bleeding on the roadside. The rising tempo of the movement compelled the Government to close down the courts for a fortnight. It was not possible for them to function.

During these two days and the period that followed, the Frontier Government shed its last vesture of hypocritical restraint. Their plan to isolate the Musalmans from the 1942 Revolution had been foiled. The earnest resolve of the Pathans to achieve freedom alongside their countrymen in other parts of India threw the local 'bosses' into a fit of frenzy, and they hurriedly devised plans to meet the 'menace'.

On the second day of our raid, some adventurous folk indulged in looting, and laid hands on two post offices at Peshawar. Some policemen were also assaulted. Badshah Khan got news of this, and at once appeared on the scene. He pleaded with the people to stop all such acts, for they would only discredit the peaceful resisters. His timely intervention cooled the rising fever of such friends. A similar situation arose during a students' procession in Peshawar Cantonment. A few British officers were passing along on bicycles. The boys took to stoning them. They at once ran towards me, and sought protection. I immediately stood up on one of their bicycles and exhorted the boys to 'stop it, or I shall leave you severely alone'. The students at once formed a protective cordon round the officers and allowed them to go away in safety. I later heard that they had reported the matter to the then Governor, and told him that 'but for Yunus, we should have been stoned to death by that angry mob'. I think it was nothing really so serious as all that, and that they had been unduly alarmed. In any case, we just proved to the world that even 'angry mobs' can be kept under control.

Our raids started with renewed vigour when the courts reopened a fortnight later. This time we sent much bigger batches, and from the very first day they caused a panic in official circles. They actually entered the court rooms, and ousting the occupants, installed themselves therein. They then intimated the Provincial Congress President by telephone the success of their raids. All this led to frequent lathi charges, and tear gas was used very freely. Soon afterwards the Government resorted to firing also. And later, hundreds of our injured comrades were taken to jail.

I was in the Peshawar Central Jail, when news came that Badshah Khan had started with a batch of Khudai Khidmatgars to raid the District Court at Mardan. The same evening we heard that he had been severely wounded, and removed, unconscious, to some unknown place. We were in great distress, and added to this was our anger at Government's attempts to hide the truth. They issued false statements, and wanted the world to believe that nothing had happened. But it soon got abroad that two of his ribs were broken at the time of arrest.

The movement continued with unabated vigour in spite of the mass arrests. Nearly six thousand workers had been rounded up before this policy was abandoned. In order to terrorize the peasantry, the authorities started confiscating their licensed arms, and auctioning their crops. All this was going on, when in May, 1943, the then Governor got orders to instal a Muslim League ministry in the Frontier.

The Congress had relinquished office in November, 1939. No other ministry could come into existence, because we had an absolute majority in the House. But now, when thousands of our workers and many of the members of the Assembly were rotting in jail, these 'brave sons of Islam' piously stepped into the ministerial seats at the bidding of their 'benefactors'. To my great astonishment, their great leader, Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, declared jubilantly that at last the Frontier had come under the League banner. Until then I had

regarded Mr Jinnah as a man of principles, and altogether different from other League leaders. But this zealous championing of the cause of these henchmen of the British in the Frontier opened my eyes once and for all. I shed all illusions about one whom I had held in such esteem. It was a pity he could not see through the British game. Apart from this, he exulted over a success obtained while his opponents were being crushed by the third party. And the opponents were, to use Mr Jinnah's own words, none other than 'people whose blood is more vigorous than mine, who have suffered, and are better Musalmans than others in India' \*

Our jails were full, and most of the barracks occupied by us were terribly overcrowded. This naturally led to great inconvenience. The indifference of the Government and the negligence of the local staff made life impossible. In the beginning interviews with friends and relations were not allowed, and there were no definite regulations regarding the writing and receiving of letters. We could not get any newspapers either. There was no medical relief, and hundreds of our comrades lay ill and unattended in their crowded barracks. We had no facilities for recreation of any type. Our food hardly deserved that name; before it could reach the mouths of the unfortunate prisoners, it had been substantially reduced both in quality and quantity. Let alone others, the treatment meted out to Abdul Ghaffar Khan was neither decent nor human. Having broken his ribs at the time of his arrest, Government kept him in jail without providing any medical aid. This resulted in a prolonged illness, from which he did not recover during his two and a half years' imprisonment.

