



WORDS OF FREEDOM

IDEAS OF A NATION



KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

I hope and trust that god will help us in the sacred mission and people will recognize that the essence of love, truth and non-violence is the hallmark of every good, free and prosperous society —KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was known as the Frontier Gandhi. His unflinching advocacy of non-violence made him a legend in his lifetime. A Pathan from the North West Frontier Province, a place where feuds were routinely settled by bloodshed, the Frontier Gandhi's commitment to non-violence was all the more extraordinary and he and his followers, the Khudai Khidmatgars, came to be widely admired for their convictions. He joined the Indian National Congress and played an active role in the anti-colonial struggle. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan fought the idea of partition relentlessly, refusing to make common cause with the Muslim League's demand for a Muslim homeland, but events overtook him and the NWFP became part of the new nation of Pakistan. After 1947, Ghaffar Khan continued to champion non-violence. He was imprisoned several times for his criticisms of the Pakistani state. In all he spent fifty-two years of his ninety-eight in jail. He died in 1988 and is buried in Jalalabad, Afghanistan.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan spoke out passionately against communalism, against the formation of identities according to creed. His unflinching commitment to non-violence and to the vital importance of a secular, pluralist outlook give his words an authority that resonates even today.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890–1988) was born into a leading family of Khans in the North West Frontier Province. Khan's passion for equality, secularism and non-violence led him to join the anti-colonial struggle. He opposed the partition of the country, but continued his fight for freedom and justice after 1947 in the new state of Pakistan. He was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985 and awarded the Bharat Ratna by the Indian government—the first non-Indian citizen to receive this award.

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KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN



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Introduction

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's unflinching advocacy of non-violence amongst the fierce Pathan tribesmen of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) made him a legend in his lifetime. Ghaffar Khan, also called Badshah Khan and sometimes the Frontier Gandhi, was born into a leading family of Khans at Charsadda near Peshawar in 1890. Throughout his life he turned his back firmly not only on the privileges of his feudal background but on the established Pathan code of resolving issues through blood feuds and wars. From an early age he understood the connection between backwardness and belligerence and the movement he founded, the Khudai Khidmatgars, was an organized rural force that eschewed violence and opposed all forms of oppression. He joined the Indian National Congress in their fight against colonial rule and was closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Azad. He fought the idea of partition relentlessly, refusing to make common cause with the Muslim League's demand for a Muslim nation and led a boycott of the referendum held in NWFP on the subject in 1946 on the grounds that it was communalizing the issue. When the division of the country and the allocation of NWFP to Pakistan became inevitable, he famously wrote to Gandhi—not with bitterness, but in absolute desolation: 'You have thrown us to the wolves'.

After 1947, Ghaffar Khan continued his fight for liberty and justice. He was imprisoned several times for his outspoken criticism of the Pakistan regime and his opposition to the measures against the people of what was then East Pakistan. In all he spent fifty-two years of his ninety-eight in jail. He died in 1988 but his unflinching commitment to non-violence and the importance of a secular tolerant outlook give his words a resonance and authority even today.

'I hope and trust that God will help us in the sacred mission and people will recognize that the essence of love, truth and non-

violence is the hallmark of every good, free and prosperous society.'

THE PATHANS

1942



‘WHILE THE PATHANS ARE INTENSELY FREEDOM-LOVING AND RESENT ANY KIND OF SUBJUGATION, MOST OF THEM ARE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEIR FREEDOM CAN WELL HARMONIZE WITH THE CONCEPTION OF INDIAN FREEDOM, AND THAT IS WHY THEY HAVE JOINED HANDS WITH THE REST OF THEIR COUNTRYMEN IN COMMON STRUGGLE, INSTEAD OF FAVOURING THE SCHEME OF BREAKING UP INDIA INTO MANY STATES. They have come to realize that the division of India will result in an all-round weakness in the modern world, where no part of it will have sufficient resources and strength to preserve its own freedom. The days of isolation 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 of their own free will, they are prepared to work in unity and co-operation with others in this country as well as their brethren of the tribal territories, who have so long been kept aloof from us and forced to lead a life unworthy of a people. But while I share these sentiments with my people, I cannot for a moment deny them the right of self-determination. There can be no forced conversion to a doctrine, and at the proper time each unit will automatically exercise its own discretion to decide any future. Yet the desirability of India as a whole developing close relations and endeavouring to build up a powerful federation of Asiatic peoples to resist aggression from outside, cannot be ruled out and will act as the chief factor to compel the forces of separatism to think differently and establish close contacts with those they are opposing today. The Asiatic countries will not be aggressive or hostile to others in the world and will strive to develop friendly relations with them. But on no account will they permit the present form of things to continue and labour under

adverse conditions. It is encouraging to find that there are many who envisage such a bloc of peace and freedom in the East and look to it for ushering in a new era. The Frontier Province is so situated that, as in the past, it will inevitably become the pivot and centre of all these great changes and alliances, and will begin to play an important role not only in a free India, but in free Asia.'

THE BIRTH OF THE KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS

1929

Quoted in *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a Battle* by D.G. Tendulkar (Published for Gandhi Peace Foundation by Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1967).



‘FROM LAHORE I WENT TO LUCKNOW, WHERE A CONGRESS MEETING WAS BEING HELD IN 1929. Here for the first time I met Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji. I was not acquainted with them, but Jawaharlalji had intimate relations with [Badshah Khan’s] brother Dr. Khan Sahib. They were in England together and studied in the London University. My brother had given me a letter of introduction to Jawaharlalji. I discussed Afghanistan affairs at length with Jawaharlalji.

‘Then I went to Delhi. One Friday I met Mahomed Ali in a mosque. He was a decent man and very kind to me. His brother, Shaukat Ali, was not a desirable person and he misled his brother, especially, on the question of Afghanistan. On that account I was annoyed with him and avoided meeting him. When he sighted me, he approached me with a smile and said, “We don’t care for the Pathans.” I retorted, “We too do not care for such leaders who are misled by others. Please, remember that you are saying the same things about Amanullah as the Britishers.” Embracing me warmly he said, “Brother, tell me the facts.” He then took me to his house ...

