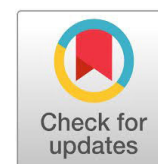
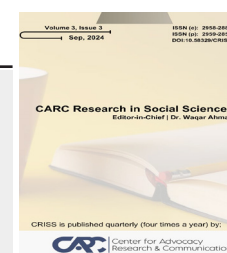




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CARC Research in Social Sciences

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Social Reforms and Political Activism: Unpacking the Dual Role of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement

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ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: July 07, 2024
 Revised: September 24, 2024
 Accepted: September 25, 2024
 Published: September 30, 2024

Keywords:

Social reforms
 Political activism
 Khudai Khidmatgar Movement
 Non-violent movements

ABSTRACT

This article examines the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan popularly known as Fakhr-i-Afghan Bacha Khan, which played a pivotal role in social reform and political activism in colonial India. Founded in 1929, the movement adopted non-violent resistance to British rule while also addressing deep-rooted social issues within Pashtun society, such as factionalism, illiteracy, poverty, social and gender discrimination and blood feuds. Implying indegounious values, knowledge and tools, Ghaffar Khan promoted education, unity, and peaceful coexistence among his people, challenging the British narrative of Pashtuns as inherently violent. The article explores how the movement, initially focused on socio-educational reforms, evolved into a powerful force advocating for Indian independence, aligning with other non-violent movements like those led by Gandhi. Despite significant obstacles from the British and local elites, the Khudai Khidmatgar gained mass support, with over 100,000 members at its peak. The article highlights the movement's transformative impact on Pashtun society and its contributions to the broader anti-colonial struggle, positioning it as a significant yet underappreciated chapter in South Asian history. This articles has relied on both primamry and secondary data for qualitative analysis, with most reliance on primary sorces of data collection. For this purpose, extensive interviews were conducted.

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INTRODUCTION

Marx defines human history as a class struggle. In this class struggle, one remained in a better-off position and the other worst-off. The upper class, who had confiscated all means and modes of production, had exploited the lower class, who had deliberately and forcibly deprived this class of all means and modes of production. This struggle at every passage of history resulted in a tug of war between them-trying to dominate each other. The striking point is that this struggle remained violent and resulted in bloodshed and extermination of millions of people. Even Marx had based his revolutionary theory of classless society on violence

and bloodshed- bloody revolution (Haq, 2013). To free the oppressed from the clutches of the oppressor, the world has also seen many non-violent actions and policies that have brought fruition, either the non-violent movement of Martin Luther King or the non-violent policies of Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi. On the one hand, the champions of violence, Like Hitler and Mussolini, led the world to two world wars, resulting in the deaths of millions of people; on the other hand, it saw the champion of non-violent policies in the person of Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, martin Luther king and khan Abdul Ghaffar khan. (Hussain, 2015)

The ideas of violence and non-violence are ancient, but these ideas, mainly non-violence, materialized in the 20th century. The British had already taken over the power of the Indian-Muslim ruler Mughals in the mid-19th century and had firmly established their rule over all of India (Peer & Gooptu, 2012). The colonial rulers were exhausting all of their energy and utilizing every means of repression on the colonized to retain their power across the board. During this pathetic period, the Indians, both Muslims and Hindus,

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How to Cite:

Nawaz, S., Jan, M., & Murad, W. (2024). Social Reforms and Political Activism: Unpacking the Dual Role of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. *CARC Research in Social Sciences*, 3(3), 356–364.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.58329/criss.v3i3.156>

remained at loggerheads from different political platforms with the imperialist British to dethrone them. The relentless struggle of these people had eventually thrown off the yoke of British Imperialism. Dr. Malik Hammad Ahmad believes it is wrong that the independence movement against the colonizer is waged only by the political organization. He firmly believes that Non-violent resistance played a significant role in achieving the independence of India in 1947 (Khan, 2016). It was not only the non-violent policies of Gandhi who entrenched in the then-famous political organization Congress, but besides Congress, there emerged another non-violent movement in the North West of India known as NWFP (now called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa under the 18th amendment of Pakistan's constitution). This movement is known as the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement (Khudai Khidmatgar Movement), established in 1929 and led by a tall man named Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Khudai Khidmatgar movement, in its essence, was not only a political movement against the outsider invaders [British] but carried many aspects: socio-educational and political. Deeply obsessed by the then pathetic condition of Pashtun society- where factionalism, blood feuds, illiteracy and poverty were in vogue- Ghaffar Khan, a charismatic and dynamic personality, came forward and embarked on his Journey for the enlightenment of Pashtun people. This Journey- for a Royal Ghaffar Khan- saw many highs and lows and passed through many thorny paths.