While we were in jail, the propped-up League ministry was making hay under the British Imperial sun. During the two years they held office, they filled their

\* He said this to me during one of our long interviews at Bombay in February, 1942. He also said that it was a great tragedy for Musalmans that a great leader like Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and his brave Pathan followers were not with him. And he admitted that he and his present Leaguers were partially responsible for this, because 'we couldn't come to your rescue during the period of your suffering, and the Congress took advantage of the situation'.

pockets unashamedly. Bribery and corruption flourished on an unprecedented scale. The ministers and the permanent services vied with one another in this money-making game. There was widespread discontent and resentment among the people over this maladministration. The food problem was becoming more and more acute, and there seemed to be no hope of immediate improvement. About this time, the terms of imprisonment of a few Congress M.L.A.s expired. On their release, the party tabled a motion of no-confidence against the ministry. The then Governor, who had been instrumental in keeping that puppet show going, adopted dilatory tactics. He refused to summon an early session. This patron of the League could not, however, avoid calling the Budget Session. And as soon as the Assembly met in March, 1945, the ministry of thirteen members in a House of fifty collapsed like a house of cards. Thus ended a dark chapter in the history of our province. The British intrigue to deceive the world about realities here lay exposed.

The ministry was ours for the taking. But the Congress goal has never been merely office acceptance. At this juncture, the step was fraught with greater dangers and difficulties than ever before. Those outside jail had consulted Gandhiji previously on this matter. He had counselled them to act in their own discretion, but if possible to seek Badshah Khan's advice. So, a deputation of three workers was sent to the Haripur Jail to contact him. Badshah Khan was averse to the idea of shouldering responsibility under such conditions. He expressed himself very clearly on the issue, and warned them of the difficulties they would have to face. In this regard, I need not repeat his views, which have already been given at length in the preceding pages. But he told the deputation that they were free to act as they thought best.

After long deliberations among themselves, the Congress party decided to accept office. They took the oath on the 16th of March, and forthwith ordered the release of all political prisoners. On coming out,



Badshah Khan called all the prominent workers to a meeting, and discussed with them the new developments in the province. He was sceptical about the successful working of the ministerial venture, but assured the ministerialists that if they could alleviate the sufferings of the people, he would lend them his support.

The ministers set about their task with zeal and honesty. But it was like cleaning the Augean Stables. The farcical nature of 'responsible government' under the 1935 Act had been painfully brought home to us during the Congress ministries of 1937-39. War conditions had further curtailed those limited powers, and the Governors had grown in stature. In such circumstances, for one province to assume that rejected and tattered habit was, indeed, a great liability. Seen in the country-wide context, it was a huge anomaly. In the teeth of these obstacles, all that the ministry could do was to ease, in a little measure, the food situation. They tried to check the various malpractices in the distribution of foodstuffs, and the growing corruption of the services in this matter. They immediately appointed an Enquiry Committee to investigate the allegations made against the majority of officials. This committee drew up a report, but, for reasons best known to the parties concerned, the then Governor relegated it to the limbo of oblivion.\*

The end of the War, and pressure of world opinion, stirred Mr Churchill's Government into initiating a fresh move in their Indian policy. The appointment of the new Viceroy, Lord Wavell, coincided with it. In June, 1945, all the members of the Congress Working Committee were released, and in order to end the political deadlock in the country, were invited to a conference at Simla. What transpired at this Conference is almost a part of today. After the breakdown of the talks, the Viceroy announced the intention of his Government to hold General Elections throughout India, and then to discuss the Indian question with the new representatives

---

\* Some senior officials have recently been suspended on various charges of corruption.

of the people. All the provinces got busy preparing the new electoral rolls. And the different parties took up electioneering work in their own peculiar ways.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar did not view the electoral contest with favour. Such men as he are born with a mission to fulfil, and it is not easy to judge their actions by ordinary standards. He looked upon office acceptance from the common man's viewpoint, and he could see little good coming out of it. His real aim has been, and will continue to be, service of the poor, and their moral and social regeneration. We all knew—and he more than any one else—that we had again to operate under the same defective constitution. Being aware of its handicaps, he said it was no use wasting time and energy to such barren ends. This was a correct reading of the situation, but its expression caused great consternation in the Congress ranks. We started pleading with him, and argued how helpless and ineffective we should be at the elections if his active support was not forthcoming. But he stuck to his position, and advised his followers to work on their own.

