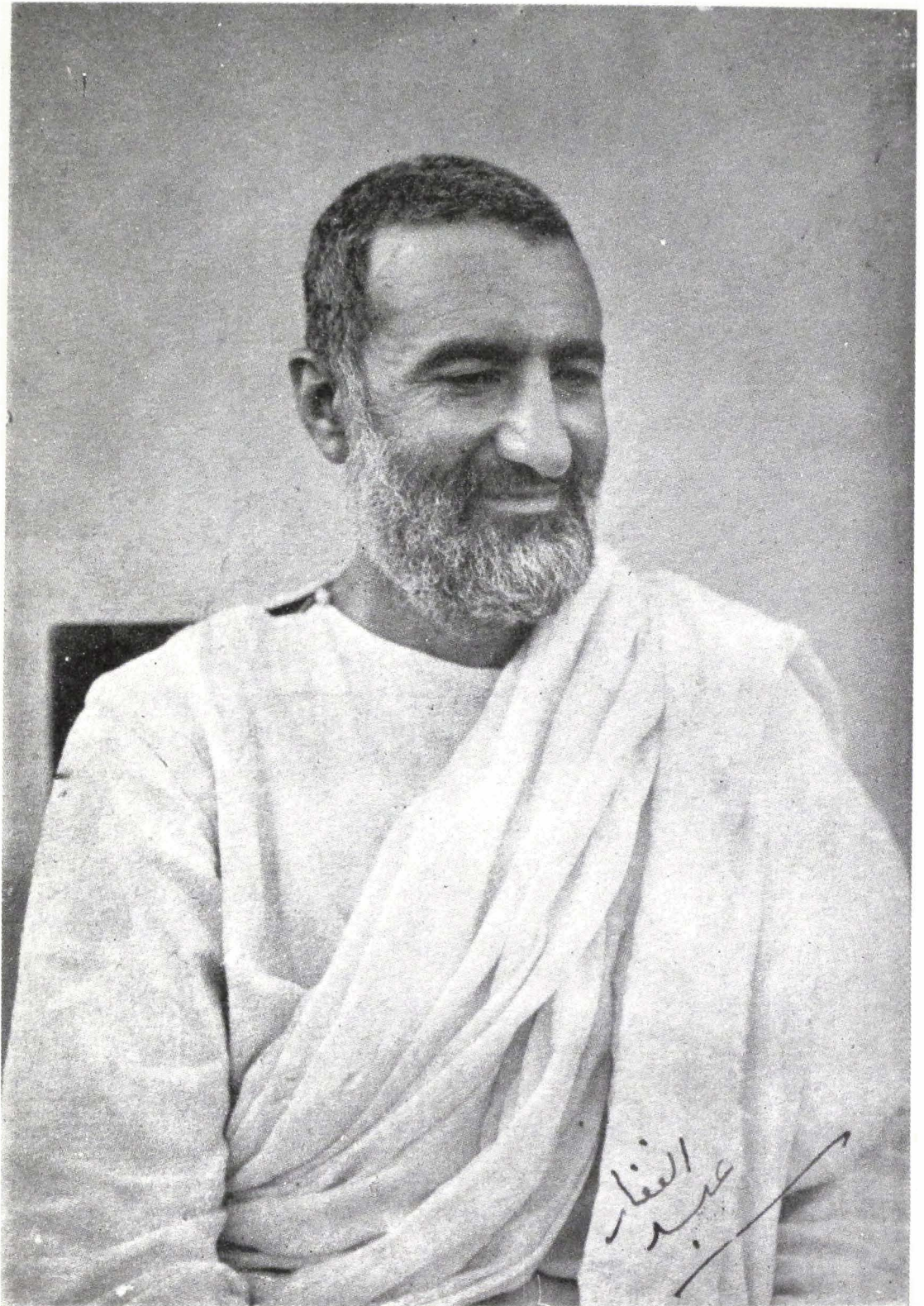


FRONTIER SPEAKS

By
MOHAMMAD YUNUS

MINERVA BOOK SHOP
LAHORE



FRONTIER SPEAKS

by

MOHAMMAD YUNUS

FOREWORD BY

JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU

PREFACE BY

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MAPS BY

SARDAR ABDUR RAUF

MINERVA BOOK SHOP

ANARKALI - - - - LAHORE

1st Edition

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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 lived 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 judgments 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 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 Fakhri-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 borderland country was so well known throughout India that when brave expeditions went out from South India to colonise the islands and archipelagoes of the eastern seas that envelop Malaya, 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 civilisation; 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 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 dark-

ness 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 than the conversion of a warlike 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 has loved his gun better than his child or brother, who has valued life cheaply and cared nought for death, who has avenged the slightest insult with the thrust of a dagger, suddenly became 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 is almost law to his people, for they love him and trust 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 to-day. It is the only effort of its kind to link up the past with the 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 national awakening and building up powerful organisations 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 its adequate manifestation in the growth of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement 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 connection 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 harmonise with the conception of Indian freedom and that is why they have joined hands with the rest of their countrymen in a joint struggle, instead of

favouring the scheme of breaking up India into many States. They have come to realise 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 to develop close relations and endeavour 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 to-day. These 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 block 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, like its past, it will inevitably become the pivot and the centre of all these great changes and alliances, and will begin to play an important rôle 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 judgment 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 minimise 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.

Abdul Jaffer

Markaz-i-Ala
Sardayab
July, 1942

INTRODUCTION

I WAS with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for some time during 1939-40, having been deputed by my chief to acquire the necessary amount of guidance from him in studying the working of the Indian National Congress, and thus be prepared for any political work in the Frontier. The period was helpful, and I used to watch that illuminating, high-souled Indian patriot, from whose noble personality I derived many imperishable benefits. My present undertaking has been an outcome of that association and the inspiration has been entirely Jawahar's.

My task has not been so easy as I used to find it in the case of the beloved Indian leader, whose style and command over the English language puts him in the same rank as the best of modern writers. My subject is not a very popular one either, and did not furnish sufficient material for investigation. I have been all along in search of facts and a correct background for my book, which would have remained incomplete but for the most unflinching support that I received from my friends following different walks of life. I bow to them with a sense of deep gratitude and thankfulness.

Young as I am, I have not been able to curb the crudities of an emotional and youthful style, and so have put down my observations as they came at the moment of compiling this volume. While collecting

material for my work, I read various tales, which were full of horror and 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 democracy and progress.' The knowledge of such incidents could not leave me untouched, and so some of the severe expressions in this book are due entirely to the injustice meted out to the helpless men of the Frontier Province as well as to those living across the so-called settled border.

مرا دردیست اندر دل اگر گویم زبان سوزد
وگر دم در کشم ترسم که مغز استخوان سوزد*

My original idea was to write a short account of Abdul Ghaffar Khan's life and his Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in order to present a true picture of this remarkable Pathan and his 'unique organisation. Soon after I began my work, it occurred to me to furnish a suitable background to my beloved chief's lifelong sacrifice. So I commenced surveying the early history of the Pathans, and prepared the first part of this book, which includes the rôle 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 under difficult circumstances in collecting data for a subject that has been treated most unkindly by the historians and the line of Moghul Emperors in India, who were jealous of the wonderful record of administration left by Sher

* 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.

Shah the Great and the continuous Pathan hostility to that rule in this great sub-continent.

In writing the early accounts of the people I thought about the unity of history and how little effort on the part of some historians had taken us back from our Buddhist conception of Indian civilisation 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 my readers and remind them of their past and of the humble contribution of the Pathans towards the social welfare of India and of its ultimate result that has been responsible for the existing national structure. I was in search of certain missing links and keen to explain the present rôle of these people under their popular leader.

During the course of my writing, I used to be reminded of an artificial gulf dividing India and the Pathans, and how, in spite of so great a collaboration in the past, the people were led to consider themselves different from each other. I also came across certain false and malicious things said about these Northern Fighters in order to discredit them as well as put them at war against others in India. Most of the books written about the Frontier problem had a set purpose in view, and the misrepresentation of facts regarding the Pathans as a whole, but more especially about the tribes, caused me great pain when I turned their pages, and influenced me to prepare a case on their behalf as well.

The second part of the book deals with the

construction of the Tribal Belt and the tension prevailing there ever since the advent of the British rule on these hills. The Tribal question has assumed a particular shape and has made our confusion worse confounded owing to the mistaken path pursued by the Indian Government. We know that having themselves failed, they are prevented by a false sense of prestige from handing over the matter to anyone 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 this Empire that has had its day, in order to preserve and protect its own interests.

Part third 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, and I have tried to describe the present problems in some detail.

Words fail me to acknowledge Jawaharlalji's assistance. He has not only written the foreword to this book, but has been kind enough to go through the major part of this volume. But for him my labour would have remained fruitless. These last few months have been eventful in our history and had absorbed his energies to a very great extent. He has been enveloped by all manner of responsibilities, and yet, until his arrest, his help and

guidance came to me in its abundance at every stage of this book. To Maulana Abul Kalam Azad I am thankful for giving me a few instructive talks on the Muslim Period and especially about Jamal-ud-Din Afghani. While Indira Nehru wants me to remain ungrateful to her for her various efforts in polishing the manuscript out of its ugly form. To Pandit Dina Nath Raina I feel grateful for preparing the index and to S. A. Rauf for drawing the maps in this book.

May the pages of this book succeed in removing some of the illusions 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 ?”

Mahammad Yunus

Kohati Gate
Peshawar
18th August, 1942

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ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN AND HIS MOVEMENT

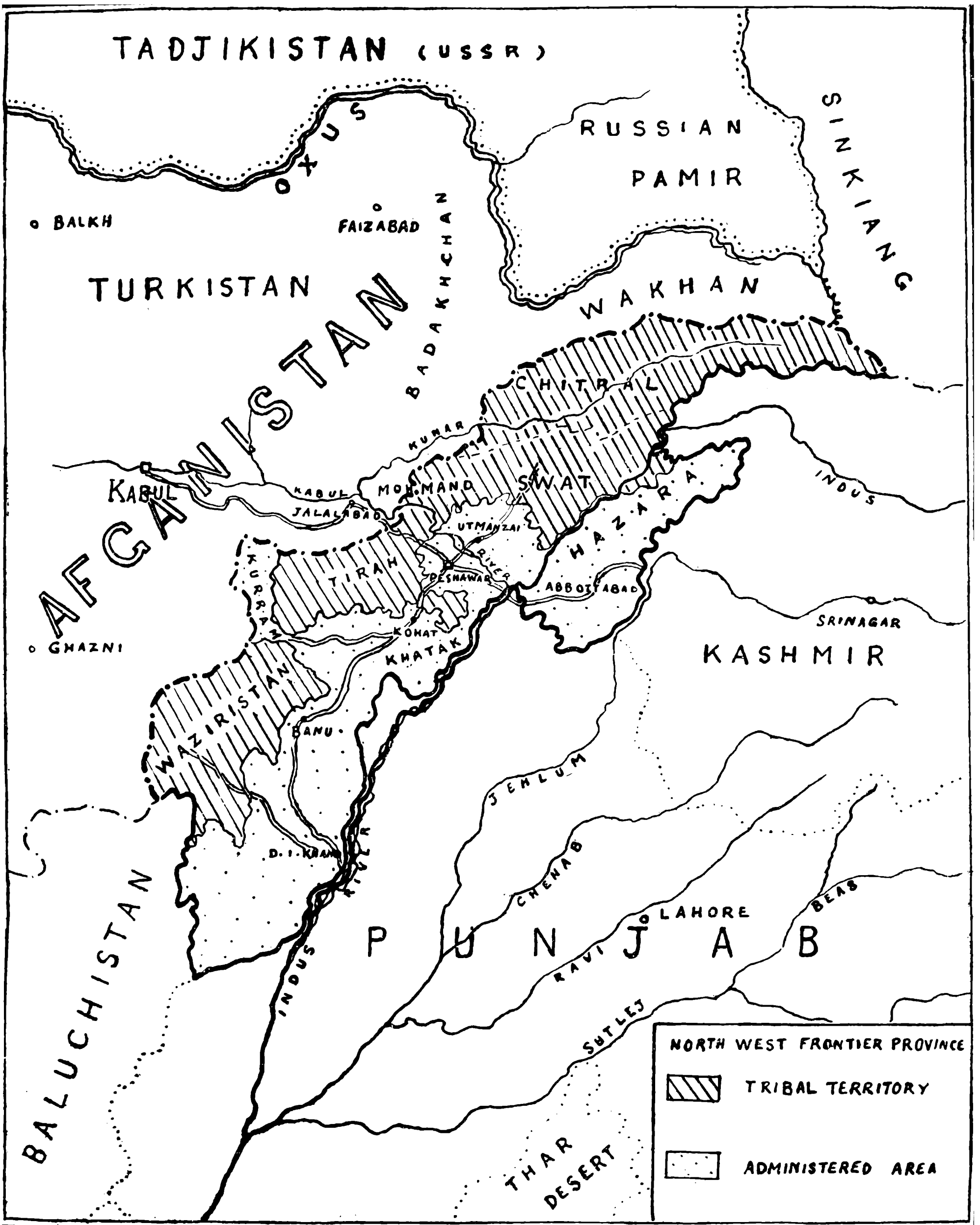
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North-West Frontier Province

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 consistencies and contradictions, of hurried and fierce products of the machanized age and the relics of customs and traditions dating back to Abraham. To-day we see the East and West meet but still never blend, and watch a consistent struggle of the ruler and the ruled in a rigion marked by variations and changes all round. The story of its people and country has indeed been a romantic puzzle throughout its gradual growth.

On the one side there are the fertile and beautiful plains of Peshawar and Hashtnagar, the snow clad hills of Swat and Hazara, the most invigorating snow-born breeze cutting its way through the Khyber, the groves of sheesham and the green expanse of young wheat, which is all along interspersed with fields and patches of sugar-cane, the rich and beautiful fruit orchards that produce delicious peaches and oranges, in contrast to the flat barren plains of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, the rugged and desolate rocky hills of the tribal territory with ravines that produce

little enough food for three and a half million gallant inhabitants. It is not only the Frontier Province and the Tribal Belt which have these conditions, but Afghanistan, the original seat of the Pathans, from where they have always drawn their strength, shares the same conditions of life. That is a country of mountains and deserts with certain areas of cultivable tracts near the rivers or the artificially irrigated parts worked by the people, who are great irrigation engineers and can be surpassed by the Chinese alone in this art. The fertile tracts serve as the mainstay of the population and are well-known fruit-growing areas in Central Asia. This country, which consists of a table-land and high hills that reach an elevation of twelve to eighteen thousand feet, has few benefits to offer to its people except for its political and geographical importance. Anyhow, it is in such hills and plains to the north of India, that a strong, sturdy and self-respecting warrior race holds its own under strange and peculiar circumstances, where even the most scanty needs of daily life are scarcely fulfilled.

The country of the Pathans, seemingly barren so far, is full of mineral resources of all kinds, which have been lying hidden and untouched. We have been made aware of them through some of the recent official agencies and more especially by the report prepared by Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, who had been appointed by the Frontier Congress Government 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 that comes out of certain springs and wells used by the inhabitants for

drinking purposes. The Afridi hills contain marble, which has already found a ready market. The Mahsuds and the Wazirs carry on a meagre form of iron trade in Kabul and Herat with the ore found in their mountains. The Khattaks of Kohat and Marwats of Bannu possess ample quantities of salt, which is controlled and utilised by the Central Excise in India. All these mean a considerable amount of wealth which could be turned into beneficial channels for the development and amelioration of its people, but so far we have been watching our wealth flowing out in large quantities in useless pursuits that gave relief neither to the people concerned nor to the Provincial Government.

2. LANGUAGE, CUSTOMS AND CHARACTER

THE entire population, with exceptions in certain towns, speak Pushto. It is a strong virile language, deep, rich, and manly in nature, but capable of expressing ideas with neatness and accuracy, suiting the nature of its speakers and the mountains forming its home.

The poetry of this language is much richer than its other literature and contains excellent material on varied subjects of human learning. The works of the warrior poet, Khushal Khan Khattak, the great mystic, Abdur Rehman Baba, and a few others can find a place in any collection of those days. It has the Persian alphabet and its grammar is not very complicated. The Pathans have great love for their language and feel most happy when addressed through its medium.

The Pathans are very frank, outspoken and open hearted, and make little distinction of rank. They are seldom rude, and are respectful to the old. It is difficult to overawe them with modern devices, and they are too proud to express amazement at the sight of some novel object and usually succeed in facing it confidently. The people are hard and active, while the nature of their country makes them excellent mountaineers. The Pathans are industrious and hard working and lack the refinement and the subtlety of their neighbours on both the Indian and the Iranian side: they hate 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."

While the famous Turkish patriot Halide Edib once described them as follows. Giving her impressions, she once wrote to me: "They are sane in body and in mind; they are honest in action and in thought; they have common sense which only and 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 at their own expense. They like fair-play, but given a fancied or real cause for partiality or injustice, they are greatly hurt and may adopt any course in revenge. They are very proud of their descent and their language. It is said that once a Pathan left his province and on meeting an old man somewhere, began talking to him in his own Pushto, but the man expressed his inability to understand. The Pathan was very much astonished and said to himself: "This man is soon to die and I wonder when is he going to learn Pushto." The Pathans have received a very good 'chit' from Dr. Collin Davies, who writing in his well-known book *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, points out that: "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 people have a natural fondness for field sports and are greatly interested in shooting, hunting and hawking, which is now dying out from most parts of the province. Fighting rams and quails are fairly popular among the villagers. The Pathans are fond of music, poetry and folk dances, and derive great joy from these when they are not engaged in a serious affair. Their instruments of music are drums (*Nagara*), flute (*Surnai*), bagpipes and *Rabab*. Their music is lively and creates strong emotions in its listeners. Their folk dances are known as *Bangra*, *Bulbulla*, and *Hatarn*, but these are known as Khattak dances among the non-Pushto speaking people.

Like other traits of life, their jurisprudence is very simple, and though there is no regular administrative machinery, the verbal Code is followed very strictly by the people in the tribal territory, to whom these few obligations form the basis of mutual intercourse. It is not followed in its true spirit in the settled districts due to so many complications and their contradiction with the Indian Penal Code ; with the result that the internal security and conduct of the tribes is much safer and sounder than that of the people living under this corrupt system of administration. The following are the four main items of their verbal Code :

(i) *Pukhtoon Walli.*

It implies many things and is a combination of a few obligations based on equality and retaliation, which govern their society both internally and externally. It also helps to settle disputes of a personal nature and its application is based on the traditions behind it.

(ii) *Nanawatae.*

It may be in the form of 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 ask his pardon, and in lieu of the

offence, present a few lambs for sacrifice. By this method any boon claimed is granted by one whose threshold has been crossed by any petitioner.

(iii) *Melmestai*.

It means hospitality, which has become proverbial, and which is considered one of the most sacred duties in the life of an individual. It is observed by all according to their own limited means.

(iv) *Badal*.

It means vendetta, and is exacted for personal insults or other damages. It is a debt of honour, which descends from father to son, and if not executed, brings contempt on all the relations and is greatly resented by the womenfolk.

The above verbal Code, which guides the conduct of the people in their day-to-day affairs of life, has the sanction of the tribal assembly, known as *Jirga*, which has the power to raise a *Lashkar* (an 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. THE EARLY HISTORY

HAVING made a brief survey of the country and the laws, it is now the turn of the people, who hold this tract, to be examined. A careful glance at

Pathan History would bring before our eyes a long and continuous narration of over thirty or even thirty-five centuries of cultural evolution, which 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 an important corridor between India and Central Asia, and it has ever been a significant melting-pot, where the Aryans, the Assyrians, the Medians, the Iranians, the Greeks, the Scythians, the Turks and the Turco-Mongols flowed in successive waves and influenced the life of the original inhabitants. These different civilizations appeared and making this country their stronghold, strived to spread out and dominate the vast country in front of them.

If we examine facts and draw conclusions from their study, it would be noticed that though this part of India was overrun so often by the conquering hordes from Central Asia, this country and its people always endeavoured to retain their traditions, and flourishing under various influences, its population always succeeded in forcing the newcomers to adopt the local customs. For centuries this tract remained a centre and mainspring of the Buddhist faith, which at that time included most of Asia in its orbit.

These northern hills of Afghanistan and the Frontier were first penetrated by the adventurous bands of the Aryans two or three thousand years B.C., 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 again.

Some of the recent observations link up this Aryan invasion with the same period as that of the famous civilization existing at Mohenjodaro, and both could have been contemporary factors. The Aryans composed their early *Hymns* in these hills and their initial scriptures speak of the rivers Kabul and Gomai as sacred streams, which were later replaced by the Ganga and Jamna. The Aryans probably gathered together and settled down here, and later 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 probably composed when the Aryans occupied the Frontier areas and parts of the Punjab.

So much is clear about the earliest stages, but the following few centuries of Pathan history, which is involved in obscurity, has given rise to a variety of views and most divergent theories have guided the intellect of the different historians. Consequently it is not easy to accept or reject any one theory with deep conviction. Some of the well-known writers tell us that the Pathans are descendants from one of the ten tribes of Israel, and this fact is supported by

the general impression current among the people themselves, who claim to be *Bani Israil* (sons of Israel), while 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 end 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 Jahangir, 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 a commander in 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), the king of Babylon and the conqueror of Jerusalem, sent some of his soldiers and the captured men of 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 the Kharkov University. He was a great Pushto scholar and has translated Pushto books into Russian language in 1847. His translation of the Afghan History of M. Naimatullah,

with his additional notes have made that work most interesting. He finds it difficult to draw any rational conclusion from the very confused facts available, and so could not trace them beyond their present hills.

In about 327 B.C., Alexander the Great invaded India through these hills and was opposed by the powerful ruler of Taxila and its dependencies comprising of these mountains. Herodotus, the famous historian, has described the people of this area as *Pakthynæ* Buddhists. The invasion of that ambitious and successful conqueror failed to create any marked impression here, yet his brilliant achievements indirectly produced certain effects, and the subsequent development of art and culture was somewhat influenced by the Greeks. Anyhow, it has been pointed out that from the fifth century B.C., upto the fifth century A.D., this country attracted and absorbed seven different dynasties of 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 built up a powerful empire, and its contributions and accomplishments under its renowned king, Asoka, bear testimony to its grandeur in the four corners of India, Frontier Province and Afghanistan. This remarkable Asiatic monarch laid the foundations of a peaceful and prosperous rule in his vast domain. After a few ambitious struggles for power, Asoka got tired of the lust for violence and the implications it involved. His later activities

mark a different policy and he gave rise to new thoughts in India and the other places he ruled. It is said that his ancestors belonged to Swat, and his grandfather, Chander Gupta, has been described by Herodotus to have been wandering round this country during Alexander's invasion of India, and who later succeeded in carving out a kingdom for his dynasty. During the reign of Asoka this country had achieved a very important place for itself and had become a well-known seat of human learning.

Years rolled by, and that Buddhist régime ceased to grow and keep pace with the changing circumstances, with the result that it found itself overpowered by the Greco-Bactrian monarchy, which lasted for about a century. The Greeks were defeated and thrown out by the rise and invasion of the Sakas or the Scythians of Central Asia in about 150 B.C. The new invaders freely inter-married with the Parthians of Seistan and held sway over the country as far as Arachosia or the modern Ghazni. It was during the same period that the famous Tyana traveller, Appollonius, visited this place.

The Indo-Parthians and the Sakas were in their turn destroyed by another powerful monarchy, the Kushans. They emerged from the extreme north-west of China, and conquering Bactria, built up an empire that extended from Central Asia to the boundaries of Bengal. Their renowned king, Kanishka, had Purusapura, the present city of Peshawar, as his capital.

The advent of the Kushans has a special merit in India and other parts of Asia. This merit goes to them for certain religious and social developments

that they achieved. The new dynasty became converts to Buddhism and championed its cause with great vigour and enthusiasm. The Chinese pilgrims, Sun Yun and Hiuen Tsang, who visited this country in the sixth and seventh century respectively, have spoken very highly of Kanishka, and tell us that the local chiefs in those days took pride in claiming descent from that emperor. The Kushans are further responsible for the intensified introduction of the old Greek art and culture in the Indo-Afghan civilization. Till then the Indian philosophical conceptions were contrary to the representation of images, but once the Greeks made an image of Buddha, which represented love, contemplation and a soothing dream of the infinite, the people here copied it and took to that line of worship. It was here in the land of Pathans that the new art took birth and developed along with various other branches of Buddhism to influence the far off corners of China, Korea and Japan, each one of which has been the seat of certain ancient civilizations.

During those years the Pathans had achieved great brilliance, and their academic traditions and language had reached its zenith. The literary contribution of the people dates back as far as the fourth century A.D., and an interesting writing of those days has been recently discovered in an old shrine of Japan, while some of its copies are reported to be lying in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand. It is a thoughtful translation of a dialogue from Pali that took place between the Buddhist king, Milinda and the celebrated Buddhist philosopher, Nagasena. It was known as the *Milinda-Panho* (The questions

of Milinda). Further proof of the high intellectual level attained is furnished from the fact that when the famous university was founded at Nalanda in the fourth century A.D., most of the scholars went from this part of the Buddhist domain.

The great Kushans lasted upto the middle of the fifth century A.D., when in about 450 A.D., the White Huns, a Mongolian race, invaded the country, and their chiefs, Totamana, and his son, Mihirakula, whom Kalhana, the author of *Rajatarangini*, describes as the 'slayer of three crores of humanity,' set up their own destructive monarchy. Mihirakula and his Huns destroyed the Buddhist temples and most of the institutions imparting education in favour of their own Saivism.

While the Huns were destroying and opposing Buddhism with all their might, the country was enveloped by the Hindu Philosophy, which soon replaced Buddhism from this tract and established itself throughout the country. It is asserted that the Hindu Brahmin kings captured power and dominated the political scene of India and Afghanistan for many centuries. It is said that the last Brahmin king ruled Afghanistan as late as the beginning of the ninth century, when Islam eventually embraced the people in its fold.

An interesting account of the Buddhist days has been recorded by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hian, who came here in the beginning of the fifth century (405 A.D.), and among other places that he visited was the Kurram valley in the Frontier Province. Again, in the seventh century (631 A.D.), a celebrated Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, visited this part of

India and has left a very vivid picture of those days. His memories are unique of their kind for descriptive accuracy, but since he was primarily a religious man, therefore his observations throw little light on the political history of those days.

4. THE DAWN OF ISLAM

So far we have read about the rise and fall of the different empires, which rose and vanished like the waves of the ocean, but since most of them lacked an inner urge or spontaneous momentum, they failed to touch the heart of the country and leave any definite mark on the whole population. The same will appear true of others who followed in this train, and we shall find the people functioning on their own traditional lines. During these years the Pathans also played their part and contributed their share towards the shaping and reconstruction of India and other areas that were under the sway of their ancient monarchs. But often they remained calm and insignificant as well.

The past pages must have displayed the unity that existed between India and the parts now known as Afghanistan and the Frontier Province, which kept fostering till their separation during the last days of the Mughul Empire in India. We know that Afghanistan, till its creation into a national state by Ahmad Shah Abdali, was an important Indian province, where, either an Afghan ruler held sway over this country or some Indian monarch dominated the scene there. And if we look at the geographical construction of the hills that form

the range of mountains between Kashmir, Frontier and Afghanistan, it would convince us as one continuous barrier forming a table-land of high hills between India and Central Asia. The causes for the apparent separatist tendency among the highlanders and those living on the plains, exist everywhere in the world, which result from the different conditions of life that prevail in these areas. The economic hardships and other handicaps in the hills produce conflict and widens the gulf that comes in the way of unified growth. But this does not lead to their becoming two peoples. This aspect of history has a great meaning for us in India, and its right understanding is bound to solve some of our problems. I was once discussing this point with an eminent Indian educationist and was relating to him some of my reactions in 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 join once again. I wish the Afghan Government to appreciate the benefit of this union, and in order to pave the way for this 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." The above suggestion may sound fantastic, but we must not rule it out without giving it a fair trial. We do not know what reactions it will produce among the independent people of Afghanistan and their present Government?

The mists of obscurity about the Pathans become somewhat clear, when in the early part of the seventh century, Islam appeared on the scene.