The British have tagged them as a Martial race. In his work (1896), William Crook described that they were a barbaric and fighting nation. The belligerence and aggressiveness in their nature are not inherent, but many factors have contributed to that character (Crook, 1897). Historically, Pashtun as a nation is notorious for its violent nature and fighting skills. Some are of the view that they are innate violent which is refuted by many others as an illogical claim. From a historical point of view, the Pashtun region remained a battlefield for foreign invaders. It is situated on the highway of conquest. The majority of the invaders, including Aryans, Greeks, Persians, Mauryans, the Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Kaushanas, the White Huns and finally, the Muslims, followed their way into the Indian Sub-Continent through this area (Shah, 2010). Thus, the inhabitants were raised in a “war atmosphere, which had added a hawkish quality to their personality. This is why these people remained busy in constant warfare with the invaders. Secondly, most of Pashtun's land is mountainous and arid and does not fit too much for agricultural purposes; cultivation demands a very high degree of hard work, resulting in an aggressive environment. Likewise, these people had developed their code of conduct for living called Pashtun Wali, which included Badal (revenge) Melmastiya (hospitality) and Marana (bravery). Coupled with other things, the “Pashtun code of conduct contributed significantly to a belligerent culture than anything else (Hassan, 2015).

This was not an easy task for Bacha Khan to enable these people to renounce violence and embrace non-violence as a way of life. Commenting on the performance and qualities of Bacha Khan, Syed Mujahid Hussain writes the fact is that

Bacha Khan's role was somewhat more complicated than Gandhi, Nelson Mandela and Martin Luther King because the area and the people where he worked were considered least favourable for such kind of movement (Cameron, 2014). Bacha Khan observed that Pashtun simultaneously respect Islam and their code of life, and often they use them interchangeably. Having a deep knowledge of the Quran and Sunnah, he tabled the intolerant and peaceful face of Islam in front of people. Whenever the people argued with him, he presented examples from Islam and the prophet's life (PBUH). On one occasion, while preparing the people for non-violence, he told the people, I am going to give you such a weapon that the police and Army will not be able to stand against it. It is the weapon of the Prophet (Peace be upon him), but you are unaware of it. That weapon is patience and righteousness. No power on earth can stand against it. When you return to your villages, tell your brethren that there is an army of God, and its weapon is patience. Endure all hardships. If you exercise patience, victory will be yours. He knew that if you countered and convinced these people within the domain of Islam, the Quran and Sunnah, they would never question you again. Bacha himself was a firm devout Muslim. He used to say that all religions preached peace, love and brotherhood, and I firmly believe that “Islam is aamal, yaken and muhabbat-selfless service, faith and love (Shah, 2010).

He continued his struggle unabated to pull his people from this dark side of life and stand them with other nations. He visited from town to town and door to door to apprise the people of the importance of non-violence and forbearance. People start recruiting for the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement because of Khan's sincerity, pragmatic and Islamic personality. What he taught, he practised by himself first. Once, Khudai Khidmatgar said, “We listened to Bacha Khan because he first opposed prostitution” (Damon, 2004). Over time, the membership of Khudai Khidmatgar increased and reached more than 100,000 at their peak (Robert, 1997).

It was also in vogue in the Pashtun society that they would send their children to local mosques for Quranic lessons. As a student of the local seminary in his childhood, Bacha Khan was aware that these traditional Mullahs knew very little about Islamic teachings and philosophy. And the local children come and repeat the Quranic verses after him in a cramming style. He narrates a story in his biography: “Once the Quran teacher, while teaching a Quranic verse to local children uttered some punishing words, the children repeated the same sentence after teacher, and we all burst into laughter” (Khan, 2016). Ghaffar Khan also knew that only religious education is not enough for people to meet current and upcoming life challenges. But unfortunately; besides the people's apathy, the government also pays no heed to the education sector. During British rule, “The NWFP was the most backward province in the educational field in the sub-continent (Shah, 2010). This is evident because there was no educational institute for higher studies in the province, and students passed their matric examination from Punjab University.

Being sensitive to such a lethargic attitude of the people and deliberate negligence on the part of Imperial authority, Khan started his educational program to educate his people and line them up with other nations of the world.

He was vibrant that they could not combat the imperial power unless they did not get an education. To pursue this dream, Ghaffar Khan first joined the education campaign of Haji Sahib of Turangzai and assisted him through thick and thin. But soon, it tasted terrible to British tyranny, and they put an end to Haji Sahib's educational program. British plotted for Haji Sahib's arrest, but he made a safe escape to Mohmand Agency. The colonial powers were not interested in the education of the frontier and left no stone unturned to impede these people from getting an education, but Khan, being committed to this noble cause, kept moving to see every Pashtun child in school. After the failure of the Khilafat Movement (1919-1924) Khan returned from Afghanistan and intended to materialize his wishes this time. Ghaffar Khan and his close aide, Fazal Mahmood Makhfi, started a school at Khaloono, Dir.