Meanwhile, the forces of reaction were mustering, and we have sufficient proof in our hands that the then Governor and the entire hierarchy of officials were shepherding the powerful landlords and other reactionaries into the League fold. All the big *Pirs* and *Faqirs* suddenly came out of their hiding places and, sinking their differences over petty religious points, confronted us as one man. Unfortunately for them, this class has rightly come to be regarded by intelligent Muslims all over the world as Britain's Fifth Column. These were the people who declared Ataturk a *Kaffir*; the history of the Middle East is full of their black deeds; Iran has been wrecked through their agency; and Afghanistan was deprived of an enlightened ruler by their *Fatwas*. We are not free of them either! Their one 'mission' is to mislead ignorant people, and to keep them in the darkness of superstition. From time to time they become 'God-sent' tools in the hands of our 'benevolent rulers', who utilize their services in various mysterious ways.

They were now pitted against a people's movement directed against foreign rule in this country.

The ground having been carefully prepared, Mr Jinnah was invited in November, 1945, to review the work. He arrived in Peshawar, and was taken out in a 'huge procession'. The different Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners sent their henchmen in Government lorries to welcome him. Similarly, all the Nawabs and title-holders of the Frontier came to Peshawar in full force to greet him. This stage-managed show is said to have impressed the League President, and he went back proclaiming that the death-knell of the Congress had sounded in the heroic land. League circles everywhere were confident of their success at the polls.

Early in December, we contested the only seat in the Central Assembly allotted to the Frontier. The League kept out of it officially on the pretext that it was a joint electoral seat, but lent all its support to our opponent. We won an overwhelming victory and thus gave the people an indication of the shape of things to come. And the League hoax in not contesting this seat was soon exposed when they nominated their candidates for the Landholders' seats at the General Elections. These too were based on a joint electorate, but with a much higher franchise, so that they imagined they would be easier to win. They never bothered to stick to their 'principles'.

Towards the close of December, Badshah Khan started on a tour of the province, and in his first speech he said, 'I had no mind to take part in these elections. For me winning such contests is but of minor importance. I am a revolutionary, and these half-measures do not fit into my way of looking at things. But the manner in which the intrigue against the Congress is working has provoked me to step into the struggle. I want to explain to you the paradox of British policy. On the one hand, the Labour Government is extending its hand of friendship; on the other, we see how each and every official in this province is feverishly busy plotting against us. Reports have come to me from every

district of how the Governor down to the *Patwari* are engaged in doing mischief. All this exposes the real intentions of the Government. I have come to tell you that the Congress is fighting these elections on the Quit India resolution passed in August, 1942. The British Government has recently announced that they want to hand over power to Indians. This means that there is no difference in our aims. If they go, what more do we want? But if they are false to their word, then we must be ready to win our freedom. I would impress upon you the need for keeping this point before you when you go to record your votes.'

Badshah Khan was busy touring the province, when seven members of the British Parliamentary Delegation visited Peshawar. They went to see him at Nowshera, while he was addressing a meeting. Concluding his speech, Badshah Khan asked his audience the usual question: 'If the British refuse to leave our country after the required verdict has been given, will you join me in a fight against them for attaining our rights?' When the people replied in a resounding affirmative, Mr Sorensen, sitting next to me on the dais, asked what it all meant. On learning the meaning, he conveyed it to his colleagues in a whisper! After the meeting, they talked to Badshah Khan for over an hour about his life work in the Frontier. Later, in their interview with the press, the members said that they were greatly impressed by his personality, and that if there was a man like him in their own country, he would command the same respect as Abdul Ghaffar Khan did here. In their private conversations they were even more outspoken, and some of them said that during their talk with him they had felt as if they were talking to a prophet.

Badshah Khan finished his tour towards the end of January, 1946. The General Elections commenced on the 1st of February. The inspiring message of the leader had stirred the people. Defying all threats and obstacles, the voters went in large numbers to record their verdict in our favour. We won a very large

majority of seats by wide margins, and the few that we lost were by a narrow difference. The non-Pushto speaking district of Hazara came to the League's rescue, and afforded it a chance to save its face in the province.

The Leaguers' claim to have gained ground among the Pathans can best be examined if we compare the facts and figures of the elections of 1937 with those of the present. In 1937, we had won only 19 seats on the Congress ticket, but this time we captured 32. The people who had successfully opposed us then as Independents were now elected on the League ticket. It was noised abroad that the League had won some seats on the Frontier. But those acquainted with local affairs know full well that in most cases it was a personal triumph for the successful League candidates.