Khalid-bin-Walid, a Jew convert to the new Faith, is said to have written to these Pathans, who were supposed to be descendents from early Jews, to embrace Islam. Khalid's persuasion and influence resulted in these highlanders agreeing to send a deputation to the Prophet for establishing personal contacts and forming an estimate of the new religion. A party of elders from these hills started 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 the 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 said that Khalid gave his daughter in marriage to Rashid. This legendary matrimonial alliance is particularly known to the Pathans and they take pride in being related to that illustrious and selfless Muslim General of the Prophet's reign. 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 people, whom Herodotus has mentioned as *Pakthynes*, has caused confusion to some of the writers, but it is possible that on enquiring 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 followers.

It is said that 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 fold of Islam. Some

of the local tales tell us that soon afterwards, these people organised themselves into a powerful and compact unit and took part in the early Islamic campaigns under the Orthodox Caliphs in Iran. Later, they were successful in drawing the Gandharies and others of the Ghor hills to their ranks, who were eventually amalgamated into one distinct group. So we find these people of different origins becoming uniform in most of their traits where we find it difficult to draw lines of demarcation among the various factors that form the present Pathan population.

The unified growth of the people seems amazing to an average student of history and can lead him to draw peculiar speculations as to its causes. It is not easy to explain this strange phenomenon, and except a hint from their character, I fail to tackle this aspect. The natural surroundings of their country produce instincts that compel them to think and act unitedly in an emergency, and later, scatter as before. Their excessive pride and inherent strength must have gone a long way to join the outsiders in their ranks.

Going back some 3,800 years, we find the Hindu books mentioning these people. They are supposed to have fought in the famous epic of Mahabharata, and are described as an Indian border race known by the name of *Pukhtoon*. It has been pointed out there that the five Pandoos spent a year of their exile in Gandhara as guests of its powerful ruler, who protected them from the eldest of the Kurus, Daryodhan, when he tried to attack them in these forests. The assertion leads us to believe about the presence of these people in these hills much before the supposed Jewish incursion. Again, there is a very vague

reference of a Gujrati race, Yudu, having migrated from their country in about 1,200 B.C. and taken shelter in the tract lying between the rivers Kabul and Indus. It is possible that the business instincts of the people attracted those Yudus to these hills, where we find no evident trace of them to-day, unless the Shahikhels have descended from them. This novel fact finds some support from certain modern observations, and if we compare a few Pushto words with Gujrati, their similarities will astonish us greatly, and though I am alive to the vast difference in the physique of the Pathan and the vegetarian Gujrati, it is just possible that history may be repeating itself in the face of present day facts, when, after 3,000 years of association, there appears a strong political alliance between the Giant Highlander and the Little Mahatma, who are busy with the single task of uplifting their countrymen from a state of utter despondency through their uniform way of thinking. I am not competent enough to pass judgment on such an issue and claim its validity, but I hope some student of history would try to elucidate this subject.

5. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

TRACING the story of the Pathans, one finds an outstanding display of Aryan features and the conquest of this race has left its mark on the population, but as stated before, there has been so much intermixture that it makes the position difficult to determine the various elements that have entered into the composition of each individual tribe. And yet,

certain similarities can be traced in the great variation of types, and in spite of many encroachments by innumerable races, the turn out has not been such as to reach perfection in any single direction. If we look at the Pathans to-day in order to trace out their associations, it will not be difficult to discriminate between the various types and classify them accordingly, so much so, that even the short-lived Greek influence can be distinctly perceived and a visit to certain parts of Swabi subdivision in the Mardan district would bring many specimens of that link before our eyes. It would not be wrong to say that the whole of the Pathan land is a living proof of the Aryan characteristics intermingled with certain Jewish traits.

Recent researches have made it fairly clear that there has been 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 things that were recognised as old articles of Jewish worship. These things must have come down to them from their ancestors and that must have seemed the right occasion to part company with them.

The above narration shows that though their exact origin is doubtful, this much is clear that the entire population is not from one source, and each newcomer intermingled with the existing race, with the result that a somewhat homogeneous body has come into being.

The tribes of the North embraced Islam later than their other nationals, and had 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 the best soldiers for his exploits and made these Pathans an integral part of the great Ghaznavied Empire. Their rôle under that able General imbued them with ambition for expansion, and soon small chieftains grew up in their country, important among whom were the Ghoris, whose doubtful allegiance had been 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 in case of Mahmud, had reluctantly kept quiet. So, as the power of that empire started declining, these people finally rose and helped their leader, Shahab-ud-Din Mohammad Ghorî, whose Pathan descent seems doubtful to some historians. Mohammad Ghorî was from the Hazara tribe of Afghanistan, and with the help of his vision and initiative, he successfully organised his countrymen, 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 the 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 this rule from the last Pathan king, Ibrahim Lodi, at the battle of Panipat.

A new broom sweeps well, and so 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 tried to become a great ruler. He generated powerful political forces and from the very beginning adopted an attitude that was contrary to the one pursued by Mahmud of Ghazni, whose only interest in his Indian campaigns was to carry vast resources from India and develop his Central Asian Empire. The entire record of the Ghoris was political and the stamp of their particular genius shaped their conduct in every affair: so much so that even their matrimonial alliances with the Hindus were based on a political principle. It was due entirely to Mohammad Ghor's ambition which resulted in the rise of a powerful Muslim domination in this country, and though it slipped from his Pathan hands to his Turkish slaves, the beginning had been made, which opened the eyes of the Pathans and made them look for still fresher exploits.

Shahab-ud-Din left no heir to succeed him on the throne of Delhi and Ghor, whose territorial boundaries were intact during his lifetime. He never felt perturbed over being heirless, and this, because he had implicit faith in his Turkish slaves. He seldom realised the effects of that 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 the party politics and frictions among the Pathans com-

pelled him to be content with the rule of India alone, and he thanked his stars for having secured a safe conduct through the hills of Ghazni and Ghor to his capital in Delhi.

6. PATHAN INFLUENCES IN INDIA

THE coming of these simple, crude and powerful highlanders shook India from a deep slumber and introduced vitality and a passion for progress and unity among the ranks of the local people. It marked the beginning of the connection of the Pathans with India on a new plank, which started a different era for joint development. Besides other things, it led to the rise of so many movements for religious and social reformation. The conquest further brought about many changes of political and even architectural nature, and the monuments of those days tell a tale of their simple grandeur. It gave to the people an architectural pattern, which was later developed by the Mughuls for their own historical buildings. The change in the prevailing style of architecture was most essential and desirable, because it had grown decadent, morbid and æsthetically deadening, owing to the repetition as well as the vulgarity of designs. The simplicity of the new settlers influenced the inhabitants and imparted a fresh grace to the making up of their objects. In this connection, Fergusson has pointed out that: "Nothing could be more brilliant, and at the same time more characteristic, than the commencement of the architectural career of these Pathans in IndiaA 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 Mughuls, who, having copied the existing designs, introduced certain changes and succeeded in turning out an excellent pattern of their own. The great and initial contribution of the Pathans was overshadowed by the coming historians, who were engaged by their adversaries, and in order to please them, they championed their cause and ignored much that had already been done by the Pathans. A glimpse of their activity in this direction can be seen from the following extract of Sir John Marshall, who, writing in *The Cambridge History of India*, points out: "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 Mohammadan, 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 truth."

7. BAHLOL LODI

As already pointed out, the period of Pathan prosperity lasted in India till 1526, where, from 1183 to 1454, they were rulers of Hindustan for a short while under Shahab-ud-Din Mohammad Ghori, and later, became important nobles in the courts of the Slave Kings of Delhi. During those days they formed the bulk of the army and held most of the high positions in the military sphere of those dynasties ruling India. In 1454, the Pathans once again captured the throne of Delhi, when Bahlol Lodi succeeded in establishing his rule in this country and made it powerful enough to last for three long generations.

Bahlol was a remarkable person, and he utilised his ability and tact to carve out a lasting state for his people. He was most active in his habits and his military genius crowned him with many exploits. While as an administrator, he was second to none. Humble and sympathetic towards his people, he

often used to tell 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, resulted in attracting large numbers of these highlanders to settle down in India, and 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 livelihood or employment, then I will forthwith resume the Jagir of that noble and hand it over to one thus denied.”

Bahlol Lodi can 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 worked to infuse unity among the ranks of his restless followers and guide them towards a noble destiny. He consolidated their position by granting them big Jagirs and high posts in the state, while his administrative genius generated the warring factors under his able command. For over thirty-five years he ruled, and when he died in 1489, he was succeeded by an equally great son, Sikander, whom a few historians consider even more brilliant and much more stronger than his father.

8. SHER SHAH SURI

THE rule of the Lodis started declining in the days of its third ruler, Ibrahim Lodi, and some of his nobles started intriguing with Babar, who was then fighting

his adverse fortune across the hills, but to whom this undertaking seemed fairly comfortable. He gathered his forces and promising them victory, brought them to the plains of India, and meeting the forces of Ibrahim at Panipat, he smashed them completely. Babar laid the foundations of his dynasty on the Indian soil and began his enterprising rule. Little would have he realised that his son would face an adverse fate at the hands of these revengeful Pathans, whose weakling monarch he had overpowered. It was so destined that the avenger grew under the very shadow of that conqueror, and Sher Shah carried out his initial schemes for the well-being of his race under that very conqueror.

The original name of Sher Shah was Farid. He was born in 1486, in the house of his father, Hassan Khan, in the district of Sisram, where he was holding a big *Jagir* under the ruler of Bihar. But they 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 great zeal for learning history and the charms it provided for his ultimate adventures. As he grew, his father sent him to join the service of the Bihar Governor, and it was there that having exhibited his courage, he won the title of Sher Khan from his master. Later he joined the service of Babar and accompanied him in his initial campaigns and won his admiration. But it was short-lived, and the Mughul Emperor began suspecting his assistant, and once told Khalifa, his minister: "Keep an eye on Sher Khan. He is 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 observation, 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 Mughuls from Hindustan." Soon the suspected attention of the Mughul Emperor was discovered by Sher Khan, and, when during a feast he cut the meat with his dagger drawn from his waist, Babar looked at him and whispered something to his minister, which made the youthful Pathan aware of the consequences. He told his friends: "The King looked much at me to-day and said something to his minister: casting evil glances at me. I feel that it is no longer a safe place for me to live." Sher Khan left the Mughul Court and once again settled down on the *Jagir* of his father, and later became the 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 signs of mightiness in his bearing. He had set a lofty ideal before himself and succeeded in living up to the expectations of those who had reposed their trust in him. He took to organise his people, and by 1536, he had defeated the King of Bengal, when he commenced his preparations for his real objective. His skill was remarkable and his determination firm, and by his clever moves and tactics, he shattered the forces of the Mughuls, and by 1540, there was no trace of them left and we

know that the Mughul Emperor, Humayun, was saved by a water-carrier when he was defeated at Kanauj. The throne of India lay at his feet, and he employed himself towards its reconstruction. His authority was challenged by the warlike Rajputs, but his skill, valour and superior diplomacy annihilated all his enemies, and Sher Shah got immersed in the administration of his vast domains.

Sher Shah's rule, though short-lived and autocratic in form, was most vigorous, cultivated and enlightened, and he has left a unique record of administrative achievements : a legacy that is not only a splendid record of peace and tranquillity, but also of a wonderful national structure, which in spite of his manifold limitations of time and space, displayed his ability, intelligence, and the love he had for his subjects. He was tolerant in his policy, and though he respected the priestly class himself, yet his temporal obligations had compelled him to keep them in grip and he never allowed them to have initiative in any important matter. By his strength he had restrained the turbulence of his people and quelled their tribal conflicts. His creative genius made him popular among the Pathans and they looked to him as a saviour. His beneficial approach to the problems before him produced such gratitude among his reckless followers that it led them to render all they possessed. Professor Kanoongo puts this fact 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 characterised Sher Shah's cam-

paigns. He was averse to unnecessary bloodshed and cruelty and had no passion for a fight." He often used to tell his people: "Crime and violence prevent the development of prosperity."

A careful study of Sher Shah would convince us that he was undoubtedly the greatest ruler of medieval India in every respect, and there is none who excelled him in valour, enterprise, courage and foresight. H. G. Keene has described him in the following terms: "This foresighted 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 worked as the basis on which Akbar evolved his scheme, while his religious toleration displayed an astute sense of statesmanship. He was an active and hard-working monarch and used to remark: "It behoves the great to be always active, and they should not consider the affairs of the kingdom small or petty on account of their own greatness and lofty rank, and therefore, place undue reliance on their ministers and other subordinates." He was a shrewd administrator and his one endeavour had been to remain just to his subjects. Sher Shah had balanced his temporal duties with his devotion to the Creator, and he was most pious in his character. Professor Kanoongo furnishes a good basis to examine 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 soldiers.....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, the 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 his *Cambridge History of India*, as: “The greatest ruler who ever sat upon the throne of Delhi,” was the first of his kind to undertake the construction of roads on a big scale and link up the whole country with excellent roads and quick means of transport, which helped to increase the trade and commerce of the nation. His law courts were just and his personal surveillance further decreased the corruption in the various branches of the State. Sher Shah is also responsible for the reformed coinage and V. A. Smith asserts: “Sher Shah is

entitled to the honour of establishing the reformed system of currency, which lasted throughout the Mughul period, was maintained by the East India Company down to 1835, and is the basis of the existing English currency." He had organised the police and had raised an efficient army, of which he was an able General. Speaking about his military genius, the famous historian, Erskine, has said: "In his military character there was rare union of caution and enterprise." His success lay in courage, tact and an absolute faith in himself and in his God, and through that he rose from humble surroundings to the pinnacle of glory, where he had faced storms, but had kept himself well above his disasters. His rule appears so fascinating, and Keene is not wrong when he points out 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 had forced the famous orthodox historian, Badauni, declare to his associates: "Thank God I was born in the reign of so just a king."

Sher Shah Suri, the pride of his 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 his only legacy with his proud and indomitable people!

9. CONDITIONS RUN RIOT!

SHER SHAH was no more, and in spite of the most frenzied and desperate efforts of his son. Jalal

Khan or Salim Shah, the situation in the country continued to grow grave and insecure, and he found himself incapable of doing any good to his cause. He had to face not only the turbulence of his own people, but also the forces of the Mughuls under Humayun, who had been hovering on the horizon ever since his defeat in 1540 and watching for an opportunity to pounce on his lost empire. This was not possible during the lifetime of his powerful opponent, but he seized the first opportunity after the death of Sher Shah and succeeded in capturing the throne for himself.

The Pathan History from the twelfth century to the fifteenth has been a part of the Indian story as well, where the logic of circumstances sometimes placed a Pathan king on the Indian throne or an Indian monarch ruling over Afghanistan and its dependencies. This fact has been responsible for certain modern problems and most of the existing issues can be traced to previous happenings. It is difficult to explain the bearing of those incidents on the Indian life in this short volume, because, besides influencing local conditions in India, those three centuries are responsible for vast changes even among the Pathans, and it is this side of the problem that I am tackling at the present. The policies of Bahlol Lodi and Sher Shah Suri had removed most of the economic disabilities for the time being, but since they had not wiped out the basic troubles, the situation became very deplorable after the passing away of Sher Shah and they looked for livelihood all around.

The Mughul Empire in India took a different shape under its distinguished Emperor, Akbar, and

he pursued a strong imperialistic course for the establishment of his government. I do not wish to analyse his various attempts towards that end, but the most unfortunate part of his ambition was his disastrous Frontier Policy. In order to make their contacts with Afghanistan easier, the Mughuls tried to subjugate the Frontier tribes, but the Pathans resisted their attempts that were directed to harass and bully them. Instead of winning them over to their side, the Mughuls turned them into their bitter enemies and a factor to be reckoned with at all times. That adverse policy produced its repercussions and a long tale of misery is unfolded, where the distracted condition of the people was exploited by the imperialist forces throughout their long rule in India.

The change in the economic well-being of the people gave rise 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 present plains of the North-West Frontier and beyond the Indus into the interior of 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, came towards the Khyber, and leaving the Shinwaris at Ningrhar, the Mohmands occupied the hills between Lalpura and Doaba and the adjoining Afridi hills, while the Khalils and the Daudzais settled down in the plains of Peshawar, from where they drove the old inhabitants, the Dilazaks, into the present Yusufzai home. On the other side, parts of the Gigianis, Tarkanris and Mohmadzais, who had owned the country of Ningrhar, were driven out by the

advancing Ghoria Khels, left their homes and joined their kinsmen in Hashtnagar and Doaba. The coming of all these fresh tribesmen made the situation unpleasant for the Dilazaks, and by 1608, the condition became very acute and Emperor Jahangir had to employ his forces to make the Dilazaks leave their country and march farther into the Indian plains. The next twenty years were spent by the above mentioned tribes to consolidate their holdings and adapt themselves to the changed conditions.

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

10. KHUSHAL KHAN KHATTAK

FROM 1630 to 1660 A.D., the history of the Pathans is a dull tale that shows no active forces at work to compel attention. The story of those days imperceptibly shades off into oblivion, when at last that monotony was broken by a young man, who, by a supreme combination of the diverse talents of a soldier, poet, scholar and an agitator, moulded his people and roused them against the appalling conditions prevailing throughout this country. That outstanding figure was that of the Khattak Chief, Khushal Khan, who became popular among his people and organised them against the hostile

rule of the Mughul Emperor, Aurangzeb Alamgir.

Khushal Khan was born in the year 1613 A.D. in the house of his father, Shahbaz Khan, who was chief of the Khattak tribe, in the village of Akora in the Peshawar district. He grew up amidst mountains, spending his time in learning poetry, riding, hawking and thus preparing himself for fighting his future battles. Since his childhood, he was rash and bold and had attained great merit in poetry. He has left a big collection of patriotic verses side by side with other works that deal with history, philosophy, medicine, nature and beauty. In about 1641, he became the chief of his large tribe, which held the parts now comprising the Peshawar and Kohat districts, and got engaged in hostilities against the Mughuls and tried to gather his countrymen under his banner of revolt.

The unique qualities of Khushal attracted the notice of the Imperial Government, and in 1660, he was invited by the Emperor's Deputy to attend a *Durbar* at Peshawar. The fearless chief went without any apprehension, but the function turned out to be a conspiracy for his arrest, and Khushal was taken as a captive to Delhi and later Gwalior, where he remained till his release in 1664. He has described in his poems how he asked his admirers not to attempt his release from his Mughul escort taking him through his territory, and has narrated the tale of his exile in pathetic couplets, giving long accounts of the political and social conditions prevailing around him then. After his return from that exile, he immersed himself in the task of uniting the different tribes and utilising them against the

enemies. His endless strife produced much confusion for the imperialists, and at last Aurangzeb had to come in person with a strong force to stamp out Khushal's power. The Mughuls were resisted and the Emperor was forced to employ other methods besides his military strength. Aurangzeb succeeded in seducing some and having secured some measure of success, he left the place only to hear of the rising again.

Khushal's influence over the Afridis and his own tribe was tremendous, and all his life he had utilised their support for the amelioration of his people. All his life he had remained undaunted and full of vengeance against the Mughuls and had never allowed a craven thought to enter his mind. All along he had mocked at the enemies, and when he was lying on his death-bed, his last words to the people around him were: "Bury me where the dust of the Mughul horsemen should not reach my grave." In his long-drawn struggles against his enemies, Khushal had been fortunate to have the assistance of the Afridi chiefs, Aimal Khan and Darya Khan, who wielded great hold over their tribe.

Khushal Khan's position as a poet is unrivalled and his large collection of heroic and warlike poetry has inspired a fervent spirit of nationalism throughout these centuries. For years he remained fighting and writing exquisite love lyrics and other powerful poems, thereby displaying his capacity for thinking and acting at the same time. The Khattak had all along adorned himself with courage and patriotism, sometimes succeeding in his mission of destroying his opponents, and often wandering almost alone

through these mountains, but nothing checked the ardour of his poetry and the unconquerable spirit that gave them birth. He was an earnest man and took his calling seriously. Through his untiring efforts and poetical sermons, Khushal created new values and a new glory, and thereby influenced the people to fight the sluggish Empire that had grown indifferent to the welfare of its subjects. It was his profound optimism that helped him treat the Mughuls as a declining and decaying power. To him life was a grim struggle against heavy odds, and its affects made him mould his philosophical and martial poetry into a well-defined, systematic, real, full of substance and an unmistakable centre round a creed, which guided him and his people towards an ideal.

The country of the Pathans had given birth to great rulers, but Khushal was the first political child of this tract, who gave a clear lead to his followers on political lines and presented them the idea of a single nation that existed from the Indus to Kandahar and Herat, and though he did not succeed in his endeavours during his restless life, his ideas guided those who followed him among his people. However, his contribution to Pathan literature is indisputable and the brilliant rôle that he has played both as an agitator and a thinker, reveal his extraordinary vigour of mind and exceptional versatility of talent. His intellect and powers of observation, besides his profound knowledge of problems facing human life, as are exhibited in his Pushto and Persian works, are simply astonishing : especially when one considers his restless career, the age he lived in, and the state of utter backwardness surrounding him. Surely Khushal

was a man far ahead of his time, and it is a pity he has not received due recognition from his people and has remained obscure to the world at large.

The parts of Khushal's poetry, where his ideas bear a great resemblance to those of Friedrich Nietzsche, have been translated into German language long ago, and recently some of his poems have been translated into English by a few authors with the idea of making his poetry into a text-book for British officers serving on the N.W.F. Province. As is common, the translations lack the force and the spirit of the original yet certain stanzas dealing with various aspect of life may give the reader some idea about this poet. In this connection I feel indebted to Professor Baldoff of the 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 the future will produce a good translation of his works, some of which have recently been discovered even by the Pushto-speaking people, and rescue the author from comparative obscurity. I venture to include a few stanzas of this venerable Pathan.

1. His conception of a good and noble character can 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.

2. He illustrates his conception of courage and notion of manliness as :—

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.

3. 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 women's veil.

4. In Khushal Khan's opinion, real happiness came to :—

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.

5. Displaying 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.

who looked to him for their deliverance from foreign domination.

Shah Nawaz, who was the Shah's Deputy at Kandahar, disliked Mir Wass, because he opposed him in his wrong tactics and harmful practices against the Pathans and condemned him for his ruthless ways. So, in order to get rid of him, the Deputy charged him with treason and a conspiracy, and arresting the Ghilzai chief, sent him to Iran to explain his conduct. On reaching the Shah's capital, Ispahan, he noticed the corruption reigning on all sides, and so, using his tact and scattering a little gold around, he was successful in convincing the Shah of his innocence. Such was the versatility of his mind that he made himself the friend of the nobles and a trusted figure in the Iranian official circles.

Mir Wass's fruitful industry carved out a safe place for him in the land of his captivity, and having turned the nobility to his side, he got immersed in solving the problem of his mother country. He realised that a government full of such worthless and corrupt people had no justification to rule Pathans, and being sure of his ability to raise his people, he became confident of his future, and while yet a captive, his ambition grew and was filled with the gigantic idea of invading Iran and establishing his authority there. Day and night he used to think of his plans and prepare his mind for that lofty ideal. After long deliberations it occurred to him to get the Shah's sanction for making a pilgrimage to Mecca, and his plan was to secure the support of the Arabian *Maulvis* and influence them to issue a *Fatwa*

addressed to the Pathans to overthrow the alien government from their country. He also solicited the release of the Pathans who had been sent as suspects along with him. The Ghilzai succeeded in both of his requests being fulfilled, and saying good-bye to his comrades, he said: "The time which must 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."

Having secured the release of his friends, Mir Wass started on his holy as well as political mission to Mecca. In doing that he must have said to himself that the ultimate issue of virtue is happiness and that his ambition was noble. He reached his destination and commenced his twofold task. Soon his persuasion secured him the *Fatwas* and special appeals, which the Arabian *Maulvis* addressed to the Pathans. After discussing many allied problems and equipping himself with the necessary documents, he returned to Ispahan.

Mir Wass had covered a stage and the task ahead was one of dangers and risks. It was only his optimism and firm determination that made him surmount various obstacles and kept him pursuing his goal. In Ispahan he employed his ingenuity in discovering the enemies of Shah Nawaz, and having found them out in the imperial court, he persuaded the Shah's Minister to prejudice him against his

Deputy at Kandahar. Shah Nawaz was charged with treachery and being in league with the Tsar to overthrow his rule. The matter was put in such a way that the Shah believed the story, and since he was convinced of Mir Wass's fidelity, he was sent back to his country in order to act as a spy over his Deputy.

The lion was set free and the clever Ghilzai Chief left Ispahan through Kirman and Sistan—studying the local conditions that he was soon to exploit. He came across people who showed their eagerness to assist him at the opportune moment, and so, he took them into his confidence. At every stage he used caution and intelligence to forward his cause, and ultimately reached Kandahar to champion his mission.

During his absence from his country, many stories had reached Shah Nawaz about the influence which Mir Wass had created in the court at Ispahan, and so, he tried to come to terms with him and asked him to give him his daughter in marriage. Somehow, it entered the Ghilzai's mind that his object was to disgrace him and his real aim was to keep the girl as a concubine. He was greatly enraged over that impertinence, but controlling his anger and taking his infuriated comrades into confidence, he persuaded one of his slave girls to go to Shah Nawaz, with instructions to behave as his daughter.

The incident made the Deputy trust his opponent, and Mir Wass conducted his plans with still greater energy. His friendship with Shah Nawaz was far from being real, and he utilised it for organising his followers and uniting the different

warring elements among the Pathans. When all the preparations were complete, he invited the King's Deputy and his staff to a big feast, and while they were yet relaxing, the appointed soldiers of the Ghilzai chief attacked and killed them all. Later, he marched through the streets of Kandahar and entered the fort, where he proclaimed himself the master. His coronation was hailed from all sides, and from 1708, he began ruling a vast area of his motherland. In order to repulse his rebellion, the Shah sent strong Iranian Forces, but the Pathans harassed, decimated and destroyed them completely in a few encounters. But his task was not yet over, and he endeavoured to invade Iran. He was born to ride the crest of waves and guide the storms and was fortunate enough to conquer and subdue the terrific waves that came in the way of his titanic struggle for the amelioration of his countrymen. But fate had destined otherwise, and in 1715, this adroit and most distinguished son of the Afghan soil breathed his last.

The goal, which Mir Wass had put in front of him, 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 carried on quite peacefully. His power was, however, challenged by the Persian General, Nadir Shah, who brought down that dynasty and later marched towards India, where his thorough loot of the Capital caused great panic and distress among the inhabitants.

12. AHMAD SHAH ABDALI

THE wonderful enterprise of Mir Wass and his son found a worthy successor, and on the assassination of Nadir Shah in 1747, Ahmad Shah Abdali, who was one of his most trusted generals, stepped into his seat 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 of having paved the way for the British domination of India, because he fought and destroyed the strong Indian forces and rendered the people helpless for any effective opposition to the British régime. But if Ahmad Shah did not choose to stay in this country after having crushed all those who opposed him among the Sikhs and the Marhattas, it was due entirely to his difficulties at home, which he wanted to suppress, and for which purpose he required wealth from the Indian Exchequer. These considerations forced him to adopt that particular rôle and he went on with his plans for making his motherland great.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was born in about 1722, in the house of Mohammad Zaman Khan, who was the chief of the Abdalis. He was a born genius, and while yet a youth of tender age, his manifold qualities helped him to become a leading general in the army of Nadir Shah. His master was murdered in 1747, and this youthful enthusiast proclaimed himself the king of his own country and heir to all his possessions. Ahmad Shah was hardly twenty-five when he assumed control of his government,

and having established his influence in Afghanistan, he aspired to acquire the remaining 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 all the opposing factors in the country and lead them towards a higher destiny. His industry and imagination resulted in the rise of a strong unit under him, which came and defeated the powerful forces of the Sikhs and the Marhattas and earned vast resources for the task of national planning and social reform in his own domains. It was never his desire to rule India himself, and so he was always content with appointing his own puppets as Governors of the Indian Provinces and to return with the booty. The vast sums of money collected in India, enabled him to build his nation and carry out various national schemes without taxing his people to any effective degree. His policy increased the general welfare and prosperity of the Pathans, who ceased to indulge in raids or such other activities, and each tribe looked upon his holding as permanent and have held them fast ever since. There has been no migration since then and the people have taken to their present seats as their rightful possessions.

This new Pathan king was a born soldier and possessed ability for leading armies and winning them laurels. His resourcefulness and other qualities made him popular with his subjects and gave him the unique distinction of both guiding and checking the restless nature of his countrymen. Abdali can be compared to Sher Shah Suri, with the only difference that while his fame was confined to India alone,

Ahmad Shah's rule and fame 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 parts of it have been translated into English. I append a few lines to give the reader an idea about this warrior poet and ruler of Afghanistan :—

1. Friendship is like the rose ; but its prudence is the thorn,
The thorn becometh sharp, and, alas, to the quick it

pierceth,

Why grievest 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.
2. O Ahmad, seek thou help from the Almighty
But not from pomp and grandeur's aid.