The locals appreciated their efforts and enrolled their children in a large number. But soon, the government, with the help of the political Agent and Nawab of Dir, derailed this program and the buildings were razed (Khan, 1980). As mentioned, Bacha Khan believed that education is the only means to revive Pashtun society. After the failed attempt at Dir, he returned to his home town, Utmanzai, and made whirlwind visits to the region and apprised the people regarding the importance of education. Thus, to educate them, he opened the first branch of Azad Islamia school in 1921 at Utmanzai. Being pragmatic, he first enrolled his two sons in the school to teach the people about the school standards and education. Khan Abdul Ghani Khan, his elder son and Khan Abdul Wali Khan were among the first students of that school (Hussain, 2016). Bacha Khan- simultaneously an educationalist, social reformist and political leader- opened these schools to teach them how to read and write, imbue them with the spirit of patriotism and prepare them for the future non-violent war against British imperialism.

To discourage the people from sending their children to school, the British started comprehensive propaganda against these schools with the help of local patronized Mullahs, who were used to say that these schools were not imparting religious education to children. However, half of the school's syllabus contained subjects like Quran, Hadith, Islamic History, Fiqah and Arabic language. But these tactics and connivance of the British and Mullah didn't work for them, and these schools gained popularity among the masses. And "within no time the number of those schools reached to 50 in different parts the region and number of students from 140 (April 1921-march 1922) to 300 (April 1924-march 1925). However some study suggests that there were 134 students, 9567 students and 536 teachers in the system (Sohail, 2014).

To his best, Ghaffar Khan creatively used Islamic traditions to enable his people to embrace non-violence as a way of life, which he did. He gagged all the people who had tagged Pashtuns as violent, bloodthirsty and vindictive. But alas! That Pashtun did not find a substitute for him. While commenting on the services of Ghaffar Khan and Khudai Khadmatgar movement, Nehru, the first prime minister of India, said: "that the Pashtun, who loved his gun better than his child, or brother, who valued life cheaply and cared nothing for death, who avenged the slightest insult with

the thirst of a dagger, had suddenly become the bravest and most enduring of all India's soldiers. It was the dedication and sincerity of Ghaffar Khan who had transformed the reportedly violent nation in the world into a committed, peaceful and enduring nation. Before the emergence of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, every single act of atrocity was avenged by Pashtun whenever they found opportunity. As early as 1842, 4500 members of the British Army were utterly exterminated, save one sole survivor who was allowed to return home to tell the story. The Pashtuns engaged in recurrent guerrilla warfare against the British for over 80 years (Johansen, 1997).

The above discussion explored some of the socio, educational, political and non-violent features of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. Despite much work and research conducted on the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, people around the globe are still little familiar with this movement and its achievements. This study aims to surface further the services and success of this movement, which it rendered for the uplift and reformation of Pashtun society and its role during the British rule for independence.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Vision: How the Movement Emerged as a Force of Non-Violent Resistance

Ghaffar was born in 1890 in the Utmanzai (Charsadda) district of Peshawar to a well-to-do person named Behram Khan. He was the fourth child of his parents. His elder brother was Dr Khan Sahib- ex-chief minister of NWFP. According to tradition, Abdul Ghaffar received his early education in a local Mosque and completed his Quranic lesson. As there was hardly any school for further studies, his Father had installed him in the Edward's Memorial High School Peshawar, where his elder brother Khan Sahib was already studying. After completing his education, his elder brother went to Bombay to study medicine and Ghaffar Khan was left with Barany Kaka- a family servant- in Peshawar. Barany Kaka was used to impress Ghaffar Khan by telling him the story of British army officers, their scope and privileges. In this way, he persuaded young Khan to apply for a commission in the Army (Shah, 2007). After an incident, Ghaffar Khan abandoned his idea of joining the Army and went to Cambellpur (now Attack) to continue his studies. After Cambellpur, he went to Qadian and finally reached Aligarh to continue his education.

Now he was in Aligarh and received a letter from his Father asking him to return home. His Father had planned to send him to England for further studies, where his elder brother was already studying. On reaching home, Khan found that his mother did not want so, as he was of the view that I had already lost my elder son, and those who go abroad never come back, and in no way want to lose the second one. After founding his mother reluctant, he gave a second thought to his England trip and registered himself for the services of his people. He wants to reform the entire Pashtun society through education and free it from all social evils- blood feuds, illiteracy, poverty and all other vices.

To fulfil his dream, Bacha Khan laid the foundation of Anjumani-islakh-ulAfghania (the society for the reformation of Afghans) on April 1 1921. The aims and objectives of Anjuman were the promotion of unity among Pashtuns, the eradication of social evils, the prevention of lavish spending

on social events, the encouragement of Pushto language and literature, and the creation of 'real love' for Islam among Pashtuns. As education remained a top priority for Bacha Khan, he started a network of Schools known as Azad Islamia School. The first Branch of Azad Schools was established on April 10 at Utmanzai, Charsadda. The members of Anjuman supervised the operation of these schools. The subjects taught at the school included the Quran, Hadith, Fiqah, Islamic History, Arabic language, Mathematics, English and Pushto. The medium of communication was Pushto. The admission was open to all children without prejudice of class, colour, religion and creed. The primary sources of school funding were donations from the Anjuman members. No exact numbers are available regarding the number of schools; some mixed record shows it was above 70 (Shah, 1999).

