THE PASHTOON RESISTANCE AGAINST THE BRITISH RAJ: 1897-1947

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THE PASHTOON RESISTANCE AGAINST THE BRITISH RAJ: 1897-1947

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Department of History

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CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation presently submitted bearing the title "The Pashtoon Resistance against the British Raj: 1897-1947" is the result of my own research and has not been submitted to any other institution for any other degree.

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This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Amanullah Khan titled “The Pashtoon resistance against the British Raj 1897-1947” as partial fulfillment for the award of Doctorate of Philosophy in the Department of History. We have evaluated the dissertation and found it up to the standards and requirements in its scope and quality for the award of PhD degree.

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Introduction

Statement of the Problem

The people who inhabited India’s North-West Frontier bordering with Afghanistan, the Pashtoons, proved to be the most difficult subjects with whom the British Raj had to deal. Due to the area, they inhabited and the history they possessed, the British Raj remained at loggerheads with these people who had been living in their area for centuries without entertaining any concept of centralized rule and any concept of subjugation to any foreign rule. The unique geography, history and particularly its coherent social structure played a vital role in determining the Pashtoon resistance. The Pashtoons’ socially coherent tribal structure did not pave the way for direct foreign rule.

The British Raj had experienced some kind of contact with the Pashtoons during the First Anglo Afghan War (1839-40). However, a sustained and direct contact began in 1849 after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. The area remained a part of the Punjab till 1901; however, it was separated for administrative convenience. The new province was then divided into five settled districts and five tribal areas.

The British forces faced tough resistance in the Pashtoon-dominated areas of the then North-West Frontier (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwah) and right from the beginning Pashtoon started rebellions and revolts against foreign rule. During the first eight years (1849-1857) of the British rule in the Pashtoon dominated areas, the British Raj dispatched nearly 40,000 troops against the Pashtoon tribes during seventeen separate punitive expeditions. Similarly, during 1897-98 the Raj dispatched 15000 British troops and 37000 native troops to different Pashtoon areas. Therefore, the British rule could not extend its sphere of influence into this region as smoothly as
compared to other parts of India. Many factors contributed to the development in this attitude of adopting an armed resistance against foreign rule. The most important factors, however, were the unique geography of the Pashtoons, distinct tribal structure, their war like temperament, their desire for independence, their ethno-centricism and religiosity mixed with their social structure. This mixture of religion with culture is the main point in understanding the Pashtoon resistance's psychology. This mixture can be termed as religio-culture complex which was endangered by the penetration of the British Raj into the Pashtoon dominated areas. Therefore, the most important factor behind the Pashtoon resistance against the British Raj however, was the threat to the religio-cultural complex. This endangered religio-cultural complex gave rise to different Pashtoon resistance movements, which were either religious or cultural or mixture of both in nature.

The Pashtoons possessing a coherent and distinct tribal structure hence opposed every attempt at their subjugation to single central authority. There were multiple layers of authority in the Pashtoon tribal areas and within each layer there was a high level of solidarity. This solidarity played a vital role when the Pashtoon confronted foreign rule in their areas. Probably not known to the imperialists, another important aspect of the Pashtoon social structure was that it could be broken from within, while the British authorities tried to break it from the outside. Moreover, the different Pashtoon uprisings against the British Raj can be termed as tribal resistance movements which had separate aims and objectives which were relevant to the particular area and time period. However, the non-violent resistance of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was an exception, whereby the movement unified different sections of the Pashtoon society.
One can find three main patterns of rule/administration in NWFP imposed by the British Raj: direct rule in settled districts, indirect rule through indigenous elites like in tribal areas and indirect rule through indigenous leaders like Dir, Bajaur and Swat. However, the failure of the British policies in the North West Frontier was due to the fact that it was not made according to the requirements of the people. The policies were formulated as such, to dominate and subjugate the Pashtoons, while they never gave them the chance to be incorporated into the British imperial system. The Pashtoons of the settled districts in general and the tribal areas in particular never provided a chance to the British to do so, partly because of their desire for independence and partly because of their Pashtoon identity, which could not be preserved under British imperial designs. The British made attempts to transform the Pashtoon local Chiefs and village Khans from mere representatives of local interests into government functionaries but without much success. Furthermore, the egalitarian structure of the Pashtoon society and its social institutions working in the society provided a chance for collision with the newly created or to be created institutions of the British Raj. Besides the Pashtoon socio-cultural system also showed inability to cope with new systems introduced by the British Raj.

The roads and railway tracks that had been built in the areas were only meant for larger imperial defence of India, while their economic importance was negligible and it was due to this fact that even road and railway construction could not bring about any change in the attitude of the Pashtoons towards the Raj. Therefore, the advance of the British colonial control did not impose greater political control or economic demands but raised questions of legitimacy, ethics and social norms that impinged upon everyday Pashtoon life.
Moreover, the introduction of the British imperial system of rule with centralized administrative and political machinery as well as legal system in the tribal areas gave rise to the evolution of new groups in the prevalent social structure. The British presence in the tribal areas also brought with itself new ideas, therefore the evolution of new groups and ideas threatened the position of the already existing indigenous groups. Therefore, one can find the presence of the groups whose position had been threatened in different Pashtoon resistance movements against the British Raj.

The motivation for the resistance movements was provided by different Pashtoon leaders, who adopted different strategies. The leadership in the Pashtoon society can be categorized into two overlapping categories: the religious and the secular. The former came into prominence during crisis times and it is always the latter, who dominated the day to day affairs of the Pashtoon society in normal circumstances. A majority of tribal resistance movements against the British Raj were led by the Mullahs, who were followed by the Pashtoons mainly because of ethnic and tribal obligations and not only because of religious fanaticism, as is termed by a majority of the scholars. The Mullahs enjoy a social status as a part of the Pashtoon social structure with Islam also amalgamated into the tribal traditions of the Pashtoons and hence, these two elements very difficult to separate from one another. Therefore, the Pashtoon jihad was not in defence of Islam per se, but Islam as a part of Pashtoon culture that the resistance leaders and their supporters believed to be in danger under British rule. However, the Mullahs gave a religious colour to almost every issue and later exploited it in their own favour. The Mullahs had a strong support base in the Pashtoon rural areas, as in most of the cases they were men of the same clan, whom they were serving. Therefore they enjoyed both the religious and ethnic
affiliation of the Pashtoon people and later they used both these affiliations with full vigor against the British Raj.

The activities of most of the Mullahs were restricted to the tribal areas adjoining Afghanistan, where they also enjoyed the support of the Afghan Amirs from time to time. A majority of the scholars based their argument on British sources, which suggest that the Afghan Amir’s intrigues in the British tribal territory were solely responsible for almost every anti-British Pashtoon resistance movement. However, ignoring the fact that the Afghan Amirs had been viewed by the Pashtoons as legitimate Pashtoon rulers, they were by definition devout Muslims, defenders of faith and patrons of the Pashtoon culture.

The Pashtoons adopted certain strategies of resistance which they had learnt from their historical experiences. The most important of those strategies was guerilla warfare which was the most successful due to the area’s topography and the Pashtoon were also adept at it. During the British stay in those areas, the Pashtoons constantly engaged the British forces in such warfare and consequently the British forces also adopted certain counter insurgency techniques, which were formulated to cope with such guerilla tactics. The Pashtoons lacked technological and organizational skills, which initially made them receptive to British incursions into their territory. Furthermore, the British Raj exploited intra and inter-tribal rivalries, internal weaknesses and the persistent errors of the Pashtoons.

The armed resistance of the Pashtoons against such a formidable colonial power like Britain had very nominal chances of success and consequently the Pashtoons were meted out harsh treatment by their colonial masters. Once it became obvious that violence was giving rise to more violence and the Pashtoon's unsophisticated weapons and the disunity among the
Pashtoons could not compete with the modern arsenal and the trained forces of the British Raj, a novel idea of non-violent resistance was put forward by the founder of an organization called the Khudai Khidmatgar - a non-violent resistance movement - which came into being in 1929 under the astute leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. The movement was initiated as a socio-reform movement to bring unity among the Pashtoons and made them ready for a struggle against the colonial rulers; however, in reality it was a resistance movement with clear objectives. Diverse groups in the Pashtoon society found in Abdul Ghaffar Khan a patron and defender of the Pashtoon culture.