‘A few days later, I received a telegram from Nadir Khan about his conquest of Kabul. We celebrated the happy occasion by taking out two impressive processions from the northern and the southern points of Hashtanagar. They converged at Utmanzai, where we held a mammoth meeting. I told the audience that there are only two means by which a nation progresses: religion and patriotism. Though America and Europe have neglected religion, they are full of national spirit. They have

prospered. The cause of our degradation is that we are lacking in national and religious spirit. A great revolution is in the offing, but you are not even aware of it. During my recent visit to the subcontinent, I noticed that men and women were fully prepared to serve the nation. Leave aside women, even our men are not aware of the interests of the country and community. The revolution is like a flood. A nation can prosper thereby and can perish as well. A nation that is wide awake, that cultivates brotherhood, comradely feelings and national spirit, is sure to benefit through revolution. A nation that lacks these qualities, is swept away by the flood. You are mistaken if you think that a prosperous nation drops from heaven. A nation progresses that produces people who deny themselves leisure and comfort and stake their social status and future prospects for the advancement of their nation. We have not such men among us, and, therefore, we are backward. Those who march forward, know that their real prosperity lies in the progress of their nation. We look only to our self-interest and let the country go to the devil. We fail to understand that our individual prosperity does not lead to the national prosperity. When a nation prospers, every citizen benefits thereby. We look only to our own personal gain. A concern for isolated existence is the way of the beasts. The animals create their own shelters, choose their mates and rear their progeny. How are we superior beings if we do the same? If you want the progress and prosperity of your country, you should lead a community life instead of an individual existence ...

‘The meeting had a great impact on the audience. The following day a young man visited me and said that he wanted to found an organization to serve the Pakhtun community and bring about reforms. We held discussions and consultations over it. We already had an organization, “Anjuman-Islah-ul-Afaghina”. It was working for the spread of education and we decided that it should continue to do this very important work. To remove the other social drawbacks from our backward community, we founded another organization, “Khudai Khidmatgar”, the “Servants of God”. At first it was a completely non-political organization, but the British policy of oppression compelled it to participate in politics. It is a paradox that the British were instrumental in bringing us and the Congress together.

‘Among us prevailed family feuds, intrigues, enmities, evil customs, quarrels and riots. Whatever the Pakhtuns earned was squandered on

harmful customs and practices and on litigations. Underfed and underclothed, Pakhtuns led a miserable life. Nor were we prosperous traders or good agriculturists. After prolonged exchange of views, in September 1929, we succeeded in forming the “Khudai Khidmatgar” organization. We called it so, in order to fulfil a particular purpose; we wanted to infuse among the Pakhtuns the spirit and consciousness for the service of our community and country in the name of God. We were wanting in that spirit. The Pakhtuns believed in violence and that too not against aliens but their own brethren. The near and dear ones were the victims of violence. The intrigues and dissensions tore them asunder. Another great drawback was the spirit of vengeance and lack of character and good habits among them.

‘One who aspired to become a Khudai Khidmatgar, declared on solemn oath: “I am a Khudai Khidmatgar, and as God needs no service I shall serve Him by serving His creatures selflessly. I shall never use violence, I shall not retaliate or take revenge, and I shall forgive anyone who indulges in oppression and excesses against me. I shall not be a party to any intrigue, family feuds and enmity, and I shall treat every Pakhtun as my brother and comrade. I shall give up evil customs and practices. I shall lead a simple life, do good and refrain from wrongdoing. I shall develop good character and cultivate good habits. I shall not lead an idle life. I shall expect no reward for my services. I shall be fearless and be prepared for any sacrifice.”’

THE NEED FOR AN UNDIVIDED INDIA

1942

Excerpt from the preface of *Frontier Speaks* by Mohammad Yunnus (Hind Kitab, Bombay, 1947).



TO MANY THE STORY OF THE NORTH HAS BEEN A DUAL PHENOMENON—THE COMPLETE INDIVIDUALITY OF THE PATHAN AND YET HIS UNITY WITH THE REST OF INDIA TOWARDS THE ATTAINMENT OF A COMMON GOAL. This finds adequate manifestation in the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement growing out of the very soil of the Frontier Province and slowly finding a place in the larger Freedom Movement of a big sub-continent. In this connexion it is significant to note that while the Pathans are intensely freedom-loving and resent any kind of subjugation, most of them are beginning to understand that their freedom can well harmonize with the conception of Indian Freedom, and that is why they have joined hands with the rest of their countrymen in a common struggle, instead of favouring the scheme of breaking up India into many States. They have come to realize that the division of India will result in an all-round weakness in the modern world, where no part of it will have sufficient resources and strength to preserve its own freedom. The days of isolationism are no more. A new conception of international collaboration and co-operation is seeking to be born. The Pathans hate compulsion and dictation of any type, but out of their own free will, they are prepared to work in unity and co-operation with others in this country as well as their brethren of the Tribal Territories, who have so long been kept aloof from us and forced to lead a life unworthy of a people.

But while I share these sentiments with my people, I cannot for a moment deny them the right of self-determination. There can be no forced conversion to a doctrine, and at the proper time, each unit will

automatically exercise its own discretion to decide any future, yet the desirability of India as a whole developing close relations and endeavouring to build up a powerful federation of Asiatic peoples to resist aggression from outside, cannot be ruled out and will act as the chief factor to compel the forces of separatism to think differently and establish close contacts with those they are opposing today. The Asiatic countries will not be aggressive or hostile to others in the world and will strive to develop friendly relations with them. But on no account will they permit the present form of things to continue and labour under adverse conditions.

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

... The Frontier was kept in a state of isolation till quite recently and very few knew anything about the actual state of affairs here ...

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.

RECOLLECTIONS OF BEING JAILED

1931

Quoted in *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a Battle* by D.G. Tendulkar (Published for Gandhi Peace Foundation by Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1967).



‘TO GAIN INDEPENDENCE TWO TYPES OF MOVEMENTS WERE LAUNCHED IN OUR PROVINCE: VIOLENT AND NON-VIOLENT. The violent movement was first started, and then after three or four decades the non-violent movement was launched in 1929. The British crushed the violent movement in no time, but the non-violent movement, in spite of intense repression, flourished. The violent movement engendered fear and cowardice in the people and made them morally weak and faint-hearted. The non-violent movement removed fear from the hearts of Pakhtuns and made them brave and raised their morale.

‘The violent movement created hatred in the hearts of the people against violence. But the non-violent movement won love, affection and sympathy of the people. It generated in the Pakhtuns the spirit of patriotism and brotherhood and brought about a great revolution in their poetry, literature and way of living. In short, violence is hatred, and non-violence is love. If a Britisher was killed, not only the culprit was punished, but the whole village and entire region suffered for it. The people held the violence and its doer responsible for repression. In the non-violent movement we courted self-suffering, and the community did not suffer but benefited. Thus, it won love and sympathy of the people. Another great contribution of this movement is to recast their life that was replete with violent family feuds and internecine fights. The British considered a non-violent Pathan more dangerous than a violent Pathan, and that is why in 1932 they inflicted on them heinous acts to goad them to violence. But they failed.