Initially, the Anjuman was a social organization focused on education and eradicating all social evils and vices from Pashtun society. But soon, the Anjuman members realized the insidious intention of alien rule and turned it into a political organization. On the recommendation of his companion, Mian Akbar Shah, Bacha Khan announced the formation of Zalmu Jarga on September 1 1929, in his home town, Utmanzai. Like the schools, its membership was open to every youth without any caste, creed or religious discrimination, provided he was literate. Its objective included the attainment of independence for Hindustan by all peaceful means.

As mentioned earlier, the Zalmu Jarga was formed to enlist the support of all youth residing in the area for the independence cause. But to accommodate the illiterate and aged Pashtun nationalists, another organization was formed in November 1929, named the khudai Khidmatgar movement (servants of God). But due to its Brown uniform, it was called RED SHIRTS in the government Communique. Over time, this organization has superseded the previous one- Zalmu Jarga- and gained immense popularity in NWFP and, later on, the entire Sub-Continent. Consensually, Bacha Khan was elected its president and Hijab Gul its secretary. The organization's objectives were the same as those of Zalmu Jarga- purification of Pashtun society and complete independence of India through peaceful means.

Before joining the organization, the members had to pledge to abstain from violence and strict adherence to it (Shah, 2010). All the members were disciplined, trained and drilled on military patterns. Even the members were given the titles of Generals, colonels and captions. The underlining feature of the organization was the adaptation of Non-violence. To prompt the people to embrace Non-violence, he [Bacha Khan] used to say to his people that "like violence, Non-violence is also a power that has its Army, the non-violence also has its Army (Khan, 2016). No accurate number of Khudai Khidmatgars is available; official and non-official records are silent, but a careful study suggests that it numbered 12 to 15 hundred (Shah, 1999).

The Genesis of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement

The Khudai Khidmatghar Movement (KKM), as it is perceived, was not only a political movement but carried many aspects. The movement passed through different stages of evolution and became political. Historically, many

movements emerged on the Pashtun's soil, and most opted for arm struggle to liberate their land. But KKM came up with a non-violent strategy to do the same job. The movement first embarked on its Journey as a social reformation movement. As the respondent mentioned, "Bacha Khan was well aware of the prominent evils in the Pashtun's society, namely, how the Pashtun people held violence above anything else, and how they were far from getting modern education which will make them a respectable citizen of society" (I. Yousufzai, personal communication, September 21, 2017). This movement started as a step towards social reformation to remove societal evils. It was not based on some dogmatic belief but on developing a capacity to judge good and bad in people, and this was precisely what Bacha Khan aimed at while trying to reform society.

Bacha Khan sensed that modern education would be necessary for them to achieve this aim. A volunteer From the Bacha Khan Markaz says: To promote education, at first, he worked in collaboration with Haji Sahib Turangzai and formed Azad Madrasah in 1910. Later, to further his efforts to promote education and this movement, he laid the foundation of Anjuman Aslah ul Afghanistan in 1921. (I. Yousufzai, personal communication, September 21, 2017). Similarly, views were also shared by another respondent said: When the British had extended its Imperialistic power to NWFP, Bacha Khan, as a reaction, established a society for the reformation of Afghans called "Anjumani-Islah-ul-Afghanistan". Aslah-ul-Afghanistan. Aimed to reform the Pashtun's community and resolve internal feuds" (H. Roghanay, personal communication, September 21, 2017). The purpose was to resolve the feuds between the people and their tribes and unite them.

At that time, this society had performed well and succeeded. But as the British oppression against indigenous people was getting worse, Bacha Khan in 1929 officially formed the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. The Anjuman wasn't dissolved but transformed into a larger body in 1929 called the Khudai Khidmatgar movement—the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement aimed to promote solidarity and unity among people. Bacha Khan knew that unless and until people tolerate each other, they cannot be united. Khudai Khidmatghar Movement was primarily based on non-violent policy to achieve its objectives. Before KKM, many other Pashtun leaders had waged different movements to uplift and liberate its people; some were Per Rukhan, Khushal Khan Khattak, Sar Toor Faqeer and Faqeer Ape. But most of these movements were violent. As a Professor from Bacha Khan University says: "The distinct feature of the movement is that this movement was a non-violent movement, though Bacha Khan himself raised in a warfare atmosphere. But he characterized his movement non-violent" (F. Faran, personal communication, September 21, 2017). Another respondent further adds:

Other companions like Haji Sab Turangzai and Fazal Muhammad Mukhfi used the Islamic slogan of Jihad against the British yoke. However, Bacha Khan remained sceptical of their action with no genuine results, and that's why his movement was based on the non-violence principle, which differentiated it from other movements in the history of South Asia. (F. Faran, personal communication, September 21, 2017).