I have made occasional references to the doings of the then Governor, Sir George Cunningham. No account of the political history of the Frontier would be complete unless it does justice to this 'Lord of Misrule'. Having had his initial training in imperial statecraft as Private Secretary to the 'renowned' Chief Commissioner of the Frontier, Sir George Roos-Keppel, he returned here as Home Member in 1936. Later on, in 1937, he became Governor. During his nine years' term, he professed great love and friendship for the Pathans, but served only to vilify them. Thanks to him, corruption, bribery and double-dealing flourished in this province as never before during British rule. All the corrupt officials, both Indian and English, were his 'bosom friends and counsellors'. Is it any wonder that his name has come to be associated with the worst elements in the province? If Hallett was despised in the United Provinces, then this man is likewise held in little esteem here.

Having secured thirty-two seats in a House of fifty, the Congress Party was invited to form the new Government. We had fought the elections on certain broad issues, and Badshah Khan wanted to discuss some purely provincial questions with the Assembly members. He placed before them a full picture of the difficulties they

would have to encounter. He asked them whether there was any chance of working for the welfare of the people in the face of official interference. The members spoke bitterly about the attitude of the Governor and his subordinates, and said that they could not make much progress under such conditions. The former Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who attended this meeting, took note of the situation. He declared that they could not solve their difficulties in isolation, because they were common to the country as a whole. The Maulana sympathized with us and promised to take up these questions with the Viceroy. He further assured us that the Working Committee would see that all interference was ended once and for all. On this assurance, the Frontier Congress allowed Dr Khan Sahib to form his new ministry.

Within a year of accepting office, the ministry is facing up to a severe trial of nerves. The time-worn administrative machinery frequently breaks down under the driving force of the new ministers. The pettifogging mentality of the services, coupled with the non-cooperative attitude of the Governor, is a constant irritant, and we often grow desperate and want to throw up this farce of 'responsible government'. This attitude is not confined to us alone; even Abdul Ghaffar Khan is worried. Addressing the Assembly Party recently, he reviewed the whole situation, and reiterated his previous stand that the ministry should do some plain speaking with the Governor on this matter. He asked: 'What is the use of keeping up this show of a Congress Ministry in the province if it is unable to curb the cantankerousness of the officials and forge ahead with its drive against corruption? He wanted the ministers to find out from the Governor if he was really desirous of cooperating with them. But such questions and answers get mixed up with various issues, and it becomes difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

We are once again living in an era of rapid changes; our politics are in the melting pot. The work of the Cabinet Mission, which kept everyone on tenterhooks

for three months, has borne some fruit, but no one knows what shape the future is going to take. At such a juncture, local problems inevitably recede into the background. We are at grips with larger Indian issues, and on their solution depends the termination of provincial wranglings. The next few months are going to be of vital importance to us, and we hope all will be well with this great country of ours. It would be a triumph of the first magnitude if we iron out our differences, and settle down to reconstruct this ruined national system. But in case our demand for complete freedom is shelved or postponed on one plea or the other, and promises held out are broken, then the only course open to us will be to rise and revolt against the perpetuation of this alien rule. With its disappearance, all the barriers that it has helped set up will also disappear.

## APPENDIX

### AUGUST RESOLUTION

The All-India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1942, and to the subsequent events, including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to the Russian and Chinese peoples its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathize with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which has led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and colonial countries, and the continuation of the imperialist tradition and method. The possession of Empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become a burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern Imperialism, has become the crux of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the people of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm.

The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depend the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assure this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in



bondage will continue to be the symbol of British Imperialism and the taint of that Imperialism will affect the fortunes of all the United Nations.

The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

The A.-I. C. C. therefore repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a provisional government will be formed and Free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The provisional government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite government, representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with the Allied powers, and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially all power and authority must belong. The provisional government will evolve a scheme for a constituent assembly which will prepare a constitution for the governance of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units. The future relations between India and the allied nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

The freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to the freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other colonial power.

While the A.-I. C. C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a world federation would ensure the freedom of its

constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems.

Such a federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

The Committee regretfully realizes, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the governments of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards world federation. The reactions of the British Government and the misguided criticisms of the foreign press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has been made essentially to meet the present peril and to enable India to defend herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardize the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and inaction and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response, and criticism made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

The A.-I. C. C. would yet again, at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian government, which dominates over and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction,

for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on widest possible scale, so that the country might utilize all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last twenty-two years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji, and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committees can function. When this happens, every man and woman, who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

Lastly, whilst the A.-I. C. C. has stated its own view of the future governance under free India the A.-I. C. C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on mass struggle it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India.