Furthermore, to attract those groups Abdul Ghaffar Khan started a program for the motivation of the Pashtoons, which was appealable to every section of the society. The Khudai Khimatgar movement exploited the economic grievances of the peasant class in the Pashtoon society, who came under severe economic stress due to the imposition of land revenue tax. The abolition of the land revenue tax and the economic uplift of the rural population were the main sources of attraction for the Khudai Khidmatgars in the Pashtoon rural areas. However, this does not mean that the Khudai Khidmatgar movement had its followers in the peasant class, other groups in the Pashtoon society, including the religious class, the smaller Khans and other professional classes also joined the movement. Moreover, non-violence resistance remained restricted to certain areas, where the Khudai Khidmatgar movement had a strong support base. Therefore, the idea of non-violent resistance gained popularity in some areas particularly the Peshawar valley and its suburbs, where the tribal structure had undergone certain historical changes. The people of those areas had been incorporated by earlier rulers into their own sphere of influence and hence had a distinct middle class, which was more conscious of the prevailing socio-political circumstances.
The social structure of the people of the settled areas allowed them to accept the call for non-violence. Moreover, this mode of resistance could not attract people of the tribal areas, where they continued with their traditional armed resistance against the British Raj. The reason was that the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was not allowed to interact with their fellow tribesmen in the tribal territory. Another aspect of the non-violent resistance was Pashto literature, which emerged during this period, and which contributed a lot to the spread of non-violent resistance among the Pashtoons. This literature's main emphasis was that Islam is a religion of peace, and does not give permission to its followers to use force even against the oppressor. This kind of message from the Khudai Khidmatgar movement left a considerable impact on the Pashtoons at that time.

The aim of the present study is to analyze the Pashtoon resistance against the British Raj during the period 1897-1947, where an attempt has been made to contextualize different British policies towards the Pashtoon dominated areas which in turn influenced the Pashtoon resistance. The present research looks into the underlying factors responsible for the Pashtoon resistance and its continuity with the past. The present study also looks into the variations and common themes in different Pashtoon resistance movements. This study is also an endeavor to bring conceptual clarity as well as historical continuity in the Pashtoon resistance. The thesis also looks into the details of aims and objectives of the Pashtoon resistance movements, while an attempt has also been made to analyze the modes, intensity and changes of forms of Pashtoon resistance during the period under study.
Scope and Significance

The study covers only those areas of the Pashtoons which formed part of the former North-West Frontier Province and the tribal areas of Pakistan. The study will deal with the period of almost 50 years from 1897-1947. The year 1897 has been chosen because a majority of the Pashtoon uprisings throughout the whole Pashtoon areas occurred in that year. In order to create historical continuity and to establish the links with the past the present study will occasionally refer to the time periods before 1897.

This study will help in helping the readers understand similar phenomenon happening in the post partition Pashtoon areas of Pakistan. This study proves that any attempt at finding a solution for the Pashtoon problems of North West Frontier of Pakistan or any effort to control Pashtoons of that area by mechanisms, which are external to their cultural framework have always failed. Therefore, the policies should be formulated keeping in view the prevailing social structure of a particular area and to create opportunities to incorporate people into political system by bringing the tribal territory as part of the settled areas of the province.

Review of the Literature

There is a plethora of literature available on the North-West Frontier’s history, politics and Anglo-Pashtoon relations. A majority of the books have been written by British civil and military officials, who served at the North-West Frontier. These works usually lack an academic analysis and to a certain extent display a bias, presenting only ‘our’ and ‘their’ view of the history, and relying only on what the officers and soldiers experienced at a particular period and an area. These sources, however, do not elaborate upon the wider question of the Pashtoon resistance
against the British Raj. Yet, there are many scholarly works which discuss the Pashtoon resistance but are still restricted to a certain influential personality or a particular event, movement or period and therefore do not dwell upon in detail on the Pashtoon resistance from the annexation of the area to the elimination of British Raj from India. Here, reference would only be made to those books and articles which are most relevant to the present study.

One of the first books on the North West Frontier and Anglo-Pashtoon relations is C. Collin Davies' *The Problem of the North West Frontier 1890-1908*, where the author discussed the importance of the North West Frontier for a larger British imperial defence, keeping in view the Russian expansionism in Central Asia. The author elaborated in detail the various British policies towards the North West Frontier and concluded that there should not be a uniform policy for the whole of the British Empire. The policies, according to Davies, should be adopted according to the local circumstances and considerations. However, the author has only explained the causes for the Pashtoon uprisings which he believed were economic grievances and Afghan intrigues in the Pashtoon areas. Economic grievances may be central in one case but less important in other as the threat to the religio-cultural complex was deemed to be more profound. The Afghan intrigue in the Pashtoon areas was a critical problem for the British authorities; however, the Pashtoons banked on their historical experiences of looking towards the Amirs of Afghanistan in times of crisis. Hence, the present study will look into the social causes of the Pashtoon resistance. The book concentrated only on the period 1890-1908; however, the Pashtoon problem remained intact till 1947. In order to understand the Frontier's problem comprehensively, it should be dealt with in detail up to 1947 because the Pashtoon resistance against British Raj continued until the end of the British Raj in India.
Stephen Alan Rittenberg’s work *The Independence Movement in India’s North West Frontier Province 1901-1947* revolves around the main theme of Pashtoon ethno-centricism. The distinct nature of Pashtoon ethnicity and nationalism, according to the author, did not provide a chance to the Muslim League to penetrate into the Muslim majority province of its future Pakistan, until very late in 1946-47. The author, however, did not give importance to Pashtoon resistance against the Raj and its subsequent impact upon the province’s political scenario. The present study will highlight upon this gap in the Pashtoon resistance’s impact on the NWFP politics in the first half of the 20th century. Rittenberg discussed in detail the Khudai Khidmatgar movement’s organization and politics but did not highlight its mode of non-violent resistance and its impacts on the Pashtoons. Therefore the present study will focus not only on the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, but also on its mode of resistance. The current study will be an attempt to prove that non-violent resistance had profound impacts on Pashtoons and hence their political mobilization and maneuvering.

Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, in his work *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North West Frontier Province 1937-1947*, discussed in detail the last decade of North West Frontier politics and history, where the author maintained that ethnicity played a vital role in determining the Pashtoon politics in the Muslim majority North-West Frontier Province in the last decade of the British Raj in India. The author highlighted the politics of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement and its alliance with the Indian National Congress. However, the author did not elaborate upon the Khudai Khidmatgars from the perspective of the Pashtoon resistance and particularly the non-violent resistance of the Khudai Khidmatgars and its impacts upon the Pashtoons has not been dealt with in detail. Moreover, the economic perspective of the
movement, which in turn attracted the rural population of the province and hence made them a formidable force while opposing the British Raj, has also been neglected.

Alan Warren’s work *Waziristan The Faqir of Ipi and the Indian Army: The North West Frontier Revolt of 1936-37* is a narrative history about the Faqir of Ipi’s struggle against the British Raj in Waziristan. Warren emphasized heavily on the role of religion and ‘Islam in danger’ propaganda in the Faqir of Ipi movement. The writer argued that the Faqir of Ipi employed religious symbolism and hence exploited the crisis in his own favor. The writer discussed in detail both the military tactics and strategies of the British Army and the Faqir of Ipi. However, the Faqir of Ipi movement cannot be explained only from a military point of view, its socio-political aspects are more important for the understanding of the movement. The Faqir of Ipi not only used religious symbolism but also the symbols of tribal independence for which he relied on his ethnic affiliation with the Wazir clans.

Milan Hauner in his article “One Man against the Empire: The Faqir of Ipi and the British in Central Asia on the Eve of and during the Second World War” presented a detailed analysis of the Faqir of Ipi movement against the British Raj in Waziristan and highlighted the alleged support of the Axis powers to the Faqir of Ipi during the Second World War. This outside help was not a unique phenomenon as every resistance movement desired to be acknowledged by the external world and hence could pressureize the colonial power against whom they were fighting. The writer, however, did not discuss as to how the Faqir of Ipi had mobilized thousands of Pashtoon tribesmen in Waziristan. Hauner did not discuss the causes and consequences of the Fiqir of Ipi’s movement. The present study will highlight the Faqir of Ipi’s movement as a
resistance movement and its causes and consequences have been discussed in detail to understand the socio-political aspects of the movement.