A Response to Violence: How Khudai Khidmatghar offered an Alternative to Militant Nationalism

Historically, the Pashtun nation is tagged as a violent and war-manger nation. If correctly studied, the kingdoms and kings of the Pashtun nation were primarily non-violent. The rulers of the Pashtun kingdoms were the best administrators, like Alaudin Khilji, Bahlul Lodhi, Sikandar Lodhi, etc. A senior Professor from Bacha Khan University says, “The reason for its violent nature is that the region of Pashtun inhabitants is a gateway to the sub-continent, so whenever the invaders entered this region, they always found a strong resistance from Pashtun people to defend itself” (S. Ahmad, personal communication, September 23, 2017). So, this constant confrontation with foreign invaders has added a hawkish quality to their nature, which they had always used for their defence.

As already mentioned, the Pashtun society at that time was surrounded by many evils that were weakening the firm foundations of Pashtun's culture and were hindering its progress. “At that time, Bacha Khan emerged as a leader and felt the need to reform the society so that the people will be more concerned with the pressing issues of the day instead of fighting for useless things” (I.Yousufzai, personal communication, September 21, 2017). Moreover, it is also evident from history that most of the problems were solved through peaceful negotiations, like the issue of the Berlin wall and the crisis in East Taimur. Similarly, Bacha Khan knows that a violent war is not a big deal for Pashtun, but it will bring no fruition. “Bacha Khan was aware of British might and their technological advancement. They had seized our land through power. Bacha Khan was convinced that we cannot succeed through violent means due to British military power” (H. Roghanay, personal communication, September 21, 2017). The power of governing and resources at that time was in the hands of the British Empire. Pashtuns, on one side were not too powerful to challenge the British Empire through violent tools. Another reason was the internal feuds and conflict among the Pashtuns and the use of violence against each other. The fear was once again equipping Pashtun with weapons to fight the British, which would make them further aggressive and violent. “The reason for this was to organize and reform the people purely on non-violent principles and inculcate this quality in their mind to make them competent to throw British yoke” (F. Faran, personal communication, September 21, 2017).

Social Reforms through Non-Violence; Khudai Khidmatgar's Approach to Eradicating Social Evils

As we see, the important thing in the study of history is that we always look at the incident at what time it happened and how it usually occurs. The objectives of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement were set according to the prevailing situation, and Bacha Khan had worked on priorities. He usually settled the problem according to the present situation, and left the unimportant things to be decided next time. It means that Bacha Khan had worked evolutionarily. There were two main objectives of this movement.

“To eliminate all internal feuds and factionalism among his people, which people regarded as an honour for

themselves. And to literate his people and assured them to compete with other nations through knowledge” (S. Ahmad, personal communication, September 23, 2017). For this purpose, Bacha Khan opened 144 schools named Azad Islamia schools. “Bacha Khan had opened Azad Schools with the help of its companions like Molvi Israeli, Molvi Taj Muhammad, and Molvi Abdul Aziz to educate its people” (Khan, personal communication, September 25, 2017). The most crucial objective of the movement was to convince people that non-violence is better than violence and show strong adherence to it, and secondly, to imbue people with modern education. “Beyond that, he also fought for women's rights. And especially for its share in inheritance. He [Bacha Khan] also made people aware to stop spending lavishly on social events and advised them to spend them on social welfare” (I. Yousufzai, personal communication, September 21, 2017).

Pashtun Nationalism and Self Determination: Khudai Khidmatghar Quest for Autonomy

To achieve a social end, the mean is politics. Similarly, Khudai Khidmatghar Movement was a social movement, but it had become political to achieve its social objectives through legislation in his time. As said, the movement had worked in the field of education and also worked for women's rights. “The political objective of KKM was first to complete independence of united India, and after partition, it struggled for maximum provincial autonomy.” (H. Roghanay, personal communication, September 21, 2017) A senior Advocate of the Peshawar High Court says, “The political objective of the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement was to get complete independence for united India through peaceful means. But when the Congress accepted the partition plan, the movement passed a resolution for an Independent Pashtunistan at Bannu” (L. Afridi, personal communication, September 22, 2017). So, the above discussion reveals that the political objectives of the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement were twofold. First, to attain complete independence for India and live in the Indian federation with maximum provincial autonomy. But later on, when Indian Politics assumed a new shape, and Congress accepted the partition plan, the movement passed a unanimous resolution at Bannu for an independent Pashtunistan.