‘Some examples of the British atrocities are worth mentioning here. The Britishers stripped the Pathans of their trousers and made them naked. When picketing was in full swing in Charsadda, they undressed the volunteers, twisted their testicles with a tight loop of rope, and beat them till they lost consciousness. Then they threw the dazed volunteers into a pit filled with urine and faeces. In freezing weather the volunteers were thrown in water and many were shot.

‘In the Haripur jail alone over 10,000 Khudai Khidmatgars were confined during the coldest months. Each prisoner was supplied with one blanket and one chapati, and that too failed to reach each and every prisoner. Many prominent leaders were whipped and were made to grind corn on *chakkis* and to turn *ghanis*. They were confined to the solitary cells. There was no cruelty and insult to which the political prisoners were not subjected to.

‘In the Hazaribagh jail I was locked up in a barrack alone; none but the superintendent and the jailor could see me. I was a state prisoner, the collector visited me every month. Loneliness has always affected my health. The collector was a perfect gentleman, and though I had never complained, he noticed that I was losing weight and there was a pallor on my face, and the solitary confinement was telling on me. I suggested to him that Kazi Atatullah who was in Gaya jail and suffering from sleeplessness might be sent to stay with me. He recommended the Government Kazi Saheb’s transfer to Hazaribagh, but the Frontier Government opposed it because he too was an eyesore to them. Instead, Dr. Khan Sahib was brought over to Hazaribagh from Naini Jail.

‘When Dr. Khan Sahib found me locked up in a barrack, he said that in the Naini Jail he was allowed to go out of his barrack and move about in the jail compound. The Superintendent of the Hazaribagh Jail, a Punjabi, who had lived with Dr. Khan Sahib in England, was very timid. He told us, ‘If I allow you that liberty, I shall be ruined.’ Dr. Khan Sahib was adamant on this point and finally we were allowed to move about inside the jail. Soon we came to know that Rajendra Prasad and Acharya Kripalani and many political workers from Bihar were also confined in our jail ...

‘Although I was a state prisoner, no allowance was sanctioned for my children, whereas the family members of Dr. Khan Sahib and Kazi

Atatullah received allowances. My son, Ghani, had to return from America without completing his course of studies for want of money. I owned substantial landed property but received no income from it, because there was none to manage the property after my arrest and at the instigation of the Government my tenants cheated me of my share of the proceeds.

‘When after completing about three years of imprisonment we were released on August 27, 1934, a ban was put on us from entering the Frontier Province and Punjab. As we had made many friends among the Biharis, we first went to Patna to meet Babu Rajendra Prasad and others. We were invited by Mahatma Gandhi and Jammalal Bajaj to stay with them in Wardha. That year the Congress was to be held in Bombay and it was proposed that I should be elected the President. Babu Rajendra Prasad insisted that I should accept the presidentship, although he was already selected for the honour. I declined the offer and informed Rajendra Prasad: “I am a soldier, a Khudai Khidmatgar. I shall only render service.”’

COMMUNAL VIOLENCE

DIRECT ACTION DAY

1946



‘THE DECLARATION OF THE DIRECT ACTION DAY IN CALCUTTA RESULTED IN COMMUNAL RIOTS ALL OVER INDIA. A few Hindus were killed in the Calcutta riots, but when the Hindus and Sikhs in revenge adopted the League’s methods the Muslims suffered indescribable and irreparable loss of life and property. To fan the flame the Muslim League, under the pretext of avenging Calcutta, let loose hell in Noakhali. These brutal acts made humanity hang its head in shame. The Hindus were caught in the net of British policy of “divide and rule” and, under the same pretext of avenging Noakhali, they committed atrocities on the innocent Muslims of Bihar. The Muslim Leaguers’ wish and prayer to God to usher in the day of expectation to grab power by unfair means and to divide the country was fulfilled. They set fire from one end of the land to the other and smeared their hands with blood and loot. The British bureaucracy gloated over the League vandalism. They wanted to paint the Indians as beasts, thirsting for each other’s blood, and incapable of behaving as decent human beings. They wanted to convince the Labour Government that the Britishers should continue to rule over India, otherwise the Indians would meet their doom through fratricide. Aided by their patrons, the Muslim Leaguers took advantage of the situation to spread anarchy in the land.

‘I was a witness to the ruination of the Muslims of the Patna district. The Muslim homes were looted, burnt and destroyed in many parts of Bihar. Many lives were lost, one hundred and fifty thousands made homeless, villages were devastated and deserted. A few stricken villagers who stayed on, were sheltered in the camps. The Muslim Leaguers not yet appeased, wanted to turn these losses to their gain. They advised the

stricken Muslims to migrate to Bengal. I wanted to rehabilitate them in their own homes. I approached the Muslim League leaders, staying in the stately mansion of Barrister Yunus and all the time busy sleeping or feasting. I told them that I wanted their help in saving the afflicted Muslim brethren from their misery as they had a surfeit of it. "If you sincerely wish to rehabilitate them in Bengal," I said, "I won't stand in the way. But if you want to exploit them for your political ends, it is surely improper. They are already in great distress. For God's sake, do not aggravate it." Bereft of any feeling, they sent them to Bengal. They frustrated me in my effort to rebuild their houses and to rehabilitate them in their villages before the rains set in. The Leaguers were opposed to it because they were bent upon destruction rather than construction. The migrants lived in greater misery than those who stayed on. Some died on the way and some after reaching Bengal, and then they came to their senses and returned to Patna. They realized that the Muslim Leaguers had neither the power nor the inclination to do any good, but only were using them as their pawns.

'The afflicted Muslims wanted somebody to escort them to their village huts that concealed their buried valuables, but the scared Muslim Leaguers did not dare to leave the Patna city. I alone used to accompany the villagers and none were molested. After undergoing misery and troubles, the sufferers approached me to request the Bihar Government to rebuild their homes for getting them rehabilitated in their own villages. At my behest the Bihar Government promptly arranged for their rehabilitation. As the rains were approaching I thought that Gandhiji's presence in Bihar would expedite the work. On receipt of my letter he came and began the tour of the affected area. He gave them courage, strength and solace.