Mukulika Banerjee, in her anthropological study *The Pathan Unarmed: Opposition and Memory in the North West Frontier* -based upon the living memories of Khudai Khidmatgar followers, argued that the role of religion and Pakhtunwali can be attributed primarily to the success of non-violence amongst the rank and file of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Furthermore, Banerjee did not provide a tribal analysis of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. The Peshawar riots of 1930 and the subsequent tribal uprisings in different tribal areas of the North West Frontier Province would also be seen in detail in the present study as it is missing in Banerjee’s work.

Sana Haroon’s work *Frontier of Faith: Islam in the Indo-Afghan Borderland* is the most recent study, which focuses on the examination of religious organization and mobilization in the North-West Frontier Tribal areas. The central argument of the study is that ethnographic and cartographic projects of the imperial and nation states and the complex interaction between the Pakhtun frontier Islam and the discourses of Afghan and Indian Muslim nationalism were basis for the religious revivalism that inspired the Mulla-led militant mobilization across the region. The author discussed in detail various Sufi silsilas and their followers in the tribal areas and came to the conclusion that the Mullahs got prominence due to their belonging to a specific Sufi silsila, which also has a certain following in India and Afghanistan.

However, ‘the Mulla-led militant mobilization’ was not the result of the interaction between the Pakhtun frontier Islam and the discourses of the Afghan and Indian Muslim nationalism, which were the basis, according to the author, for the religious revivalism that
inspired the mulla-led militant mobilization. The Pashtoons of the NWFP in general and the tribal areas in particular never considered themselves as a part of greater Indian Muslim nationalism. The Mullahs were based in the rural areas, which have a very minimal interaction or information about the religious revivalist movements in the rest of India. Moreover, these Mullahs cannot mobilize the Pashtoons in the name of religious revivalism inspired by Indian Muslim nationalism. There would be very less chances of the success for the Mullahs to mobilize the Pashtoons on ideas, which has nothing to do with their day to day affairs.

The Mullahs’ success, however, lies in the fact that they mobilized the Pashtoons on the basis of ideas, which was very appealing to the Pashtoon tribes. The Mullahs tied up their own interests with the interests of the tribes. In a majority of the cases, the Mullahs were followed by the Pashtoons because they were themselves Pashtoons and belonged to their own tribes. Furthermore, the Mullahs gained advantage from different British policies, such as the permanent annexation of the area and hence endangered the Pashtoons’ independence.

The present study argues that the Mullahs would not have mobilized the Pashtoons if their aims and objectives had not been Pashtoon-centric. Most of the Mullahs mobilized their tribes on the basis of certain local problems and those problems had nothing to do with any Sufi silsilah, Afghan or Indian nationalism.

Another historian Keith Surridge, in his article “The Ambiguous Amir: Britain, Afghanistan and the 1897 North West Frontier Uprising”, discussed the role of the Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman in the Pashtoon uprising of 1897. The writer highlighted the alleged role of the Amir in the uprising of 1897. However, the uprising of 1897 cannot only be explained in the context of the support for the Afghan Amir, who at that time was receiving British allowances
and who had his own problems with the Mullahs, the main instigators of 1897 Pashtoon uprising. In the present study, the author has made an attempt to explain the Pashtoon uprising of 1897 through local causes, which played vital role in the uprising.

**Key Questions**

Apart from trying to conduct the research as objectively as possible the present study will look for the answers to following questions.

- To what extent is the Pashtoons' coherent tribal social structure responsible for their resistance against central authority?
- Were the Pashtoon uprisings the result of their own historical continuity of independence or was it the failure of the British policies?
- Why did the Pashtoons stand up against the British Raj; what were the aims and objectives of Pashtoon resistance and how far did they succeed in achieving their goals?
- Why did a major Pashtoon revolt break out in the year 1897, and how did it spread into the whole Pashtoon belt?
- How did the Mullahs convince and mobilize the Pashtoons against the British Raj?
- How did the Pashtoons’ armed resistance convert to a non-violent resistance and what were the impacts of non-violence on the Pashtoons? Was it successful or did it not succeed achieving its ends?

**Methodology**

The nature of the present research is analytical, where new questions have been raised and has been answered in the light of the existing available sources. A student of history working on
Pashtoon history during British period has to deal with a large amount of British sources that were compiled both by their military and political departments. The problem one would face while consulting these British sources is that a majority of these sources are Eurocentric, presenting the Pashtoons as barbaric, uncivilized, savage and wild human beings. These sources can be readily used to understand the British military and strategic techniques and political maneuverings. However, to extract the socio-political aspects of the Pashtoon social structure from these sources is a hard task. On the other hand, the researcher’s handicap, while reconstructing the Pashtoon resistance against the British Raj, is that those who were resisting the Raj had left a negligible amount of written documents which could be used as a source material for their history during the period under study. Therefore the emphasis in the present study has been on British sources. But at the same time, the thesis has consulted all available Pashto literature, which to some extent would be helpful in understanding the Pashtoon side of the story. Another valuable source would be the correspondence of the different Pashtoon resistance leaders that was intercepted by the British intelligence agencies.

The rich Pashtoon folklore could also be used as a resource material, but has problems of exaggerations. For instance, it claimed that a thousand British soldiers were killed in an event, while the written documents do not support such a view and can only be used when there is no other written record available and that too with much care. On the other hand, folklore also presents the Pashtoons as a unified force against the British while there could have been division within the Pashtoons. The British could not understand the collective mind of the Pashtoon tribal society, but still they have recorded valuable accounts which could be used to reconstruct some aspects of the Pashtoon resistance.
Organization

The thesis has been divided into an introduction, four chapters and conclusion. Chapter One “The Advent of the British Rule: Policies and Consequences” deals with the arrival of British imperialists in the area, their different policies, their merits and demerits and their effects on the Pashtoons. This chapter looks into the details of the various British policies in the North-West Frontier particularly pertaining to the larger imperial defense of India vis-à-vis Russian expansionism in Central Asia. This chapter explores the British compulsions of the Pashtoon subjugation and its consequences and how the Pashtoon perceive the arrival of British troops into their respective areas and how they reacted and retaliated. It also looks into why the Pashtoon did not come to terms with the British authorities and how the British rulers pursued different mechanisms to subdue the inhabitants of the area which would be discussed further. This chapter is divided into the following sub-sections.

i. Importance of the North-West Frontier

ii. Closed Border and Forward Policies and its Impacts

iii. Durand Line agreement and its consequences

Chapter two “Religious Leadership and the Pashtoon Resistance” is about the Pashtoon armed resistance against the British Raj starting from 1897 with a special emphasis on the role of the religious leaders in different Pashtoon uprisings. This chapter explores the role of religion and Mullahs in the Pashtoon society and the Pashtoon adherence to religion and religious values. Moreover, the chapter tries to answer the question that how religious men succeeded in pursuing Pashtoons to follow them became their leaders in the crisis time. Furthermore, this chapter also looks into details of religious men’s authority, which later turned into leading the Pashtoons
against the British Raj. Whether it was purely religious obligations that compelled the Pashtoons to follow them or an ethnic obligation which convinced the Pashtoons to look up to these Mullahs is the central theme of this chapter. It would also discuss the following:

i. Role of religion and Mullahs in the Pashtoon society

ii. Militancy and the role of Mullahs in various resistance movements in the Pashtoon area

iii. Afghan Amirs’ alleged support of Mullahs and the movements.

Chapter three, “Pashtoon Resistance between the two World Wars”, deals with the Pashtoon resistance against British Raj between the two World Wars. During this period important political decisions have been made by British Raj regarding Pashtoon areas. The chapter looks into the details of different Pashtoon uprisings against the British during that period. Insurgency and counter insurgency techniques have been revisited by both parties during this period, so the chapter also looks into that change as well. This chapter is divided into the following subsections.

i. Armed resistance

ii. British policies and its effects

iii. Changes in strategies

iv. Foreign support for Pashtoon resistance against the Raj

Chapter four, “Non-Violent Resistance: Unique Phenomenon among Pashtoons”, focuses upon the non-violent resistance, its concepts, motivation and aspiration, its spread among the Pashtoons and the organization of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. This chapter also discusses in
detail that how the concept of non-violence came to the Pashtoon area, how it became popular and what were its effects in the Pashtoon society. This section also looks into the details of the non-violence resistance techniques and strategies against the Raj and its impact on the Pashtoons. This chapter is divided into the following sub-sections.

i. Non-violence: ideas and concepts

ii. Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and its leadership

iii. Adoption of Non-violence by the Pashtoons and its impact on the society.
Chapter 1

The Advent of the British Rule: Policies and Consequences

The British Raj came in direct contact with the Pashtoons inhabiting the North-West Frontier of India with the annexation of Punjab in 1849. The areas in which Pashtoons have settled were previously considered as part of Sikh dominions along side. Hence, the Pashtoons directly came under the suzerainty of British Raj with the elimination of Sikh rule in the Punjab.