Distinct Ideology and Strategy: How Khudai Khidmatghar Diverged from Indian National Congress

Whenever an alliance took place, it had some decisive principles. According to those principles, the allied parties worked on their priorities. The Khudai Khidmatghar Movement had allied with INC's government in NWFP. Even at that time, the movement was not an offshoot of Congress. “During this alliance, the KKM had retained its identity as a separate political entity and had worked according to its organizational structure, and it is evident from the fact that even during his visits to NWFP, Gandhi had called them by its original name Khudai Khidmatgars” (Khan, personal communication, September 25, 2017). A senior Advocate of Peshawar High Court also endorses this view. He said, “The Khudai Khidmatghar Movement was the outcome of the solo efforts of Bacha Khan and was completely independent. Before the alliance in the 1930s with INC, the movement was already popular among Pashtuns. Until

then, INC had no such notable roots in NWFP” (L. Afridi, personal communication, September 22, 2017). Khudai Khidmatghar Movement was an independent movement. Till the incident of Qissa Khuani Bazar, the movement had no links with INC.

Bacha Khan was already incarcerated in Gujarat jail, and the British had unleashed its atrocities on KKs. “Three of the KK met with Bacha Khan at the jail and apprised him of the situation. Bacha Khan had directed them to go to ML and ask for their help, but ML leaders had declined to help them. Later, on the advice of Sahib Zada Abdul Qayyum Khan- the NWFP chief minister- that KKM had allied itself with INC while retaining its separate identity” (S. Ahmad, personal communication, September 23, 2017). “The independent identity of the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement is evident from the fact that on the occasion of the Second World War, INC extended its support to the British. “Bacha Khan distanced the movement from INC and resigned from the membership of the central working committee of congress, when congress extended its support to British” (S. Ahmad, personal communication, September 23, 2017). So, it demonstrates that KKM was only a political ally of INC. This discussion demonstrates that the political alliance between KKM and INC is misunderstood. Until the partition, the movement was only a political partner of INC. Khudai Khidmatghar Movement was genuinely the solo effort of the people of NWFP and Bacha Khan and remained in alliance with INC while retaining its separate political identity.

Non-Violent Resistance and Conflict Resolution; Khudai Khidmatghar's Influence on Pashtun Society

The Pashtun society at that time was replete with violence, which was hindering true unity. The people remained indulged in the intra-tribal war for generations and had exhausted all its energy in factionalism. However, the emergence of the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement indelibly affected people's social life. “The remarkable part of this movement was that it brought a balance between two prominent institutions, the Hujra and the Jamaat. The people would gather at Hujra at night, and one of the literate persons would start reading Pashtun magazine to them” (S. Ahmad, personal communication, September 23, 2017). “Before partition, the communal riots broke out in the sub-continent, in which millions of people were exterminated. During these riots, not a single case of death between Hindus and Muslims occurred on the soil of Khudai Khidmatghars” (H. Roghanay, personal communication, September 21, 2017). At that time, Bacha Khan, from India, had directed the KKs to protect both Hindus and Muslims from violence.

On the same occasion, in India, the massacre took place under the noise of Gandhi and Bacha Khan at that time, who had advised Gandhi, who was on hunger strike, to constitute some committees across the Sub-Continent to thwart this wrath. And in NWFP, the KKs had escorted Hindus to the border for the sake of their protection. Needless to say, non-violence had become a permanent part of their body. Bacha Khan has compelled the people of Pashtun society to follow non-violence, as a lion is compelled to eat grass instead of meat. This example demonstrates how difficult the task was. One can write about it theoretically and get evidence from the pages of history for this non-violent moment.

“One can look at the incidents of Hathikhel, Barbara, Takkar, and Qissa Khuwani and inform himself about the deaths of many Pashtuns that died at the hands of British oppression, but one would never find a single evidence telling that a KK had killed any single person in retaliation” (L. Afridi, personal communication, September 22, 2017).

Mobilizing Pashtun Nationalism: Khudai Khidmatghar Role in Shaping Pashtun Political Identity

As said earlier, the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement, after the incident of Qissa Khuani Bazaar- in which hundreds of KKs were martyred- started participating in the Sub-Continent politics. Until then, KKM had confined itself to social activities like education, eradicating social vices and struggling for women's rights, especially their share in inheritance, etc. But this movement also created a political sense and awareness in people. “In every election, the people had voted for a SHAKEEL KK against a big Khan.” (S. Ahmad, personal communication, September 23, 2017). It was the unabated struggle of Bacha Khan, which he had organized and united the Pashtun people. “Bacha Khan, for the first time, had united the Pashtun on organizational pattern Khudai Khidmatghar Movement and implanted a peaceful strategy in them for the liberation of their land against foreign authority” (L. Afridi, personal communication, September 22, 2017). “Once, a person had asked for a Vote from a shepherd, and the shepherd replied that KKs had already won his vote. You people had not worked for it. Bacha Khan is working for education and reformation of people and society” (S. Ahmad, personal communication, September 23, 2017).

The above discourse concludes that the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement worked on both social and political levels. It had washed the pervasive violence from the society and uprooted all social evils from the people. All KKs, including Bacha Khan, had literate their female children and fixed their due share in the property. Politically, the Pashtun people saw the first such organized and unbiased movement. The people became aware of the British lopsided attitude, staged a formidable peaceful resistance to their oppressions, and shared a more significant political participation in the then politics of the sub-continent.