'Now came the turn of the Punjab and the N.-W. Frontier Province. At that time I was in Bihar doing relief work among the Muslims. The Frontier Assembly was in session. The communal riots were started in Multan, Lahore, Amritsar, Ambala, Rawalpindi, Gujranwala and the other places in the Punjab, and they fast approached Peshawar. The Muslim Leaguers attacked and abused Dr. Khan Sahib and agitated for his resignation. Innocent people were being slaughtered in the lanes and bazars of the Peshawar city. Communications were cut off and the city was isolated from the rest of India. To dislodge Dr. Khan Sahib's

ministry, the Muslim Leaguers launched a violent campaign. During these disturbances the Khudai Khidmatgars had fully come up to my expectation and ten thousands of them, true to their pledge, rushed to the succour of their Hindu and Sikh brethren in distress and helped to protect their lives and property. Their attempts to remonstrate with the Muslim League were answered with demands for invocation of the Governor's rule in the province.

‘I hope and trust that God will help us in the sacred mission and people will recognize that the essence of love, truth and nonviolence is the hall-mark of every good, free and prosperous society.’

THROWN TO THE WOLVES



GHAFFAR KHAN TOLD GANDHI IN JUNE 1946, ‘WE PAKHTUNS STOOD BY YOU AND HAD UNDERGONE GREAT SACRIFICES FOR ATTAINING FREEDOM, BUT YOU HAVE NOW DESERTED US AND THROWN US TO THE WOLVES. We shall not agree to hold referendum because we had decisively won the elections on the issue of Hindustan versus Pakistan and proclaimed the Pakhtun view on it to the world. Now as India has disowned us, why should we have a referendum on Hindustan and Pakistan? Let it be on Pakhtunistan or Pakistan.’

He records: ‘The decision about partition and referendum in the Frontier Province was taken by the High Command without consulting us. Only Gandhiji and I opposed it. Sardar Patel and Rajagopalachari were in favour of partition and holding referendum in our province. The Sardar said I was worrying over nothing. Maulana Azad was sitting near me. Noticing my dejection he said to me, “You should now join the Muslim League.” It pained me to find how little these companions of ours had understood what we had stood for and fought for all these years. Did they imagine we would compromise our principles for the sake of power? ‘Mahatmaji, you have thrown us to the wolves,’ I bitterly complained to Gandhiji after the Working Committee’s decision.

A FREE PATHAN STATE

PESHAWAR, 24 JUNE 1944



‘GREAT CHANGES THAT ARE NOW TAKING PLACE IN INDIA AS A RESULT OF THE ENDING OF THE BRITISH DOMINATION NOT ONLY AFFECT THE WHOLE OF INDIA BUT THE FRONTIER PROVINCE ALSO. I have given considerable thought to these changes and have also consulted my co-workers.

‘For more than a generation we struggled for freedom in the Frontier. In the course of this struggle, we Pathans suffered great hardships but we have never given up the struggle. Our struggle was against the British rule and domination, and in this we allied ourselves with the Indian National Congress, the great organization which was similarly fighting the British.

‘Naturally, in the circumstances, we found ourselves in close alliance and comradeship with the Congress. When we in the Frontier were in great trouble in the course of the freedom struggle, it was the Congress that came to our help, which, in spite of our requests, the League refused to give. As a matter of fact many of the present Muslim League leaders of the Frontier helped the British against their kith and kin.

‘Our struggle all along had been for the freedom of India and more especially of the Pathans. We want complete freedom. That ideal of ours still remains with us and we shall work for it.

‘Unfortunately, recent developments have placed great difficulties in our way. In the announcement of June 3, it has been stated that a referendum will be held in the North-West Frontier Province where the only alternative which will be put before the electors of the present Legislative Assembly, will be whether to join the Indian Union Constituent Assembly or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. This limits

our choice to two alternatives, neither of which we are prepared to accept. We cannot vote as we want to vote for a free Pathan state.

‘We must also take into consideration all that has happened in the Frontier Province during the last few months. An organized campaign of terrorism was launched by the Leaguers which resulted in murder of hundreds of innocent men, women and children. Property worth crores was destroyed through loot and arson. The whole atmosphere, therefore, was surcharged with communal frenzy and passion.

‘Even now leading members of the Muslim League are carrying on a raging campaign to frighten people from voting against them in the referendum.

‘Evidently, they not only intend to prevent tens of thousands of refugees who have gone out of the province from voting in the referendum but are threatening others who are in the province from voting by telling that they do so at their own peril. They remind them of the horrible outrages which disfigured the face of our province during the last few months. Religious passions of the unsophisticated Pathans also are being roused by describing the contest on the present issues as one between kafirs and Islam.

‘Holding a referendum in the circumstances and on present issues, which are essentially communal in their nature, appears to be the result of a deep-seated conspiracy. The attitude adopted by some of the highly placed officials and statesmen, who characterize the League agitation in the Frontier as “peaceful”, lends support to the above inference.

‘It is necessary to provide an opportunity for us to vote in the referendum for a free Pathan state.

‘The Viceroy said that he was unable to change the procedure laid down except with the consent of the parties. I consulted with the leaders of the Congress who assured me that they were perfectly willing for this opportunity to be given to us. Mr. Jinnah, however, on behalf of the Muslim League, entirely opposed the idea of a free Pathan state, and he would not agree to an opportunity to be given to us to vote on this issue. It is, therefore, clear that the League wants to take full advantage of the communal issues involved.

‘Because of the desire of my co-workers and mine in the matter, I tried my utmost to reach a settlement between the various parties concerned. I regret this has not been possible, because Mr. Jinnah will not agree. Perhaps he thought that I had seen him because of our weakness; I approached him as a Muslim for maintaining the unity amongst the Muslims. It is not out of our weakness that I approached him but out of strength of our cause and because of our earnest desire to have peace in the Frontier as well as freedom.

‘I maintain that a great majority of the Pakhtuns are for the establishment of a free Pathan state. With a view to ascertain the will of the people in this respect, I am prepared for holding a referendum or the general election.

‘What are we to do in these circumstances? I am convinced that we cannot associate ourselves with the referendum because of the above difficulties. I would appeal to all Khudai Khidmatgars and others who believe in a free Pathan State not to participate in the referendum and keep away from it peacefully.

‘But this does not mean that we should sit still. A new struggle has been forced upon us. After bringing into a successful conclusion of our eighteen-year-old struggle for freedom against the British domination, we are now faced with a new danger. Not only liberty of Pakhtuns but their very existence is at stake. I, therefore, call upon all Pathans who have love of their motherland at heart to unite and work for achieving the cherished goal.

‘How I wish that even at this eleventh hour Mr. Jinnah had recognized the justice of our position and refrained from dividing Pathans from Pathans.’