# INDEX

## A

- Abdali, Ahmad Shah, 11, 34 ff.,  
48, 71
- Abdur Rehman (Bey), 102
- Achakzais, the, 71
- Administered Boundary, 58, 71
- Afghani, Jamal-ud-Din, 38 ff.,  
Afghanistan,  
geographical survey, 1-2  
early invasions of—, 6-7  
unity with India, 11, 24, 58  
—and Urdu, 12  
Indian monarchs of—, 24  
—and Ahmad Shah Abdali,  
35
- Sikh expeditions against—, 37  
a Buffer State, 38  
—and Jamal-ud-Din, 38 ff.  
—and British imperialism,  
38-9, 55 ff.  
—and Abdur Rehman, 44 ff.  
—and Amanullah Khan, 46 ff.  
present rule in—, 52 ff.  
—and Russia, 53  
Mughal expeditions against—,  
57-8
- Afridis, the, 25, 59 ff.  
—and Khushal Khan, 27
- Ahmedzais, the, 67
- Akbar, 22, 25
- Alamzais, the, 64
- Alexander, the Great, 22, 60
- Alizais, the, 68
- Aligarh University, the, 26-7
- All-India Congress, Committee,  
the,  
—and office acceptance, 147  
August Resolution of—, 178
- Anjuman-i-Wattan, 72
- August Resolution, 178, 191
- Aurangzeb, 26-7

## B

- Baba, Abdul Rehman, 3
- Babar, 19-20
- Bajauris, the, 70
- Balolzais, the, 68
- Bangashs, the, 71

Bhittanis, the, 71

- British, the,  
—intrigue against Afghani-  
stan, 38, 45, 49 ff.  
—Imperialism, 39, 55, 59-60,  
76, 105, 111  
—and Jamal-ud-Din, 38 ff.  
Amanullah declares *Jihad*  
against, 47  
—rule and Muslims, 137-8  
—policy on the Frontier, 55 ff.,  
74 ff., 80 ff.  
—and the Afridis, 60 ff.  
—and the Mohmands, 64  
—and the Wazirs, 66-7  
—and the Mahsuds, 68  
—and the Orakzais, 71, 77  
—and the Disarmament Con-  
ference, 82
- Misrule in the N.-W. F. P.,  
116 ff.  
—and Elections in the N.-W.  
F. P., 143 ff.  
are anti-Khudai Khidmatgars,  
148, 150, 155, 159  
and the Muslim League, 160,  
185 ff.  
Non-violence and—, 166 ff.
- Buddhism in the N.-W. F. P.,  
8 ff.

## C

- Cabinet Delegation, the, 191
- Caliphs, the, 13
- Close Border School, 77
- Communities, lack of unity bet-  
ween, 136
- Congress, the Indian National,  
(See 'Indian National Cong-  
ress')
- Ministries, 136, 147  
—and Jail reform, 109  
—and the Muslims, 136  
—Ministry in the N.-W. F. P.,  
127, 148

## D

- Desai, Bhulabhai, J., 89, 144
- Durrand Agreement, the, 64
- Durrand Line, the, 58, 77

## E

- East India Company, the, 23  
*Encyclopædia of Islam*, 45  
*England, India and Afghanistan*, 79
- European  
 —politics and Jamal-ud-Din, 42  
 —countries and Abdur Rehman, 44-5  
 —diplomats and Amanullah, 47  
 —tour of Amanullah Khan, 48

## F

- Fa Hian, 11  
 Forward School, 77  
 Frontier, the, (*See also* 'N.-W. Frontier Province')  
 geographical survey, 1-2, 11  
 Unity with India, 11  
 British Policy in—, 55 ff., 73 ff., 84 ff.  
 Importance of—, 55 ff., 59  
 —Policy of National Government, 56 *fn.*  
 and Baluchistan, 72  
 —Chieftains, 73-4
- Frontier National Movement  
 —and the Tribes, 62-3, 64, 71  
 —and the Khudai Khidmatgars, 116 ff.  
 —and the Congress, 122  
 —and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, 122-3  
 —and the 'Champions of Islam', 138  
 government attitude towards, 157 & *fn.*, 181  
 —and Non-violence, 167 ff.  
 —and the August Revolution, 181 ff.  
 —and Sir George Cunningham, 192

## G

- Gandhi, Mahatma, 14, 50, 124, 166  
 General Elections, the,

- in the N.-W. F. P. in 1933, and in 1937, 124, 125, 127  
 —and the Congress, 139 ff.  
 —official interference during, 144 ff.