Ahmad Shah's character was most admirable and the best suited to his situation in life, which his enterprise made even more brilliant. Writing in his book, *The Kingdom of Cabul* the Hon'ble, 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 and having ruled his country for over twenty-four years, he breathed his last at Kandahar. Thus the throne of Kabul became a bone of contention between the various aspirants and the fears which had prevented Ahmad Shah from settling down in India soon displayed their nature. The distracted condition of the people invited trouble and there was continuous struggle of the inhabitants against outside elements interfering with the local problems. The Sikhs, whom Abdali had crushed sufficiently during his eight attacks on India, rose under their generals and pursued a policy of conflict. The entire length of the Sikh incursion was a dark spell of incessant forays and revenges, which was finally brought to an end by the advance of the present British Imperialists. This reminds us of the multitude of wrongs committed against our people and brings the tale of so many military expeditions and blockades carried out against the tribes adjoining the Frontier Province before our mind.

We know that till the middle of the nineteenth century, India was always shaken by the forces of the North, but from then onward, its approaches changed; and instead of its hill passes, its water gates were

utilised for invasion. Yet the country of the Pathans remained open to the Central Asian influences. The past seems to survive, and we find certain old values and philosophies appear to revive in the land that gave them birth so many centuries ago. Those age-long edicts of Asoka that had been cut in the various rocks of Shahbazghara and other Frontier towns, find an echo in our minds to-day, and the people find those anti-war ideas and tolerant policy of the Buddhist régime becoming 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 grow worse.

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, whose gallant rôle to smash all the enemies of his country failed and fortune did not side him to carve out a befitting place for himself in the realms of his country. He lived and died a soldier of great repute among his people.

13. JAMAL-UD-DIN AFGHANI

A DAWN should have come, when in the middle of the nineteenth century, Jamal-ud-Din appeared on the scene and showed signs of greatness and power to release the people from their misery and utter confusion surrounding them. But he failed to achieve his ambition, because those were the days

when the British had engaged themselves in so many complications and intrigues to make Afghanistan a buffer state between India and Russia, and since Afghani was not the man to become a puppet and dance to any foreign tune, he found himself obliged to leave his country.

Our history is full of leaders who might have been great: had they not been duped by foreign intrigue. In this connection Jamal-ud-Din, who subsequently became one of the most striking characters of his age stands unique.

He was undoubtedly the most remarkable man, whom E. G. Brown describes as follows: "He was at once a philosopher, author, orator, and a journalist, but above all, he was a politician regarded by his opponents as a dangerous agitator." Afghani was born in 1838 at Assadabad, which is a small town in Afghanistan, in the house of Syed Mohammad Safder, following the Hanafi laws of Islam. 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 in Islamic literature and philosophy. In 1857, he went to Mecca on a pilgrimage and visited India during the days of her great turmoil. 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. Those were the days when the British had involved themselves in an awful mess, and so, the intelligent influence of Jamal was not desired by the White Race, who succeeded in banishing him

from his motherland.

As already pointed out, Afghani left his country in 1857, and passing through India, he reached Cairo and came into contact with the 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, and when he went to Constantinople in 1870, he was accorded an enthusiastic reception by the leading organisations of the place, and he was taken on the Council of Education and invited to deliver lectures in the important State Centres. His views, which were most revolutionary and much in advance of his surroundings, found opposition from Hassan Tehmi, the then Sheikh-ul-Islam. Seeing the intrigues around him, Afghani left Constantinople and returned to Cairo, where the government and other responsible quarters gave him a warm reception. The Egyptian Government fixed a salary for him without assigning any particular duty or obligations to fulfil. He used to take occasional classes and deliver lectures on philosophy and theology, and preached a 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 attain some destiny. But he soon discovered that his lessons and inflammatory political theories were on the one side detrimental to the dominating influence of the British, and on the other hand, his advanced doctrines clashed with the prestige of the conservative elements at the Jamia-i-Azhar. So the British forced the Egyptian authorities, which had grown feeble and ineffective, to chase out this great thinker and well-wisher of the people from their soil.

Jamal-ud-Din left Cairo under orders to proceed to India, where he was kept at Hyderabad and later removed to Calcutta. His movements were watched, and so, except writing a few articles, he could not do any other work. It was at this time that he compiled his articles on the Refutation of Materialism and gathered some impression about the various cross currents of Indian political thought, which helped him in later years to champion her cause from Paris through his forceful writings. Soon after his release from India, he fled to America and tried to conduct his propaganda campaign from there, but finding its chances remote, 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 of his agitation. From that fair city of Europe, that Paris of thrills and revolution, that home of art, culture and romance, he commenced his tirade against the British Policy in regard to the Muslim countries and attempted to influence both the Western and Eastern readers about the injustices meted out to the Musalmans at the hands of Great Britain. Some of the leading French papers published his contributions and came out with wonderful revelations regarding the Eastern Policy of this British Imperialism. In March 1884, he published his own Arabic journal so as to place his view-point more clearly before his readers and instruct them to organise according to his plans. His unsparing criticism of British methods in the East led to the suspension of his paper, but he continued rousing 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, and the different 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 made his results most brilliant. Besides speaking the Eastern languages, he could speak most of the Continental languages. It is said that during his stay in Paris in 1884, Monsieur Renan, the famous French Orientalist, expressed his desire to meet him and Afghani asked him to come after a few days, during which he learnt French. When the French writer called on him, both began discussing certain problems, and Jamal later apologised for having kept his distinguished visitor waiting so long. The French celebrity was greatly impressed, and in a subsequent interview he told his associates that Jamal's personality reminded him of the ancient scholars and that during his discussions he felt as though he was talking to the famous Muslim philosopher, Avicenna. His broad outlook on life and the 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 the 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 remarkable guest. Such personal distinctions

might have corrupted many people, but Afghani could not be bought over by such means and induced to neglect his life-long mission. He studied the Iranian situation and expressed his views frankly. Watching him grow popular with the people the Shah became suspicious of his rebellious guest. The Afghani scented danger, and sought permission to leave Iran on the pretext of ill-health. From there he proceeded to Russia and got involved in the political issues facing that country and became an important link between Russia and the Crescent. He remained there till the middle of 1889, when he returned to Paris once again.

Some recent comments and observations by certain influential persons have cast a sinister aspersion 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 had undertaken to remain aloof from European politics. He is charged with having played, knowingly or unknowingly, the game of the English Diplomats, and ruined the chances of Turkey to exercise influence in the East. Such charges look absurd when one thinks of the whole career of Afghani and the part he has played towards the uplift of the Musalmans.

As already said, he was in Paris in 1889, and the Shah of Iran, who had been there to participate in the famous Paris Exhibition, met Afghani at Munich and induced him to accompany him to his capital. He befriended the rebel again, but this time Jamal-ud-Din's influence over the Shah turned the nobles

hostile and they began their intrigues. It is always easy to play about with despots, and the different plots that had been initiated by the Iranian Ministers succeeded in producing distrust and contempt for Afghani, and he was ordered to leave the Shah's domain. His cruel expulsion and its reference by Jamal in his subsequent articles, created a stir throughout the Shah's jurisdiction, and when Nasir-ud-Din granted the oil and tobacco monopoly to the British, Jamal-ud-Din was infuriated on account of the economic considerations involved, and said to those around them: "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 the Muslim countries. In spite of his expulsions from time to time and from land to land, his prestige among the masses had remained at its zenith. In 1892, he went back to Constantinople as a royal guest and was allotted a palace to live in, but he did not enjoy that princely life, which soon became like the one lived in a gilded cage. He wished to propagate his views and make people realise their pitiable condition under their rotten government. Years rolled by and he continued to labour under unfavourable situation, when at last, on the 9th of March, 1897, he said good-bye to the theatre of his various activities, and it was freely rumoured that his death was due to poisoning.

Thus ended a life that gave birth to a sense of awakening in so many lands and put their people up

against oppression. All his life he had agitated for the liberation of the Muslims from their manifold miseries and exploitation, and bring them under a uniform system of government. Jamal-ud-Din was the originator of the Pan-Islamic idea and had been its most convinced champion through his tongue, pen and heart. He was an able theologian, but his political obligations left him no time to leave his mark as such. He remained an agitator to the bitter end and never bothered about other aspects of life. Curiously enough, in 1925, Abdur Rehman of Peshawar, who shared his views, was associated and buried beside him at Constantinople.

14. AMIR ABDUR REHMAN KHAN

As already mentioned in the preceding pages, the throne of Kabul watched the coming and going of so many persons aspiring to be its master after the death of Ahmad Shah Abdali. There was not only that internal disruption, which was continuously exploited by outside forces, but the country of the Pathans was faced with threats from Tsarist Russia and Great Britain. These internal disputes and external aggression produced many hardships and the entire population was at bay. And out of such monstrous confusion rose a man, who, subduing the warring elements under him, exerted to organise and protect his motherland from foreign designs.

This unique man was Abdur Rehman. Born in 1844, he began struggling with an adverse fortune, but ultimately succeeded in carving out a place for himself and his dynasty in Afghanistan. He was the

product of long suffering and was not born with any golden or even silver spoon in his mouth. The new Amir was not a prince due to any accident of birth, but had fought for that status and 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 curb and overcome tremendous difficulties, and it was after a long conflict that he had made himself supreme in Afghanistan, not only during his own reign, for he handed over a peaceful government to his son and his illustrious grandson, Amanullah Khan. Amir Abdur Rehman has been rightly described as the most farsighted and important ruler of his age. He strove to improve the general prosperity of his people and gave great impetus to trade and other industries in the country. He introduced a partial production of ammunition under S. Pyne and A. Martin, 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 criticised 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 at an abnormal phase in the history of Afghanistan. He was alive to his handicaps and difficulties, and the remark : " My country is like a goat between the lion and the bear," displayed his statesmanship in the matter, and the mainspring of his policy remained to preserve his nation from the greedy designs of both Russia and England. His keen intellect helped him to function successfully, and though he was often molested by his European neighbours, he avoided

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 Sir Mortimer Durand from securing any definite control over the tribes, which has resulted in so much confusion to-day. His apprehensions of those days have turned out to be so true and show the knowledge he possessed about the exact nature of the problems surrounding him then.

The task before the new ruler was great, but by his successful handling of the situation, he overcame his troubles one after the other, and finally established himself firmly on the unstable kingdom. His means for achieving his ends were not always based on equity and justice, but since the risk in allowing the situation drift by itself was great, his policy turned out to be the key-note of his success, and to many he appears a benevolent autocrat. He had the good of his subjects at heart, and has left the mark of his personality on his time, but more so, on his country. The late Amir has written a most self-revealing and frank autobiography, and it has been described in the *Encyclopædia 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 even the priestly class, which has always played an important part, at times healthy and at times harmful, was also in his grip and he never allowed them to take initiative in any

affair that tended to effect the State. This founder of a new dynasty died in 1901, and was followed by his son, Amir Habibullah Khan, who was made to rule rather than who ruled himself till his murder at Jalalabad in 1919, when he was succeeded by his renowned son, Amanullah—The Disillusioned!

The reign of Amir Abdur Rehman is marked for the division of the Pathans into different sections and the intensified application of hardships on that part which came under the British sphere of control. Causes produce results, and in the beginning of the twentieth century, many changes took place, which proved very vital for the people of these Northern hills. On one side there was the dramatic appearance of Amanullah Khan in Afghanistan, while on the other side there was the ever-growing popularity of Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the Frontier Province, both of whom became responsible for great risings and organising the Pathans under their own respective influences.

15. AMANULLAH KHAN

WHILE Europe was exhausted and was getting ready to make the world 'safe for democracy,' in which she was naturally to play the master's rôle, at that time we found a wind of nationalism blowing down this valley of desolation. There was an urge for freedom everywhere, but that flame of liberty burnt far more brightly among the Muslim countries, who had long groaned under alien influences. The teachings of Jamal-ud-Din were producing their effects and a state of fervent activity was visible throughout the Cres-

cent. The same phase of international exhaustion, the year 1919, saw a young and ambitious Pathan of twenty-eight seize the throne of Afghanistan, which became vacant on the death of his father. Superseding his brothers, Amanullah commenced his reforms, as rapid as the unrolling of a cinema reel. Youthful enthusiast as he was, he ignored the frailties of humanity and more especially of his own people. His intensified and accelerated introduction of Western apparatus produced appalling results, for which he was not alone responsible, and which ultimately caused his abdication in 1928.

In 1919, Amanullah Khan assumed kingship in Afghanistan and noticed the exhausted mood enveloping the nations who had participated in the last World War. And that was the opportune moment for the enterprising monarch, and being sure of his success, he took up arms against the British and declared *Jihad* (the war for freedom). His action received the support of his nation, 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 the Kohat district. The forces of Amanullah displayed their strength and compelled their opponents to yield and recognise their freedom. Thus the goal which Amir Abdur Rehman had cherished all his life, 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 gave him

occasion to find out the great progress that had been made in their respective lands. That knowledge turned him restless, and he was ambitious to implement the various achievements of the European countries. He had a good start and sent many young Pathans to Western Universities, while he invited foreign experts to come and help his countrymen in their different undertakings. Amanullah tried to infuse new life among his subjects and introduced liberal institutions in place of certain autocratic bodies. He knew the uselessness and futility of maintaining the aristocracy that had grown round the city of Kabul, and forthwith attempted to abolish it. But in doing that he made no effort to replace them by any popular groups. So these disbanded elements were utilised by those whom this gallant warrior had defeated in a straight fight a few years ago.

In Afghan Politics, this group of aristocrats played a peculiar rôle. It had supplied good material to the government machinery in the past, but when their offices became hereditary, the office-bearers lost their essential attributes and grew stagnant. It was highly desirable to end this body, but such a step should have been followed by many more, and some form of replacement was necessary. The tribes of the country, which are the mainstay of the nation and on whom the new ruler had relied so much, required organisation and definite moulding towards that end. Unless these tribes are brought into some form of direct alliance with their government, no step can be taken even to-day to eliminate the worn out factors that cling to the existing system.

1927 came, and at the invitation of so many

States, both European and Asiatic, Amanullah Khan left his home along with his charming Queen, Surayya Khanum, on a tour that will ever remain the splendid legacy of an Oriental despot. He was hailed from all sides and honours were showered on him in a manner that had no parallel in history. In France he slept on the historic bed of Napoleon, and God knows in whose plate he ate his food. He went around the Continent and visited some of the Asiatic States. Everywhere he thought of his country and its utter backwardness, and throughout his trip, the one idea that came to him continuously was: "How would it be possible for me to make Afghanistan the equal of these countries?" And this idea partially brought about his ruin!

The ambitious monarch returned from his magnificent and fascinating tour, full of reforming zeal and plans for uplifting his motherland. The West, and particularly Kamal Ataturk's Turkey, became his craze. In his eagerness to copy that fortunate Dictator, he lost his balance, and ill-digesting some of his impressions, he turned the tables against himself in his own country. His overflowing patriotism, coupled with his sudden and hasty policy, produced unfortunate results. He began flying higher and higher, and as sometimes happens, appeared little to those who could not fly with him. He launched his reformation campaign and went on issuing instructions for the redress of certain defects in the social life of his countrymen. But influenced and incited by an outside power, his people shirked the reforms and showed their resentment.

Amanullah Khan had been observing the pomp

and show of the various Courts, while his adversaries carried out intrigues against him. The memory of those days is still fresh in our minds. It is painful to recollect how certain people were used to foster ill-will and hatred against Amanullah through different underhand tricks and brought about a situation, where he was compelled to retire.

In human life nothing appeals so much to our sympathy as the sight of a great and ambitious man, struggling with adverse fortune and yet remaining bold to defy the frowns of an outrageous fate. Amanullah was confronted with one, 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. The situation in the country needed a 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, and so all his Military Budgets had been absorbed by people who could be utilised only against a foreign power. He had raised no regular army to fight his own subjects. And when the time came to do so he proved to the world his *bonafides* and avoided bloodshed in order to maintain his kingship : he saw some people disapproving of his government and decided to go. Without much 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 that step on the part of their monarch, and so it naturally caused a great stir. He began receiving messages of

goodwill and support and requests to hold on until such help came. But as already pointed out, the king had been disillusioned and he had made up his mind not to struggle any more for maintaining the throne of a nation that he had himself liberated a few years ago. To quote the very words that he said to his supporters : “ I realise 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 to his present abode in Rome. Amanullah had been ruined by his opponents, who allowed him to go, maltreated : though not dishonoured, blasted in his fortune and cheated of the fruits of his continuous strife. This only showed how undeserving were his people of a future that was paving the way to their glory. It was Amanullah’s sad fate to have been born at a time when his countrymen could be deluded and misled by the eternal misleaders and by different agencies engaged for such acts.

Amanullah Khan saw his fate, but was that also his fault ? That is a question on which the people who know most are the least willing to venture a straightforward and true opinion, because it may cost them their fat salaried posts and the other benefits extracted from those who worked for that unfortunate episode. Whatever may be the truth, one thing stands to his 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 the 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 materialised 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 life of Afghanistan. His abdication was followed by his brother's, who left Kabul after three days' kingship. He was succeeded by Baccha Saqao, who, during his nine months' rule, worked to pull down the entire national structure that had been raised during the last so many years of peaceful government. Baccha Saqao was an idiot, and it was on account of 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 faithfully on his principles of injustice and wickedness.

The state of insecurity which had enveloped Afghanistan and had cast a gloom over the whole population, was brought to a close 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 the sad tale 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 roused popular sentiments for his ensuing struggle, and he received the support of so many tribes, but particularly, of the Wazirs, who were responsible for his ultimate success against the forces of evil. Fortune knocked at his door, and although his memory could have easily become immortal, Nadir Khan forgot his promise and proclaimed himself the ruler.

The new king was an able general and had many glorious exploits to his credit, while he had the fate 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 constituents. The work of reconstruction was divided among these brothers and each took his calling in a true spirit of self-abnegation.

Nadir Shah Ghazi, as he was called after his coronation, was a fine type of man and had the good of his people at heart. The impression, which some give of his character, is not bad and he had a natural inclination to be chivalrous to his opponents. He followed a path of caution and strove to preserve his dynasty from the onslaughts of time. However, he was not spared long, and was mortally wounded in 1933 by a supporter of the previous rule and the slave of a General, whom his government had hanged during those very days. On his death, his young and only child, 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.

Sardar Hashim Khan, who is the Prime Minister, is the real man behind the throne. He is shrewd and is built of iron. He has been largely responsible for establishing a government, which, if not just and liberal, is fairly strong and efficient. He has succeeded to a great extent in controlling the unruly temper of his people and has given them peace since the flare up of 1928-29. Hashim Khan has a good cabinet of ministers, and in his conduct of administration, he can be compared to Amir Abdur Rehman Khan.

The next important man in Afghanistan to-day is the Minister for National Defence, Sardar Shah Mahmud Khan. He is a tried soldier and has proved his skill as an able general on many occasions. At the moment he is the most charming person in his country and holds very liberal views. Shah Mahmud Khan is a keen sportsman and has established a separate ministry for the development of sport, and has the distinction of introducing Afghanistan in that realm. He sent an Afghan Team to participate in the World Olympics of 1936, held at Berlin, and previous to that he had sent them on an extensive tour of India. Shah Mahmud Khan has improved his army and has equipped it with modern armaments.

The present rule in the country is autocratic, and as already pointed out, works under the rigid thumb of its Premier and his Council of Ministers.

The Government can be credited with certain nation-building schemes and a desire to develop the economic condition of the country. It has engaged itself in tapping the mineral resources and increasing the general prosperity of the population. They have borrowed Western devices, which they are utilising in working their different national undertakings. There is a wave of industrialisation, and the recent trade contacts with Russia and Germany have given a great impetus to the well-being of trade, where in exchange for their furs and dry fruits, they have been getting most of their necessities fulfilled. 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 connection the name of their Trade Minister is worth mentioning. Abdul Majid Khan rightly deserves the gratitude of his people for giving them a sound fiscal system and adjusting the same to world conditions. 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 the masses to function in an alien language.

It is not difficult to examine the present structure of the government in Afghanistan and draw conclusions from what they are doing. But whatever the loyalties of this government may have been in the past, its future will have little value for the masses, if the present tendencies are continued. Like some pre-ordained tragedy, we find this War pursuing its course and seizing the different peoples from the

throat. There is no escape for the existing systems, and the future promises a new order. It is, therefore, in the interest of the present ruling class in Afghanistan to transfer power to their people and make them responsible for the coming changes. This step involves certain amount of sacrifice, but the consequences for not taking it may result in even greater loss. A national rising can seldom be checked for any length of time and we must never forget how quickly it uproots the deep-seated monarchies. The revolt of the people thrilled Europe during the French Revolution, swept away the Tsar, and a fraction of it removed a king in Afghanistan, whose dynasty was three generations old. There was a lack of foresight and it produced the natural results !

The world has so far functioned in a rather queer fashion and most of us admit the futility of this modern civilization. It has failed to achieve any basis for international peace and all the great achievements have been self-destructive. But there has been a different experiment as well, and it is this that must absorb the attention of the various countries. Socialism affords new and vital opportunities, and though we find Russia surrounded by enemies and difficulties, the greatness of this process cannot be ruled out so easily : slowly and slowly it will emerge, and convince the various countries about its manifold benefits and 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.'

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, is the one great land frontier of India, though to Sir John Simon it seemed: "an international frontier of the first magnitude from the military point of view for the whole empire." And a record of happenings here would show how this feeling has led the Indian Government to adopt a ridiculous policy, which has resulted in the most unstable state of affairs on this border. That policy will reveal the so-called Indian Military Budget as a veiled subsidy to the British Imperial interests, where colossal sums of Indian money have been recklessly spent over mischievous attempts to push on the Indian Frontier towards Afghanistan and meet the Russian menace away from the fertile plains of their newly occupied country. Those fears of the Tsarist régime moving rapidly in its designs for supremacy in the East, influenced Great Britain to chalk out their forceful plans to curb down these tribes, who inhabited a tract that is unproductive in capacity and inadequate in provisions.

A careful examination and an honest explanation of realities about the Frontier would reveal that nowhere has the inefficiency of the British statesmen been more glaring, never has their nervousness and lack of confidence been more vivid, and seldom has any problem baffled them more than their stupid flirtations on the North-Western Frontier of this great sub-continent. Ever since the middle of the nineteenth century, when the winds of the European conflict and jealousy stirred in this valley of desolation, the Frontier Question was, and is, and will be for some time to come, a thorn that will prick Downing Street and the irresponsible executive at the Centre in Delhi, more often than not.

A survey of the affairs would show that the geographical importance of these hills and the situation of Afghanistan between India and Russia, turned and attracted the attention of the British Government towards this tract. The machinations of Palmerston and his colleagues of the British Cabinet resulted in the carving out of a path to be pursued by the then Indian Governor-General, Lord Auckland. He was instructed to embark on a policy of penetration and unwonted aggression against Afghanistan. Auckland sent strong forces, which ultimately resulted in disaster and the 'good luck' of Dr. Brydon to escape from the jaws of death in the winter of 1841. He reached Peshawar all by himself, while rest of the expedition suffered heavy losses and lost their lives on their way back through the snow-clad mountains. Disraeli criticised Palmerston for that disastrous display, and so in order to justify his policy, he moved the proper authorities to call back Auckland for his

failure. Ellenborough was substituted in place of Auckland as Governor General, who was forthwith asked to invade Afghanistan and wreak vengeance for the previous losses. The British forces attacked the country with a bitter mind and caused great havoc wherever they reached. 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 guided his government. History repeated itself like an idiot, and in his peculiarly English manner, he directed and pursued the same beaten 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 is but a logical culmination.

The Tribal Problem has assumed a prominent place in Indian affairs and during the last few years most of the first rank Indian leaders have had an occasion to approach this forbidden land. The great political and social changes in the settled districts of the Frontier helped to put the vexed conditions of the tribesmen before the world. The partial share of the popular representatives in the administration of the province for a short while, afforded some occasion to our politicians to study this problem and draw their own conclusions regarding the actual conditions. Left to ourselves, we might have found some remedy, but the following pages will show how this has been denied to us.

The happenings on the Frontier are given a peculiar colour and there are many in this country

who accept all sorts of charges against our tribesmen. The recent events in Waziristan have received great publicity and have produced strange notions throughout the length and breadth of India. The tribesmen lack all means of propaganda to counteract the false stories circulated against them, and so I have taken it on myself to present their case before the bar of world justice and fair-play.

2. THIS AND THAT OF IT.

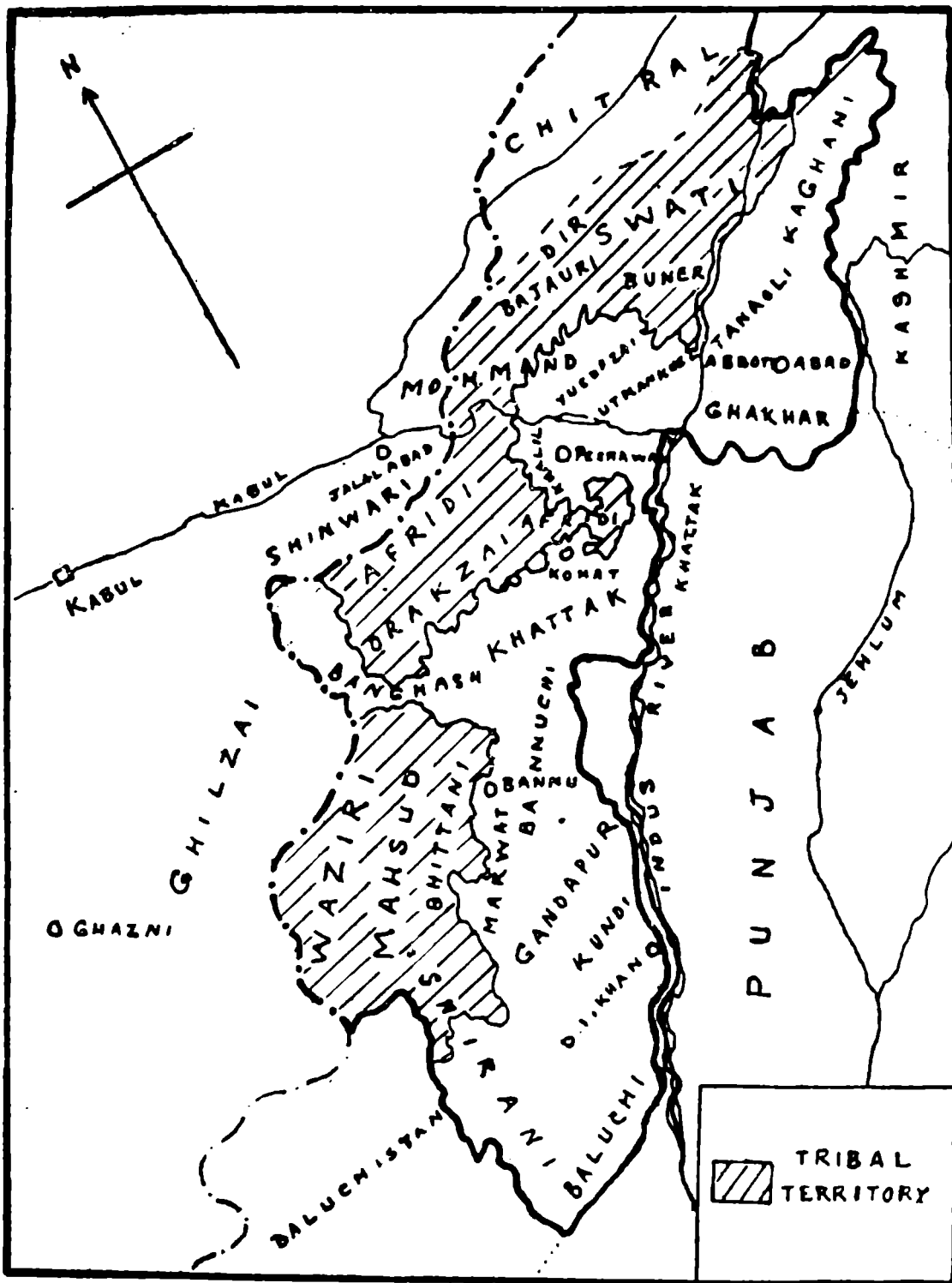
THE North-West Frontier has had the privilege to present its problems to every Indian Government, past or present, and its people, who are democratic in habits and fanatically attached to their liberty, have always resisted the attempts directed to bring them under control of any adjoining monarchy. The Mughuls tried to lord 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 Mughuls were followed by the Sikhs and later the British, and each tried—though in vain, to crush these people.