A LETTER TO GANDHI

NON-VIOLENCE

12 JULY 1947



‘I AND MY WORKERS HAVE BEEN GOING ABOUT VILLAGE TO VILLAGE ASKING THE PEOPLE TO REMAIN ABSOLUTELY NON-VIOLENT EVEN UNDER PROVOCATION ON THE PART OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUERS. The Muslim Leaguers are daily taking out processions, raising highly objectionable slogans. They call us kafirs and resort to abusive language. I have been personally hooted. I feel that there is organized conspiracy between the Muslim Leaguers, the officials and the officers in the charge of the referendum. Presiding officers have actively encouraged the passing of hundreds of bogus votes. In some places eighty to ninety per cent votes have been polled, a thing unheard of in any election, and more so on the basis of an electoral roll which was prepared about two years ago.

‘We have been working under very difficult and trying circumstances but have adhered to non-violence in thought, word and deed. How long a state of affairs like this can last, it is not easy for me to say. In a nutshell, the Muslim Leaguers backed by officials are out to create disturbances. We have done everything humanly possible to avoid a clash.

‘Another matter which is causing serious concern to us is the presence in our province of a large number of Punjabis who openly incite people to violence. Not only that, but they have also gone to the length of suggesting in public meetings that the top leaders of the Red Shirts should be done away with. They also proclaim openly that after Pakistan has been established, there will be a trial on the lines of the Nuremberg trial and all of them who are called as traitors will be hanged. Mr.

Jalalud-din, M.L.A. (Hazara), stated in a public meeting that if any of the Muslim ministers visited Hazara, he would be killed.'

‘I AND MY PEOPLE ARE AT YOUR SERVICE ...’

SPEECH IN PAKISTAN’S FIRST PARLIAMENT

5 MARCH 1948



‘MY PURPOSE IN MOVING THIS CUT MOTION IS TO SAY SOMETHING BEFORE THIS HOUSE REGARDING THE PAKISTAN ADMINISTRATION. I do not mean by the motion to run down the Government of Pakistan nor to pick holes in it. I desire also to throw some light on and remove the misunderstandings created against me and my group by responsible men of this Government and others in Pakistan.

‘First of all it is often alleged that I and my group are enemies of Pakistan and we want to destroy it and cut it asunder. I do not want to argue. I may only say so much in this connection that I have thrown enough light on this point in my province whenever I had an opportunity to speak. And still the responsible men of Pakistan have their misgivings as to whether I am a friend or a foe of Pakistan, and that, perhaps, I wish to annihilate Pakistan. But they cannot deny that I have tried now and then to remove such misunderstandings. They are also aware that whenever I had an opportunity to address the people in different parts of our province, I told them clearly that indeed I was of opinion that India should not be divided because today in India we have witnessed the result—thousands and thousands of young and old children, men and women, were massacred and ruined. But now that the division has been done, the dispute is over.

‘I delivered many speeches against the division of India, but the question is, has anybody listened to me? We said to the Muslim League Government in the Frontier that we offer you a chance to carry on the government. But the treatment meted out to the Pathans by the Government was so bad that it was tolerated only with great difficulty.

People used to come to me and ask: “What do you intend to do since we cannot bear this state of affairs which has been created by Pakistan. We are those who fought against a powerful nation of the world like Britain who wanted to rule us.” I explained to them that the situation is different now. That was a foreign yoke and now the Muslims have their own government. I repeatedly told the Pakistan Government that we are prepared to let you govern. Efforts were made to lead us to an internecine strife, because the warmongers had thereby hoped that the national and patriotic sentiments would at once be diverted towards it and the constructive work of the government would stop. I realize the danger. You may hold any opinion about me, but I am not a man of destruction but of construction. If you study my life, you will find that I have devoted it for the welfare and progress of our country. I also may add that the Khudai Khidmatgar was a social and not a political movement. But it is a long story, and I do not want to repeat it. Who was responsible for converting this social movement into a political one? The British. Who associated us with the Congress? The British. It is not only here that I am mentioning it but I have done so to high-placed Britishers as God has blessed me with courage.

‘We were blamed that the Khudai Khidmatgars do not allow the Government to work out the constructive programme, for such a programme can only proceed when there is peace in the country. But we had proclaimed that if, the Government of Pakistan would work for our people and our country, the Khudai Khidmatgars would be with them. I repeat that I am not for destruction of Pakistan. In destruction lies no good for Hindus, Muslims, the Frontier, the Punjab, Bengal or Sind. There is advantage only in construction. I want to tell you categorically that I will not support anybody in destruction. If any constructive programme is before you, if you want to do something constructive for our people, not in theory but in practice, I declare before this house that I and my people are at your service.

‘For about seven months I have been watching the administration of Pakistan but I could not find any difference between this administration and that of the British. I may be wrong, but it is the common view. If you go and ask the poor, then my view will be confirmed. It may be that you can suppress their voice with force. But remember that force or power does not last long; force can merely serve the purpose for the time being.

The people will hate you if you use force. Leave it aside, I tell you that there is more corruption today than there was during the British days, and now there is more unrest than there was in the British regime.

‘I have come here in the capacity of a friend. Please think over the facts I am placing before you. If you find them useful for Pakistan well and good, otherwise ignore them. Why did we fight against the British? We fought to turn them out, so that the country be ours and we may rule over it. We find today more Englishmen than under the old regime, rather more Englishmen are being called in from outside. Today, unfortunately, we observe the same old policy, the same old method, whether in the Frontier or in the tribal area. We do not see any change in it. Our Hindu brethren have appointed Indian Governors in their provinces, and not only men but a woman also had become a Governor. Were there no Musalmans in Bengal or the Punjab who could become our Governors? The British whom we had turned out have been brought back and are now again on top of us. Is this Islamic fraternity? Would you call it a brotherhood? Is this an Islamic Pakistan? It is not the only evil in the administration but there is another, namely, same ordinances are issued by the Government. That which gives me most pain is to see that when any communique is issued by the Frontier Government it is in the same old language and in the same old spirit as was peculiar to the British Raj. If an Englishman told a lie he was a foreigner. He had not come here for our betterment. He came to exploit us, to achieve his own ends. But I have nothing to complain against the British. I have now a complaint against Pakistan, because they are our brothers and that government is our government.

‘We should now leave the old British tactics. If we follow the old methods, Pakistan which we have achieved through many difficulties, would be lost to us.