Historically, Pashtoons presented tough resistance to too many invaders and rulers who wanted to subjugate them under single central authority. It is also true for the British Raj, which one way or the other tried to subdue them. For instance during the year 1897-98 the British Raj employed 10,000 British and 20,000 native troops in different Pashtoon areas of NWFP. \(^1\) Therefore the British Raj could not extend its sphere of influence in this area as smoothly as compared to other parts of India. Many factors contributed to the difficulties of the extension of the British Raj in NWFP. The most important, however, were the unique geography of the Pashtoons, distinct tribal social structure, their ethno-centricism, their war like temperament, their desire for independence and religiosity mixed up with social structure. The mixture of religion with culture is the main point in understanding the Pashtoon resistance against the British Raj. This mixture of religion with culture can be termed as ‘religio-culture complex’ in which different social groups have their own space for maneuvering. The introduction of the British Raj in the Pashtoon areas threatened the position of different social groups previously enjoying a space in the ‘religio-culture complex’. \(^2\) Moreover, the British rule largely met failure as they tried to impose certain policies in NWFP that had been proved
successful elsewhere in India but could not prove fruitful in this area due to the unique nature of the Pashtoon society. Moreover, the British Raj did not make a difference between the strategic problem of Indian frontier, which was purely a military one, and that of the administration of the tribal areas, which was purely a political problem. Furthermore, there was negligence and lack of information about the areas inhabited by Pashtoons on the part of rulers. The British Raj instead of tuning the prevailing socio-political system in the Pashtoon areas introduced machinery, which was not suited to the people. The administrative settlement destroyed the power of the local Khans and brought them against the alien government functionaries, who have no knowledge of the tribe concerned. Earlier the Khans has a say in almost all aspects of the tribes concerned, however, the introduction of new administrative system did not give them that chance to represent the tribe in its dealings with the government.

**Importance of the North West Frontier for the British Raj in India**

Due to its geographical position the Pashtoon dominated NWFP has played a vital role in the history of India and so did in the days of British rule. Of the total area of the province, amounting to 8,436,202 acres, 2,639,727 acres or 31 percent are cultivated and 5,796,475 acres or 69 percent uncultivated. The area has no economic significance for the British Raj. The revenue collected from the province always remains less than the actual expenditure on the administration of the province. It is not to suggest that the Pashtoon dominated area has no significance at all for the British authorities. For instance, its population was very important. The total population was 2,425,076 in the year 1931. Therefore, one cannot neglect the importance of the North West Frontier of India inhabited mostly by the Pashtoons. However, the area became more important for the
British government when it was realized that Russia is stretching its arms in Central Asia and there was a chance that Russia may one day knock on the doors of Afghanistan. “The danger was that the spread of Russian influence into Iran and Afghanistan would cause unrest in India.”6 Furthermore, the British Raj strategists’ concern was always to keep Russia at an arm’s length. “In one way or another, the external enemy (Russia) should be kept at a distance so that his vexations would exhaust themselves in places remote from British territory.”7

At that time, it was decided to keep Afghanistan as a buffer state between the two giants- Russian Bear and English Lion- and strengthen the British India defense in the trans-Indus areas neighboring Afghanistan. In some quarters of British authorities a constant fear was if Afghanistan ceases to be buffer state than what will be the best possible strategy for the defence of India against any possible Russian threat. “The day may not be far distant when Afghanistan ceases to be a buffer State.”8 From the conquest of the Punjab, in 1849, frontier policy can be termed as “non-intervention” but the arrival of Lord Lytton in 1876 marked the end of “masterly inactivity” and the military strategist divided into two opposing camps, the Forward and the Stationary. Both these school of thoughts can further be divided into extremists and the moderates. The extremists of the Forward policy did not know where their advance would stop; while the moderates wanted a best strategic frontier with least possible advance. While on the other hand the extreme exponent of non-intervention would hold the Indus as strategic point, however, the moderates would incline an advance if there is any real Russian menace.9 Moreover, from 1887-1898 a marked development in policy toward NWFP had been brought about under the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne and of his successor Lord Elgin. In 1887 the
government of India informed the Punjab government that “the time has arrived when it becomes of extreme importance that an effort be made to bring under control, and, if possible, to organize, for purpose of defence against external aggression, the great belt of independent tribal territory which lied along our North-Western Frontier, and which has hitherto been allowed to remain a formidable barrier against ourselves.”

In other words, the emphasis at that moment was, in the mind of the Government of India, primarily on the establishment of a kind of defense in relation to external aggression. Therefore, NWFP should be seen in the larger imperial defence of India for the continuity of British Raj in India. Many British officials were of the view that, “The very safety of India depends on the success of our administration of this Frontier.” However, in point of population, area, or wealth it is true that the NWFP is almost an insignificant piece as compared to other areas of India, in the “Indian jigsaw puzzle.” The province proper, that is the five administered Districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan has only 2,425,000 inhabitants or 1/112th of the population of British India and 1/145th of that of all India including the Indian states. Therefore, the British imperial policies in this region should be seen in the context of its imperial defense of India.

**Closed Border and Forward Policies and its Impacts**

The British authorities keeping in view its imperial obligation to defend India formulated many policies, which they pursued in this region. However, the two policies formulated for this region can broadly be defined as, non-interference with the tribes, which was the essence of the Closed Border, while the Forward Policy advocating penetration into the tribal belt so as to secure the defence of India. Moreover, both these policies played vital role during the period under study.
Foreign Secretary Government of India defined these two policies as:

The Closed Border policy may be defined in its extremist form as the confining of our (British) activities strictly to the administered border, leaving the tribes on the other side of that border to look after themselves, interfering with them and endeavoring to influence them in no way; refraining from crossing the border ourselves, save as might be necessitated for the purposes of a punitive expedition, and then only for the period necessary for that punitive expedition; and refusing to consider any extension of the area under control beyond its existing limits. This policy in its extreme form is that laid down by Sir John Lawrence and maintained more or less up to 1890.14

Moreover, there was a "Modified Close-border policy" as well, which can be defined as:

In essentials identical with the strict close-border policy described above, put representing a relaxation of that policy to the extent that contacts with the trans-border tribes are easier, that certain commitments have been undertaken and must be honored outside the administered territory. Thus from 1895 certain undertakings of protection are extended to the Dauris in the Tochi Valley and revenue collected from them. But the underlying principle is still to maintain the peace of the Settled Districts from the border of those districts and to avoid, so far as practicable, any permanent occupation, or the acceptance of any permanent commitments, in the tribal territory between the administered border and the Durand Line.15

During the Close-border policy period there was less chance of collision with the independent Pashtoon tribes on the immediate border of British Raj. However, this system could not continue for long and a shift of policy occurred during the last decade of 19th century in which the British Raj made incursions into the tribal belt. This shift of policy can be termed as Forward Policy and can be defined as: "In extreme form the 'forward' policy involves the subjugation and the occupation of tribal territory up to the Durand Line."16 Besides, there was a "Modified Forward policy" which can be defined as:

The modified "forward" policy, while accepting that penetration and occupation up to the Durand Line may ultimately be-
1. Necessary conquest on tribal misbehavior,
2. Necessary for the fulfillment of our (British) international obligation,
3. The inevitable outcome of a policy of peaceful penetration and of endeavoring to extend our influence over the tribes lying between the administered border and the Durand Line, Contemplates a slow progress, peaceful penetration, the extension of influence gradually and by peaceful means, save where tribal misconduct makes it essential for us to adopt military measures. In that latter event, advantage to be taken of the occasion to consolidate further and extend our influence in the areas affected, notably by building of roads.17

However, both the policies had their strengths and weaknesses. The inherent defects of the Closed Border policy were that it made no attempt to solve the economic problem by finding employment for the Pashtoon tribesmen who can never hope to submit on the miserable products of their own country. It established a kind of a blockade and perpetuates ill-feeling and hostile collision between the tribesmen and the alien frontier constabulary. Furthermore, it kept the British Raj ignorant of the doings of the tribes and threw them politically into the hands of Afghan Amir.18

From the outset the British Raj introduced ‘The Punjab System’ or ‘alternate violence and inaction’ or a policy of ‘butchery or scuttle’.19 The Punjab System remained continue for many years. However, the British Raj came to a conclusion to introduce the Sandeman System, which earlier proved successful in Balochistan but failed to achieve its desired objectives in NWFP. Numerous reasons contributed towards the failure of policies, which were elsewhere successful but did not get the desired objectives in the Pashtoon dominated areas.20 It was unfortunate for the British Raj that Sikhs were their immediate predecessors in the NWFP and the first ‘colossal’ mistake while annexing the Punjab from Sikhs’ dominion was “the taking over of the frontier districts from the Sikhs, and the acceptance of an ill-defined administrative boundary.”21 Furthermore, for Sikh frontier administration was of “the loosest type”.22 As the Earl of Northbrook made a statement in the House of Lords, “The other side of the Indus was only held by the Sikhs
by force of arms. They (Sikhs) sent a military force there from time to time to collect revenue, but they had no real hold of the country.”