Balancing Social Reforms and Political Activism: Khudai Khidmatghar's Dual Role

Nowadays, it is a debate of high concern among the intelligentsia whether the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement was socially successful. As discussed, the movement rendered many social and educational services for the people. Socially, KKM remained engaged in the social welfare of the people and proved a successful social reformation movement. Socially Khudai Khidmatghar Movement was a successful movement. “Due to the teachings and discourse of the movement, people denounced violence, started getting modern education and accepted women's rights and their participation in politics. Bacha Khan would organize a separate gathering of Women and deliver a speech to them” (L. Afridi, personal communication, September 22, 2017). All the KKs had educated their female children. A senior professor from Abdul Wali Khan University also seconded this thought and said, “Inside jails, the British had gone to every extent in the humiliation of KKs.

They would strip down their clothes and pass them naked through every compartment of the jail in front of other prisoners. In such circumstances, the KKs had even denied their bail and bore all these atrocities peacefully and never resorted to violence” (S. Ahmad, personal communication, September 23, 2017). The same respondent further says, “At that time, the Pashtuns would take money from Hindus with interest, and Bacha Khan told them that it is forbidden in our religion and asked people to live simple lives. After that, the people stopped taking money with interest from Hindus” (S. Ahmad, personal communication, September 23, 2017).

Khudai Khidmatghar Movement's political ambition was the complete independence of united India and maximum provincial autonomy. Though in 1947, the British were ousted from power, the sub-continent was divided into two states, i.e. Pakistan and India. It is also said that after partition the movement had passed a resolution for independent Pakhtunistan, which also became a political aim of KKM. On this issue the respondents express different views. As a senior Advocate from Peshawar High Court says, “Socially, the KKM was successful, but politically it was not victorious. It succeeded by eradicating Inter feuds between Pashtun and a violent and disorganized tribal life. On the Political side, the movement had not won an Independent Pakhtunistan nor a united Afghanistan for the Pashtun people. In this political sense, KKM was not a successful movement” (L. Afridi, personal communication, September 22, 2017). Another respondent also expresses the same view: “Politically this movement was unsuccessful as it couldn't achieve its goal of united Afghanistan or Azad Pakhtunistan, but ideologically it was successful movement and had given a political education to people in the Pashtun history”.

It is known that the idea of independent Pakhtunistan and United Afghanistan remained wishful thinking for Khudai Khidmatghar Movement, but some of the respondents still believe in the movement's Political success. As a senior Professor says, “It was a successful movement, and it laid a distinctive influence on the culture, customs, minds and society of the people and society. In the history of the sub-continent from 1921 to 1947, no one can erase Bacha Khan from the history pages” (S. Ahmad, personal communication, September 23, 2017). All the movements that started at that time are now under-surfaced. Among them was the “Khaksar Movement” movement led by a sophisticated man, Anayat Ullah Mashriqi. This movement was arrayed under the close watchdog of the British to weaken the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement. But I believe the movement is still alive with its primary agenda, maximum provincial autonomy and other settled objectives and all other movements were buried along with the corpse of their leadership” (H. Roghanay, personal communication, September 21, 2017).

Then you look to some other events that Quaid e Azam and Liaqat Ali Khan had tried for reconciliation with Bacha Khan, which he accepted, but due to the connivance of Liaqat Ali Khan and Qayyum Khan, this reconciliation didn't occur. Besides the 1946 election, Bacha Khan was out of the province during the election. Albeit, the Khidmaghar won 30 seats in an assembly of 50 legislatures and established KK's

government. This proved that the movement was successful and influential. When the British had gone they had saved the remarkable record of KKM and NWFP's politics” All the movements started at that time are now under-surfaced. Among them was the “Khaksar Movement” movement led by a sophisticated man, Anayat Ullah Mashriqi. This movement was arrayed under the close watchdog of the British to weaken the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement. But I believe the movement is still alive with its primary agenda, maximum provincial autonomy and other settled objectives and all other movements were buried along with the corpse of their leadership” (H. Roghanay, personal communication, September 21, 2017).

Khudai Khidmatghar' Movement in the Eyes of Pshatuns

The Khudai Khidmatghar Movement in its time has done its job tremendously, whether it was the entire reformation of the Pashtun's society, imparting education, struggle for women's rights, or the political unity and education of people and denouncing violence in their political struggle. But still, the people have misapprehended the movement and its socio-political services. Nowadays, people are sceptical of this movement. The reason is that; “the people were made suspicious in a systematic way through fabricated literature, and the motives behind this was to achieve its vested interests by indulging people in violence” (F. Faran, personal communication, September 21, 2017). One should know about the services and sacrifices of the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement. A lot of published work is available on the movement. “Today's generation should be aware itself of KKM. The irony is that some fabricated literature has created many illusions in people's minds. The people should pay homage to the movement and its role in the community” (L. Afridi, personal communication, September 22, 2017).