‘There is another thing that I wish to tell you. I have often been charged with infusing among the Pathans a feeling of separate nationality and creating provincialism. In reality, you are the creators of this provincialism. To us the Pathans, these things are unknown. We do not know what provincialism is. It does not exist among the Pathans. Take the case of Sind. Have we created provincialism in Sind? The question is how provincialism is created?

‘... At the time of his [Jinnah’s] visit to Peshawar our Muslim League brothers also put before our Prime Minister the demand for Pakhtunistan. But he said that he wants to unite all the Musalmans from the Khyber to Chittagong. But then what objection can you have against our constituting a belt of all the Pathans who were disunited by the British, and how is it against Islam? We want you to help us to unite all the Pathans ...

‘When it is possible that our Bengali brothers living at a distance of two thousand miles from the Khyber could be one with us, join Pakistan and be our brothers, then why cannot our own brothers, the Pathans, who are so near to us and whom the British disrupted because the union of the Pathans would be a source of danger to them? But you are our brothers, why do you fear us? ...

‘What does our Pathanistan mean, I will tell you just now. The people inhabiting this province are called Sindhis and the name of their country is Sind. Similarly, the Punjab or Bengal is the land of the Punjabis or Bengalis. In the same way, there is the North-West Frontier Province. We are one people and ours is a land within Pakistan; we also want that the mere mentioning of the name of the country should convey to the people that it is the land of the Pakhtuns. Is it a sin under the tenets of Islam? ...

‘Pathan is the name of the community and we will name the country as Pakhtunistan. I may explain that the people of India used to call us Pathans, and we are called the Afghans by the Persians. Our real name is Pakhtuns. We want Pakhtunistan, and we want to see all the Pathans on this side of the Durand Line joined and united together in Pakhtunistan. You help us in this. If you argue that Pakistan would be weakened by it, then I would say that Pakistan can never become weak by the creation of a separate political unit. It would become stronger. Most of the difficulties result from lack of confidence, but when there is confidence the difficulties are resolved. Government is run on good faith and not on mistrust.

‘The other thing is that we are asked to join the Muslim League. I think that the Muslim League has done its duty. Its work is now over with the achievement of Pakistan. There should be now other parties in our country, organized on economic basis to do away with the existing

inequalities. If there be any differences amongst us, we will be able to remove them by discussion. Islam preaches toleration.

‘Pakistan is a poor country. Its government should not be like that of the capitalists. We have to find out how to run the state of Pakistan.

‘We have before us the great tradition of our early predecessors. Our great religious heads who built the Islamic Empire were only three. Unless we follow these leaders in their spirit of sacrifice and feelings of sympathy, we cannot build our state on solid basis. The name of Hazrat Ali is familiar to you. Whatever he did, was for Islam and the people. It is said that once an opponent of Hazrat Ali spat in his face. Hazrat Ali let him go, as taking his life then would have involved a personal grudge. This should be the spirit. Now, take the life of Hazrat Abu Bakr. He himself got a meagre allowance as a Caliph and fixed an equal amount for all other Musalmans. He maintained that the necessities of life in all cases are the same, and not as you claim that your wants are greater and ours less. Similar was the case with Hazrat Omar. The Muslim empire which lasted so long was built by Abu Bakr and Omar. You may be aware of the fact that even if a poor man dared to criticize him, Hazrat Omar never threatened him and was not angry with him. The Hazrat tried to satisfy him by furnishing the true facts. Under the leadership and the guidance of such men, the Musalmans can never go astray. If you develop the same spirit, then your state can also become equally strong. When he was elected the Caliph and the question of his emolument arose, he said, ‘I am a servant of the Musalmans and I should be paid the wages given to any labourer in Medina.’ That is why I say that if Pakistan is poor, we should run it on such principle. With its present ways, Pakistan cannot prosper. I will certainly support the Government of Pakistan, if it is run on Islamic principle.

‘My idea of Pakistan is that it should be an Azad Pakistan. It should not be under the influence of a particular community or individual. Pakistan should be for all its people; all should enjoy equally and there should be no exploitation by a handful of people. We want the Government of Pakistan to be in the hands of its people. As far as the technical experts are concerned, Pakistan should send for them from the other countries like America and England. But as regards administration, I cannot agree that Pakistan is devoid of capable men and all are here

inefficient. When the Hindus can managed their affairs, why cannot we? Many Englishmen have been retained in service here and fresh ones are coming in. I must say that this will not be for the good of Pakistan.'

APPENDICES

THE NEED FOR UNITY

SPEECH IN PAKISTAN PARLIAMENT

20 MARCH 1950



‘Mr. President,

‘AFTER A LONG CONFINEMENT OF SIX YEARS I HAVE GOT TODAY AN OPPORTUNITY OF MEETING THE MEMBERS OF THIS HOUSE AND BRIEFLY EXPRESSING MY VIEWS BEFORE THEM. I had no intention of making any speech, because you know that I am a Khudai Khidmatgar and my work is not speech-making but service. Nor did I wish to narrate to you my bitter experiences of the last six years. But there are still some selfish persons in Pakistan who are against me and who are planning and trying to bring me somehow into disrepute. I, therefore, thought it necessary to make a short speech to remove such misunderstanding about me.

‘Sir, I have one thing to complain against the Honourable Members of this house as well. You know that I am a member of this house and that this is a sovereign body, and as such its members have some rights and privileges. I was arrested under the Frontier Crimes Regulation, which is applicable to persons guilty of moral offences. I was asked to furnish a security for good conduct which I refused; consequently I was sentenced to three years’ rigorous imprisonment. After three years my release was due, but I was kept for four days at Joonga and then I was confined to prison under the Bengal Regulations of 1818, which were promulgated by the East India Company. After full three years and two months of this last imprisonment I was allowed to come out of the jail. But during all this period of my incarceration you did not even ask the Government as to what crime I had committed. You know that I am even now virtually a prisoner.

‘... Six years ago I announced on the floor of this house that Pakistan is our country, and its solidarity and protection is our duty and that any programme that will be submitted by any party for its progress and its reconstruction shall have my fullest co-operation. I repeat those words of mine even today. But still there are some persons who suspect my loyalty. In this connection I would like to state that my whole life was spent in that struggle which has resulted in the formation of Pakistan. If we had not driven the Britishers out or forced them to quit, how could Pakistan have come into existence? So how can we betray a country for the freedom of which we have suffered so much and have even laid down our lives?