The Sikh rule of the area, however, made it difficult for the British Raj to run the administration. The British Raj has to develop new administrative strategies for coping up with the situation. The British authorities has to introduce new administrative reforms, well defined boundary satisfying ethnological, political and defence purposes and road and railway system for the movement of troops.

The model, which followed the British authorities for annexing NWFP, was similar to that of Sandeman System, which proved very successful in Balochistan. The Sandeman system can also be termed as ‘friendly and conciliatory intervention’ proved successful in the hierarchical society of Baluchistan but did not produce the ‘desired objectives’ in the Pashtoon areas. The most significant distinction between Pashtoon society and Baloch society to be mention over here is that the Pashtoons have an egalitarian democratic character and well organized social structure. These two aspects of the Pashtoon society did not allow British forces to extend their sphere of influence in the Pashtoon dominated areas as easily as they did it in Baluchistan where weak social structure and hierarchical character of Baloch society helped them to capture areas of strategic importance. Moreover the desire for independence of the Pashtoons made things much complicated for the British authorities. Earl of Northbrook while commenting on the problem of North-West Frontier in the British Parliament said that “I can conceive nothing more likely to create suspicion among these tribes than for them to see our officers at the top of their hills, surveying and making maps of their country; for these
Pathan tribes are as jealous of their independence as the natives of Switzerland and other mountainous countries.”

Furthermore, the Sandeman system was quite successful amongst Baloch tribes where there were tribal chiefs powerful enough to control the tribes for which they were responsible. While at the same time the Balochs according to C.C Davies were, “Less turbulent, less fanatical, and less blood thirsty, he (Baloch) is far easier to control than the Pathan.” However, in Baluchistan, the essence of the system was the administration on tribal line, the growth and development of their own institutions and customs; the preservation of the natural feudal system, the encouragement, even among Pashtoon tribes who have a tendency to be democratic, of the influence of the tribal leaders. It is government by the people and for the people. The Pashtoon chieftain is always considered as “First among equals;” he cannot become godfather for his people as is common in Baloch society.

Wherever possible the tribes people themselves provide the machinery of government; the law is interpreted easily; the revenue system is simple, easily understood. The result was that the people, from high to low, understand and appreciate what is the actual truth- that the first and last object of the administration is to satisfy and help them; and there follows the closest co-operation between officials and non-officials. In the North West Frontier Province the system has been widely different. The British Raj has attempted to force upon the tribes of the North West Frontier Province laws, ideas, which were foreign to them and can therefore do them no good. Moreover, the introduction of new ideas has stopped their natural development by substituting a civilization grown for British own use. Between the people and the British officials the
old link— which was the Khan— has disappeared; and the two have grown farther and farther apart. However, the hierarchical social structure and powerful chiefs made British Raj’s penetration easier into Balochistan but it was not only due to the presence of powerful tribal chiefs. Furthermore, Sandeman supported the right man in the right place, and it was that support which has made them what they were.

On the other hand the Pashtoons’ tribal conditions and social structure, so different from Baluchistan that one policy cannot be made successful in both areas. Moreover, the fighting strength of Pashtoons’ tribes during the period was far more than the Baloch tribe. For instance the Mahsuds number some eight thousand fighting men, while the total fighting strength of Marris and Bugtis combined does not exceed six thousand. Moreover, the democratic character of the Pashtoon society made Maliks weaker as compared to Baloch sirdars or Tumandars. Maliks have been incorporated in Pashtoon society for different services and it can also be termed as Maliki system, through which British Raj exercising its powers indirectly in tribal areas particularly. The Maliks were selected by British authorities and graded according to their supposed power and influence and paid allowances for the services they rendered. For instance 280 Maliks were recognized by Mr. Bruce in Mahsud country while 254 Maliks were recognized by Mr. Anderson in the Darwesh khel country on the Tochi side. For the services these Maliks rendered, they were given allowance in return. Instead of making a Malik stronger by receiving allowances from British Raj, the position of a Malik became weaker in Pashtoon society. In many cases the funeral ceremonies of different Maliks were not observed by his clan due to the propaganda of different Mullahs. The British Raj wanted to convert Maliks from mere representative of Pashtoons to servants.
of Raj and in return made the tribes against the Maliks, who were receiving allowances from the British authorities.37

While introducing the Maliki system Mr. Bruce committed many mistakes, which his senior Sandeman did not do in Baluchistan. Firstly, Bruce did not occupy any place strategically important as Sandeman did in Baluchistan; this made the work of Maliks difficult as they could not be assisted by the British authorities in case of emergency. Secondly, the presence of powerful tribal chiefs in Baloch society made it easier for Sandeman to maneuver while the absence of such powerful tribal chiefs in Pashtoon areas made task complicated for Bruce. Lastly, the democratic character of Pashtoons made it extremely difficult to control them through their Maliks.38

A Baloch tribe has at the head of it a single leader, a Tumandar, a man whose family have occupied the same position for generations, a man of wealth and high position and dignity whose word is law among his people. While in Pashtoon areas, however, the British authorities came to confront score of men instead of a single leader. “They (Pashtoons) are disposed to say, as I heard of some tribe saying not long ago, ‘we have no Maliks among us,’ or again ‘we are all Maliks.’”39 The Pashtoons claim that they belong to one tree. Different tribes are various branches while the roots and trunk is the same. This leads to the Pashtoons’ feeling of pride in belonging to one big tribe and gives them the sense of equality and fraternity among the fellow Pashtoons. So the characteristics of Baloch society were different from that of Pashtoon society and due to the reasons mentioned above the Sandeman system did not prove successful in the North West Frontier of India.
During the three decades of British occupation of North-West Frontier i.e. 1849-79, the British faced a lot of problems including administrative and political. “What right have we (British) to take away the independence of the tribes?” asked by different military officials whom were deployed at NWFP in different campaigns, and the answer had always been that “None whatever unless we give them something better to replace what we are taking away.”

One can easily find in the aftermath of the British arrival in Pashtoon areas, a story of continued struggle between the two parties: Pashtoon for independence and British Raj for giving ‘Pashtoons better to replace what have been taken away’. This struggle continued for almost a century. Further the incalcitrant behavior and desire for independence of the Pashtoons compelled the authorities to use brutal force. The three decades from 1849-79 proved fatal both for the British armed forces and the Pashtoon rebels, who rose against the foreign yoke. Nevertheless, between 1849 and 1890, no less than forty-two expeditions had been considered necessary to counteract the ‘marauding proclivities’ of the ‘turbulent tribesmen’.

The presence of the British forces was considered as against their customs and tradition and a threat to their independence, hence the penetration of British Raj should be halted.

Afterwards the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-80) started, which proved a disaster for British forces, but the British established its pro-British king at Kabul and signed a treaty of Gandamak on May 26, 1879. This treaty provided an opportunity for British Raj to station a permanent resident in Kabul. Furthermore, control of Afghanistan’s foreign affairs was placed in the hand of the Government of India. Moreover, the Amir granted Britain the districts of Kurram, Pishin and Sibi, and, most importantly, the strategic Khyber and Michni Passes. In exchange, the Amir received
annual subsidy of six lakh rupees along with a promise of British support against aggression by a foreign power. As it is obvious from the treaty in which lot of territorial concessions being made by Afghan Amir, the result was that Pashtoons, earlier under Amir’s suzerainty, were brought under the British Raj. The Second Anglo-Afghan War also gave a chance to the British authorities to get more and more information about the independent Pashtoon tribes, the British forces while crossing the area. Moreover, one can see that the same information was used by British forces while dealing with the Pashtoons. The decade following i.e. 1879-89, the British forces constantly struggled to pursue “Forward Policy” to get hold of these people living in the difficult hill terrains of areas bordering Afghanistan. The problem, which the British forces were facing, was that they annexed an area without any formal information and administration. The British Raj first has to establish itself in the area and secondly they have to introduce efficient administration, which can enable the British authorities to rule these areas smoothly. For his purpose the British pursued different policies and mechanism.