- Ghori, Mohammad, 15, 18  
 Ghoria Khels, the, 25  
 Government of India, the,  
 —and Abdur Rehman, 45  
 Frontier Policy of—, 55 ff., 74 ff., 83 ff., 93 ff.  
 —and the Afridis, 60  
 Political Department of—, 62, 64-6  
 —and non-co-operation, 147
- Great Britain  
 —and Russia, 55, 74, 120  
 —and the Turkish Empire, 107  
 —and subject India, 111  
 declaration of War by—, 157

## H

- Hazi Abdul Wahid Sahib of Turangzai, 64, 81, 104 ff.  
 Hijrat, 107  
 Hindus  
 their Philosophy, 10  
 their Civilization, 17  
 and the Frontier Problem, 83, 85, 87-8  
 —and the Khilafat, 107
- Hiuen Tsang, 9  
 Humayun, 21, 24

## I

- Indian National Congress, the,  
 —and the Tribal Problem, 89  
 —and the Pathans, 91-2, 137  
 —and the Khudai Khidmatgars, 116 ff., 121-2  
 —and the General Elections, 140 ff.  
 —and non-co-operation, 147  
 —and office acceptance, 147, 156  
 —and the War, 157, 178, 191  
 August Resolution of—, 179-80

Indian Unity, 95-6, 122, 136  
 Indian States, 69  
 Individual Satyagraha, 157 *fn.*  
 Islam, 7, 12, 18, 23, 138, 160  
 Islamic  
   —invasions, 10, 13  
   —art, 18  
   —state, 43  
 Islamia College, 62, 69, 144, 149

## J

Jamia-i-Azhar, 39, 40  
 Jehangir, 26  
*Jihad*, 47  
 Jinnah, Mr M.A.,  
   —and the Khudai Khidmat-  
   gars, 188 *fn.*, and 186 *fn.*,  
   visit to the Frontier Province,  
   144, 190  
   on League 'Success' in the  
   Frontier, 185-6

## K

Khaksars, the, 161-2  
 Khan, Abdul Majid, 53  
 Khan, Abdul Ghaffar, 38, 46, 72  
   on the Frontier Problem, 89,  
   95-6  
   birth and early life, 99 *ff.*  
   education, 101 *ff.*  
   his influence on Dr Khan  
   Sahib, 102  
   disillusion about army career,  
   103  
   —and Haji Sahib of Turang-  
   zai, 104 *ff.*  
   work as reformer, 104 *ff.*  
   early conflicts with Govern-  
   ment, 105 *ff.*, 109  
   his arrests, 106, 118, 123, 126  
   'Badshah Khan', 107  
   —and the Khilafat, 107-8  
   meeting with Amanullah, 108  
   his abhorrence of secrecy, 108  
   founding of 'Anjuman-i-Islah-  
   e-Afaghina,' 108  
   his tours, 108-9, 124-5, 133-4,  
   190

—and jail life, 109, 126  
 'Fakhr-i-Afghan', 110  
 tour and impressions of other  
   Muslim States, 110-12  
 founding of 'Pukhtoon Jirga',  
   112.  
 —and Khudai Khidmatgars,  
   113 *ff.*, 164-5  
 —and the *Pukhtoon*, 113  
 —and the Congress, 117, 122  
 —and Gandhiji, 125-6, 167  
 Nehru's tribute to—, 127-8  
 —, a study, 127 *ff.*  
 his mission, 129, 131  
 —and the Poona Offer, 131  
 his love of religion, 132, 170  
 his zest for work, 131  
 his character, 128, 134  
 his habits, 134  
 on duty and death, 135  
 attempts on his life, 135 *fn.*  
 on coming changes, 135-6  
 —in riot-affected Bihar,  
   135 *fn.*  
 —and Congress Presidentship,  
   136  
 —and Muslim leadership, 137  
 —and the elections, 143 *ff.* 190  
 not anti-Muslim, 146  
 —and Office Acceptance, 148,  
   155, 187, 190, 193  
 Sir William Barton on—, 150  
 —and non-violence, 166 *ff.*  
 —and the August Revolution,  
   180  
 Khan, Amanullah, 46 *ff.*, 71, 81  
 Khan, Amir Abdur Rehman,  
   43 *ff.*, 47, 52, 77  
 Khan, Haji Mirza Ali (Fakir of  
   Ipi), 66  
 Khan, Nadir (Nadir Shah Ghazi),  
   51, 65  
 Khan Nawab Mohammad Za-  
   man, 62  
 Khan Sahib, Dr, 101  
   resignation from I.M.S. 102  
   member of Central Assembly,  
   125-6