‘... I believe that for the solidarity of Pakistan, it is necessary that the various sections of its people should mutually trust one another and respect one another’s rights, interests and distinctive features. You will perhaps recall that six years ago I had said in this connection that after the establishment of Pakistan, the country had no need for the Muslim League. The recent elections in Bengal have at last proved this contention. You will remember too that I had also submitted the proposal that in this country, the parties should be formed on the economic and social bases. It is a pity that at that time people had viewed us with suspicion and my frank words were considered criminal. I repeat, even now, I hold the same view, and I ask you to think it over coolly.

‘I have always believed that the English had destroyed our unity by cutting us, the Pakhtuns, into several parts in order to weaken us. For the solidarity of Pakistan and the mutual confidence amongst its various components, it is necessary to restore that unity by bringing together all those areas, in which the inhabitants are racially and culturally homogenous, into one unit of Pakhtunistan, thereby removing the unnatural divisions imposed by the English. In the same way, the smaller units in West Pakistan should be merged into three or four larger units.

‘The people expect me to express my views on the internal and external affairs of the country. But after my continued imprisonment for six years, I am hardly in a position to say anything definite on the subject. I am still virtually a prisoner, for, except for the Punjab, I am not allowed to move into any other part of Pakistan. My Khudai Khidmatgar party, whose one object is to serve mankind, is under a ban; our national

paper, the *Pakhtun*, was made to cease publication since the day Pakistan came into being; and our two-storeyed training centre, built at a cost of thousands of rupees, where the Khudai Khidmatgars were trained in social service, has already been razed to the ground.

‘There are certain principles, however, about which I would like to say something. You know that I have always been an adherent of non-violence. I regard non-violence as love and violence as hate. I have ever been a law-abiding citizen, and so I want that our country, Pakistan, too should be a peace-loving country and play a peaceful role in the international affairs. I want that we should have friendly relations with all the countries of the world, whether they belong to this bloc or that bloc, to the East or to the West. And in particular, we must definitely have friendly relations with our neighbours, and if there be any disputes, they must be settled by friendly negotiations and agreement.

‘In the end I have only to say that I had expected that every effort will be made to raise the standard of living of the people of Pakistan, but facts seem to belie this expectation. The rich are getting richer, and the poor, poorer. The refugees are in a pitiable plight. There is no civil liberty in the country, people are still detained in jails under the Safety Act and Martial Law, with the result that the gulf between the government and the people is widening. If it is not attended to in time, the consequences are bound to be disastrous.’

AFTER RIOTS IN EAST PAKISTAN

SPEECH IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

8 APRIL 1954



‘I NOW TAKE UP THE TICKLISH QUESTION OF THE RIOTS IN EAST PAKISTAN. It is extremely embarrassing to speak out one’s mind while dealing with this subject. I am a believer in non-violence and hold that violence never pays. It only serves to evoke hatred and makes the confusion worse confounded. Nevertheless, I cannot help remarking that the said happenings in East Pakistan are the direct outcome of the policy you had been following in that part of the country for the last seven years. You gagged public opinion and imprisoned people without trial. You did not care to fill the vacant seats in the provincial legislature and proceeded with the governance of the province in an arbitrary manner without paying any heed to the aspirations of the people, whose goodwill you took for granted. The masses were ruthlessly persecuted and oppressed. Their needs were overlooked and they were subjected to extreme hardships and oppression. The cumulative effect of all these factors was that the Muslim League could secure no more than a mere nine per cent of the seats in provincial elections and the people of East Pakistan returned a decisive verdict of no-confidence in the Muslim League and its government. But then even this lesson seems to have fallen flat on you, and you are still pursuing the policies calculated to embitter the feelings of the people and creating conditions which are sure to engender mutual suspicion and bickering amongst the various classes. You suppress the legitimate aspirations of the people in general and play off one section against another, and when the matters come to a head, a scapegoat is readily seized and declared responsible for all the troubles. I am afraid the direction in which the events are now drifting in West Pakistan too,

points to the results not much happier than what we have recently experienced in the eastern wing of the country ...'

AT HIS TRIAL

LAHORE, 3 SEPTEMBER 1956



‘I WAS NEVER AGAINST THE CONCEPTION OF PAKISTAN, BUT THEN MY VIEWS REGARDING PAKISTAN WERE A BIT DIFFERENT. The Muslim homeland of my conception did not admit of the division of the Punjab and Bengal. Besides, I never believed as claimed by many that the League leaders’ demand for Pakistan was in all sincerity based on the interests of Muslim masses. To me most of them were stooges of the British. Throughout their life they had not rendered any service to the Muslim people or to the cause of Islam, nor had they offered any sacrifice to achieve these objectives. I knew that they wanted to misguide Muslim masses in the name of Pakistan and Islam. These leaders wanted to secure Pakistan only for themselves and they succeeded in their design. In my opinion the quarrel between Hindus and Muslims was not because of religion, but it was due to economic factors; and I knew that the British Government had exploited the situation and accentuated this quarrel. I was sure that after the overthrow of the British Government when the country would be free and a national government would be formed with our own people at the helm of affairs, the whole atmosphere would change and our mutual relations would improve. But gradually even after that if strained Hindu-Muslim relations did not improve, then we could part company with the Hindus, and nothing could prevent us from doing so. The Congress had recognized the principle of provincial autonomy and the provinces had a right, if the majority in a certain province decided to secede from the Centre, to do so and become an autonomous state.

‘In the North-West Frontier Province the population was mostly Muslim. There we had no quarrel with the Hindus. The Congress used to accept whatever we said, and we did not have to face any opposition from it. Congress leaders admitted that we had made every possible

sacrifice for the freedom of the country. At the Simla Conference when differences arose regarding some basic points, I met Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and told him that Gandhiji was prepared to give more than the legitimate rights to the Muslims, provided Jinnah ceased to oppose the Congress. I myself was prepared to give an assurance for the fulfilment of the demands of the Muslims and guarantee them their rights. Upon this, Sardar Nishtar went to consult Mr. Jinnah and tried to convince him but was not successful, and so the conference failed.

‘In united India the number of Muslims was ten crores, and I think such a large number could not be suppressed easily. I was of the view that no power could destroy us, and if anyone tried to enslave us, then we would secede from the federation. I was supporting the federal form of government with this consideration in view that if the Congress was prepared to accept our conditions and assure us that the future Government of India would be a socialist republic, the Muslims should join the proposed Indian federation, and in this lay their genuine interest. In my view the greatest attraction for the Muslims under a socialist republic form of government was that as against the Hindus, they as a community, constituted the poorer section. If the Congress was not prepared to agree to these conditions, then in Muslim-majority provinces, after necessary consideration, we would go out of the federation. Even today I believe that in this manner we would have been benefited, because in this scheme there was no room for the division of the Punjab and Bengal. But the Muslim League leaders of India did not think my proposal worthy of consideration and I was dubbed a Hindu.