For effective administration of the area, the British government formed Commissionership of Peshawar, which comprises three northern districts, while three Southern districts were kept under the Commissionership of Derajat in 1876. The system of political agencies was not adopted until 1878, when a special officer was appointed for the Khyber during the Second Afghan War. Kurram became an agency in 1892, while the three remaining agencies of the Malakand, Tochi and Wanna were created between 1895 and 1896.
Three types of methods were employed by the British forces for forcing the tribesmen to terms: fines, blockades and expeditions. All these three methods were frequently used by British forces during their stay in the Pashtoon areas. But there lies weakness even in the method itself particularly expeditions, as Russian General Skobelev pointed out, ‘In dealing with savage tribes the best plan is, to fight as rarely as possible and when you do fight, to hit as hard as you can. By incessantly attacking them, you teach them the art of war.’45 This fault has been made by British forces, which fought so frequently with these warrior tribes, that they learned how to fight against British forces and at the same time the tribesmen got an opportunity to get an access to modern warfare mechanics and weapons. It is evident from the fact that how frequently British forces fought against these tribesmen that, “Between the outbreak of the second Afghan War and the Pathan revolt of 1897 there were sixteen expeditions against the frontier tribes. Of these eight took place before peace was concluded with Kabul, and were in the nature of punishment inflicted on the clans.”46 This frequent interaction of British forces with Pashtoons provided the Raj an excellent chance to know the enemy well but at the same time it also provided an opportunity to Pashtoons, who never the less became an expert in dealing with British forces.

During the last decade of 19th century British forces occupied almost all the areas inhabiting by different clans of Pashtoon adjacent to Afghanistan. In some quarters of the British authorities it was assumed that the Kurram Valley, the Tochi Valley and Wana were entered and occupied, however, it was done at the express request of the local tribes concerned, as they were living under threat from stronger tribes and were therefore anxious for British protection. This may be true for Kurram Valley, where the Turi
inhabitants were mainly Shia, who had constant fear and threat from the Sunni Amirs of Afghanistan, and it is clear that Turis were anxious for British protection but the claim of other two i.e. Tochi and Wana has no ground to believe that they were anxious for the British protection. There was no such fear of Sunni domination in Tochi and Wana as was in the case of Kurram Valley.47

Moreover, the British Raj exploited the inter-tribal rivalry of different Pashtoon tribes particularly those living near Durand Line. On June 20, 1891 a full jirga of Darwesh Khel Wazirs on account of internal trouble with Mahsuds requested the British Raj to take possession of Darwesh Khel country. Similarly Malik Mani Khan an influential Malik in Darwesh Khel country invited the British authorities to take possession of the country of the “Waziris who are British subjects.”48 So the first major success for British Raj was the annexation of important strategic areas like Khyber, Tochi, Wana and Kurram Valley into the permanent possession of British Raj.

Now to extend its sphere of influence in those annexed areas, permanent administration was needed, but once the proponents of ‘Forward Policy’ failed to achieve its desire objectives, new methods were employed in shape of Native levies, which comprised of native people. There were four trans-border Corps- the Chitral Scouts, the Kurram Militia, the Tochi Scouts and the South Waziristan Scouts: the two latter having replaced the old North and South Waziristan Militia. Their primary duties were to prevent raids, ensure the safety of communications, and deal with minor tribal disturbances.49 This system proved successful but owing its vulnerability particularly in case of big revolts, the loyalty of these native forces could not be trusted. Moreover, shortly after the Third Anglo-Afghan War of 1919, a force of Khassadars or tribal levies on a purely tribal basis,
supplying their own arms, was raised to replace those Corps. The main duties of Khassadars were: The execution of the orders of the local officials passed after consultation with the maliks and elders, the summoning of persons whose attendance was required (on safe conduct) by the local officials, the investigation of reports relating to the area in which they are posted, the tracing and recovery of any person kidnapped from British territory, the opposition of raiding gangs violating their area, the escorting of Government officials, and in general the duties of chal weshta (tribal police) and badragga (tribal escort). The British authorities did not make the allowances paid for services as hereditary. The payment of allowances depended on the good and friendly conduct of the tribe towards the British Raj. In case of the death of a Khassadar his allowance did not automatically descend to his heir or any other relation, unless that relation is also approved as representing his group and serviceable to Government.

However, the failure of the militia was due to two reasons, firstly their separation from political authorities and secondly their over training. Many Pashtoons confirmed this to one of the officer, that it is like ‘a crow trying to learn the gait of the peacock.’ These frontier corps should be levies and levies only and absolutely divorced from military control. It is absurd to expect work from them which one would hardly demand from the best trained troops.

Later the situation changed, when ‘remarkable men’ were replaced by those, whose interest was not a peaceful subjugation of Pashtoons but wars. Apart from personal acumen of the British officers employed in to North West Frontier of India, the Pashtoons of the area were not taken in confidence for drafting of strategies and later for the implementation of policies. By not taking Pashtoons into confidence, during decision
making, this brought adverse impacts on the affairs especially during and after the demarcation of border between Afghanistan and British India.

**Durand Line agreement and its Consequences**

The British Government always remained concern over the demarcation of permanent boundary with Afghanistan to bring the independent tribes under British control and to secure a permanent sphere of influence against any external aggression. It was well before 1893 that British authorities wanted to demarcate a boundary and bring independent tribes under its control. It appears to the Government of India that the time has arrived when it becomes of extreme importance that an effort be made to bring under control, and, if possible, to organize, for purposes of defence against external aggression, the great belt of independent tribal territory which lies along British north-western frontier, and which has hitherto been allowed to remain a formidable barrier against the British Raj.54

The demarcation of linear boundaries was the crucial innovation of the British in the subcontinent. Such boundaries did not exist in India before the nineteenth century….55 Moreover, a distinction must be kept in mind between a ‘frontier’ and a ‘boundary’. Properly used, frontier means, according to Sir Henry MacMahon, a wide tract of border country, hinterlands, or a buffer state. Historically such frontiers had no external boundaries. However, a momentous change came, especially in the northwest, when the Government of India delimited and demarcated boundaries. Delimitation means describing the boundary in written, verbal terms in documents and as a line on a map; demarcation is the physical transference of these definitions to an actual line on the ground.56 This demarcation of the boundary has devastated impacts on the affairs of
North West Frontier of India. The Pashtoon stood against British Raj and from 1893 when Durand Line agreement was signed till the Pashtoon revolt of 1897, there was scarcely any area where British troops did not take part into a war against the independence loving Pashtoon elements especially in the adjacent areas of Durand Line.

There was a constant fear of Pashtoon revolts against the British Raj with the help of Amir of Afghanistan, who was supporting the independent tribes inside the territory of British India. Amir Abdur Rahman while commenting on the Anglo-Afghan relations stated, “Therefore it was not possible that the hostile feelings, the enmities, the hatred, the mistrust and suspicion which had existed between the English and Afghans for about fifty years past- which had caused friends and kinsmen of the two nations to fight against each other and to be killed by their hands- could be forgotten all at once.” Furthermore, the Amir said, “On my part, I was unable to show my friendship publicly to the extent that was necessary: because my people were ignorant and fanatical. If I showed any inclination towards the English, my people would call me an infidel for joining hands with infidels, and they would proclaim a religious war.” Before the demarcation of the boundary Amir Abdul Rahman while elaborating on the boundary for the tribesmen near Jandola stated, “The Viceroy has appointed a number of his trustworthy officers, termed in their language ‘Mission’ to ascertain and determine the boundary of Afghanistan and British territory which has not yet been determined…. After the boundary is settled the persons who remain in the Afghan territory of their own accord and subject to the allegiance of the Government of Afghanistan shall have their affairs managed by this Government (Afghanistan), while those who may come within the boundary of British territory and accept their rule shall be looked after by their officers and the Government
However, the tribes which did not accept the British rule after the demarcation of the boundary were treated with iron hand by British authorities. Amir of Afghanistan was himself unaware of the details of the agreement and map, when he asked for a map to get the detail of which parts of “Yaghistan” (land of unruly) were taken over by the British Raj, to the Amir’s surprise many areas of Afghanistan were included in British India. For instance all the countries of the Waziri, New Chaman, and the railway station there, Chaghi, Bulund Khel, the whole Mohmand, Asmar, and Chitral, and other countries lying in between, were marked as belonging to India. However, Amir himself renounced his claims from the railway station of New Chaman, Chaghi, and the rest of Waziri, Buland Khel, Kuram, Afridi, Bajaur, Swat, Buner, Dir, Chilas and Chitral. Moreover, by renouncing his claims from these areas the Amir’s annual subsidy was increased from 12 lakhs to 18 lakhs. Besides Afghanistan Government was allowed to buy and import any arms and war materials that they wished.