- Khan Sahib, Dr,  
 Leader of the Congress Party  
 in the Provincial Assembly,  
 125, 143, 145, 150 ff.
- Khan, Sardar Hashim, 51-2
- Khan, Sardar Shah Mahmud, 51
- Khan, Sir Abdul Qayyum, 124,  
 142, 148-9
- Khan, Sir Syed Ahmad, 137
- Khattak, Khushal Khan, 3,  
 26 ff., 71
- Khilafat, the, 107
- Khudai Khidmatgars, the,  
 their work in Tribal Areas, 97  
 origin of—, 113  
 their Pledge, 113  
 their Party Song, 114-15  
 their objectives, 115  
 their uniform, 115  
 Ghaffar Khan on—, 115, 170  
 —and non-violence, 115, 177  
 —and the non-co-operation  
 movement, 116 ff.  
 atrocities against—, 118 ff.  
 —and Soviet Russia, 120-1  
 —and the General Elections,  
 127, 140 ff., 191  
 —and the Muslim League,  
 121, 136 ff., 159 ff.  
 their Centre, 134  
 in office, 149 ff., 162 ff.  
 their discipline, 171-2  
 —and the August Revolution,  
 182 ff.
- Khyber Pass, the, 25, 59
- Kidnappings, 66 ff., 84 ff.
- Kumarappa Report, the, 2
- L**
- Lodi, Bahlol, 18-19, 25
- Lodi, Ibrahim, 16, 19
- M**
- Mahmud of Ghazni, 15, 81
- Mahsuds, the, 67 ff.
- 'Markaz-i-Ala', 133
- Martyrs' Day, 118
- Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, 121-2
- Mihirakula, 10
- Mohmands, the, 63 ff.
- Mohammadan civilization, 17
- Mughals, 20, 21, 24, 27, 81
- Mughal Empire, 11, 25
- Mullah Sahib of Powindah, 68,  
 81
- Muslims, the,  
 establish power in India, 18  
 —and Sher Shah, 23  
 —and Jamal-ud-Din, 41  
 —and Russia, 42  
 —and the Khilafat, 107  
 —and the Grand Conference,  
 111  
 —, Indian and other, 111-12  
 —leadership, 136 ff.  
 —and British rule, 136-7  
 —minority, 140
- Muslim League, the,  
 not anti-British, 138, 160, 185  
 —and the Khudai Khidmat-  
 gars, 121-2, 136-8, 145 *fn.*,  
 161, 189  
 its origin in the N.-W.F.P.,  
 159 ff.  
 —Ministry in the N.-W.F.P.,  
 185  
 —and Elections, 192
- N**
- Nalanda University, 10
- National Convention, 147
- National Movement (*see* 'Frontier  
 National Movement')
- Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal  
 on the Tribal Problem, 90-1,  
 95  
 visit to the Tribal Area, 96-7  
 President of Lahore Congress,  
 117  
 —on Frontier atrocities, 119  
 —on Ghaffar Khan, 127  
 Election campaigns of 1937,  
 141
- Non-violence  
 —and the Pathans, 166 ff.  
 —and Ghaffar Khan, 167

- in War and Peace, 167 ff.  
 Jawaharlal's advocacy of—, 168  
 —in other lands, 172  
 potency of—, 174  
 North-West Frontier Province,  
     the, 25, 38  
 its resources, 2, 60, 70  
 early settlers of—, 6-7  
 Mauryan rule over—, 8-9  
 Kushan rule over—, 9  
 —and the Archæological Department, 10 *fn.*  
 its creation, 72, 79  
 —and Baluchistan, 72 & *fn.*  
 —and the National Movement, 115 ff.  
 its jails, 123, 178  
 —and the first Round Table Conference, 123-4, 149 ff.  
 First Congress Ministry in, 127-147 ff.  
 General Elections in—, 141  
 Political Parties in—, 159 ff.  
 League Ministry in—, 185  
 Second Congress Ministry in—, 188