A glimpse at the Frontier would bring an interesting fact to our notice, and 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,

and again, another line known as the Administered Boundary that 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 is, therefore, always to be borne in mind that with minor exceptions, the population on both sides are men and offshoots of the same stock. And this is true of Afghanistan as well, where language, customs, conditions and religion of the people is 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, Mahsuds, and also the Swatis, Bajuris, 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 or allow their lands to be annexed, but where 'moral obligations' influence this alien government to function and inflict hardships that are born out of their sympathy for these people lying at their mercy.

Like its structure, the Tribal Question is two-fold: internal and international. It was its international aspect that resulted in the Whiteman's Burden, and which subsequently involved them into its internal issues as well. It would, therefore, be better to examine the above mentioned tribes one by one and get some idea about the exact composition of this territory, which till quite recently had been kept in



complete isolation from other parts of India. No one was allowed to enter the place and its tales became legends. The reality was hidden and a factitious picture was raised before the people. It was painted as a mysterious country inhabited by those 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 three and a half million souls. Not long ago, this territory was supposed to form part of the Afghan domain, though the people had never accepted any type of overlordship from Kabul. Instead, these tribesmen have always played a leading rôle in putting monarchs over the throne of Kabul, while they have also remained a constant threat to the ruling dynasties in Afghanistan.

3. THE AFRIDIS.

LET us start from the most organised and powerful among the tribes. In his history of Alexander's invasion of India in 327 B.C. Herodotus describes these people as *Apraytae*. It is a big and very powerful tribe inhabiting the lower and easternmost spurs of the Safed Koh range, and includes the valley of Bara and a large portion of Chaura and Tirah lying to the west of Peshawar. They possess the important pass of Khyber, which is a gloomy and narrow defile running through the rocky mountains and 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 of commanding the two leading passes of Khyber and Kohat, which has resulted in the British getting interested here. The bitter hostility that has been produced owing to a long record of encounters, has made the tribe utilise every advantageous occasion to strike, although their country has the drawback of affording facilities to the enemy for shutting them up in these hills, which are devoid of any means of subsistence. It is perhaps the oldest tribe that has held its seat so long, and most of the writers consider them as the purest of Pathans. Some of the historians describe them as descendents from the army of Alexander. It may sound fantastic, but certain Greek influences can be found among the people. This may be attributed to the Greek invasion and the subsequent rule of the Greco-Bactrian monarchy over this country.

The Afridis occupy a tract of land that has an extreme 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 quite barren, rugged and hopelessly inhospitable for those who have made it their home. And it is here that inhabitants struggle for a right of way and a right to live. The valleys of Bara and Chaura are somewhat different, and a partial form of agriculture is carried on in these parts, which is responsible for the supply of a little wheat, some fruits, walnut trees and good potatoes. The small jungles further supply them with fire-wood, and they

manufacture a few simple articles like rough cloth and coarse nets, which find a market in Peshawar. The Afridi has a genuine fondness for possessing fine firearms and his love finds peculiar avenues for acquiring them. The British charge them with joining the army simply to secure a good rifle and later, slip away quietly into their unassailable mountains. After many years of restriction, the government has recently allowed them to join the Indian Army. The Afridi hills show signs of certain mineral resources and it has been lately asserted that there is sufficient quantity of lead, while marble has already found an outlet into our markets.

The Afridis are fine looking, tall, strong and athletic in their habits, and their springy step; even in traversing the dusty streets of the towns, at once denotes 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. The long drawn conflicts with the British and a partial association with the Indian Army during the last World War, has made them first class strategists and guerrilla fighters. The tribe has been praised by many of the English writers, and writing 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 chappies of straw or leather, a turban and a waist-coat, with a simple sheet over their shoulders. One hardly ever sees them without rifles and the necessary amount of ammunition, and they move in search of food and other necessities of life—inside and outside their hills.

The people inhabiting these uninviting hills are usually disunited but a danger to their freedom and security brings them together in a rather primitive manner. The different negotiating parties take a stone and placing it somewhere; take a vow, and then, unless the common struggle is finally thrashed out and these stones removed, the feud between the opposing groups remains dormant and their oaths on such occasions are seldom violated. This system is called *Tiga*. And so we find that they are never at peace except when they go to war! The circumstances in their country have made the tribe migratory in 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. Having spent the winter in these plains, they return to their strongholds of Tirah and Maidan.

The country of the Afridis forms the unit known as the Khyber Agency, and is controlled by the Political Department of the Indian Government through a Political Agent, who resides at Peshawar and deals with the tribe through their chiefs, called the *Maliks*. The *Maliks* are responsible to

their clans and *Jirgas*, which consists of all the adult members. The most important *Malik* of the tribe is the old man of Khyber, Nawab Mohammad Zaman Khan. The tribesmen get a nominal subsidy from the Government for maintaining law and order on the roads passing through their territory. Some of them take to jobs like motor driving, government contracts and the local levy—the *Khasadars*. A few can be seen receiving lower and higher education at the Islamia College and its allied institutions lying at the foot of their pass, and thus find an inlet into the Provincial Services. Owing to their desertions during the last War and refusals to fight the Turks, they had, till quite recently, been denied 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 July 22nd, 1839, when a contingent of Sikhs and other soldiers passed through the Khyber under Sir Claude Wade. This had been an escort to an Afghan-prince going to Kabul. The incident became a prelude to the series of operations against the tribe, where, from 1849 to 1898, eight different expeditions took place against them, and they were 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, who attacked the military outposts and other strategic points in order to avenge the blood of their non-violent resisters in the Frontier Province.

During those days a very interesting story had found currency. It was said that at the time of Peace Conference with the Political Authorities, their demands were : 1. To release Badshah Khan (Abdul Ghaffar Khan). 2. Malang Baba (the naked Fakir—meaning Gandhiji). 3. Inqilab (meaning revolution). These were the three popular slogans of the people offering resistance in the Province.

The tribe is divided into eight separate clans and further distributed into innumerable sub-sections as follows :—

(i) *Zakha Khel.*

This is the most outstanding clan and is known for its bravery and good marksmanship. These attributes have made them quite notorious with the English. They are divided into Sultan Khel, Sham Khel, Paendeh, Mohib Khel, Zaodin, Bari Khel, Khasrozai and Nasruddin Khel.

(ii) *Kuki Khel.*

This clan is divided into Sher Khan Khel, Katti Khel, Farid Khel, Mashu Khel, Abdul Khel, Tawar Khel and Sikander Khel.

(iii) *Malikdin Khel.*

This clan has been separated into three sections of Gulab Khan Khel, Umar Khel and Kala Karmana, which are collectively known as Dreplara. It is further divided into following sub-sections :—

- (a) *Gulab Khan Khel* :—Daulat Khel, Natlu Khel, Janda Khel, Motto Khel and Nasrat Khel.
- (b) *Umar Khel* :—Katti Khel, Rawra Khel and Shahi Khel.
- (c) *Kala Karmana* :—Darwe Khel, Meri Khel, Alai Khel, Bahram Khel, Gor Mohammad Khel and Kala Khel.

(iv) *Kambar Khel*.

This clan is distributed among the Derbi Khel, Zana Khel, Mutkhan Khel, Khoja Ali Khel, Shekmal Khel, Ali Khel, Pabbi Khel, Yiran Khel, Walar Khel.

(v) *Kamar Khel* or *Kamrai*.

This clan consists of Ajmal, Khudadad Khel, Pain Khel and Tor Khel.

(vi) *Aka Khel*.

It includes Basi Khel, Mada Khel, Garva Khel, Sanjal Khel, Isazai Khel.

(vii) *Sefah*.

This clan comprises of Abubakar Khel, Normoz Khel and Landi Khel.

(viii) *Adam Khel*.

It is a distant community living between Kohta

and Peshawar and includes Ghali Khel, Jawakai Khel, Hassan Khel and Ashu Khel. They are good rifle manufacturers, and the trade is conducted by the people on a cottage industry basis.

4. THE MOHMANDS.

THIS is a tribe inhabiting the rocky hills to the north-west of Peshawar, between the Kabul river and the Swat river. The Mohmands possess some of the wildest and most desolate hills of the North. The country is rugged and barren, and the ranges which intersect, are rocky with broken summits that are void of any vegetation. There are no good roads and the only routes for communication 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 bring it from distances varying ten to twenty miles, and this too, from most unreliable sources. The situation is most deplorable in Gandab. The Mohmands live in villages which are poor collections of mud houses, and are usually situated in the valleys immediately at the foot of the steep hill in order to give only one approach to an enemy. The tribe has very meagre resources and the small quantity of land at its disposal, which is divided equally among its members, does not produce enough to satisfy the wants of its population.

The area of the territory that they occupy is about 1200 square 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 tribe's eastern part came under the British and the remaining under the Amir of Kabul. The joint commission at that time had failed to draw any definite line between India and Afghanistan, and owing to lack of any regular line of demarcation, the culprits find it easy to escape the law by telling the authorities concerned that they belong to the other side. This failure 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 side, the Mohmands, like all the other tribes, have pitched themselves against the advancing armies of the British and have sustained heavy losses. The initial operations had been conducted against them by Sir Collin Campbell (1850-52), and Col. Collon in 1854. These operations had caused great havoc among the tribesmen, because they did not possess the same weapons that were used against them by these new invaders. This state of affairs continued for many years, when at last in

1914, the tribe came under the influence of the renowned Haji Abdul Wahid Sahib of Turangzai. The Haji Sahib guided the people until the end of his life in 1937, and had succeeded in exerting a healthy influence over the tribal areas. The Mohmands had played a remarkable part during the upheaval of 1930, and had made the situation on their border very delicate for the authorities.

The Mohmands are divided into the following eight parts:—Alamzai, Tarakzai, Baizai, Khagwaize, Utmanzai, Dewizai, Sapis and Shilmanis. The Tarakzais form the part of the tribe populating the province of Lalpura on the Afghan side, while the Alamzais are the best fighters and possess great influence for providing safe transport to travellers. Baizai is the biggest clan and is master of the best lands, besides possessing an 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 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 they had reached the present limits, which they have been holding ever since. The tribe withdraws to those strong hills of Pir Ghall, Shui Dar and Bundai Ghall whenever there is any threat to their liberty, where they become almost unassailable and in a position to 'hit

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and retire' with great ease and advantage.

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

The country of the Wazirs is hilly, but parts of it are fairly wooded and partially watered. The climate is bracing and makes its people active. The hills on the east of Kurram are different from those of the western and are massed together; where huge cliffs that appear like gigantic castles, meet the eye on all directions. The outer spurs are devoid of any soil or verdure, but as they recede from the plains, they become covered with olive, oak and pine trees. Owing to the avidity of the tract and the scarcity of soil, the size of the trees is quite small. In spite of these fertile and productive areas, the output is hardly sufficient to feed the vast population all the year round.

Some recent observations have informed us of the presence of iron in these hills, which is secured by the Wazirs near Makin and Bobra. The people utilise it for making plates and other vessels for sale in the bazars of Kabul and Herat, while some of it is exported to Kalabagh. This trade has been estimated at about 20,000 rupees annually.

Since 1936, this tribe has come into great prominence, and their leader, Haji Mirza Ali Khan,

better known as the Fakir of Ipi, has become a legendary figure, and his activities cause all sorts of reactions. Events in Waziristan have been distorted and the reality has been tactfully and deliberately suppressed from the people all around. It was given out in the beginning that the whole trouble started over a young Hindu girl, who embraced Islam, but because of some flaw in her age, she was returned to her parents by the law courts. This is said to have stirred the Wazirs to commence hostilities. Helen of Troy made two peoples fight for a while, but even in this twentieth century, these Britishers are capable of inventing such fiction and giving it the seal of authority. Seven years are about to pass and that 'Helen of Waziristan' continues to cause confusion. It is surprising that instead of admitting their incompetence to do anything good or solve the difficulties of their own making, this government should indulge in such meaningless explanations. Such failures and wrong tactics have compelled people 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 Wazirs have throughout toiled to be free, and in order to maintain their wild freedom, they have faced many fierce encounters with the strong forces employed against them by the British. The first conflict took place in 1850 when Brigadier Sir Neville Chamberlain and his forces carried on operations against the Kabal Khel Wazirs. Since then the people have become far too familiar with the 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 together 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 of Ahmedzais and Utmanzais, and further distributed as follows :—

(i) *Ahmedzais.*

This part is sub-divided among the Kalu Khel, Nasri Khel, Spir Khel, Shin Khel, Shadi Khel, Sudaun Khel, Sadi Khel, Hati Khel, Sirki Khel, Umarzai, Tazi Khel, Zali Khel, Gangi Khel, Ali Khel, Kama Khel, Khojal Khel, Bodin Khel, Bizand Khel, Paenda Khel and Mohammad Khel.

(ii) *Utmanzai.*

This clan is divided into Mehmit Khel, Ibrahim Khel, Weli Khel, Wazi Khel, Bara Khel, Baki Khel, Manzar Khel, Mada Khel, Tori Khel, Kabal Khel, Malikshahi Khel and Jani Khel.

6. THE MAHSUDS.

THE Mahsuds are an important offshoot of the Wazirs, and occupy the country bounded on the north by Tori Khel Wazirs, on the west by Ahmedzai Wazirs, on the east by the Bhittanis, and on the south by Shiranis and the Gomal river. The Mahsuds hold the heart of Waziristan, and their

tract is intersected by ravines, which are 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 the enemies. The tribe possess some artificially irrigated lands, while their hills contain sufficient quantity of iron-ore, which the people extract and melt in the 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 possessed these hills before the Mahsuds dispossessed them in about the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Mahsuds are brave, but are not good strategists, and therefore, suffer heavy losses during their encounters with the British. Like the Germans, they attack a place without calculating their losses, and often succeed in capturing their objective, though they lack in equipment and training as compared to the Nazi hordes, and that is why they find themselves ruled rather than ruling themselves to-day! Ever since 1900, the people have been subjected to suffering and it was the first tribe to have been bombed from the air—in recognition of which probably the Frontier Governor has named the first Aircraft purchased through contributions raised by him in the province after the tribe. From the year 1895 to 1914, the late Mullah Sahib of Powindah exerted great influence over the tribe and organised the Mahsuds wonderfully well. 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 any time. They are divided into two main parts of :—

(i) *Alizai*.

This clan is further distributed among Poti Khel, Shaman Khel, Haimal Khel, Shahbai Khel, Jaliar Khel, Manzai, Khatti Khel, Badinzai, Gulshalul, Abdulli, Malikshati and Nagar Khel.

(ii) *Balolzai*.

This part is divided into Band Khel, Nana Khel, Shingi Khel, Aikam Khel, Tutia Khel, Haibet Khel, Umar Khel, Alikbani Khel, Mirkhan Khel, Manda, Burla or Baru, Mallai, Miharkhani, Mahamdi, Jalal and Babalai.

7. THE TRIBE OF THE SWAT STATE.

WE have studied the construction of the four main tribes, but as pointed out before, there are eight more tribes besides the ninth that lives in the beautiful valley of Swat. These, with minor exceptions, have ceased to play any prominent part in the 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 and according to the latest census, its population is five lakhs, and 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, which has yet to be developed and put open to visitors. Its charm lies in its hills, valleys, streams and the most fertile plains. The State has an income of sixteen lakhs, and was raised to its present form by its ruler, Mian Gul Sahib, in 1917. He chalked out a very rigid plan of action, and ending the fratricidal feuds, he succeeded in establishing his strong government throughout the area and has brought the whole tribe under his thumb. Since 1917, Mian Gul Sahib has been ruling his people with an iron hand, and though the tribe has lost many traits of its vigour and vitality, they have no doubt come under a strong and definite leadership. 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 maker of modern Swat would do well to realise the temper of the time and adjust himself to these far-reaching changes taking place all-around him. We know that his task of to-day is much greater than the one he achieved twenty-five years ago. But surely he has grown greater with the task he had set before himself, and we are not hoping in vain for a big step from him during these critical days ahead of us. In the Indian States we find a wave of mass awakening and a tendency among the State subjects to establish responsible governments in their respective areas. Some of the rulers are trying to adjust themselves with the inner urges of their subjects who have long groaned under hardships and tribulations of all kinds. Even their pace falls short of our expectations and its quickening is urged from the house-tops in the

'Native States,' where wheels of justice had long ceased moving. It would be in the interest of the present rulers of this beautiful Pathan State to fit-in with the other progressive forces in the province and evolve a suitable machinery for the healthy growth of the Pathans together.

While thinking of Swat, one is naturally reminded of the heir-apparent, Prince Jahanzeb Khan, who stands as a ray of hope before us. He was born in 1908, and having been educated at the Islamia College, Pehawar, he came under the direct influence of his father, who was then busy curbing his people and raising the present structure of his State. The modern outlook and a western stamp on his personality make Jahanzeb Khan stand unique among his crude tribesmen. He has been fortunate to get his administrative training from a self-made ruler, and one can naturally expect him to discharge his undertakings with confidence and success.

The Frontier Province and the Tribal Belt 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 must contribute towards the general uplift of the Pathans, and Swat, which has so far been leading an isolated existence, is one of the places that needs expansion and which is suitable for shouldering this responsibility. In this fast changing world, solitary units have proved their failures and defects, and we hear people talk about Federations and Confederations. Whatever else might come out of this international crisis, we must realise that most of the existing factors are bound to go. British Imperialism

is one of them, and its disappearance will have some effect on us. 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 make it clear that we have to swim or sink together. If rest of the Pathans are suffering to-day, then the rulers of this beautiful valley would suffer to-morrow—but suffer they must! In order to cut the tree, we always cut the branches first. And that process has started long ago!

8. THE OTHER TRIBES.

(a) *The Bajauris.*

It belongs to the same stock as the renowned Yusufzais, and inhabit the country between the Mohmands and the Swatis. It is a pastoral class, and has turned very docile in habits and occupations. The Bajauries are well-built and tall, and have a tolerably fair complexion. Their principal place 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, do 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 derive pleasure from earning money. They played a

very adverse part in the unfortunate episode of Amanullah Khan, for which they are still looked down by most of the tribes.

(c) *The Bangashs.*

The tribe inhabits the Miranzai valley and major part of Kohat district and 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 struggles against the Mughuls.

(d) *The Orakzais.*

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

(e) *The Bhattanis.*

It inhabits the hills lying between Tank and Bannu from 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-division of Tank, Kulachi and Daraban. Like the 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 had been 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 holding of Baluchistan might suggest, but for all intents and purposes, are part and parcel of the Pathans, and whenever India is reconstructed on a sounder 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 the place in 1941, and found that the popular organisation of the masses, the Anjuman-i-Wattan, shared that view to a very great extent, and 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 reading 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 the east of Indus to Torbela, crosses that river and winding round the north-western boundary of Peshawar to Khyber, turns round the Afridi hills to Kohat side, from where it goes through the western line of Kohat district along the Miranzai valley and touching the Afghan domain, it turns round to Wazir hills and reaching the Bannu line at the end of the Sulaiman range, it finally finishes at the upper confines of Sindh and Kalat State. The extent of this vast frontier is about eight hundred miles in length, which is most arduous in nature and extension. The language of the people, like that in Afghanistan, Tribal area, and greater part of Baluchistan, is Pushto, and the bulk of the population profess Islam.

In 1901, Lord Curzon separated these northern districts from the Panjab and formed a separate 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 become very acute then. The province consisted of five districts in the beginning, but in 1936 Mardan was made a separate district. The two districts of Peshawar and Mardan are most fertile and productive, but the conditions in the three southern districts of Kohat, Bannu, and

Dera Ismail Khan are most appalling, because there is scarcity of water even for drinking purposes. The district of Hazara is again rich with forests and comparatively better in other respects as well. The people in the province are divided as follows:—

- (a) *Peshawar* :—Khalils, Mohmands, Mohmadzais, and small numbers of Khattaks and Giganis. There has been considerable migration into the district during the last few decades.
- (b) *Mardan* :—Yusufzais, Baizai, and Utman Khel.
- (c) *Kohat* :—Khattaks and Banghashs.
- (d) *Bannu* :—Banuchis, Marwats, Wazirs, and Bhattanis.
- (e) *Dera Ismail Khan* :—Kundis, Gandapur, Lunds and Nutkanis.
- (f) *Hazara* :—Turnolis, Gakhars, Dunds, Swatis, and Syeds.

The Chieftains.—Leaving aside the tribal territory and the settled districts, there are a few small Chieftains around the Frontier. Besides them, there is that important State of Chitral, ruled by an educated and enlightened Chief, His Highness Sir Nasir-ul-Mulk, the 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 Amb, Teri, Tank, Hoti and Toru. Their chiefs are big landlords and represent the vested interests in the province. The Nawab of Tank is an excellent shot, while the Nawab of Hoti, Col. Sir Mohammad Akbar Khan, well-known for his vigour, is the richest landlord in the Frontier.

10. THE GOODWILL MISSION.

THE composition of the tribes and the province has been dealt with. Now comes the problem that has cost us so much money and which has reaped us only failure. This failure has been admitted even by those who have been pursuing this policy, and a glance at one of the Administrative Reports prepared by the Indian Government, reveals this fact as follows: "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 us that with each attempt on the part of the government to solve this tension, the situation here turned more acute and raised the number of difficulties for those concerned. More than a century has passed since the British started bossing over this area, and if we look at the situation to-day, it would appear that all the different moves and activities of the government have ended in creating a regular state of insecurity, where the Army authorities condemn the Political Department, the Political officials some one else, and so on. And this can hardly remove the local tension!

A history of this British policy displays how aimlessly it was allowed to ebb and flow, and in order to understand this attitude, we must analyse the entire past. The main factor that involved their energy was the idea to create a strong barrier between themselves and their European adversary, Tsarist Russia. Guided by those larger imperial interests, and suffering from a constant state of Russophobia, the English

statesmen chalked out their plans, and strangely enough, called it their efforts at reformation. Once they got entangled with that big issue, so many local ones cropped up, which, though increased confusion for the government, gave them at the same time ample chances to carry on their game of exploitation and enslavement of our people. The Frontier warfare gave an excuse to the Indian Government to employ troops and enlarge their army of occupation, while the continuous hostilities on the Frontier worked as a bugbear to the timid people in India. This process of fighting the tribes with the soldiers recruited from among the Indians has resulted in fostering ill-will between the ruler and the ruled, as well as between the different Indian communities, who are made to fight here for no rhyme or reason of theirs. In that much the Government has succeeded, and to call it their aim, would not be very wrong !

The assumption that it was the strategic necessity which brought the Indian Government into conflict with the tribes is not misrepresentation of facts, and the following two official documents will make the position quite 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 till 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 organise 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.” And what had been that ‘ hitherto ’ policy ? In this regard the dispatch of Sir Naville 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,’ who had their own greedy designs involved in their Indian undertakings. It is said that one of their Viceroys had planned to dismantle the Taj and sell its marble to an American firm !

As already pointed out, the real aim of the Frontier Policy was to present a threat to European adversary of Great Britain, and in doing that the British ignored their means and ethical obligations, and the minor clash of Afghan and Russian Forces at Panjdeh in March, 1885, brought matters to a head, when a regular series of strong Military Operations commenced, which twice took the form of actual war with the Afghan Nation. Their forces always attempted to harass the tribesmen, and the policy behind this attitude can be studied from the observation of Mr. Davis, who was Secretary to the Punjab Government during those days. He had 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 compromised at times and challenged the tribal freedom at another, was continued on the Frontier. There was the Forward School, which wanted to push off the Indian border and gain control of the area right upto the Durand Line or even beyond, and the Close Border School that felt content with the demarcation of a line in the vicinity of the Administered Boundary or even retire to the old Indus Line. In their book, *The Rise and Fulfilment of the British Rule in India*, Edward Thomson and G. T. Garrett, tell us that the Forward School was opposed by people

like Lord Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, Elphinstone and Bentinck, but the factors behind this sinister move were more valuable than the advice of their patriots, 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 Indian Government carve out a course, and from then onward a quick train of military operations was let loose against the tribes. It was the same time when Amir Abdul Rehman had established himself firmly on the throne of Kabul. His ability and tactful handling of the local affairs produced all manner of fears among his English 'friends', and they were alarmed by his extraordinary genius and foresight. "He might win over the tribes of the Indian Border to his domain and utilise them against us." The possibility was full of grave consequences, and so, 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, Lord Landsdowne, as follows: "If you should cut them away from my domain; they will neither be of any use to you nor to me. You will always be engaged in fighting or other trouble with them, and they will always go on plundering. In your cutting away from me these frontier tribes, who are people of my nationality and my religion, you will injure my prestige in the eyes of my subjects and will make me weak, and my weakness is injurious to your

government," but forcing the Commission under Sir Mortimer Durand they drew a line demarcating their zones of influence, and took charge of the present tribal belt, with which they have hardly done any good.

11. THE MISSION KEPT GOING.

HAVING secured a definite boundary between India and the adjoining monarchy in Afghanistan, the English strived to bring this area under their thumb. From 1893 to 1897, those attempts increased and tribe after tribe fell victim to the machinations of the Forward School, when at last the tribesmen burst simultaneously into revolt from one end to the other, and made the situation look very grave and dangerous to the authorities. That was the time Lord Curzon had come to top as Governor-General of India, and saying good-bye to certain old policies, he carved out fresher ones instead. The Frontier Province was separated from the Punjab and the tribal responsibility was transferred to the Centre. The modifications, which Curzon introduced, seemed better to the unimaginatives among the people, while 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 was aimed to create divisions among the tribal population and devise means for their total annihilation. He raised local levies and militias and made them responsible for any breach of law. Its officers were given fat salaries, and the

higher cadres were reserved for the members of the White Race alone. It was only two years ago that an Indian was accepted in this cadre.

The creation of the new province by Lord Curzon was intended to facilitate the hold of the Central Administration on the people, and there was no intention to improve the distracted condition of the inhabitants. New laws were introduced, and the place was declared as 'no man's land.' The methods that were pursued, soon made the Pathans feel that their self-respect was trodden down, their manhood crippled, and the most elementary human rights denied. The entire process was so designed as to crush beyond redemption the spirit of heroism from among the Pathans, whose frank manners and joyous temper was changed into a sad tale of misery and degradation. The narration of misdeeds in the Frontier brings strange things to our mind, and make us feel sick at heart. Unthinkable events do not only become thinkable, but actually take place in the Frontier. In 1930, a misguided young man, Habib Noor, fired a shot at an English officer and succeeded in wounding him slightly. The culprit was tried for that offence, and within forty-eight hours of the occurrence, the authorities went through the whole procedure, and got him hanged. Thus the Frontier Government showed how quick and efficient they were in administering their peculiar brand of the law, though they might be thoroughly inefficient in all other matters.

Years rolled by, and our people grew under the shadow of guns and other untold miseries. Happen-

ings here attracted some attention and some of the writers championed the cause of these tribesmen and those living in Afghanistan. Writing in her book, *England, India and Afghanistan*, Dr. Annie Besant draws the following faithful picture of the 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 complain of misgovernment 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 Afghanis-

tan, 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 ?

It is the realisation 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 lay in their power to annihilate us, and therefore, to kill them at any time and at any place, should be the key-note of our life. To forgive is divine, but then we are only Pathans ! To forget our tribulations would lead to the extinguishment of our 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 organise 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 area, though his activities had influenced other tribes as well, and most of them had taken steps for their security from the evil designs of the Indian Government. The rise of Amanullah Khan to power in 1919, had given a great push to the imagination of the tribes, but his friendly attitude was viewed with suspicion by our 'benevolent' rulers. They could not watch and tolerate the growth of desirable elements among the people, and so, in order to check the rise of certain human urges among the tribal population, they intensified their 'struggle for reformation and welfare by employing novel forms of causing pain to the people. Military Expeditions were supplemented by Economic Sanctions, which were finally replaced by Aerial Warfare against enemies who possessed only an ordinary rifle.

The Frontier Warfare had till 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 to shake the morale of these northern highlanders. Their stubborn will, which had seldom yielded to the force of Mahmud of Ghazni or the might of the Mughuls, was shattered to pieces. We know that Peshawar had been always used as an entrepot of Asiatic intercourse and a centre to raise and collect troops, yet these Pathans had led a life

that had pleased their fancy, and it was due to the same instincts that they tried to hold their own against such tremendous odds. It would be of interest to know that from 1849 to 1890, forty-two different expeditions took place against these tribes, and again, from 1890 to 1922, another succession of thirty operations were carried on, while the story of the other decades is not free from such encounters either. The Indian Army was given sufficient training here and were assisted by the British aeroplanes to bomb our people.