Now the question arises, why British Government was so anxious to demarcate a boundary with Afghanistan? There may be so many reasons and arguments in favor of demarcation of boundary. The Secretary of State for India at the time of conclusion of Durand Agreement, the Earl of Kemberley in the House of Lords said: “It is not an agreement for extending our frontier, nor did it necessitate our moving forward; its object was to mark the line between us and the Ameer, beyond which the Ameer on his side, and we on ours, should not interfere with the tribes. It was a negative agreement as to what we were not to do, but it did not bind us to a Forward Policy. The tribes may have regarded it as handing them over to us, and they may have concluded that the consequences would be an interference with their independence. The Government of
India ought to have acted with the greatest possible caution, and to have had the tribes clearly to understand that the Durand Agreement did not affect their independence.\textsuperscript{63}

Furthermore, the objects of the Government of India while concluding Durand agreement were, “to bring the tribes into line with ourselves(British) by the establishment of intimate and friendly relations identifying their interests with ours, rendering the resources of the country available for our requirements, \textit{and thus making our border land and its tribesmen a factor of strength in the great scheme of imperial frontier defence, instead of a source of weakness} (author’s italics) as it is while left in the normal condition of anarchy.”\textsuperscript{64} Moreover, the opening of strategically important passes and routes and “the amelioration of the condition of the frontier tribes by the extension of humanizing influences over them, redeeming them from their semi-barbarous condition, and putting them in the way of earning an honest livelihood.”\textsuperscript{65}

Therefore, it is obvious that the British Raj in India has many objectives to be achieved by demarcating a permanent boundary with Afghanistan. On one hand it sent a clear signal to Russia that any future aggression or violation of Afghanistan’s territory would be considered as a danger to British India and, secondly, to control tribes from committing raids in British territory as British and Afghan officials would be responsible for the tribes under their sphere of influence.

In the early years of ‘Nineties’ there was a chaos and uncertainty throughout North-West Frontier. To quote a contemporary government report:

\begin{quote}
A general uncertainty prevailed as to the limits of the two Governments and the tribesmen constantly took advantage of this uncertainty playing of the one against the other… the people of Bajaur and Swat were in uncertainty whether they might not any day be exposed to an Afghan invasion. There was anarchy in Kurram, where Turis were kept in fear by local disturbances fomented by Afghan
\end{quote}
officials,… And, South of Kurram, the whole Waziri tribe, was in a state of ferment, and intrigues were in the Zhob and Gomal valleys.66

The significant point to note here is that the British Government wanted to finish this uncertainty and anarchy prevailing in the North-West Frontier. The ultimate solution was to demarcate a boundary with Afghanistan. But instead of solving the problem, this agreement in itself contained the germs of chaos and uncertainty. The years following the signing of agreement brought more unrest and instability instead vice versa. However, this was the birth of the Frontier Problem. The Maliks and Motabirs (Chiefs) of one area came to the British delimitation officer of the border with the suggestions, which clearly shows the anxiety prevalent in the minds of Pashtoons on the occasion of Durand Line agreement. Moreover, it also shows that what the grievances of the Pashtoons against the demarcation. In a petition by 394 Daur Maliks and Mutabirs and 142 Waziri maliks and Mutabirs of Tochi Valley and other parts of Waziristan stated that services and allowances should be granted to them; local rights and customs be respected; cases should be decided by Muhammadan law and jirga when possible; that they should be exempted from court fees; that revenue, if demanded, should be assessed once for all; their jungle and iron mines should remain in their possession; the jails for their prisoners should be local, and in the event of Powindahs using the Tochi route, Badragga rights and grazing fees should be paid to the people of the valley.67 The years following Durand Line agreement did not give the Pashtoons the desired objectives. The Pashtoons’ customs and traditions were not followed, Muhammadan law was not introduced into their area and in many cases revenue was demanded and most importantly the routes,
which were being used by caravans for trade, were occupied by the British Raj and hence Pashtoons were deprived of the toll tax.

So the demarcation of boundary between Afghanistan and British India increased the responsibilities of later. Now the British Government has to provide protection to the tribes on their side of Durand line and at the same time has to prevent the marauding tribesmen not to enter Afghanistan’s territory. Since 1893, that this agreement showed has not only increased the responsibilities of the Government of India, but also increased the chances of collision with the frontier tribes and of war with the amir (Afghanistan).68

The chances of collision with tribes increased as the Durand Line agreement was signed without keeping in view ethnography and geography of the area, as the line was drawn through the middle of villages, sometime placing farmers living on one side of the border while the fields were on other. In many places the tribes were divided in such a manner that half tribe came under Afghanistan control while other half came under British control.

To place responsibility for this fatal mistake, it would be worth noting to quote a letter written by Amir Abdur Rahman to Viceroy Lord Lansdowne in which he clearly outlined a method for dealing with these tribes living on both sides of the border and made very interesting prophecies for future affairs, which to be taken place in that area. It is also important to note, that the letter was written even before Durand Mission reached Kabul. The Amir wrote:

As to these frontier tribes known by the name of Yaghistan, if they were included in my dominions I should be able to make them fight against any enemy of England and myself, by the name of a religious war, under the flag of their co-religious Muslim ruler (myself). And these people being brave warriors and staunch Mohamedans, would make a very strong force to fight against any power which might invade India or Afghanistan. I will gradually made them peaceful
subjects and good friends of Great Britain. If you should cut them out of my dominions they will neither be of any use to you nor to me. You will always be engaged in fighting or other trouble with them, and they will always go on plundering. As long as your Government is strong and in peace, you will be able to keep them quiet by a strong hand, but if at any time a foreign enemy appears on the borders of India, these frontier tribes will be your worst enemies... In you cutting away from me these frontier tribes, who are people of my nationality and my religion, you will injure my prestige in the eyes of my subjects, and will make me weak and my weakness is injurious to your Government.69

The history following the signing of Durand Line agreement proved that all prophecies of Amir Abdur Rahman were true. The British Government did not succeed, first to subdue them all; and in cases where these tribesmen were subjugated, there was a lack of administrative machinery to give them protection. The words used by Amir “these frontier tribes will be your worst enemies” proved true, wherever there was a disturbance elsewhere, these tribesmen stood against the British forces.

It was not a tripartite agreement, which may include Pashtoon but an agreement between Amir of Afghanistan and British Government. As one historian observed, “It seems that this (Durand Line agreement) could not have been a tripartite agreement, for there is no evidence that the tribesmen were consulted before 1893.”70 As Pashtoons were not consulted; so there were chances of Pashtoon revolts in certain areas where they were forced to divide putting aside all their similarities and geographical considerations. Durand Line agreement was an abnormal division, in which Pashtoon nation was split into three, in British India in tribal territory and in Afghanistan, divided tribes from one another and in many places put tribe on side of Durand Line and their fields on other side. The main defect in the Durand Line agreement was that it neither satisfied the ethnological nor geographical concerns of the Pashtoons living on both sides of the Durand Line.
Keeping in view all the defects of the agreement, British Government nevertheless achieved its desired objectives. The Government of India secured not only a permanent line of defence and sphere of influence but also deprived the Afghan Amir from his territories like Waziristan, Chaghi and Balochistan. As Waziristan is in the purview of the present study, so it would be appropriate here to mention that Amir of Afghanistan has claim over this territory, and in a reply to Amir of Afghanistan, the Viceroy of India wrote:

For some months past certain of your (Amir) officials, accompanied by a small following, have been in the neighborhood of Wanna and Gulkach, and in communication with the Waziris; and I have now received from Your Highness a letter, dated the 5th June, on the subject of your claims to Waziristan.... and you apparently wish to assert a claim to include within the limits of Afghanistan all the country to the north of the Waziri tribe, and anything lying between that territory and the Gomal stream.71 In reply the Viceroy wrote in the same letter, “My friend, this is a claim which I cannot admit.... I must warn Your Highness in the clearest terms that the British Government will not tolerate any further advance on the part of Your officers and troops... in Waziristan or the country to the south of it.”72

The Amir of Afghanistan has claims over these areas, but neither these claims were admitted nor Pashtoons were taken into confidence as to whom they want to join, British India or Afghanistan. Once Durand Line agreement has been signed than these tribesmen have no other chance; but to resist it. The demarcation of the Durand Line was regarded as a step to annexation.73 Moreover, to include the Pashtoons into the direct rule, the British Government missed a crucial point, which was observed by an historian, “The region’s (North-West Frontier of India) cultural ecology also makes direct control by outsiders problematic, and so in dealing with frontier tribes the British found themselves caught in the same entanglements as those faced by their predecessors, the Mughals and
Sikhs.74 Once the Pashtoons were incorporated in the dominion of British government, it became difficult for British authorities to control them.