However, due to much work on the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement, the people are now disillusioned with this movement. As one of the respondents said in a very optimistic said, “After the partition, the resistance of this movement is now receding, unlike before the partition. The reason for that is technological advancement and social media forums that introduce people to this movement and present a counter-narrative. So, in contemporary times, this movement is facing resistance to a lesser degree, unlike during its nascent era” (H. Roghanay, personal communication, September 21, 2017). It is desperately needed that the people of the Pashtun community show some interest in the revival of this movement, which will transform them completely, as was the case in the days of Bacha Khan. “Unfortunately, a leader like Bacha Khan is not available, and this suggests that people should try to explore this movement individually so that they will be able to unite themselves as one nation and will ultimately be able to achieve goals that in the face of the present day seem impossible to achieve” (S. Ahmad, personal communication, September 23, 2017). To sum up, today, too much literature is available on the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement, its services and its role in the political landscape of the Sub-Continent, and people have easy access to that stuff through electronic media and the internet. Indeed, People now seem satisfactory regarding the role of the movement that it played.

CONCLUSION

The Khudai Khidmatghar Movement, from its nascent time, has envisioned a society blessed with harmony, tolerance, and brotherhood. The first step towards this goal was establishing a society for the reformation of Afghans, called Anjumani Islah ul Afghanistan, in 1920. To pursue his dreams, Bacha Khan, with his other companions had opened Azad Islamia Schools in different villages of NWFP. Initially, the focus was on redressing Pashtun's society along Islamic lines. Before Bacha Khan, none of the Pashtun leaders had ever worked for its people in this manner. Bacha Khan used to tell his people that unless they didn't renounce inter feuds and violence and get modern education, they couldn't compete with other nations of the world. Besides that, women were debarred of its due share in the property then. After the emergence of the movement, all KKM had educated their female children and rendered their shares in property.

When Bacha Khan laid the foundation of this movement, he was well aware that women were one-half of the total population, and for the movement to succeed, the participation of women was necessary. Therefore, Bacha Khan ensured the participation of women. For instance, Alif Jan Khattak, Rangeena Bibi, and Begum Naseem Wali Khan were the prominent female figures of this movement. Later on, the circle of Anjuman was extended to a larger body called the Khudai Khidmatghar movement in 1929, and after the Carnage of Qissa Khwani Bazar, KKM established a political alliance with INC. The distinct feature of the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement was that it adopted a non-violent policy for all its future actions, and history had witnessed KKM with Non-violence as their creed. In his letter to Nehru, Gandhi says that for INC, non-violence was merely a political strategy and a way of life for Bacha Khan and KKM. Even in the face of the harsh brutalities of the British, KKM remained peaceful and didn't retaliate. This movement primarily aimed to change the mind of people.

Additionally, the political strategy of KKM was first to work on eradicating social stratification and brought forward the lower class of society to amalgamate them with the upper class. Bacha Khan aimed at uniting all people of the society and preparing them to fight for the liberation of their land. So, this was the strategy of Bacha Khan and the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement to unite people without discrimination. Moreover, Bacha Khan had always selected the right person for the right job without bias, like the Salar (General of KKM) was Anzer Gul, a local Waiver. The important thing was the ownership and propagation of the movement.

There was no class distinction in this movement, and the appointment of different workers of the movement was entirely made, keeping in mind the credibility and capacity of the worker following the responsibilities that a particular issue demanded. That is why people considered this movement as their movement; people owned it. Moreover, most of the people are of the view that Khudai Khidmatghar Movement was only an ethnic Pashtun movement. Though it was established for Pashtuns, the movement also respected other ethnicities, their culture, religion, and other values. Likewise, all the movements have

some specific locality from which they emerge. However, over time, each movement goes out from its local sphere and becomes a global movement with powerful narratives. The movement of Nelson Mandela and Martin Luther King in South Africa and America, respectively, had some locality, but later on these two movements became a global movement for the oppressed people worldwide. Similarly, the KKM, though engaged in Pashtun locality, its narrative and other elements were collective and were for all human races.

Beyond that, the political aims of the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement were the complete independence of United India and the maximum degree of right to their resources through peaceful means. But after the partition of India in 1947, the movement's growing demand was an Independent state- Azad Pashtunistan. But neither of these two demands was achieved by the KKM, which implies that the movement was unsuccessful politically. It can also be said that the ultimate political purpose of the movement was independence from the cruel clutches of the British government, and the party failed to achieve it because it could not create an independent Pashtunistan. However, economically and socially, the success of the party was unprecedented. On the other hand, it is undeniable that the teachings and discourses of Bacha Khan and the Khudai Khidmatghar Movement had an indelible effect on the minds and lives of the people. In recognition of his peace services, in 1985, Bacha Khan was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Conflict of Interests

The authors has declared that no competing interests exist.

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