## P

- Panipat, the Battle of, 16, 19  
 Pan-Islamic Idea, 43, 112  
 Patel Report, the, 119, 122  
 Pathans, the,  
     their land, 1-2, 60, 63, 70  
     their language, 2-3  
     their character, 3-4, 60, 65, 166-7  
 Eliphinstone on—, 3-4  
 Dr Collin Davies on—, 4  
 their customs, 4-5, 60  
 their music, 4  
 their laws, 4  
 early history of—, 6 ff.  
 M. Ruffin on—, 7  
 Farishta on—, /  
 Prof. Dorn on—, 8  
 Herodotus on—, 8  
 Greek influences on—, 8 ff. 14  
 —and other Indians, 11 ff. 37

- Aryan influence on—, 14  
 Jewish influence on—, 14  
 —and Mahmud of Ghazni, 15  
 Influences in India, 16 ff.  
 Rulers of India, 18-19, 24  
 —and Sher Shah Suri, 21, 25  
 Akbar's policy towards—, 25  
 —and Khushal Khan, 27 ff.  
 —and Mir Wass, 31-34  
 Iran rule over—, 31-2  
 —and Ahmad Shah Abdali, 34 ff.  
 —and Amir Abdur Rehman, 44, 46  
 —and Amanullah Khan, 44 ff.  
 —and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, 46, 104 ff, 137, 169-70  
 —and the Congress, 137  
 —and the 'champions of Islam', 137-8 & *fn.*  
 —and Military service, 62, 78  
 —and the Baluchis, 72  
 reaction to the British Policy, 80-1  
 —and non-violent resistance, 120 ff., 166 ff.  
 —and the General Elections, 140 ff.

- Prophet of Islam, the, 12  
*Pukhtoon*, the, 13, 109, 113, 118  
 Pushto, 2-3, 8, 14, 28, 36, 53, 72, 109, 134

## R

- Responsible Government, 69  
*Rig Veda*, 7  
 Russia, 42, 44, 53-4, 98, 120, 164  
 Russian menace, 55, 74, 83  
 Red Shirts, the, (*see* 'Khudai Khidmatgars')

## S

- Sahib, Mian Gul, 69  
 Saqao, Baccha, 51, 65  
 Shah, Zahir, 52  
 Shinwaris, the, 70  
 Shiranis, the, 71  
 Socialism, 54, 121, 163-4



Suri, Sher Shah, 19 ff.  
Swatis, the, 68 ff.

## T

*The Cambridge History of India*, 17, 33  
*The Kingdom of Cabul*, 36  
*The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, 4, 83  
Tribal Assembly (*Firga*), 5, 62  
Tribal *Maliks*, 62  
Tribal Belt, (Tribal Territory)  
geographical survey, 1-2, 58, 60, 63, 65, 67  
its language, 2  
character of its people, 3-4  
its laws, 4-5  
its extent and population, 59  
its resources, 60, 63, 67-8, 70  
its tribes, 58, 70, 71  
its importance, 59, 75, 95  
its leaders, 81  
British Policy in—, 55 ff., 66, 74 ff., 82  
'One with rest of India', 96  
Jawaharlal's visit to, 96-7  
Khudai Khidmatgars' work in, 97, 180  
Ghaffar Khan's earlier activities in, 104 ff.  
Tribal Problem, the, 56 ff., 66, 73  
Dr Annie Beasant on—, 79-80  
Dr Collin Davies on—, 83  
Ghaffar Khan's solution of—, 89, 95-6  
Pandit Nehru on—, 90-1, 95  
Need for ~~quick~~ decision about, 92-3

Need for correct approach to, 95 ff.  
Tribes of the N.-W. F. P., the, 55 ff., 58  
—and Islam, 15  
Akbar's policy towards, 25  
—and the Mughals, 57  
—and Khushal Khan, 27  
—and Abdur Rehman, 45, 77  
—and Amanullah Khan, 47 ff.  
—and Hazi Sahib of Turangzai, 64, 104 ff.  
their love of independence, 57, 65-7, 81-2  
—and kidnappings, 66-7, 84 ff.  
—and bombing, 67, 69, 82  
—and the August Revolution, 181  
Sir J. N. Sarkar on—, 57-8  
*Turks and India*, 24

## U

Unity  
Pathan influence on Indian—, 17  
—of Hindu and Muhammadan civilizations, 17-18  
—Boards, 148  
Urdu, 12  
Utmanzais, the, 67

## W

Wafdist Party, the, 156  
Wass, Mir, 26, 31-4  
Wazirs, the, 65 ff.

## Z

Zakha Khels, the, 60





Class No. *323:25451* Book No. *Y 95F*  
Vol.

Author.....*J. H. H. H.*.....

Title.. *Frontier Speaks*.....

Acc. No. *29243*


*29243.1*