And when I think and write about the aerial warfare on the Frontier, my mind goes to the so many different theatres of this War. The knowledge of the utter ruin that is taking place, fill our hearts with anguish. Yet we are reminded of how the British Government insisted on the continuation of this barbarous method of warfare in 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 Government was heavy, and they succeeded in flouting the wishes of all assembled. Nations and peoples suffering from these horrors to-day may well remember this inhuman attitude of Great Britain displayed at Geneva only nine years ago !

13. WHAT OF IT ?

A short survey of early British intentions has been made, but in order to arrive at some point, we

must review the whole situation very dispassionately. If we look at the conditions carefully, then the present Frontier unrest and its implications would resemble those of the Scottish Highlanders, who, till their open rebellion in 1745, had been a source of constant uneasiness to their well-placed neighbours, but who later received a sympathetic treatment from England in the form of so many Acts of Parliament, and by means of providing them with services in the Army, Navy, and other branches of Civil Administration, which soon removed the causes of their unrest, and placed them on an equal footing with their English brethren. Similarly, a benevolent path can be followed to find out avenues for providing some relief to these people and bringing them up to the level of their countrymen elsewhere in India.

A rapid survey of the country and conditions here would convince the observer that these tribes live on hills that do not yield sufficient food, and therefore, to secure it, they have to wage an incessant struggle, both against man and nature. Dealing with this problem, Dr. Collin 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 Indian Government took up the solution of this tract from very different motives, and their main aim, as already pointed out, was to create a strong

line of defence against any possible armed invasion of The Tsarist régime first, and later, from the invasion of the Soviet Union's radical ideas that went and cut at the very roots of things which Great Britain represents so faithfully to-day. There was also the vicious circle 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 Sandemanisation, but seldom approaching the problem seriously or rightly. To them this insecurity became a good weapon to frighten some of our timid countrymen—Hindus mostly, and elicit their sanction to employ troops against the tribes, which received training on these rocky mountains of the North. The experiences here promised many fascinating adventures to the young and ambitious products of the English Public Schools, and gave them occasions to decorate themselves with all sorts of military honours.

The British have long made a mess of affairs and it amazes us to find their obstinacy in not allowing any one else to tackle this question. As I have pointed out in my introduction, having themselves failed, they are prevented by a false sense of prestige to hand over this task to more competent and rightful persons. We cannot deny them the part they have played in constructing excellent roads for moving their troops and supplying some delicious Kabul melons and other fruits to us in India, but surely the need for this extravagance was not so great as to incur an expense, which in its right use, would have helped to raise an entirely new national structure in this country and removed most of our difficulties.

An undertaking involves two possibilities, success or failure. The British have been at this frontier for well over a century and find themselves exactly where they were—except that they have succeeded in bartering the blood and money of our people for nothing else but hatred among the different parties. One would naturally ask whether this failure has been due to sheer incompetence or a deliberate effort not to succeed. In this particular case the answer to both the questions is Yes ! In the beginning the hostilities against the tribes resulted from their Foreign Policy, which later gave them a chance to undertake periodical operations and thus afford opportunities to their officers to win medals and the troops to remain active. While the continuous confusion and insecurity worked to terrorise some of our timid countrymen and made them seek British protection.

14. THIS KIDNAPPING !

THE past events of a century and the recent happenings in Waziristan have made an average Indian feel that a visit to the Frontier might involve in his being kidnapped, while many others believe that the life of the Hindus is not secure on the Frontier. As is usual, most of the people believe the different stories narrated to them and without ascertaining their accuracy, start labouring under all forms of illusions. In India most of the facts and news originate from the State controlled agencies, which are far from being impartial. So, in order to draw comfortable and wiser conclusions, we must have open minds and remove the different walls that have grown round our heads.

Ever since the failure of the Indian people to win their freedom from the English during our First War of Independence in 1857, the Government's one desire has been to segregate the Hindus and the Musalmans, and make them quarrel on all sorts of imaginary issues. This fact brings an interesting observation before my mind, and I am reminded of what Lt.-Col. John Coke, Commandant at Moradabad during 1857, had written in a dispatch. This 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 these Britishers, and are reminded of all their tactics towards this direction. In this way, stray happenings of the Frontier were circulated in strange manner, that went to foster a canker, which is injurious for both the Pathans and others in this country.

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

entire show is one continuous struggle of the tribesmen against those who have destroyed their houses, burnt their villages and killed their men with guns and planes. We know that the tribal opposition is always directed against the Government, but while at war, they cannot sit in judgment and examine each individual case on its merits. To imagine or expect them to discriminate at a time when their homes are bombed and their bodies blasted with guns, is an unworkable proposition, and so, to call their conduct the 'love for loot or religious fanaticism' will sound strange; as well as betray our ignorance of facts. Their stand has been a unique struggle for freedom, and exhibits their power of resistance, for which the European Nations claim so much of our admiration to-day. Let them have it, but why deny the same to us.

Why this kidnapping? There are two kinds of hostilities resulting in kidnapping. The first and the more important one is the raid of the tribal *Lashkar* on some military post or other government property, while the second kind of kidnapping is conducted by certain fugitives and local bad characters residing around any particular territory, who lack all means of livelihood, and therefore, utilise every possible occasion for their adventure. It is their rôle that sometimes causes pain and sorrow to the innocent civilians, and which mars the clear grasping of the position. They stand condemned before us, and no decent person can ever justify their conduct. The scope of their activity displays 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 northern frontier are not novel in the Indian History. If we turn over the pages of that history, a similar phase would absorb our attention. During the period of the Mughuls, who had turned more Indian than the present rulers can ever even dream of, the Sikhs and the Marhattas used to attack the Imperial forces of Aurangzeb, and when repulsed, they used to retire—killing and plundering those who came in their way, and this, because they somehow suspected the people as assisting their enemies. In the same way, when a tribal *Lashkar* takes up arms against the authorities, they both defend as well as offend, and in doing that they sometimes lay their hands on innocent people—probably with the same object that guided the Sikhs and the Marhattas in those olden days.

We have kidnappings on the Frontier and deplore them more than anyone else. But to attribute them to motives of earning livelihood or communal considerations, would be a foolish assumption in the face of Official Accounts supplied from time to time. It would be of interest to note that in no decade of the last century, the total amount of money looted has exceeded five lakhs, and during the past decade, it has been only Rs. 1,24,097/0/7. To imagine that a population of about three million and a half can sustain itself on such a small fraction of criminally acquired wealth for the duration of a year or so

appears fantastic. Such an assumption would mean the violation of all moral obligations and an obvious slander of the first magnitude. Again, during the years 1932-33-34, the total amount of money or property taken away by certain outlaws and bandits has been worked out at Rs. 3,000 throughout the province. So much to challenge the financial aspect of this insecurity. Its communal colouring has been even more injurious, and the events of Waziristan during these last seven years or so, and their peculiar presentation, has led some of the foolish and timid people think on lines that are most annoying. How often we come across the utterances of such people, who suggest to this government to take stronger steps against the tribes. Let such deluded persons realise that this is not a desirable attitude to overcome the difficulties and might lead ultimately to infuriate the desperate highlanders to take 'stronger steps' against those who plead its application against them on the Frontier.

The communal tinge of kidnappings has been already repudiated. The following tables might help to remove some misunderstandings and bring some light to those who have ceased to see things for themselves.

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

		<i>Hindus</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Total</i>
Killed	....	21	78	99
Wounded	....	18	93	111
Kidnapped	....	16	86	102

Since 1936, a continuous state of lawlessness has been prevailing in the southern districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, and the disturbances in Waziristan are casting their 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 give a trial to the reality as well.

(ii) The following table shows the list of losses during the years 1936—41 :

	<i>Hindus</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Total</i>
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 :

	<i>Hindus</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Total</i>
Killed	.... 49	73	122
Wounded	.... 23	37	60
Kidnapped	.... 127	129	256

15. AN IMPERTINENT CONCLUSION.

THE realities divulged might act as the touchstone of British policy and intentions, and it would be

better to examine them a little more. The advent of the Congress Ministry in the North was the first occasion to lift the veil drawn over this tract and gave a chance to the Indian leaders to approach this problem on the spot and try to find a way out. There was the suggestion of Abdul Ghaffar Khan to call a conference of both the tribal and the provincial delegates, and if objection be taken to their 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 calculated by our rulers to culminate into calling a Constituent Assembly of the Pathans, and so the plan was abandoned. Ghaffar Khan was further willing to tour the tribal territory in order to get the verdict of the people regarding their future organisation and the adoption of useful occupations. But this too had been disapproved by the Indian Government. 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. Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai and Asaf Ali Sahib came to Peshawar and expressed their desire to proceed to the tribal territory, but they were not even allowed to go to Bannu. The two Congress leaders discussed the situation with the local workers, who thought it was no occasion to disobey the ban, and so the two leaders had to go back without having approached the Tribal Belt.

The above facts must have revealed the policy of the government in not allowing the popular elements

among the people to meet and thrash out their own problems. All their efforts have been to hide the reality and instead, present a false picture of the Pathans through their concocted stories. And when such is their attitude, can we restrain ourselves from declaring that this insecure frontier serves the imperial interests, and all these kidnappings by local bandits and looting of towns like Bannu, are inspired and connived at by the agents of the government functioning on the North-West Frontier of India, who can be rightly held responsible for the most tendentious state of affairs here.

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 has been upheld, and the Frontier men feel especially grateful to that noble son of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who once speaking about the Frontier problem generally, and more especially about the kidnappings, gave a personal touch, which went to the heart of the people. He was addressing a vast audience at Bannu which included many thousands of people from the tribal territory. By his side sat Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Just then the kidnapping scare was at its highest and many of the residents of Bannu were frightened. He condemned of course all kidnappings 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 an invitation to the evil characters. Only by confidence, goodwill, and courage could they face the situation effectively.

He pointed out that the whole approach of British Government had been wrong and worse than futile and they had to face the consequences of this day. He said that the greatest sufferers had been the people of the tribal territories, who had been bombed and harassed incessantly year after year. He said: "It was not surprising, therefore, if they stand at bay and attack in return and even misbehave occasionally," and pointed 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 the people on either side of this Frontier and in the tribal tracts should not live amicably together to each other's advantage. 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 of goodwill and not on hostility, which 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 all concerned 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 weaknesses, 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 and the rough warriors of the tribal areas. "I have a daughter", he said, "eighteen 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 who lived 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, slightly misunderstanding him, asked him when his daughter would visit their homes. And they pledged their words that she would have the freedom of the place 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. Let us hope that the only child of this gallant Indian patriot, Indira, lives long to verify the truth of her father's bold statement!

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 big national scale?

During the past few years our people of the Frontier have had occasions to come 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, which has all the time endeavoured to separate these Frontiersmen from their countrymen and place them once again on the plank where they were some years ago. But that seems difficult now !

16. WHAT TO DO ?

THE time has come for us in India to realise that if there is a field of policy where quickness of decision and promptness of execution are more essential for its people : much more important than solving the present confusion created by various groups over our internal arrangements, it is this, the North-West Frontier Problem ! Lord Curzon had 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 so real to-day when we find small strips of land causing havoc in Europe and forcing great nations to take up arms in defence of them. Frontiers usually involve risks and a wrong approach can increase our difficulties at any time of national development. Foreign Policies and Frontier considerations do not result from short intervals, but are the outcome of long-drawn developments of political and social character. So, in order to avoid calamity in the future, Indians must strive to set this confusion aright. It has so far cost the Indian taxpayer something about four hundred crores, while its administration costs over twenty crores a year—besides the six crores spent in Baluchistan and

a crore of rupees given to the Frontier Province as subvention from the Centre. This huge expenditure has gone to make a few watch towers, which simply stand to offend the tribesmen and incite them to continue their struggle. Beyond this, there has been no evident progress. The reader is bound to ask: "Where all this money has gone?" To him my answer is quite simple, and he has to realise that all this money has gone to maintain the cost of an army and towards the continuous process of exploitation of the tribesmen. It also includes the heavy salaries and other 'amenities' for those who exploit and rule the territory.

I have frequently discussed British Policy on the Frontier with people who have an insight into its existing structure, and those who had actually been instrumental in its shaping many years ago. Most of them fail to justify the policy and often admit its failure to bring forth any lasting results or its ability to crush the tribes to any practical degree. Some of them cannot suggest a way out of it, while there are a few who hold their own ideas regarding the ending of the perpetual tussle existing to-day. 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 be established along the Administered Border of the Province. Having thus cleared the tribal territory, the task of keeping contacts with the tribesmen be entrusted to an organisation of local Scouts raised from each different tribe. The head of such bodies to act as agents of the Government, whose 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 localities and provide work for the needy and hard-up men of the tribes under their jurisdiction. No money should be given to individuals, as at present, for extracting any political benefit, while efforts should be made to popularise education and open a net-work of hospitals in the tribal areas with the due consent of its residents. This approach, according to the people belonging to this school of thought, will go a long way to remove the economic disabilities of the population and thus remove the real cause of unrest. To one, this policy seemed essential from another point of view as well, and I was told that the above proposal would help to check the ever-growing doubts among the Pathans that the British Government is the deadliest enemy of Islam that has to be opposed at all costs.

The above suggestions come from people who owe their allegiance to those who hold us in bondage. But the scheme put forth by them can be further improved by a Free India, which will never think in terms of creating 'strong lines of defence against these tribes,' but look to them for defending the northern entrance to our motherland. At the same time, we shall not grudge if the Government gives a fair trial to the above modified plan of action.

The Frontier Problem has been studied by some of our leaders in India, who have become aware of the actual troubles. 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 to the one engaging the attention of our beloved comrade and leader—Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan? We know that the tribal problem has been dear to his heart and he feels very strongly for the people forming this belt. In order to get an insight into his mind, let us refer to his speech delivered on the Martyr's Day celebrations at Peshawar, where, speaking on the 23rd of April, 1941, he said: "The revolution which is on its march, cannot leave us untouched. It is flowing like a powerful torrent: washing away those who attempt to check its course. In order to understand its course, 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 much 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, and 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 to-day and have come to realise the harm they are doing to our people. The present position must go 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." And now he has at last succeeded in compelling the government to tolerate his Khudai Khidmatgars operating into the tribal territories.

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 elucidation. We shall have to convince the tribes about the advantages of this union, and assure them about our sincerity to pull them out of their present conditions. The approach has to be friendly, because given a fancied cause for doubt, they will resist all attempts to be drawn into any combination with India. And they do not simply pass resolutions! We have to bear one fact in mind that though the tribal territory can be overrun by a mechanised army, the local conditions are such which make the invader's task very difficult, and compel them to retire. 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 pursued to end this state of tension. It was the moral bankruptcy of the British Government to have exploited the misery of these people and to have wrought this chaos for us to-day. These tribesmen have long suffered hardships: while all along they had watched others enjoy different luxuries of life. Times

have changed and we expect a fair deal for our people. Indian leaders have become aware of the adverse circumstances on the Frontier, and we hope that those living in the fair and fertile plains of India would 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 !

As already pointed out, Ghaffar Khan has 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 is a landmark in our history, and though the finger of fate has been lifted by the government against our countrymen in other Indian Provinces, its operators feel hesitant to touch us on the Frontier. This is but a temporary triumph, and a very complicated path has to be covered before we reach the end of this final struggle. India needs a common salvation and to achieve this ambition, we shall have to depend on our unity, courage, tactful strategy and the highest sanction : that of time.

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 contented family, which had not cut its name deep in the annals of the Frontier history, much less India, lived an honest and industrious life in the most fertile part of a province known for its barrenness, and that 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 Government measures that had been adopted to coerce our tribesmen, who lacking leadership, frittered away their strength against it through individual and unorganised combats. Those were the days of stagnation—when despair was rampant and hope seemed dead. That was the time when Pathans needed someone to guide them through such unfavourable conditions. And who knew 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 the Peshawar district, became father of a son, whom he named Abdul Ghaffar. Little did he realise that his child was to play the historic rôle of a leader among his people and make a name as one of the foremost man of his time.

Ghaffar Khan was born at a time when the world itself was passing through abnormal changes. Modern Capitalism was reaching its zenith in Europe and America and the dynamic forces of mechanised industry were assuming gigantic proportions. The new progress was novel in its form and produced great contrasts in society. It led to the rise of different classes and anti-capitalist fronts both in Europe and America. The period is marked by the rise of democratic ideas among the people and the introduction of the general franchise in the Western Parliaments. There was an increase of wealth in Europe, which automatically produced certain beneficial results and made life easy for the people there. The stage is marked by the tremendous improvement in medicine, science and an all round progress of the Western countries. Means of communications improved and brought the various nations near one another and afforded them occasions to exchange their products. There were these changes and improvements that affected the social life of the world, but there were also the old and unfortunate intrigues and rivalries of the different countries. The world was witnessing

the aggressive rôle of Europe and the passive part which Asia and Africa played. Those years present one long tale of evil acts and national immorality of those engaged in the exploitation of the East, which in case of individuals would have led to severe punishment. In order to establish themselves in Africa, India and other parts of Asia, the White Man chose a path of bloodshed, oppression and exploitation of a type unknown in the history of mankind so far. And from out of that domination, a man in a slave country was coming to his own in order to organise, purify and unite his disorganised people into one solid block. Ghaffar Khan was surely a giant thrown out of the grief, sorrow, agony and misery of his barren hills destined to challenge the appalling conditions prevailing in his province.

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 go out of his home, his father sent him to Peshawar, where he joined his elder brother, Khan Sahib (Doctor). 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. Wigrim. Ghaffar Khan often speaks of him with a feeling of respect and admiration and tells us how much he owes to his healthy guidance.

He was in his sixth middle class, when in November 1906, his elder brother went to Bombay

for his three years' course in medicine, and from where he proceeded to England in February 1909, for higher medical studies. Having finished his medical course, Doctor Khan joined the Hospital Corps and later, in 1916, he received his Commission as a member of the I.M.S. During the last War, he was most of the time on the battle-fields of France and often relates his experiences of those days to us on the Frontier. While in England, he married an English wife, from whom he had a most brilliant and charming son, Jan Khan Sahib, who had been educated throughout in the English Public Schools and later at Oxford. He died in the prime of his youth at the time when so much was expected of him. Jan 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 they became great friends in the country whose Government both have chosen to oppose.

Khan Sahib was away from his province for well over thirteen years, and during that period much had happened at home, which had been kept secret from him in order to avoid the pain and shock that their knowledge would have produced. In March 1920, he returned from England and was posted with the famous Guides Regiment at Mardan. Soon the past facts found their way out and distressed him immensely. In 1921, his Unit was ordered to proceed to Waziristan for action against the Wazirs, but 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 suffering inflicted on his people in the Qissa Khwani Bazar of Peshawar on the 23rd of April, 1930, dragged him into politics and he followed his illustrious brother to the Hazaribagh Jail to undergo three years' imprisonment.

2. EARLY EDUCATION.

To returns to the hero once again. He took his lessons at the Mission School and lived in a small house in the compound of the present Edwardes College, Peshawar, which stands even to this day in a corner of the main building in its tottering glory. Ghaffar Khan led a quiet life after his own fancy and it is said that though he was not keen on games himself, he assisted his friends to play games by carrying their cricket bats and other articles of play. It was during the same 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 so destined that these two friends should get separated and play their respective rôles in different countries and bring glory to their own causes. After the termination of the Balkan War, the mission came back, but Abdur Rehman decided to remain there, and showed his desire to join the Turkish Army. His zeal and ability had attracted the attention of famous Turkish patriots, Anwer Pasha and Rauf Bey, who got him

admitted to the Military College at Ankara. By 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, Kamal Pasha formed his Republic, this enterprising non-Turk was selected to represent the young republic at Afghanistan as their first Ambassador, which post he held till the middle of 1923.

While Ghaffar Khan was studying at Peshawar, his village servants used to see both British and Indian officers of the army moving in their smart and showy uniforms, which appealed to the simple villagers and they tried to persuade their young master to enter that profession. The persuasion bore fruit and he applied for a Commission in the army. About the same time he visited a friend in the army, where an incident greatly touched the proud Pathan and turned the table against that profession. He noticed an English officer insulting an Indian senior in age, and that insolent behaviour was most upsetting, and he said to himself : " If such is the case, then why should I adopt this career." Soon the necessary permission for selection was granted, but Ghaffar Khan rejected the offer and continued his studies. That arbitrary attitude of the English officer bore good fruit and his refusal to join the army in India became responsible for such a great change in the condition of our people.

The Young Khan was to take his Matriculation examination. Having heard that owing to its quietness, Campbellpur afforded facilities to work, he hurried there, but was soon tired of the place. In those days he had acquired some liking for learning

Arabic, and so the reputation of Maulvi Noor-ud-Din of Qadian attracted his attention. Ghaffar Khan left his province with a friend. They reached Qadian and had not yet secured their admission to the *Madrassa*, when he had a somewhat peculiar but most instructive dream. He saw himself approaching a well, but as he was about to fall in, an old man came and warned him of the danger. Ghaffar Khan woke up, and taking his clue, left the place at once and proceeded to Aligarh, where he took to his studies again. 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 promising son to England in order to qualify him for engineering. All the arrangements were complete and even his passage had been booked in one of the P. and O. steamers. But fate had destined otherwise and the young man was preserved for things greater than that! 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 and pleading: "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 a turning point in his life, and since 1912, he applied himself to the task of leading his untamable, exceedingly proud, and temperamentally independent people on a noble path.

3. TAKING UP HIS CALLING.

As already said, the year 1912 marks the beginning of Abdul Ghaffar Khan's association with his people. He commenced his activities as an educationist 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's work of imparting religious and simple education to the poor villagers. They established their centre at Gaddar in the Peshawar district and began opening schools all over the Peshawar and Mardan districts. During those days the orthodox mullas were carrying on agitation against the schools run by the Government, and since they presented no alternative, these two far-sighted comrades adopted a constructive path and employed themselves in the field of village education. They initiated a vigorous campaign of opening schools and persuading the people to utilise 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 away the great Haji from his youthful disciple and the young Khan was left alone to shoulder the great responsibility. Their work had made them popular among the people, and so, fearing the influence of the Haji, who was busy moulding the lives of his followers on a righteous path, the local authorities became eager to separate these two workers. The Haji Sahib soon discovered the evil

design of the officials, and realising his difficulties in face of such opposition, he made good his escape into the tribal territory, where, all his life he remained undaunted and unbeaten by the varied forces employed to defeat him. His towering personality succeeded in uniting the warring elements among the Mohmand, Bajaur and others, and he kept them pitched against the forces of the English invaders hovering around them all along. Soon after Haji Abdul Wahid Sahib's escape, the Government arrested most of the teachers in those schools run by them, and thus rendered most of the villages without any institution to impart any kind of instruction, till they were reorganised by Ghaffar Khan a few years later.

The parting of Haji Sahib was not a small shock to the structure that had been raised, and his absence created many handicaps for his disciple. It was during the same time that Ghaffar Khan decided to go and establish himself in the tribal territory and find out chances of 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 Sheikh-ul-Hind Maulvi Mahmudul Hassan of Deoband, both of whom held very radical views on problems facing the country in those days. He had imbibed the impress of their ideas, and planned to settle down among the tribes and enlist their support. He left his home and undertook an extensive tour of the Mohmand and Bajaur territory, and in order to get some guidance for his mission, he fasted and meditated for days and days, but finding little chance of success, he returned to his old job. It was then that all the schools were

reorganised and he conducted a uniform and workable policy for their expansion.

This time the officials again took notice of his efforts and expressed their disapproval of all his endeavours to educate the villagers in the four-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 organised by you.” The question is typical of the imperialist mind, and this tendency still guides our rulers in India. Times have changed and there are so many factors at work to liberate the toiling millions who have long groaned under adverse fortune, and among whom the fire for freedom burns so brightly to-day.

The intensified activities of the Pathan reformer brought the Frontier Government on a very definite plank of opposition, and his old father, Bahram Khan, was asked to stop the ‘ rebellious activities ’ of his son, who was briskly engaged in the ‘ sinful ’ task of spreading education. The father sent for his son and told him to abstain from his work, to which the determined son replied : “ If these officials ask you to stop me from saying my prayers, will you tell me to do so ? ” “ No ” came the answer. And Ghaffar Khan told him that to him the service of the poor formed the major portion of the prayer and he would never give up his work, because : “ I am eager to face the King of these kings in a manner worthy of a righteous person.” The attitude of the son went a long way to win over the father to his side as well, who informed the authorities about his

inability to desist his son from his path. In the end the Government arrested Ghaffar Khan, his 95 years old father, and other members of the family. This happened in 1919. The old man was imprisoned owing to the so-called subversive activities of his son in the Frontier, and yet just then the other son had finished fighting their battles in France and elsewhere on the Continent. This was indeed an act of kindness and showed the capacity for appreciation in our rulers, who always claim to fight and stand for justice and fairplay. Whatever they do is right!

The Frontier Khan and others arrested with him were released on the King's Proclamation, and he became active again. About the end of 1919, a very large gathering assembled at Utmanzai, which was attended by almost all the principal workers. Besides discussing other problems facing the Province, the meeting conferred on him the title of Badshah Khan, meaning the king of Khans, as a token of affection from his people, and he is addressed by this name all over the Province, though it has recently found currency even outside the Frontier.

4. THE 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 squeezing and dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and the subjugation of other Muslim States of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Arabia and Afghanistan, during and after the last War, had roused great discontent and indignation among the Muslim masses

in India. The situation offered a good opportunity to both the Hindus and the Musalmans to unite and fight the British in India. It led to a settlement, and for the first time in history, the different communities came close enough to struggle jointly, and the Khilafat Agitation, as it is called, drew the bulk of the Indian people to 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 matters drifted along. As the movement grew in momentum, more and more people came to join it and the situation went on developing. Many Indian Muslims decided to leave their country as a protest against the English policy towards their legitimate demands. Hordes of men came from all over India and made Peshawar and other Frontier towns their halting stations to prepare and push off to Afghanistan, where the dynamic personality of Amanullah Khan attracted these people in large numbers. The sight of those crowds deserting their homelands in despair; influenced the people here 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 crossed over to 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 in that way and take shelter in Afghanistan or any other country. Having come to that conclusion, he soon

retraced his steps and returned to the Frontier through the territory of the Mohmands, where he attempted once again to establish himself. He looked at the possibilities of his work carefully, but after reviewing the entire situation, he decided to abandon all hopes of carrying on his mission in places where it could not be done openly. To-day he is convinced that his decision at that time was the only right one, and he is opposed to any type of secret organisation 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, while I know quite well that the little we do makes us very timid, because we are always on guard to avoid arrest. And 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 organisation for conducting the various activities in the Frontier. His efforts soon materialised and he succeeded in founding a body known as the Anjuman-i-Islah-e-Afaghina, whose object was to guide and popularise educational and certain social modifications in the Province. The new organisation soon developed into a strong body with branches all over the Frontier. Badshah Khan used to undertake occasional tours and explain 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 to adopt other professions besides agriculture, and in order to set up an example, he opened a Commission Shop at Utmanzai. All these steps were intended to reform the Pathans and influence them to lead a peaceful life. The government should have been thankful to our leader for discharging their duties, but instead, it was soon discovered that they wanted to put an end to all that effort. During that time, the Chief Commissioner of the Frontier, Sir John Maffey, warned him to leave all his plans or face their consequences, ignoring this warning he carried on his mission with still greater energy. By 1921, he had toured every village in the Province and had worked according to plans, when he was at last arrested and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment.

India has passed through far-reaching changes during these last two decades, and our movements have changed the very shape of things that were intended to emasculate us. A vast difference has taken place in the jail administration, where things are slightly better now. But those were different days and the Pathan convict was made of strong mettle. Those were the days when this British Government was trying to be 'strong, just and efficient.' Ghaffar Khan was an enemy and needed no consideration, and so, 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 the Mianwali Jail, dressed in a small shirt and convicts short pyjamas, wooden slippers, with hands and feet cuffed, and an iron bar round his neck, his eldest son, Abdul Ghani Khan, who was quite young then,

should have burst into tears. His own accounts of jail life are most painful and were read with great interest when they were published in a series of articles in his Pushto journal, the *Pukhtoon*, under the heading, Twentieth Century Civilization and the Jails. Those articles dealt with the general conditions prevailing in the different jails and his own experiences during so many years of imprisonment. He was made to do really hard labour and his daily work included grinding fifteen to twenty seers of gram, which resulted in his contracting chronic lumbago. Once a pair of fetters were brought for him but they turned out to be of a small size. The jail staff insisted on his putting them on and they injured his ankle. The Superintendent, on seeing his ankle bleed, quietly remarked: "You will soon get accustomed to this." The injury has left its effects and his disfigured ankle continually reminds us of something that has happened in not a very distant past. Ghaffar Khan has also described how faithfully he used to obey the rules laid down by the jail authorities and never looked for any favour: either from his fellow convicts or those of the jail staff who felt sympathetic towards 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 all 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 reached the hearts of his people, and to express their love and respect for him, the assembly announced its resolve to call him *Fakhr-i-Afghan* (Pride of the Afghans), and we shout this name in our meetings, processions or other public occasions.