‘At the time of the creation of India and Pakistan, a frightful tragedy was enacted. Lakhs of people migrated from one country to the other and thousands of innocent people were done to death. It was not an easy task for the Government to cope with the problems created by the migration of such a large number of persons. Most of the people had shelter and many had to suffer owing to corrupt administration of the refugee camps. No medical facilities were available and very few good people volunteered to look after the sick and the injured. It was during those days a gentleman named Mohammed Husain Atta arrived at my central headquarters at Sardaryab. He was with me in 1942 in jail. He started cursing me and said that if we claim to be Khudai Khidmatgars, we must go to Lahore and share the pains and difficulties of the refugees. I said

that I was prepared to serve the refugees, but the authorities would not allow me to do so. I asked him to go to Lahore and get permission for the Khudai Khidmatgars to serve the refugees. I further told him that if the authorities allow us to serve the refugees and we failed in our duty, then he had every right to become angry. He went to Lahore but after a month he returned unsuccessful and admitted that what I had told him was correct, word for word. He was convinced that the Muslim League leaders were bent upon running us down in the eyes of the Muslim masses. He admitted that the Muslim League leaders were afraid that if Khudai Khidmatgars were given an opportunity to serve the masses, their own influence would suffer and their campaign against the Khudai Khidmatgars would be defeated.

' After the creation of Pakistan, Sir George Cunningham became the first Governor of my province. He was an energetic and clever British officer. He was counted among the best supporters and trusted friends of the Muslim Leaguers. He was the Governor of my province for the last eight years. He studied the situation and then sent me a message through my son, Ghani, that I should give my consent for forming a coalition government of the Muslim League and Khudai Khidmatgars. I informed him that the Muslim League would never agree to this proposal. We believed in service and reconstruction while the Muslim League aspired for power to rule over the masses. This effort of Sir George failed. I told the Governor that if the League government worked for the welfare of the province, then we would be prepared to co-operate with them even without being in the government. But this opportunity to serve the people was denied us.

'In 1948, when I first participated in the session of the Pakistan Parliament, I announced that what had happened had happened. Now that Pakistan was our common homeland, if the party in power was desirous of serving the country, we were prepared to co-operate with them in whatever manner they desired ... Liaquat Ali Khan asked me what I meant by Pathanistan. My reply was that the word was not Pathanistan but Pakhtunistan, and it was merely a name. He inquired what was the significance of this expression. I explained that just as the Punjab, Bengal, Sind and Baluchistan were the names of the provinces of Pakistan, Pakhtunistan is also a name of a province in the structural frame of Pakistan. I added that during their reign, in order to weaken us

the British had divided our people and had erased even the name of our region. We appealed to our Pakistani brethren to undo the injustice done to us by the Britishers, unite the Pakhtuns and allow us a name for our province as in the case of the Punjab. Whenever the name of the Punjab occurs, the people knew that it referred to the area where the Punjabis lived. Similarly, reference to Bengal, Sind and Baluchistan brought a picture of those areas to our mind where Bengalis, Sindhis and Baluchis resided. All we wanted was that part of Pakistan where the Pakhtu language is spoken, should be called Pakhtunistan ...

‘When I returned to the Frontier Province, one unit was still under consideration. General Iskander Mirza and Dr. Khan Sahib both came on a tour of our province. We all were the guests of Khan Qurban Ali Khan. General Mirza gave me the details of the plan of village uplift about which Chaudhuri Mohammed Ali had already talked to me at Murree. He invited me to take up the administration of this work. I replied that until the issue of one unit was settled to our satisfaction, I could not agree to take charge of the official scheme of village uplift. At this General Mirza told me that the one-unit plan had become a matter of prestige for Pakistan. If at that stage Pakistan resiled from its stand on that scheme its prestige would suffer and the prestige of Afghanistan would increase. I said the matter of establishment or non-establishment of one unit was a domestic issue of Pakistan and what the Afghans thought of it should not be given any importance. I advanced the plea that if Pathans were happy and united in Pakistan, Pakistan would be strong and happy. Moreover, if the Pakhtun areas were demarcated as a separate unit according to the wishes of the people all foreign propaganda against Pakistan would be nullified.

‘I told General Mirza and Dr. Khan Sahib that they themselves had been carrying on active propaganda in support of the one-unit scheme but although Pakistan was a democratic country, we were not given this freedom. Both of them agreed that my stand was correct and I had a right to put my viewpoint before the people. In this way, with the agreement and support of both of them I started on my tour for the political education of the people, so that correct decisions could be arrived at through appropriate democratic means.

‘My Lord, had I desired to create hatred against the Government, then there was sufficient material for a revolt in the oppression to which our people have been subjected. But I, on the contrary, have always preached the doctrine of non-violence and have even declared that we have forgiven those who have done injustice to us and insulted us. In normal conditions no Pathan could either forget it or forgive it.

‘We consider the, Punjabis, Bengalis, Sindhis and Baluchis to be our Muslim and Pakistani brethren. I do not hate even those who are responsible for the destruction of the autonomy of the Frontier Province. Personally I have no reason to hate the Punjabis, nor I hate them. No responsibility rests on the people of the Punjab for imposing the one-unit plan on us, about which they had not even been consulted.

‘I have always been a true Muslim and a patriot. Since the establishment of Pakistan I have tried to serve Pakistan and to strengthen it. I claim that if the Pakhtuns residing in Pakistan are united, Pakistan will become stronger. I believe that the secret of the greatness of Pakistan truly lies in undoing the injustice done to the Pakhtuns by the Britishers by dividing them—not in following their policies, but in bringing the Pathans together and forming them in one unit.

‘After explaining my political stand I leave the whole matter to Your Lordship. In my speeches against one unit I said what I considered to be my duty and right as a free citizen of a country which claims to be an Islamic democracy. Nothing can prevent me from demanding that, whatever injustices the Britishers have done to the Pakhtuns should now be undone. If Your Lordship arrives at the decision that by disobeying the orders of the Government I have done harm to the people of my country, I shall with pleasure and without hatred towards anyone undergo the punishment which may be inflicted on me according to the demands of justice.’

On 24 January 1957 Ghaffar Khan was sentenced to imprisonment and fined Rs 14,000. He refused to pay. His property was confiscated. The judge also told him to desist from activities which malign the country of which he [was] a citizen.