The Pride of the Afghans commenced his activities and his ever-growing followers looked to him for guidance. The part that he had so long played among his people created an urge in him to study some of the other countries and understand the policies that they pursued to achieve their national objectives. So he planned to tour the Muslim States, who were then busy shaping their structures and trying to solve their problem. He undertook that tour in 1926. It was the same year when Sultan Ibn Saud of Arabia had called his Grand Conference at Mecca at the time of Haj to discuss and devise a uniform plan of action for the Musalmans throughout the world. Ghaffar Khan also attended that Conference and watched the deliberations of that unique assembly of Muslims from all over the Crescent. He utilised that 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 fiasco, owing to the peculiar attitude of the Indian Muslims. Badshah Khan performed his Haj and later proceeded to Iraq, Egypt, Palestine and some other parts of Arabia, and

tried to study the conditions in every country for himself. He met people in different Muslim States and gathered their impressions about his co-religionists in India and how much they detested them 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 wins her freedom then with her half of the world would become free, because to keep her in bondage, Great Britain had to enslave so many other States and utilise its vast resources for their slavery. And we know that Indian troops have not only been employed in the World Wars of 1914 and of to-day, but have been used on numerous occasions in Western Aisa, Africa and China. They have fought against the Afghans, Arabs, Iranians, Iraqis, and the Turks, and helped to secure 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. And if we are despised to-day, surely the fault lies with us.

5. KHUDAI KHIDMATGAR MOVEMENT.

PREVIOUS to his 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 utilise his experiences for the betterment of his people. He had seen

for himself the wave of nationalism enveloping the Musalmans and how the Pan-Islamic idea was being replaced by an aggressive form of nationalism all over the Muslim world. The Khilafat régime 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 Raza Shah and Ibn Saud, each marching independently of the other. He had seen the growth of a purely Egyptian Party under Zaghlol Pasha, which was far from being communal and had embraced all the different communities in its fold. All those observations produced their effects on this man who was soon to become one of the living symbols of Hindu-Muslim unity in this unfortunate land of Hindustan. Those reactions have proved their impress, and in spite of so much confusion in the country over communal problem, Ghaffar Khan stands firm like a rock and feels that sooner or later, his policy would turn out to be the best for the Muslims in India.

Till 1926, Ghaffar Khan's work had been confined mostly to educational and varied social activities, but soon after his return from that tour, he decided to give a new blend to his undertakings, and after consulting his colleagues, he laid the foundations of a party known as the *Pukhtoon Jirga* (the Afghan Youth League). Its members were mostly drawn from those who had received their education in the schools run by the leader, and also those who had worked with him so long. So, from 1927, he commenced his new career, which was based on educational, social, and political foundations. He also published a journal in Pushto known as

Pukhtoon, which contained his articles and other matter for political education of the masses.

The new organisation grew rapidly and Fakhri-Afghan calculated the effects of his various steps. As the movement expanded so did its scope, and within two years, it was felt that it had to be further strengthened and a more vital organisation had to be envisaged. Therefore, in 1929, he set up a volunteer section to 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 to the party :—

- (1) I solemnly and truthfully put forth my name for enrolment.
- (2) I shall sacrifice my life, wealth and comfort in the cause of the motherland.
- (3) I shall refrain from party friction, grudges, haughtiness, and shall side with the oppressed against the oppressor.
- (4) I shall not enrol myself in any other party nor shall I tender an apology when my party goes to war with the alien rule.
- (5) I shall always obey my officers.
- (6) I shall always follow the path of non-violence.
- (7) I shall serve humanity alike and my object will be to win freedom for my country and religion.
- (8) I shall always try to be good and be just in my dealings.
- (9) I shall never expect a reward for the services rendered in His name.
- (10) All my endeavours would be to please God, irrespective of any personal motive, gain or show.

The above pledge and the following Party Song will give the reader some idea about the basic foundations of this powerful Pathan movement and the manner it was conducted since its inception in 1929. The sudden rising of the Frontier people in 1930 and its continuation in the subsequent years, had produced many apprehensions and misgivings among certain classes in this country, so much so that some people in India suspected the *bona fides* of this movement on the Frontier—forgetting and ignoring the great sacrifices of the Pathans at the altar of the Indian Freedom Movement.

The Party Song that was sung by the volunteers during their marches :—

We are the army of God,
Of death and wealth care-free,
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.

As would be evident from the above principles of the *Khudai Khidmatgars*, the real object of this movement was to organise the Pathans, and uniting the warring elements, lead them to adopt a healthy and peaceful life. In this connection I remember having heard Badshah Khan declare once : " I have carefully glanced over the past history of my people. It is full of victories and other heroic tales, but there are some drawbacks too. Internal feuds and personal jealousies always snatched away the gains achieved through their sacrifices. They were dispossessed by inherent defects only and never by any other power, for who could oppose them in the battle-field ? My desire was to make my people feel one in everything that lay before them, and I wanted to organise the Pathans morally, socially, politically and economically, and through the agency of this movement produce such people who would enhance the honour and prestige of this country."

The new party appealed to the imagination of the masses, and soon a net-work of its branches spread in the four-corners of the province. The volunteers dressed themselves in uniforms, which varied in form and colour at every place and with every man. It depended on how much they could spare to acquire one, and therefore, some were dressed smartly while others had simply coloured their ordinary costumes with a brick-dye, which was very cheap, and this, in the course of evolution, led to the adoption of the red colour, which made some people think that the Pathan movement had been instigated and financed by the Reds of Russia,—this displayed the self-centred and unimaginative mentality. They could not understand the significance of the vast changes that had taken place everywhere in the world. They only knew how to exploit the people and ignore their interests.

The Khudai Khidmatgar Movement included certain novel features, which needed elucidation, and in order to explain and impress those points on his followers, Ghaffar Khan staged dramas that embodied the spirit of those ideas. He had to educate the brave and reckless Pathans for the path of Non-Violence and teach them to act fearlessly and steadfastly in the face of force whenever it might be employed against them. His people needed practical lessons and the dramas furnished these. Later he undertook an extensive tour of the province and tried to acquaint the northern highlanders with the new method of warfare. He was lucky in finding an excellent team of selfless workers, who carried out his instructions in their respective areas. It was not before long that his followers had to pass through the

test of time, when they were caught in the meshes of a struggle and gave a good account of themselves to those who watched their new rôle with interest.

6. THE TRAGEDY OF 1930-32.

FOR about twenty years, Ghaffar Khan had worked, suffered, and urged his men towards the attainment of their goal. The fire of his personality had burned and stung his countrymen, and had taken them out of a state of lassitude and disorganisation. His efforts had worked to transform them into a living and compact body—quite prepared to face their trial. He had filled their hearts with hope and had infused them to throw away their yoke of bondage. His slow, determined, and vigorous uphill work was to face a conflict much sooner than many had expected against elements that had grown so indifferent to his cause.

The period is marked for the various acts of brutalities, and like the year 1920, the years 1930 to 1932, were also unique and thrilling in the national life of our country. Those years watched the bursting of a powerful volcano that had been kept hidden and cut off from the other forces in India. The Frontier lined itself in the Indian struggle for freedom and took all by surprise. Its forces ran along the strong current of Indian nationalism. And yet the movement was neither sudden nor vague. 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, and had all along tried to

mould his movement on a par with the rest of the country. And though he joined the organisation at a much later date, when events forced him towards it, he had been an admirer of the aspirations that were represented by that body. His partial participation had influenced him to act likewise and adjust the structure of his party on lines with the Indian National Congress.

The Lahore Session of the Congress held in December 1929, under its lion-hearted 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 to it as delegates and visitors. That session was a notable one as the creed of independence was then adopted among scenes of great popular enthusiasm. The Pathans were powerfully affected by this and the delegates from the rest of India were equally impressed by these men from the Frontier. It was a mutual discovery of each group by the other and the bond of comradeship in a common cause grew up. The visitors from the Frontier carried back the infections of a full-blooded nationalism : yearning and struggling for freedom to their own province.

The Non-Co-operation Movement of 1930 presented Fakhr-i-Afghan an occasion to vindicate the honour of his people, and he plunged into it with his innumerable Khudai Khidmatgars. In taking that step he faced hardships himself, while he saw his followers faced with worst form of tribulations. The account of those days will furnish a basis for the future historian to

make an estimate of those who ruled this 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 the Garhwali Regiment performed a deed of glory by refusing to fire on their peaceful and unarmed countrymen. That day, known as the Martyrs' Day, has since been solemnly celebrated year after year all over the province.

On the 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, which is an insignificant cantonment in the Frontier. This was done in order to avoid public attention. He was then removed from the theatre of coming operations and taken to the Gujrat Central Jail. His journal, the *Pukhtoan*, was declared illegal and its publication stopped. This was followed by the memorable trial of his gallant comrades.

The two years that followed were strange and astounding, and form the period of darkness that had overtaken the province as a whole. Shootings, beatings and other acts of wild 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, because worse than that was the fate of our people here. The memory of what Mr. Jameson has done in the sub-division 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 nearby. I was once narrating these facts to Jawaharlalji, 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 us." 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 during 1930-32. Who can forget them?" The Government officers used to make our men run through cordons of soldiers, who kicked and injured them with their rifles and bayonets. The sad incidents of Peshawar, where Mr. IceMonger, the then Inspector-General of Police, kicked little ones lying injured on the Qissa Khwani Street and prevented Dr. Khan Sahib from rendering first aid to those injured by their bullets, have received some publicity through the Patel Report. At Kohat our men used to be beaten and later thrown into the cold stream running through the city during the bitter winter months. Same was the case in Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, where the Khudai Khidmatgars were subjected to all manners of hardships. Those happenings had turned the whole province

into a seething human volcano, while it had presented 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 their 'gallantry' and most of our injured, disabled, and castrated exist even to-day to remind us about it.

The residents of Masho Khel and Sheikh Mohamadi in the Peshawar district will always think of their suffering when they watch the British Army of Occupation celebrate the New Year Day, because it was on the same day in 1931, when their villages had been raided by troops who had made life hell for them. There are also the villagers of Takkar in the Mardan district, who had watched the murder of their beloved comrades on the 28th of May, 1930, while the residents in Swabi had seen their fields destroyed and wheat stocks being ruined by pouring oil into them. Our men were thrown from house tops in Utmanzai and their houses set on fire. The office of the Khudai Khidmatgars was burnt and its structure still stands in its burnt glory in the bazar of Utmanzai. Once when these stories were being discussed in an Army mess at Peshawar, an English captain, who had seen the firing at Peshawar and a few other places in the Frontier, remarked: "The whole show was an awful butchery."

Let us now examine how these inflictions were faced by the people. The true character and nature of these brave fighters was displayed by their stubborn will, sincere effort, and their staunch faith in the man they followed. The past of these people was full of heroism and they had a glorious legacy of so many centuries behind them, but their new struggle was

directed on novel methods, which went to prove that the lapse of these centuries had only worked to fertilise their soil for a still richer crop. The fearless struggle put up by the Pathans was unique as well as admirable. It was a treat to have watched these people encounter danger. Ghaffar Khan's labour of love had produced those thrilling results, and his efforts had completely vitalised the people. It had roused all sections and they looked to him for inspiration. Their love had crossed all limits and the people began considering Fakhr-i-Afghan a saint. The wells, where he drank water, were emptied by the rush of the crowds, who used the water for curing all sorts of diseases. They believed that his prayers would bring rains and children would be cured by his touch. He had infused a new spirit among his countrymen and roused them from their slumber: to ignore this, would have implied ungratefulness on their part!

7. MORE ABOUT 1930.

THE Khudai Khidmatgars, who had been subjected to so much misery during the crisis of 1930, were declared agents of Moscow by the local authorities and it was attempted to segregate the movement from the rest of India. The old jealousies existing between Tsarist Russia and Great Britain were too well known, and though that rivalry had become a thing of the past for us, the imperialists saw greater danger in the new régime. They realised that by calling the Khudai Khidmatgars Russian agents, they would easily incite their diehard conservatives to allow them to crush and cripple 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 think that it will solve our problems. Our admiration is based on its intrinsic value and not owing to its acceptance by Russia. It has now been proved beyond doubt that there was no alliance or even contact between the Khudai Khidmatgars and the Soviet Union, and the government was wrong in suspecting this. 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 were gagged behind prison bars and the great bulk of the population was passing through a severe trial. From out of that chaos, three of our comrades, who had not been arrested, left the province and went out to approach the Muslim leaders for help and assistance. They narrated their stories to them. The Muslim leaders, to a man, refused to do anything with these people, who had chosen to oppose their 'benefactors.' They met Mian Fazl-i-Husain and sought his advice. The celebrated constitutionalist told them to leave all hopes of getting any help from the Muslim leaders and try to oppose 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 Fazl-i-Husain knew where his co-religionists stood and what way their loyalties flowed. His advice was accepted by the Frontier delegates, and having lost all hope of winning over the Muslim leadership, which shouts so loudly to-day, those three comrades went and knocked at the Congress door, which was opened with good grace and they found

willing supporters, waiting to do their best for their comrades of a common struggle.

The Frontier delegates discussed the plans with the Congress leaders, and having informed Badshah Khan, who was then in the Gujrat Jail, it was decided to affiliate the Frontier Movement with the Indian National Congress, which to an American friend seemed "a joint stock company, in which Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi held all the shares!" And the new chapter began!

The alliance produced its effect within a few days of its inception, and the Congress took up our case in right earnest. During the same period, our province was visited by Mian Fazl-i-Husain, who studied the situation at first hand and we are told that during the Gandhi-Irwin talks, he had taken a favourable attitude regarding the lifting of the ban from Ghaffar Khan and the withdrawal of the Special Ordinances here. The Congress appointed the late Sardar V. J. Patel to enquire into the happenings at Peshawar, and his report, though proscribed soon after its publication, did find a way out and some idea of the English policy on the Frontier was studied therein. This unity of ours has been responsible for the rise of a new picture that has been developing ever since and which has produced so much goodwill among the different communities inhabiting this great country. It further resulted in the release of our leader and the other workers during the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

The Pact resulted in the suspension of the Movement and the release of our workers from jails. Fakhr-i-Afghan was once again free to establish contact

with the masses and keep them in readiness for any eventuality. But the terms of the Pact were soon violated and the officials openly flouted the principles of that agreement. They began interfering with the normal activities of the Khudai Khidmatgars, and within a few months of that Pact, thousands of our comrades found themselves back to their cells in the various jails, while the two Khan Brothers were removed to the Hazaribagh Jail in Bihar, where they remained till the end of 1934.

8. 1930 TO 1937.

INDIA was busy struggling for its right to self-determination and thousands of her sons and daughters were undergoing their trials, when the Government called their henchmen among the Indian people to the First Round Table Conference. As was expected, that Conference avoided facing the real issues and raised false and minor problems, and so nothing serious came as a result of those long deliberations except the raising of the Frontier to the status of a Governor's Province. It ceased to be "a gun-powder magazine, unsuited for any scheme of democratic government." It reflected a big change in the outlook of the British Government, to whom Sir John Simon had suggested the maintenance of the *status quo*. We wonder how Sir John Simon took that happening, while we realise that the cause for this development had been the blood and sacrifice of our people.

In 1933 the Frontier became a Governor's Province and elections were held for the Provincial Council. That election was boycotted by the majority

of the population on the ground that the constitution granted was not what they wanted and, also, because most of their trusted leaders were still behind the bars. Only a few casted their votes ; and at Charsadda, only one single person recorded his verdict. The results were evident and a most reactionary set of persons were returned to the newly formed Council. An Indian Cabinet came into existence, with six Englishmen and the late Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan as the solitary Indian forming its structure. That was a 'big step' towards our goal of independence, and it is said Mr. Churchill was not at all happy over that 'magnanimous generosity' of his government.

Events moved quite rapidly, and Gandhiji, having twisted the movement in different directions, called off the Non-Co-operation campaign. This led to some settling down, and one by one our Indian leaders were discharged from their jails. Ghaffar Khan was released in 1934, but served with a notice not to enter his province or even the Punjab. The same order applied to his elder brother, Dr. Khan Sahib. The ban had, however, one pleasant aspect, since it gave the Pathan leader an occasion to acquaint himself with the conditions in India, while the Indian masses got an opportunity to have a look at the Frontier's symbol. During those days he toured a little in Bengal, Bihar and Bombay, and was everywhere greeted by admiring crowds ; whom his wonderful feats had thrilled a few years ago. His exile from the Frontier drew some of the Indian leaders close to him, and above all, Gandhiji was particularly attracted by him. This friendship and understanding has grown ever since, and they have become inseparable in Indian

politics. It is amazing that in spite of their totally different background, these two leaders should think so much alike. Their agreement on a vital subject like Non-Violence makes their rôle even more interesting, and lends the subject all the more 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 contested at a time when he was not allowed to enter his province. His absence was utilised by the Frontier Government and they let loose their frenzied efforts to get him defeated. But those endeavours could not mislead our people and the Doctor swept the polls. This victory showed once again the implicit faith of the Pathans in their leaders and the organisation 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 presented a unique picture of the administration. He remained there till the General Elections, when he was elected to his Provincial Assembly and asked to lead the Congress Party at home. At the time of his leaving 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 President of the Assembly, Sir

Abdur Rahim, joined that chorus. Paying his tribute to Dr. Khan, he said: "In you the House will be missing a very good shot." And those were his 'shots' at all the mischief-mongers and other upstarts in the Frontier.

During those years of exile, the Frontier Chief led a quiet life near Gandhiji at Wardha, and except for a little touring, he used to spend most of his time with his new comrade. In 1934, he was invited to address an association of the Young Christians at Bombay, which he accepted. Ghaffar Khan confined his speech merely to happenings in the Frontier and gave an account of the various atrocities in his own modest way. And that speech soon led to his arrest and he was sentenced to two years' confinement. It is said that when the 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 his father was, 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 romantic and wild, desperately passionate reception; a welcome born out of the intense affection that had

been rekindled on the news of his return. Ghaffar Khan came, but he was a sullen and huddled figure, and in his face one could find the deepening and the undeviating misery that had been inflicted on him during those years. He came to steer the ship once again through the turbulent and rapidly flowing currents and try to launch her into a befitting harbour and on to fresh fields of fame. There was that weakness in his massive figure, but his courage was undaunted. His reception was followed by a mass meeting at Peshawar and 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 looks at us for still greater sacrifices. I am sure all of you realise this. As for my part, let me tell you once again that I will continue to struggle for my liberty till we break through the foreign yoke and set up a truly 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 triumph. After twenty-five years of endless labour and suffering, where he had worked day and night, Fakhr-i-Afghan was watching his plant in an artificial bloom and occupying a place of partial authority in a tract so unique in its importance. It was the result of his courage, determination, skill, and judgment that had made his under-fed, ill-equipped, and rugged Khudai Khidmatgars to take

their overdue share at last.

9. A STUDY

THE Indian National struggle has drawn remarkable specimens of humanity to its ranks, and each one of them has played an admirable part towards the reconstruction of his country. But no event or individual has been more unexpected and more striking than the appearance of these Pathans and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan on the political map of India. There has been a certain amount of confusion and misunderstanding about the Frontier Khan and his movement, and I cannot do him better justice than already done to him by Jawaharlal Nehru, who, writing in his famous 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 feet 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 he suffered from his long and frequent imprisonments. A magnificent specimen of humanity, truly royal in his appearance and character. The long sufferings have left their traces, and the deep furrows on his face and the pale, sunken eyes speak their pathetic tales. He is calm and resolute, truthful and clear, sincere and upright. Badshah Khan is not vague, vain or weak, but instead, very exact, modest and firm in his mission. His manners are simple, charming, 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 the people who have impressed him most, is that great and noble revolutionary, Lenin. I remember him remarking once: "Read history and you will discover how power made most of the great men loose their balance. Napoleon, after all his hardships and promises, assumed monarchy and tried to retain it for his family. Raza Shah and Nadir Shah got intoxicated by it when their turn came. They could have easily followed the Prophet and the Caliphs for showing such selflessness, but instead of them this example was repeated by Lenin, who avoided becoming Supreme when it was within his reach to do so."

Fakhr-i-Afghan is a man of action and loves practical politics. He is shy to face crowds and rarely speaks outside the Frontier. But he is a fine orator

in Pushto and the words coming from the depth of his heart and supplemented 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 stakes and scaffolds, battles and hatred, misery and degradation, and is working to find a better substitute. He is after the comradeship of the unsophisticated, poverty-stricken millions, who, by their hunger and nakedness present a vivid and appalling spectacle of our national degeneration, and whom he wishes to liberate and lift up from their utter ruin. His own rest, he expects somewhere else !

As already pointed out, Ghaffar Khan began his career as an educationist with the Haji Sahib of Turangzai, and realising that the political and religious traditions of his people were inextricably connected, he took and pursued the lofty path of both a politician and a saint. In this endeavour his religious education and its deep impress on his character along with his acquired political genius, made him shoulder the task in a manner peculiarly his own.

History tell us of statesmen saints, and if I may be allowed to make a somewhat sweeping remark, then it plainly is that unless true religion becomes one of the guiding factors in politics, the recurrent cycle of history, of wars and domination of the strong over the weak, will always mock the fairest achievements of all that mankind has so laboriously built up in the course of so many centuries. We have to realise that as 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 created to suit the exigencies of the movement, the salvation of the world seems a fantastic dream. And more especially, when it is suggested to be solved by the 'New World Order' and the 'Rights of Man.' These terms sound so pious, but when we think of the background that envelops their originators, we are compelled to feel that they represent the views of those who wish to make some other League of Nations, where Britain should very modestly hold the balance in her hand and wait till the entire structure is once again toppled down by the rise of some other totalitarian growth. In contrast to this, we have the example of the orthodox Caliphs, and more especially of Caliph Umar, who had so much symbolised the opposing elements of Church and State, and had carved out an extremely harmonious society. His memory brings a glorious record of human conduct before our eyes and displays the balance between doing good and remaining good. What is there in Milton, Iqbal and Tagore that attracts us more than a bevy of poets these countries have produced? Why is Cromwell, in spite of his meagre achievements, so much praised by his English historian? What is there that has made Mahatma Gandhi what he is today? It is, if I understand aright, the bearing of an intensely religious outlook in life and politics, the divorce of which from one another leads on the one hand to the renunciation of the world like the *Sufis* and the *Sanyasis*, and on the other to the emergence of the ugly spectacle of imperialism.

We must realise that we are existing in an age of

grave social disorder. The present civilization is both topheavy and lopsided, and in order to lead a happy life, we must find out a balance. Both ends and means are important and neither can be ignored. The West has shown its failure, and it is said that those whom God wishes to destroy He first makes mad. I have digressed from my point and the description of the Pathan hero by branching off into a consideration of the great difference between the philosophies of India and Europe, but we have to understand this and appreciate the value and utility of our ideas.

Ghaffar Khan is no politician in the technical sense of the word and hates the fuss that it involves. But he knows his job and is clear about his stand in the political arena of this vast sub-continent. He has seldom suffered from indecision and when the Poona Offer of 1939 caused confusion in the Congress ranks, this straightforward fighter knew his mind and expressed it clearly and forcibly, even resigning from the Working Committee of the Congress. To him the Offer was not a light-hearted issue : he was pledged to Non-Violence, and even apart from this, he told us : “ We are Khudai Khidmatgars and our aim is to win freedom. But we are also pledged to serve humanity alike, and I do not understand why we should go and fight another’s battle in order to attain that goal. That freedom would be a farce and will hardly 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 be dragged into any wicked combination for that purpose.” He

considered the Poona Offer harmful, and instead of wasting his time over academic discussions, he preferred to resign. His action seemed hasty to some, and as Jawaharlalji once pointed out to me : " I wish he had waited and not taken that decision, because, after all we have all to pull on together, and though we cannot foretell events, they are bound to overtake us at any moment." His stand, as was natural, had the full support of the Frontier people, and 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 step and take up its old position. It was then that one could notice the great difference, and to me Ghaffar Khan seemed so unique among his comrades. Rarely had I seen a man with such an idealism for the cause in which he believed and a faith in its accuracy. His purity and simplicity made him look exalted and his steadfastness to his ideal became quite evident. He was unwilling to compromise with it at any cost.

Badshah Khan hates to be idle and one must be very lucky to find him unoccupied. A visit to him usually implies some sort of undertaking on the fields or anywhere that he may be, and he succeeds in persuading even the most obstinate visitors to do some manual work. He feels happy among his poor countrymen and tries to influence the rural population as one of them. His long association with the masses has given him an 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 the people 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 would die for them when the time comes for that.

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 accordingly. He has read a good deal of Islamic History and makes use of it in his speeches, which have gone to make his followers appreciate the true spirit of Islam and live up to those standards. He is a great believer in God and seldom misses his prayers or a fast during the thirty days of Ramazan. He dislikes long discussions and meaningless talk and insists on 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, as long as we do not establish a truly People's Government in this country, where every community gets equal opportunities for expansion, you will find me struggling for that freedom, no matter who dominates the scene then. The Prophet had his handicaps, but he never gave up hope, and was finally successful. He has left that lesson behind, and if we face our difficulties similarly, I do not see why we should ever fail. The cause of freedom is always just and a fight in that direction always noble. It behoves us to lay our lives for this." He utters these words with deep convictions 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 the fair sex also. He frequently tells his workers to treat them well and derive a lesson from what the Prophet had said about 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 the 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 two wheels of a big chariot, and unless our movement has been adjusted, our carriage will never move, and even if it does, there will be a constant fear of some type 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 lays at the feet of the mother. But in order to secure that position again, you must exert and prepare yourself for the same status. 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 deprives half of its population of an equal share in its orbit."

I have already pointed out his simplicity. He has developed a wonderful capacity to put up cheerfully with all the difficulties that it often involves. His tours, which are so frequent and extensive, are conducted in a very rough manner. He has made it his practice to visit every village, and to do that he has to walk long distances, when he himself carries his clothing, charkha and the necessary papers and such other small things. I have done enough of touring with him and have watched him cover twenty to

twenty-five miles a day on foot, delivering three or four lectures of an hour's duration each. His great vitality, even at the age of fifty-two, seems amazing and stands him in good stead. On reaching a village he undertakes to clean his abode and such other places like the mosque, school or some particularly dirty spot. He usually halts with his poor followers and until his retirement to sleep after saying the last prayer, he is surrounded by his village comrades. His life in his own new village of Shahibagh, where he looked after the fields and attended to such other domestic affairs, was not easy either. Once, while busy repairing his wall, he injured his foot. Lately he has spun sufficient yarn to make himself two pairs of clothing, which he thinks would suffice for a year. In his village home at Shahibagh, he was visited by people from all over the province as well as from other parts of India, and it was the tough fate of his son, Abdul Wali Khan, to look after his guests coming at all hours of the day. Ghaffar Khan attends to his mail when he is not touring and has proved to be a better correspondent than Dr. Khan Sahib, who is said to destroy his post without bothering to open and read the contents! Once I mentioned this fact to Doctor Sahib, who at once retorted: "But I always write to my wife." And we know that he seldom leaves her alone to create such an occasion! He has at last fulfilled his dream of establishing a centre for his activities and has recently settled down in a straw shed on the bank of a local river at Sardayab in the Peshawar district. The new centre has been named *Markaz-i-Ala*, and will be the headquarters of the Frontier Nationalist Movement.

The list of his habits is small, and even that he tries to curtail. He is fond of listening to the radio and then comment on the things heard. He reads a little, and has contributed a good deal for his Pushto journal, whose publication was stopped ever since the beginning of the last Movement. He hates backbiting and stops those who indulge in it before him. He is fond of children and is opposed to taking tea as a habit. He is quiet and frugal, and in his work he is most energetic. In his human relations, he cannot bear the stiff and the dry : his tenderness breaks through for the weak and the oppressed. He is a severe judge of others, but more especially of himself. He is born to be a leader and every inch a man.

I have mentioned his fearlessness and determination for work. In this connection I am reminded of a happening that took place in not a very distant past. In January 1941, I was touring with him in the southern districts of the Frontier, where, thanks to this government, things were, and are still, very insecure. In order to reach and fulfil the extensive tour programme, we had to travel at all hours in areas where the freebooters and the highway robbers frequently held sway. The people used to ask their hero not to risk his life like that and abstain from going to the danger zones, but his one answer to their entreaties used to be : "There have been attempts* on my life in 1931, but God had destined otherwise, and I survived to wake my people from their slumber. I have done my duty and the plant which I had planted in 1912, has grown

* In 1931, the Afridis killed a fugitive, Qazi, on the charge that he had been hired to assassinate Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

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 avoid my responsibilities. We have all to die one day, and it is better if it comes when one is engaged doing good to His creation.”

10. THE MUSALMANS DRIFT ASIDE

IN India we hear so much about a clash of ideas and lack of unity among the major communities. The different parties are charged for avoiding to face realities and arrive at some settlement. Where lies the fault? Much has been said and we have heard a good deal about charges and counter-charges by the opposing parties. The events of last few years stand so vivid before our eyes and it seems as if our present disputes cannot be solved without a major operation in the whole country—either against the State or among ourselves. Muslim leadership has of late succeeded in separating Muslim sentiments, from national aspirations and a gulf has been created between the two important political parties. The cause of this development is attributed to the injustices done to the Musalmans during the time of Congress Ministries. This argument sounds quite fatal to us on the Frontier, because are we to sidetrack and protect ourselves from these internal opponents and leave the real enemy aside? So let me proceed with this background 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 many, and I make bold to say that for the Musalmans, they are even more. During the establishment of the British rule in India, the Muslims were the worst sufferers in the beginning as well as in the following two decades. They had been dispossessed of their rule by the British invaders and were treated as suspects, while their own superiority complex prevented them from approaching the new masters 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, when the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan gave them a lead and pushed them towards the threshold of this alien rule in India. Having made a late start, they naturally find others ahead of them even to-day. Our mistake at that time was a delayed liking for the British, while the recent policy seems a delayed dislike for 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 the real opponent, the Muslim leaders are making their followers obstacles in the way of a joint struggle for freedom that has at last been launched by the Indian Congress. It is difficult to foretell the outcome of the present movement, but great movements and legitimate human urges can hardly be crushed, and whatever might happen, and whosoever may oppose, we are bound to reach our goal.

The Frontier Province, under its beloved Chief, has lined itself with the forceful nationalist movement and has thrown all his weight in that direction. This attitude has been criticised by most of the

Muslim politicians and they accuse Abdul Ghaffar Khan for misleading the Pathans in keeping them under the Congress banner. This is a misstatement of facts and avoids facing the reality, for who were responsible for that development? Our memory is not so short, and we remember each word that was spoken to those three delegates of ours seeking assistance from these Muslim Lions and Leopards championing the cause of Islam against the Hindus, but who were afraid to help us a few years ago. And if such an occasion arises again, we have no doubt as to what they will do again! It has not been only the past, but even the subsequent years were irritating. When the Muslim leadership started organising their community, they refused and ignored to take this compact and solid Muslim block, represented by the Khudai Khidmatgars, into confidence, and instead, tried to create disruptions in our province by pitching the defeated reactionaries against the popular movement of the masses. It is not my desire to write anything against those who 'champion the cause of Islam' within our province, and I leave it to the gallant people of the Frontier to speak for themselves at the opportune moment as to who is on the righteous path.

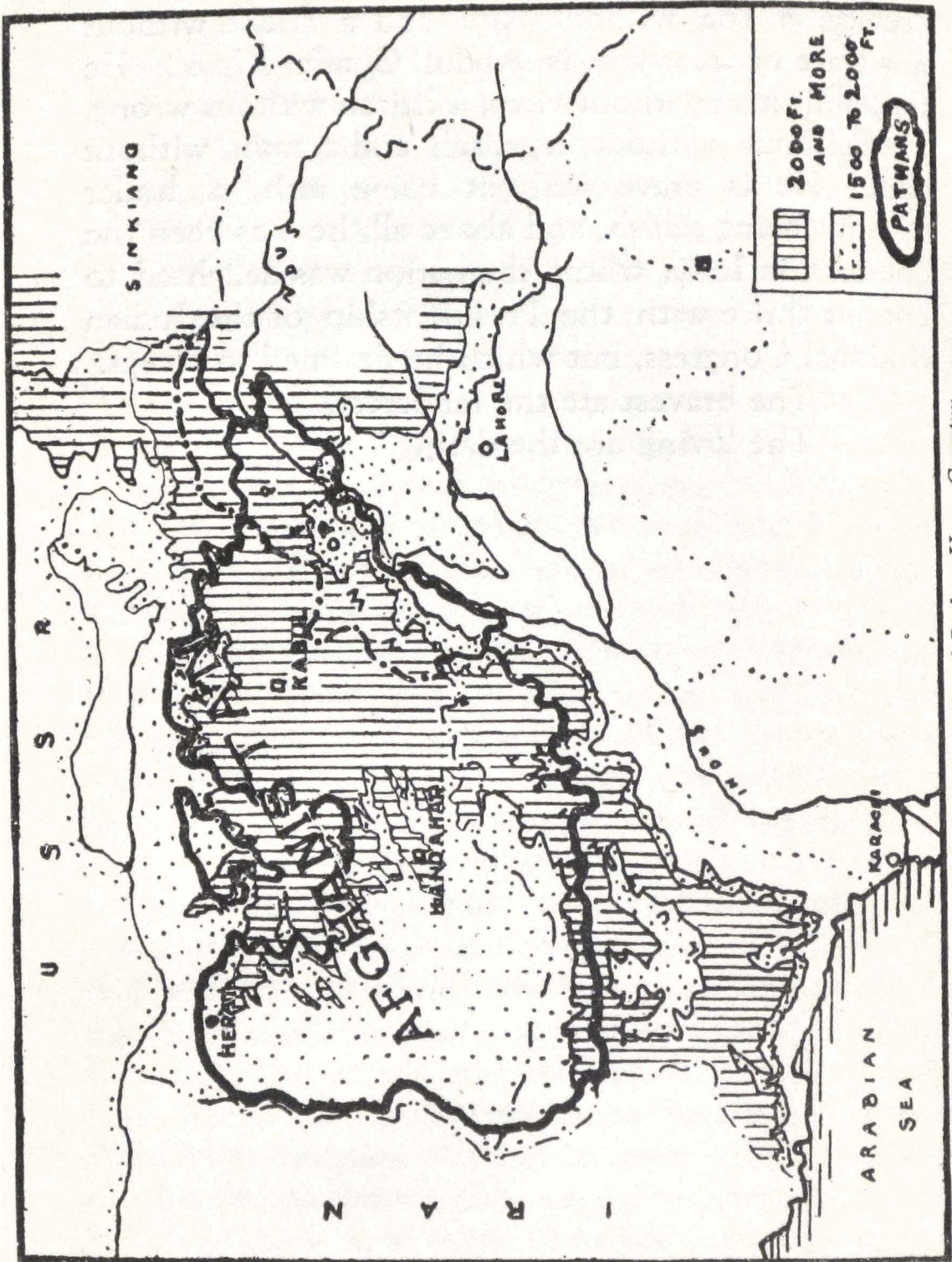
And while I write these pages, my mind goes to my beloved leader, who is busy moulding his followers and influencing them to prepare themselves for the coming ordeal. He has resigned from the Congress Working Committee and is devoting all his energies towards the purification and organisation of his movement. He is once again on the alert and marking time ; having assumed the reins of leadership

to lead his people in this great struggle before us all Ghaffar Khan has established his headquarters at Sardayab and is about to launch an offensive for securing his overdue rights. These last two years have been most tiring and exhausting for him, and it would not be too much to say that he has been to every village and every house—if not every man, with his message and doctrine of truth and peace. His endless strife towards reconstruction of the society in his province reminds us about the memorable words of the great Chinese Leader, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, who once told his comrades: “If we perspire more in times of peace, we shall bleed less in times of war,” and 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, whether you like it or not, and will cast its effects on us. The English may leave us any time, because other powers have proved much stronger and are challenging their authority everywhere. What are you going to do: wait for someone else to come and dominate this country? For God’s sake leave the mentality of that woman who always seeks a new husband, and become manly yourself. It is better to die rather than accept another’s rule. As long as there is breath in us, we must be determined to keep our homes safe from invasion or interference. We cannot continue to be slaves. The very idea is revolting and irritating and it is a crime to be such. If you want to please Him and make your own lives happy, then I ask you to awake, arise, or be for ever fallen.”

What a Muslim without bigotry, a fighter without

cruelty, a foe without hate and a friend without any trace of treachery 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 without being rash, a leader without being selfish, and above all, he has been the one man in India whom the nation was delighted to honour thrice with the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress, but which he declined to accept.

‘The bravest are the tenderest,—
The loving are the daring.’



Physical Features of Pathan Home Country.

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 in its struggle against foreign rule, round which cluster satellites among the Indian people. This India of ours, which for generations has been dominated by outside elements, 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 harder tasks ahead. Those struggles were often suspended, but at no stage was the real struggle abandoned, and when the time came again the march was always resumed with enthusiasm. Each pause helped us to study the situation and consolidate ourselves. Each stage of the conflict was a stepping stone to all that followed and helped to strengthen, energise and invigorate our people. The goal came nearer and nearer, and to-day it is not only visible but within our reach. There were some who criticised and ridiculed Congress methods, but even they had to recognise the success that came in their train. The Congress continued to pursue its course with courage, and tried

to oppose the alien government as well as the internal reactionary forces 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 that Act and prove to the world the undisputed support which 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 been. Foreign control and the protection of reactionary and vested interests continued as before. We opposed this Act, because it was a consolidation 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 each group every opportunity to press its own point of view. We had made it clear that everything 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 in any particular matter, this was to 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 take place then there would be

conflict and some decision would emerge from that. At any rate the problem that is considered intractable to-day would be solved one way or the other.

The constitutional struggle came, and the Khudai Khidmatgars plunged into it with hope and confidence. They faced difficulties, but succeeded in defeating most of the strong pillars of the bureaucracy. The electorate was confined to a bare ten per cent of our population, which went against the Congress which was even more popular among the remaining 90 per cent. Nevertheless, we approached the people, and upset the cherished plans of the entrenched supporters of the Government; the communalists, vested interests, and big landlords, who had been nursed by the Government. Had the other ninety per cent been asked to cast their votes, the victory of the Congress would have been still more remarkable for the masses were even nearer to the Congress than the people who went to the polls. These masses yearned for a change from 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 was especially deplorable. The leader of the Pathans, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, was not allowed to enter the province and conduct those elections personally. His absence was fully utilised and exploited by his opponents by circulating fantastic stories about him to poison our minds. Jawaharlal Nehru, who fought those elections throughout the country on behalf of the Congress, was not permitted to visit this 'mysterious land.' The entire official machinery was so planned as to

leave no chance for the success of the Khudai Khidmatgar candidates. The District Magistrates put restrictions in the way of our nominees and rejected the nomination papers of the Congress candidates on one pretext or another. The constituencies were so formed and divided as to suit the needs of those who opposed the Red-Shirts. The authorities used pressure to coerce the people and force them to oppose 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 continued and its flag, which soon came to represent the party in power, remained an unlawful symbol.

We had these handicaps, yet the Congress carried on its mission with indefatigable energy. Its leaders tried to harness all the forces at their disposal and give a fight to the influential elements in the province. It held meetings, big and small, and approached the people individually. It explained the significance of the impending contest and warned them about the part they had to play. Hundreds and thousands of people came to these gatherings, and their faces displayed new hopes and urges, so long suppressed, and great expectations. They listened with eagerness to the words of their comrades and gave their willing allegiance to the cause, often pledging themselves in public to it also. Later, when the time of voting came, they marched to the polling-booths ignoring the free conveyances offered by the big landlords, and not caring for the threats or the pleading of the high or low officials. This casting of votes became a form of pilgrimage undertaken in

a solemn spirit. The sight of these Pathan crowds was remarkable in Mardan and the Swabi sub-divisions where the resolve of the people to throw off their yokes was at his highest. The biggest landlord was opposing the Khudai Khidmatgar candidate at Mardan. He was sure of his victory, and once told Dr. Khan Sahib that out of the six thousand votes to be polled, three thousand were already lying in his pocket. But the Doctor informed him that he had made a hole in his pocket, and by the time polling draws near, not a single vote would remain there. The statement was not mere wishful thinking, and we defeated him easily. At Swabi, Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan, the most powerful of all our opponents, was confident of his triumph, because the constituency was his home and had been a centre of his official benevolence. But he had to suffer an adverse fate. I need not describe the fall of so many other stalwarts in those contests. Like mushrooms, they have disappeared and left no trace of their hold on Frontier politics. In the same way, most of our other obstacles will be thrown down by the advancing tide of freedom, and Indian independence will be achieved similarly.

The elections had their failures also, and the Khudai Khidmatgars lost in some of the contests. They were usually defeated when they drifted from the right path and raised false issues. We saw, and objected in time, to some of our zealous candidates raising absurd and ridiculous slogans, and indulging in the personal criticism of their opponents, thereby compromising the dignity of their organisation and creating difficulties for the whole party. Such people

failed to realise that our problems were due to an oppressive system and not to individuals ; and without sufficient realism guiding our policies, we could never hope to overcome them. That was the most important lesson of these elections.

The General Elections were fought and won on fairly clear-cut policies that had been put 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 a manner, which even the deaf would have heard. Our people had said : " Leave us alone and get out of India, which you have sufficiently exploited and injured, reducing it to utter poverty and misery. We have had enough of you and we want to get on by ourselves." But this could 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 already pointed out, the government made every possible attempt to wipe out the Congress from this heroic land and again re-instate their own creatures to exploit the people. But the failure of the authorities in this evil venture was to them ' both unexpected and unfortunate.' The government raised a house of cards, and tried to keep it standing. But a slight touch brought down that entire structure and the house collapsed.

I have mentioned how this government refused permission to Ghaffar Khan to return to the Frontier and supervise the elections. So, in his unavoidable absence, the task of organising and opposing the reactionary elements was shouldered by his elder brother, Dr. Khan Sahib, who 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, however, made the best of his opportunities and succeeded in finding a fairly good team to work with. The experience he had then will no doubt help him in future.

Before the elections commenced, the All-India Congress Committee deputed Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Bhulabhai J. Desai, to visit the Frontier and assist the local workers to organise suitable election machinery and institute a Parliamentary Board of the local leaders to function in place of the suspended and unlawful Congress Committees. They were 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, so much so, that even the Islamia College, Peshawar, whose students and Principal, Mr. R. L. Holdsworth, were anxious to hear the eloquent Desai, failed to get the necessary permission. In this connection we are reminded of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah's visit to the Frontier. He came a little before these Congress leaders visited the province. Though Mr. Jinnah failed to elicit any support for his newly organised party owing to the refusal of the Pathans to be dragged into any other direction save the one they had chosen, the significance of the official attitude was clear. The policy continued, as before, to counter the 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 molestation from the authorities. We are told that even Mr. Jinnah felt embarrassed by this partiality on his behalf.

A tale of those days should include a picture of the official interference in the election campaigns. Yet it is difficult to put down the innumerable instances of this interference. It is also not worth while or desirable to revive old quarrels and criticise individuals who acted dishonestly or indulged in corrupt practices. A Deputy Commissioner forcibly prevented the voters from going to cast their votes, with the result that about six hundred people could not record their verdict. Another officer, in charge of conducting 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 a free hand to the polling officers to act in their interests. It is a pity that such a crowd flourished even under the new régime and did not meet with their deserts. The policy was inexcusable from every point of view and no amount of explanations can wash off the harm done to our movement through its application. Traitors deserve no sympathy, and only a foolish Indian Government will grant a fresh lease of life to a people who live to destroy our national aspirations to-day. The dawn of Indian freedom must follow the end 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 continual reminder of the behaviour of the authorities that flourished then.

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 cries 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 in the field. They said a temporary good-bye to their ease, sleep and repose, and became suddenly active with a passion and desperation born out of the painful realisation that the privileges so long usurped and grievously misused, were being snatched away from them. We saw them roaring and battling against an angry ocean, and taking refuge and shelter under religious slogans. These people had not only injured the honour and dignity of their faith, but had always shown eagerness to barter it for any trifling gain. 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 something amazing. This man, whose life-long sacrifice has carved out a place for the Pathans in the comity of awakened people, was accused of betraying the Musalmans. But, if to oppose domination and make a cause common with the other communities in India, means betrayal, then there is no room for argument left with the makers of such fantastic allegations.

THE CONGRESS GOVERNMENT OF THE N.-W. F. P.

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 in the legislatures and outside. Whatever this variation the policy remained one of non-co-operation and the Congress continued 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 after. This decision permitted the formation of these governments subject to certain assurances from the British Government that the Governors would not interfere with the discretions of the popular ministers. These assurances were not forthcoming for some months and so in many provinces the legislatures did not meet and provisional arrangements

were made to carry on the administration. Later some assurances were given which were considered on the whole satisfactory and Congress Governments started functioning.

Soon after the elections, it was evident that a nationalist ministry might be formed in the Frontier Province, and so the matter was taken up with the all-India leaders. The Congress deputed Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Rajendra Parshad 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 soon satisfied about the strength of the party and later, when other Congress Governments started functioning, allowed them to become 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 administration had been kept going for some months during which the Congress had refused to accept Office without an undertaking that the Special Responsibilities of the Governors would not be exercised. During the interval, the officials—high and low, good and bad, tried their best to gather together all the disgruntled elements and pitch them against the Khudai Khidmatgars. The different activities connected with that move and the memories of the various Unity Boards are still fresh in our minds. This government organised parties against the Khudai Khidmatgars, and where they did not exist, created them by so many means at their disposal. Thus the

policy of British Imperialism pursued its old course and tried to split up the nationalist movement and produce a balance between the rival forces. But all their hopes were dashed against the rock of our solidarity, and as soon as the Assembly was summoned, that self-appointed and unrepresentative set of people constituting the ministry of that time, were thrown out by the express will of the people voiced by their comrades.

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 sections of educated class, while to others he represented the British Government *in toto*. Through sheer dint of hard work and 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 laying and raising a lasting structure during his long tenure of service. It is said that in his heart he admired the ideal for which Ghaffar Khan struggled, but his strong loyalties dragged him in opposite channels. He was a great and enthusiastic champion for securing reforms for the Frontier and had advocated this cause admirably in the Round Table Conference. It was owing to this 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 all 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 had been its life-long Secretary. It can be said without fear of any contradiction that the institution was dear to his heart and that he never let down its cause throughout his long trusteeship. He often offended and troubled others for securing something for this 'child' of his. 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 a 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 was most astounding to those who had all along opposed the Congress and had attempted to annihilate it from this part of India. Its growth from the old barracks in jails to their new but insecure seats of authority disturbed many, and an important Englishman called the event 'both unfortunate and unexpected.' This happening compelled the Governor of our province, whom we know to be a gentleman, but who followed the traditional British policy to placate our people and lull them to sleep. For the first time in the history of British rule here, he invited the clerical staff of the Civil Secretariat to a tea-party in the Government House within a few days of the Congress rise to power. But no one was deceived by this change. Many of the clerks actually came and saluted their Premier, Dr. Khan Sahib, for the honour done to them. Such instances of creating gulfs and disuniting the Pathans are many and are well known to

us. The formation of a popular government was not at all a desirable event from the British point of view, and the typical imperialist mentality in regard to the situation thus created can be studied from the manner in which Sir William Barton viewed it.

Writing in his book, *India's North-West Frontier*, Sir Barton 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 above facts are true, but their representation reveals a particular state 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 sympathise with him in his state 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 conducted and discharged his duties. His frankness, selflessness and sincerity of purpose helped him to surmount his innumerable difficulties. His indiscriminating policy often offended some of us, though it was quite wonderful and praiseworthy in its form. His loyalty to the cause and his brother has been the keynote of his politics and has won him the affection of his comrades. Dr. Khan 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 his 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 break the unity of the masses as long as foreigners dominate the country.

As Premier of the Frontier Province, his rôle makes an interesting study. His methods of handling the affairs of the province were quite novel. He was easily approachable, and the holding of open-air interviews with hundreds of villagers and deciding their cases in his own way, seemed most thrilling. He was often approached for the redress of most amusing problems, 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, was proof of the faith that the people had in him. The woman succeeded in utilising his services, and Dr. Khan Sahib had to instruct the police station staff to find out the lost 'property,' which was done soon. He dealt with the Mercy Petitions in a rather peculiar fashion and never bothered about the implications involved. Once an old woman came and solicited mercy for her condemned son. The Premier asked her to go and persuade the deceased's mother to come to him and forgive the murderer. But the old lady insisted on his issuing orders by 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 to do anything in the matter." In dealing with such cases, he used to say: "Law is meant to give justice, but whenever it comes into contradiction 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 put between the rulers and the ruled, and took note of certain classifications. There is an Officers' Club at Peshawar, like so many of its kind in other important Indian Cantonments. The permanent membership of the club was not open to Indian officers until quite recently. The Congress assumed power and the Premier, realising the injustice of this distinction, gave out his intention of starting a new club for Indians of all communities and classes. The Army Circles feared the move and forthwith asked the Club authorities to relax their

rules or else the lease of the ground would be forfeited. This took no time : the demand was accepted and the colour distinction removed, which no longer stands as a bar for the rightful inhabitants to enjoy equality in their motherland. In this connection, the conduct of Col. A. H. Williams of the 16th Light Cavalry, which was an Indianised Unit, was most admirable. This Colonel had felt the arbitrary attitude of the Club and had stopped lending his cavalry horses to them for the regular Hunts organised for the British officers. Col. Williams' stand had greatly encouraged the Indian officers, and his worthy stand had upheld the self-respect of his subordinates.

The emergence of the Khudai Khidmatgars from their trial to this new position in life was a vital change in the history of the Frontier. It put our entire society to a different test. The happening infused new life, but also created peculiar tendencies, both inside and outside the province. Its invigorating aspect was followed by feelings of restlessness and doubt. Many people expected quick results and special benefits to themselves and the failure to realise them produced adverse effects. The limitations of this 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 failed and acted in a manner unbecoming of a great organisation. Often it seemed as if all the hardship and sacrifice of the Pathans would go waste in return for that trifling achievement. The authorities failed to realise fully their

obligations, and we saw the huge files of the bureaucratic administration absorbing the energies of our ministers and denying them the opportunities of attending to greater issues and solving the hardships 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 undesirable stages, and without a transitional period of stress and pain no society has achieved success. These were the drawbacks through which our people passed. Now is the time for preparation and realising 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 past serve as an eye-opener and infuse us with the capacity to acquire the necessary qualities for future undertakings. We must criticise, but our criticism must be based on realities and intended to guide us. It must not be directed against individuals, because that is not only wrong, but it misses its real mark.

Till 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 the 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 of progress and radical reconstruction of our people. This government itself had been pursuing a path of wrong doing and wrong thinking, and had never shown any desire to be just or human. And so naturally the change was both 'unfortunate and unexpected.'

The new ministry was full of zeal, ambition and reforming ideas. It filled our hearts with hope and made the people feel proud in a province where they had been treated so shabbily only a short time ago. 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 the powers they possessed and bothered our peasantry in many ways. All the nominated blocks were removed from the local bodies, and the villagers relieved of their duties as *Chowkidars*, which had assumed the form of forced labour. The *Inams* to those who were traitors to their own people were stopped and the rotten practice of *Nambardari* system was abandoned. Many measures of agrarian nature were taken up to give relief to the peasantry, while the ministry tried its utmost to promote primary education. Most of the available funds were utilised for opening new schools in the villages. These, thanks to the present Government, have again been stopped now. The ministers tried to infuse a spirit of public service among the officials and remove their corruption. But of all these benefits, the real achievement of those days was the development of a new outlook and the realisation of self-confidence among the Frontiermen. The knowledge of all that change

had filled the people with hope and determination to work for their ideals.

The difficulties which the ministry faced here surely existed elsewhere too. There was this fake constitution embodied in the Government of India Act 1935, but the Frontier had a dual system of administration, which added to our confusions and produced terrible anomalies. The dual system made the same District Magistrate act both under the provincial government as well as the irresponsible Centre at Delhi. In this way the transference of local officers from the province to these Agencies, created many complications. The process was a continuous embarrassment to the responsible ministry, because it helped to shield the black sheep among the Provincial Services by sending them to the Reserved areas under the Political Department of the Indian Government. We have already said that the tribal territory is held and controlled by the irresponsible executive at Delhi, and this separation acted as a great drawback for the successful prosecution of law and order in the province or the tribal belt. The ministry worked under these and many other difficulties, and in spite of their laborious and endless strife, they could not reach the end of the road. And then, there was the passive revolt of the services and their attempts not to fit in with the new apparatus. They flouted the vague assurances of not interfering in the day-to-day activities of the ministers, and seldom tried to assist their new masters. This reminds us how the wishes of the Premier to stop a gambling den in a village failed to produce any effect and even his own visits to the place proved

ineffective in inducing the official circles to take some steps. Such instances of deliberate refusals are not few, and often the behaviour of the services compelled us to direct the attention of our people towards this intrigue. Ghaffar Khan has often discussed this matter with his workers, and has recently declared his abhorrence of repeating the mistake of shouldering responsibility without power, and has refused to be a party to any such undertaking.

I have mentioned the revolt of the services. Let us examine their structure. They include men, who were least desirable for any type of public service, and least of all to service under popular ministers. These people had themselves opposed these ministers in the past and could hardly be expected to bear goodwill to them. They held together, defending and protesting each other, whatever the misbehaviour might have been. Moral principles were thrown to the winds, and there was a rare combination of Western and Eastern offenders joining hands in opposition to all efforts at desirable changes. The problem of bad services may exist elsewhere too, but here in the Frontier there is a class unique in its ineptitude. It receives a substantial portion of our income simply to check our progress. By its artificial glamour and grandeur, it has in recent years succeeded in luring away our promising young men and has made them stand in the way of national advancement. This class has proved its futility and needs complete overhauling. Some of the existing members might find a place in a future structure, but to give them a second trial would imply the destroying of the very cause for which we have been labouring.

That way lies our ruin.

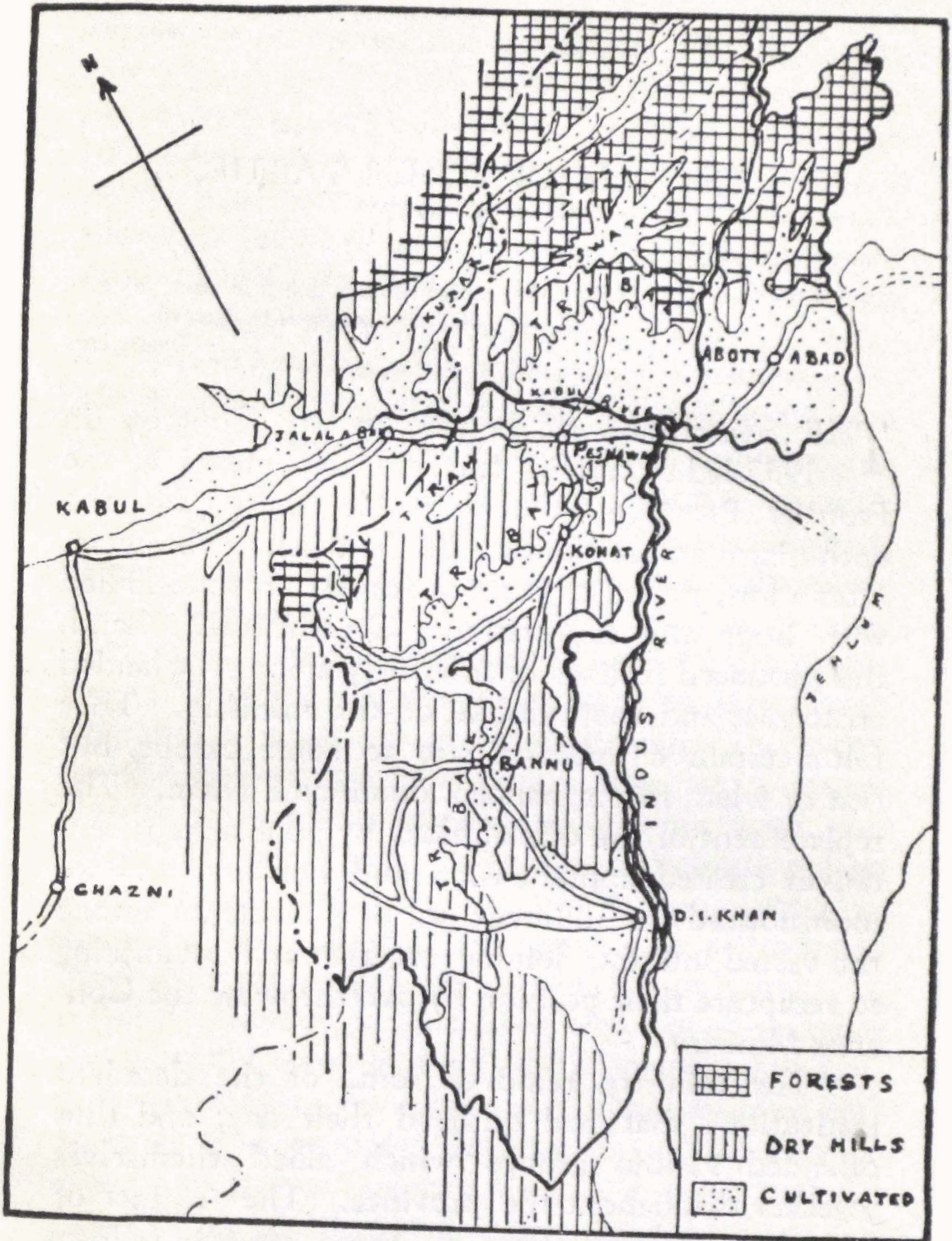
The Congress had hesitated to accept office, because most of its leaders were alive to the risk of sharing such divided responsibility. Most of those apprehensions were justified and the defects of the Act were seen in every walk of ministerial deliberation. It has now been proved to us beyond any doubt that responsibility without power is demoralising. We must possess the dignity and reality of power and the creative authority behind it, and not the mere semblance of such power. The case of the Wafdist Party of Egypt is before us and it is evident that the effect of their agreeing to shoulder divided responsibility caused their defeat in the ensuing elections. There may have been other factors, but the inability of the Wafdists to satisfy their electorate owing to the inadequate control over the administration worked as a tremendous blow to their popularity. Luckily for us in India, the same situation proved somewhat different. It was good that the ministerial ranks did not include our first rank leaders, who continued to form the focus of real activity and authority, and who had 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 realised their futility, they asked them to resign. I venture to call that step a Godsent blessing.

The Congress had accepted office on certain conditions. It never intended to become the tool of a hypocritical bureaucracy or to play their game. The war in Europe brought matters to a head very soon, and it became impossible for our ministries to

function any longer with dignity, or without betraying the cause they had cherished so long. The declaration of war by Great Britain against the Axis Powers was good as far as the situation confronted them. But the dragging in of India without any reference to her representatives, was an insult that could not be tolerated without completely jeopardising our present and future. The Congress leadership was, however, not very eager to embarrass Britain because of its antipathy to the Axis Powers, and its leaders started negotiations to arrive at some settlement. They hesitated for long to bargain for their freedom and thus exploit the opponent's difficulties, but they could not forego that right at the present juncture, simply because the imperialist world 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 of fifteen months ended in failure. The refusal of the British Government, which is fighting for its very survival to-day, was most astonishing at such a time. They rejected all offers of friendly help and forced the unwilling Congress to launch a struggle for maintaining their national honour. The Congress took the first step and called upon its eight provincial governments to resign. The first step was followed by the launching of a movement, which, though carried on in a restricted way, took away thousands of our beloved comrades into jails.

The Indian struggle commenced at a time when the world was passing through far-reaching changes.

Those events naturally overshadowed happenings in India, but we still carried on the fight. We are living in abnormal times and find the present international fabric falling to pieces. We also belong to this age, and the fate of four hundred millions cannot be ruled out light-heartedly by a few individuals who still live in a bygone age and think in imperialist terms. Our struggle has a basis, and this blood-bath of the whole world is not intended to strengthen this or that empire. It will continue as long as the real causes of conflict are not removed, and so Gandhiji has at last taken a firm step and called upon the people to take part in what he calls the last struggle of his life.



The Land Problem.

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 one side there was the enthusiasm and restlessness of the masses, who were, after a long period of waiting for better times, filled with hope and expectation. On the other hand, this produced feelings of insecurity among the landed aristocracy and their dislike of the ministry. They felt a certain enthusiasm also to some extent, but fear of what might happen dominated them. The replacement of the official block by popular representatives created apprehension and hostility, and we soon noticed the different warring elements among the vested interests joining together and attempting to recapture their position by overthrowing the Congress Ministry.

The ministry removed some of the decadent institutions that had outlived their day, and thus offended various groups which allied themselves together throughout the province. 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 organisation accepted this illegitimate child and never bothered to see its credentials and the most ignominious rôle its members had played throughout their life. So it was but natural for us on the Frontier to look at the main body in the same light, whatever their assumed colour may have been.

The opposition in the Assembly, which consisted mostly of retired government servants and a few big landlords, labelled itself as the Muslim League. They had no political programme and no discipline among their ranks. The party lacked a leader as well as a mass mind. They were unable to touch the real issues of the day, because the solution of those very problems would lead to their liquidation. Having no clear-cut policies to put before the people, they failed to make any impression on the life of this province. Their main object was to cling on to this alien system, since this alone could save them. The Frontier Muslim Leaguers were no match for the people they opposed, and it was not difficult for the people to judge of the difference. They raised the cry of 'Islam in danger,' failing to realise that their own existence was injurious to its healthy advancement. The Leaguers started condemning the Khudai Khidmatgars and their beloved leader, but ignored the fact that the latter had become the living symbols of the people's suffering and desire for freedom from exploitations and had upheld the country's cause at a time when these Leaguers were busy crushing the people. These new 'champions of Islam' tried to oppose and

check the march of a powerful mass movement, which may have made mistakes, but which could never have been wrong in its basic and fundamental principles.

During the two years and a quarter that the Congress was in power, the main activity of the Leaguers was to oust the Khudai Khidmatgars from office, but they failed completely. When the Congress moved their War Resolution on the 6th of November, 1939, in the Assembly, there was not a soul to oppose it in the House, and thus the Frontier Assembly was the only legislature in India which adopted that resolution unanimously. Even outside the Assembly their record was not a glorious one either. The Khudai Khidmatgars contested the elections to the Village Panchayat throughout the province, and afraid of challenging the verdict of a franchise based on adult suffrage, no one stood to oppose them in most of the constituencies. When the Congress left office, these people also gave up opposing the Government, because to them Islam can flourish only under this alien rule, and hence this 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 dignity and marks the beginning of the Frontier Incidents of 1930-32. Thousands of red-robed Khudai Khidmatgars, bare-headed, pass the spot in solemn 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

his stirring speech. We are reminded of our past and warned about the future. Ghaffar Khan makes his people mindful of that day and asks them to be ready for such sacrifices. In the year 1938, when Congress was in power, an interesting feature of this day was the Leaguers raising a memorial opposite the one that represented the blood and bones of the Pathans killed by their masters. 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 which allowed people to indulge in such activities. In 1941, when our long and mournful procession had passed, the large crowds waited to see the 'others' appear too, but they never came. They were either afraid of the Government or had lost all support. Perhaps both these causes operated!

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 used to help them when they had to face difficulties. The party had, and still has, no definite political programme. Its leaders sometimes indulge in vague talk about the Muslim domination of the world, but never go beyond it to explain their policy. The advent of the Congress ministry marked some unfortunate developments. These were due to some Congress renegades taking shelter in that fold, and making the Khaksar platform a place to oppose the body they had deserted

for quite well-known reasons. Its leaders, barring a few, belonged to the towns and were unable to speak the language of the masses. The Khaksars took a new form and soon changed their social nature and commenced a regular tirade against the Congress. They failed to understand that movements always flourished on their own merits and seldom on the ruin or condemnation of others. Their mistaken path has resulted in their leaving no trace of their activity or influence on the progressive people of our province. I need not refer to their other wrong tactics in regard to certain happenings at Lucknow or Lahore, as that is a matter beyond the scope of this volume. But the Khaksar attitude and failure there did affect their prestige here as well, and we find most of their enthusiastic supporters completely disillusioned.

I must mention another set of men as well. There was, and some say still is, a Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party in the Frontier. If I am correct, it consisted of a leader, a deputy leader and an organising secretary. The party was most active in condemning Congress ministry for its inability to stop kidnappings and restore order in the southern districts of the province. Its leader never missed a chance to abuse the Congress for any of its shortcomings, and always advocated a policy of his own. Things have not improved since the Congress laid down the reins of government, but have been growing steadily worse. Yet these warriors have lately kept amazingly quiet. Even silence is profitable at times, and we find that one of them has recently been honoured by the British Government with a title. Let us wait and

see when their co-workers of the Muslim League receive recognition.

I have so long discussed the parties that were opposed to the Congress on broad fundamentals and looked at everything from a different angle. We could not help but pity them. But soon the Khudai Khidmatgars formed a ministry, we noticed some divisions in the so far solid ranks of this organisation. Outwardly they appeared political, but were in reality the manifestations of personal jealousies, grudges and unfulfilled hopes. They asked favours, and the refusal to meet their demands produced novel tendencies. Instead of telling the truth, these people tried to disillusion others and discredit their own party in power. A jarring and discordant note was struck by a few disappointed adventurers, and one could notice some confusion in the Congress citadel. That minor uproar upset the leader, and he decided to keep aside until the situation became normal again. For some time we heard revolutionary slogans from those who little understood their meaning or implications, and so, lacking reality, they faded away.

Such jealousies and mistaken tactics remind me of a great and significant incident in the history of Islam. During the battle of Tours in 732 A.D., when the forces of Islam, under Abdur Rehman, had reached the heart of France and the European Powers were lying at his feet, their ambition of world domination was finally arrested by Charles Martel, who defeated the disunited army of Muslims and paved the way for their degeneration at a time when they could have easily become the masters them-

selves. The Muslim forces had been divided over a dispute on the division of the booty among their ranks, and their quarrel broke their resolve to die for the cause that had taken them so far away into those countries. That jealousy and disunity proved harmful at that time, but they are much more so now when an alien imperialism hold us in its grip.

The unreal cry of socialism, which had been raised by a band of interested comrades, created a false impression on those who supported that creed in the rest of the country. Its presentation by a few and the disapproval which it received from our Provincial Congress, created some confusion, and the failure to clarify the truth led to certain unfortunate tendencies among the leftist elements in India.

We on the Frontier realise the significance of socialism and the great value it has in store for us in India. We cannot conceive of any impartial and sensible person thinking otherwise in the matter. There can be no conception of Indian freedom without socialism as its foundation. It has no real substitute. It is difficult to question the efficacy and usefulness of this system as a means towards removing all our evils. We approve of it and are trying to prepare the ground for it. We endorse it, because other systems, in their nakedness are before us and display their barbarity. The great learning of the West produced so many benefits, but has resulted in this international catastrophe as well, and finds herself incapable to stop or divert it now. These other systems made us see wheat rotting in Canada, while millions died of starvation not very far off. We saw the complete lack of planning and co-ordination in

the economic system and unemployment rising and poverty increasing in the midst of plenty. But we had another example also, and from all the muddle of the Western world, our minds often travelled in another direction, where we could see another country, Russia, moving differently and not sharing in this universal paradox. From being a backward and medieval State, she had rapidly advanced in all directions and pulled down the walls of ignorance that surrounded her. It is most surprising how a nation, looked upon so disdainfully and contemptuously by its neighbours, should have moved forward so rapidly and become strong and well organised. Even her enemies and those who have hated and despised her have been forced to recognise this magnificent experiment and admire her wonderful resistance to Nazi aggression. All this could not have happened unless Soviet Russia had not accepted a new doctrine and organised her people in accordance with it.

The pioneering work has been done, and whatever happens to the present Government in Russia, their contribution can never be wiped out. Some of their 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 divorce all talk based on foreign ideas, which do not fit in with our people and try to speak in the language that appeals to them. It is no use converting a few intellectuals and issuing long statements, which fail to influence the teeming millions living in our villages. The task needs great effort. Mere labelling ourselves as Russia's admirers will not solve the problem. Russia's was a vital step, and it was the strong

belief and endeavour of her leaders and people that helped them to achieve their lofty objective. A mushroom growth lacking 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 holds his own in India, and also find Ghaffar Khan outlive his adversaries in the Frontier.

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

NON-VIOLENCE AND THE PATHANS

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

—*Prophet Mohammad.*

AFTER the ghastly tragedies of foreign rule in India during the last century and a half, when she seemed sullen and discontented, when the people had sunk in the abyss of sloth and despondency, when 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 swayed the masses with his new weapon of Non-Violence. The same form of action was presented to the Pathans by an equally great man, who also becoming disgusted by the constant fratricidal quarrels and skirmishes of his people, started to propound this technique with remarkably good results. For Ghaffar Khan Non-Violence was not a question of making a virtue of a necessity, nor was his appeal directed to an unarmed community. The whole background of his people was one of violence, and their rôle under the new form of peaceful warfare was most astonishing.

I have already mentioned the presence of strife and bloodshed among the people, and it must be borne in mind that the entire structure of the country is one that compels its population to lead a

life that is bound to look abnormal to one accustomed to the easy and sophisticated life of the towns. In order to discover the causes of this unrest, we must glance at the country these Pathans inhabit. Their homelands present them strange conditions and force them to struggle for securing even the most scanty needs. But the same people, who had been brought up in an atmosphere of force and violence, presented an entirely new picture of themselves in 1930, which took all by surprise.

The change in the outlook of the Frontiersmen was due to the teachings of their beloved leader, who had brought home to them the fact that by resorting to force they had so long failed to overcome their difficulties, and so, in order to achieve their goal, they must take to another path. Lenin had once said: "It was a hellishly hard task to execute people, ruthlessly to spilt skulls open, while the ultimate political ideal was on the other hand: the fight against violence." In the same way Sher Shah Suri had once observed some centuries ago that "Crime and violence prevent the development of prosperity." And the same policy guided this Pathan leader, who soon watched his people playing their part in an amazingly effective manner.

The past history of the Pathans was vivid enough to surprise people. The new rôle was watched with affection as well as suspicion. Some doubted the truth and reality of those happenings. That stage has now passed, and instead of that emotional outburst, the creed of Non-Violence has now become the basis of Ghaffar Khan's political work. He considers this method a panacea for all the evils, and

believes that ultimate salvation of his people will come through following this path alone. He has recently resigned from the Congress on this issue and is devoting all his time to organise his own province. His stand has led certain people to declare that by this process of Non-Violence, Mahatma Gandhi wants to transform the brave Pathans into a spent force and take away all their valour and martial instincts. This charge is further levelled against the greatest man living among the Pathans, whose courage, skill, and determination have baffled the British authorities and made it difficult for them to touch his followers to-day in the Frontier. Such stories and charges surprise us all the more, because they originate from quarters that should be the last to accuse others of becoming weak or timid. Empty drums make much noise ! We see how the people who make these charges have all their lives sided with an alien rule against their own countrymen for the sake of some minor gain or earning the meaningless titles of Knights and Bahadurs. Therefore, the statement that Ghaffar Khan and his powerful Khudai Khidmatgars, who have dedicated their lives for the uplift of their countrymen, are working to transform the Pathans into a 'spent force' by the 'little Hindu bania' sounds fantastic to us on the Frontier.

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

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 possible and feasible form of action, which, in the present shape 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 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, their doubts and are very enthusiastic about some of the implications of Non-Violence, but the developments of the present world war bring certain facts before our eyes and make us mindful of realities. It is evident that except a few strong powers, the possibility of small nations raising armies and trying to protect themselves by force, is a matter beyond all hope. The strength of such countries has resulted in the increased suffering of their civil populations, and a complete divorce of honour and self-respect of the nations involved. The more we hear about various incidents and horrors of this war, the more confident we grow about the efficacy of Non-Violence, which in the international sphere may be called disarmament.

We know that there are many people who oppose war, but find them 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 lay down arms and submit to suffering without hitting back. And so, this attitude coming from the indomitable fighters of the North is worthy of recognition and carries its own grandeur. It is a difficult principle indeed and requires great strength, courage, and determination for its practice. The creed is not one that can be easily stomached or understood by those who always try to 'wait and see.' 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 can similarly declare; "A new form of action has been introduced. The dignity and the grandeur of humanity has found the means for its expression."

If we investigate the causes of violence among the Pathans, it will be seen that this tendency has resulted from their peculiar circumstances of life. Natural conditions of their territory force them to earn their livelihood by all means at their disposal—legitimate or illegitimate. The wild climatic surroundings produce strength, which makes them seek and acquire their needs by force rather than go begging for them. The Code of Honour that guides them in their normal dealings, implies might: in which an important element is vendetta, which is carried down from father to son as a debt of honour, failure to accomplish which leads to disfavour from all. This ugly aspect of life results in

most tragic happenings. Instances of indiscriminate murders on the Frontier are not few, and it was in such surroundings and with this dreadful background that Badshah Khan preached his gospel of Non-Violence. He was a witness to all that was taking place in his province, and the sight of ever-increasing bloodshed among his people guided him to divert their energies towards some other end. Ever since the beginning of his political career, Ghaffar Khan attempted to check those harmful tendencies and began condemning violence in most unambiguous terms. He told the people that their actions were not only bad from a moral view-point, but their practice would imply their suffering in the hereafter as well !

The stand of Abdul Ghaffar Khan was most desirable, because the trouble here was not only political, but economic and as already pointed out in the preceding pages, racial as well. In 1929, he founded the Khudai Khidmatgar organisation, and kept Non-Violence as one of the conditions for becoming a member. He enforced a policy of 'live and let live,' which, in the beginning appealed to his people more because it was put by him rather than anything else. The subsequent years worked to convince his followers about the power of this technique. Badshah Khan has frequently told us the causes that influenced him to subscribe to this doctrine, and I cannot do him better justice than by quoting his own words about his accepting this policy. Short time ago, he once remarked : " As I started my political work in the province, I came across many cases of violence and ruthless murders of my people

by one another. Those incidents could not leave me untouched and I feared that because of such foolish acts, they might be exterminated. So I felt it my duty to check them from violent practices and lead them in a different direction, the basis of which was peacefulness, truthfulness, and consideration for others. I had read the history of my people and was proud of my ancestors. But at the same time I could not ignore their failings either. I realised that if these Pathans cultivate love for one another and learn to live peacefully, then no power could ever crush them. In the past they had always lost their authority owing to their own internal conflicts, for who could surpass them in their fighting skill and valour?"

As already pointed out, Ghaffar Khan is deeply religious in his outlook, and he derives most of his sanctions from his Islamic learning. He was aware of the importance which the Holy Quran had laid for being peaceful and forgiving, and explained the same to his followers. He carried on his work with zeal, and his preachings soon stood the test of time. The Pathans launched their Non-Violent struggle on the 23rd of April, 1930. During those years, they saw their houses burnt, their women insulted, their fields destroyed, their stocks of grain ruined, their villages raided, their honour injured, their bodies tortured, their meetings dispersed by indiscriminate firing, their friends and relations killed and thrown from house tops, their children beaten and their organisation crushed and crippled. And to feel that all this for the same cause for which the mighty British Empire is paying such a heavy

price, is something more than painful! These Pathans, who had been brought up in an atmosphere of killing and being killed, ignored all those provocations, and died peacefully in large numbers for the attainment of their goal.

During the crisis of 1930, there were some who got exhausted and wished to retaliate, but they were reminded of their pledges to the leader and kept in restraint. Such was the adherence to the new method that not a single case can be cited to show that the people were violent in their resistance. In this connection, the case of the three Khudai Khidmatgars of Utmanzai stands vividly in my mind. The three Red-Shirts were badly beaten and later asked to take off their uniforms. Hearing this, they lost their temper and dashed towards their houses to fetch their revolvers and shoot the person giving such an order. But their Commander shouted: "Is your patience exhausted? You had promised Badshah Khan to remain peaceful unto death!" This was enough, and the three Red-Shirts stood before their assaulters who made them naked and injured them with their kicks and bayonets. Our villagers still remember vividly many such instances, and most of the injured and the disfigured are living to remind us of the story of those days. That suffering was fearless and had 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 effectiveness of this process. At the village home of our leader, a meeting was to take place. The police came and tried to disperse the gathering by threats, and since the people refused to abandon

their plans, they decided to open fire on the crowd. Out of the people ran a young girl, and facing the police rifles, shouted, "Kill me first and then those sitting beyond me." And the meeting was held accordingly. At Rustum in the Mardan district, Fakhr-i-Afghan was to address a meeting. Again the police tried to interfere and disrupt the meeting. They ordered the people to disperse or to face bullets. This made the leader rise, ready to face the consequences. His courage and the determination of the crowd soon melted away the temper of the authorities, who watched the hero address his faithful followers.

The people in the Frontier had received a very short training in this new method, but it is surprising how nicely they imbibed these tactics and adhered to them under so many difficult situations. The success of this technique against British domination here brings before my mind the struggle that took place in the middle of the nineteenth century between the Hungarians and the Austrians. The Emperor of Austria, Franz Josef, intended to subjugate the Hungarians in contravention of their treaty of union. Francis Deak, a well-to-do landowner of Hungary, challenged the Emperor and organised his countrymen against that foreign domination. He chalked out his plans and asked his men not to pay taxes or to buy Austrian goods. Deak further asked his followers to refrain from all acts of violence and said: "If suffering must be necessary, suffer with dignity."

The people of Hungary followed their leader, and when the alien tax-collectors came, the Hun-

garians refused to pay them anything. The Austrian police seized all they could to auction, but failed to find an auctioneer in Hungary. Austrian auctioneers came, but they lacked Austrian buyers. It was soon discovered that the cost of collecting taxes exceeded the amount realised. The Emperor tried to tyrannise the people 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 remain 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. Such was the complete refusal and non-co-operation of the population that it forced the Emperor to abandon his scheme of subjugating the Hungarians, and ultimately granted them their constitution on the 18th of February, 1867.

The efficiency of this method of direct action has been sufficiently demonstrated in India and no one can rule it out as ineffective. It has been responsible for rousing our people from their deep slumber and making them challenge the might of this British Empire in India. Non-Violence is capable of producing sympathy in the hearts of opponents and demoralising them greatly. In this connection the case of the Garhwali soldiers refusing 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 outgoing soldiers, 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 those scenes of heroic suffering. They declined to kill those struggling for their freedom and thus subjected themselves to court-martial and long terms of imprisonment. We are told that these Garhwalis were remembered by our princely patriot, Pandit Motilal Nehru to the last. While lying on his death bed he asked Gandhiji never to forget them and their families. Surely their conduct will go down in our 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 criticise 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 our policy are confident that it has been through following this that we have reached the present stage of our development. It was this activity that filled the hearts of our countrymen and strengthened them and made them face the forces of a mighty empire in India.

Present conditions in India lead us to the conclusion that the only forceful, effective and relatively easy weapon in the hands of those who are eager to act and not to lie idle, is one of Non-

Violence. We may not subscribe to any other viewpoint, and to believe that violent talk or a display of certain primitive weapons would help us to oppose the most deadly inventions of this modern age would expose us to confusion and disruption. The all round destruction of this war itself is bound to bring about a great change in the future policy of different peoples and influence them to adopt other than warlike ways.

If we look at the gradual growth of mankind, we will be convinced that among the far-sighted there has always been a general agreement regarding the attainment of the final goal for humanity. But the means adopted for that purpose have been very different, and often so bad and criminal that even the thought of them makes us feel sick at heart. In their attempts to approach this ideal, people pursued these different means and took paths that were completely opposed to each other and were based on a fanatic adherence to violence. Confusion and hatred grew 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 surrounds and envelops us, and functions apart from it. But this existing chaos has convinced us more than anything else that violence can only produce violence, and therefore any activity based on it is doomed to fail in achieving some

healthy objective. Wars have failed to end wars, and instead, each has resulted in more hatred and suspicion among the opposing sides. And while the effectiveness of Non-Violence as a weapon in the present monstrous world seems distant, we cannot afford to keep silent and underrate the force and value of this method and refrain from guiding the people along the only road which promises a healthy development of the social order.

We all desire peace, and even the European demi-gods like Hitler, Mussolini and Churchill proclaim at the top of their voices the slogan of a new world order based on the equality of man and peace among the different nations. But they can never get this without giving up much that they cling to: the establishment of equality involves many sacrifices. It means the renunciation of empires, national disarmament, equitable structures throughout the world, and the abdication of power and wealth by a few to the masses in the various countries. But this is a temporary sacrifice so that the future may be glorious and the evils of to-day be transformed and goodness and co-operation take their place.

In India there are two ways open to us at present : either to carry on our activities through the existing means at our disposal, or to wait till the situation so develops as to prepare us for any violent struggle. The suggestion that we should accept a partial responsibility in the defence of our motherland by supervising the various canteens and go on supplying meals to visitors in this country, cannot possibly attract us to become 'show boys' in the ambitious struggle of others. At the same time we cannot

reconcile ourselves to sitting idle and watching these big changes taking place and different armies occupying our shores and towns. We must realise that Non-Violent action gives us an opportunity to resist and protect ourselves from the unbearable rule of an imperialist power. We cannot submit to this injustice and oppression, because that amounts to cowardice and a revolt against 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 ills at present and peculiar situations and emergencies might arise, which cannot be easily dealt with in accordance with its methods. But this is even more true of the Maginot Lines, which collapse in a conflict of violence. The Non-Violent method can never collapse in that way even though it may not be fully effective. It fails to appeal to an ordinary man, because of the thousands of years of violent background in our minds and because it demands individual courage and sacrifice of a high order. But it is, nevertheless, an effective social weapon for resistance as well as for moving big masses towards their destiny. Its success depends on the greatness of its actors and a change in the outlook of modern man and woman who behave so often as brutes. It needs novel thinking!

After centuries of Herculean effort, Western civilisation reached its zenith, and now her great

thinkers and philosophers admit somewhat reluctantly, that there is something basically wrong with this civilisation. Bombed cities and indiscriminate massacres of millions of innocent human beings are signs not of civilisation but of barbarism, and we watch all this destruction with a sense of horror and of futility of the present order. We think of India and our ends and means, but we have to think also of the vast conflict in the international field. More and more we are dragged closer to the world drama and the future envisages a world unity. Without an equitable adjustment and the complete divorce of force, we cannot hope to create that unity. Possibly it may be necessary to have an international army or air force to act as a kind of police force for maintaining law and order as well as acting as a check on the evil nature of certain groups, but national armed units will have to be abolished. The West has failed to achieve that end, let the East take the lead again. In the domain of spirituality the rôle of the East has been remarkable and is likely to remain so. The time has come now when the East has to act that rôle in order to save itself and the rest of the world from complete disaster.

The world has witnessed great changes and seen mighty forces at work. Many revolutions have come and changed the shape of things around them, and yet 'the basic troubles 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 takes roots in.' The Indian people have also tried to act in their own way and have endeavoured to show a new path to the suffering millions everywhere.

Our methods and their resultant effects 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 some scenes, or the wild and brutal heroism of a few actors, but in another kind of heroism and in a real mass effort, which will begin a new chapter in human history.

All this will sound strange to those trained in Western modes of thought and action, whom force alone has influenced all along. It is difficult to convince such people that there is another method, quite different in outlook and application, capable of practical use and fairly effective in results. Its power has been recognised in all ages, but since it needed a certain training and environment, a mass application of it was not attempted previously.

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I DO not claim to have covered any substantial ground in regard to this book, which deals with various aspects of Pathan history, but the books mentioned below did help me a good deal to prepare my case and I acknowledge my gratitude to all concerned. The scope of the subject is fairly vast and interested readers can find out much more useful information from the collection of different Pathan documents at the Aligarh University and the Government Library at Kabul. In order to facilitate the task of the readers, I divide the books into three different parts. Part one for history, part two for Tribal Problem and part three for general information.

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Page 84 line last *read Kohat instead of Kohta.*
 Page 105 line 11 *read Abdur Rehman instead of Abdul Rehman.*
 Page 173 line 8 *read saying instead of asying.*
 Page 173 line 31 *read Sardaryab instead of Sardayab.*
 Page 178 line 3 *read Sardaryab instead of Sardayab.*
 Page 201 line 17 *read protecting instead of protesting.*
 Page 218 line 17 *add not after.....and are.*
 Page 226 line 30 *read function instead of functions.*

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