The lack of knowledge about the Pashtoon socio-political institutions made the administration of the tribal areas difficult for the British Raj. The British authorities never exerted an influence in the support of tribal Constitution. It is often claimed that the officers who served at NWFP knew all what they should know about the tribal constitution. If they possess that knowledge they have left no record regarding the tribal constitution, and there is not in existence at present any treatise or manual, official or otherwise, on the subject of the political constitution of the Pathan tribes.75 Furthermore, there has been a progressive deterioration of the tribal constitution since the commencement of the British connection, and that at some time prior to the arrival of the British on the Frontier the tribal constitution was definitely stronger than it is now.76

The Turmoil of 1897

The Pashtoon tribal resentment to ever-increasing British forces and curtailment of the tribal liberties compelled them to rise against the British Raj. Besides the psychological influence on the tribal mind set and economic loss due to British presence in the Pashtoon areas; incited the tribes to start rebellions and revolts against the Raj. Therefore, the major Pashtoon uprising started in the year 1897, although before that time, there were numerous skirmishes of Pashtoons with British forces, but the major Pashtoon rising against British Raj started in 1897. Before 1897 different Pashtoon uprisings were mostly isolated incidents, however, the amalgam of fear, bound together for the first time a number of tribes with a common interest and hence brought coherence in major Pashtoon tribes. This revolt paralyzed the British administration in the area, where it seems
impossible for the Raj to control the Pashtoons. The year 1897 witnessed the most serious conflagration which has ever disturbed the North West Frontier. There can be no doubt that the suspicions of the tribes had been excited by the extension of British influence and the establishment of British garrisons in what had been formerly independent territory. The wave of unrest started from Waziristan, where Mullah Powindah started campaign against the demarcation of boundary line between Afghanistan and British India, burnt down the camp of British officials at Wana in 1894.

The Pashtoon revolt against the British Raj was not confined to Waziristan, it certainly started from there but later spread to all parts of Pashtoon dominated area in India’s North-West Frontier region. From Waziristan the wave of Pashtoon uprising reached Kurram agency, than Khyber and at the end it reached Malakand and Swat areas.

Why the major Pashtoon revolt started in 1897 and how it spread into all Pashtoon dominated areas? Whether there was any link, which connected all these local rebellions into a major Pashtoon revolt or it was just a coincidence? What were the socio-economic causes, which compelled Pashtoons to revolt against British Raj? As argued earlier the major cause for Pashtoon rising of 1897 was the demarcation of boundary in 1893. Furthermore, the setting up of political agencies and passage of troops through their areas and finally the construction of garrisons were regarded as a threat to the tribes’ independence.

The stage has been set for a major Pashtoon uprising by signing of the Durand Line Agreement in 1893. The first outbreak occurred in Waziristan, where on June 10, 1897, the Political Officer and his escort was attacked at Maizar. The object of the visit of Mr. H.W. Gee visit was to select a place for post of Sheranna levie, which has been
described by the tribesmen as an interference into their internal affairs and interference in
their independence. From Maizar the revolt spread to Swat, where the tribes rose under
one Sadullah, known as Mad Mullah—wrongly interpreted the word ‘Mustana’ with mad
by British non-academic historians mainly military officers who wrote the history of
NWFP— and attacked Malakand and Chakdarra. The next to rebel were the Mohmands,
who under Najm-ud-Din, the Adda Mullah, attacked the fort of Shabqadar in the
Peshawar district. Finally, the Orakzais and Afridis rose against British Raj under the
leadership of Mullah Sayyid Akbar.

Religious fanaticism was regarded as the main cause of 1897 revolt, which was
lead by religious clerics-turned-soldiers, who in return became leaders, who took the
initiative to lead Pashtoons against British Raj. The Commissioner Derajat in his enquiry
regarding the Pashtoon outrages at Maizar stated that outbreak was inspired by religious
fanaticism. Moreover, the fines imposed after Honda Ram’s murder case on different
tribes also provided opportunity for the Mullahs to stir the tribes. However, the
Commissioner rejected the involvement of Mullah Powindah in that incident.⁷⁹ This
shows that Mullahs not only incited Pashtoon on mere religious basis, the tribes own
interest like the paying of fines for Honda Ram’s murder case was also responsible for
the Pashtoon revolts against British Raj. The imposition of fine in such cases and later its
realization from the tribes remained a constant problem in the British administration of
the Pashtoon areas. The British authorities introduced a concept of collective
responsibility, whereby it meant that any offence being done against British Government
or its functionary would be the collective responsibility of the whole tribe, no matter who
exactly has to be involved. This collective responsibility technique has certainly failed,
when Mr. Gee reached Maizar for the realization of Honda Ram’s murder fines from the whole tribe of Madda Khel, which did not want to pay the fine as only members of its sub-section Ali Khan Khel were involved in the Honda Ram murder. Malik Sadda Khan Madda Khel raised this point in his letter to the British authorities concerned. “When the British troops came to Maizar for the realization of the fine in Honda Ram’s case, I gave a notice to Mr. Gee and Ghulam Mohammad Khan that they should not go to Maizar as the Madda Khel would not pay the fine; because the Ali Khan Khel section only was charged with the offence; the murderer of Hindu (muharir) was also an Ali Khan Khel. The rest of the Madda Khel would not in any case pay the fine, and a fight would surely ensue between the Government and the Madda Khel.”

The Pashtoon did not only fight for religion but also involved material interests. Moreover, ‘the sense of fanaticism was inspired by events elsewhere in the world, as soldiers of Islam put the Christianity on the run and the Ottoman Caliph Sultan Abdul Hamid II had dealt the Greeks a crushing blow.’ ‘The British General Charles Gordon was murdered by Arab insurgents in Sudan, and Christians were being massacred on a whole scale in Middle East and Central Asia’. But to what extent the world political scene can inspire Pashtoons’ fanaticism? One historian is of the view that, “It would be difficult to state how far these happenings affected the Indian frontier, but certain letters discovered in Mullah Sayyid Akbar’s house in the Waran Valley of Tirah show clearly the wild rumors that were prevalent.” One quotation from the letter indicated that frontier mullahs were in contact with other Indian religious leaders, consequently were affected by the prevalent world political scene:

You Muhammadans, must take care lest you be deceived by the British, who are at present in distressed circumstances. For instance, Aden, a seaport, which was in
possession of the British, has been taken from them by the Sultan. The Suez Canal, through which the British forces could easily reach India in 20 days, has also been taken possession of by the Sultan, and has now been granted on lease to Russia. The British forces now require six months to reach India...The Sultan, the Germans, the Russians and the French are all in arms against the British at all seaports and fighting is going on in Egypt too against them.\textsuperscript{82}

Apart from all this, the Pashtoons supported mullahs, who in their views can do miracles. The most important in them was \textit{Mustana} mullah- in British record Mad Mullah-, who as noted by a writer, “In fact, he had only to throw stones into the Swat river and each stone would have the effect of a shot from a gun. He also claimed to be able to redeem himself invisible. More marvelous still, the tribesmen believed him.”\textsuperscript{83} So the personal character and abilities of mullahs won over the prevailing world discontent, as thousands of tribesmen whose ‘ferocity was heightened by religious enthusiasm flocked to join him (Mad Mullah).’\textsuperscript{84} The personal influence of these religious clerics was more important than things going on in the Muslim world. In a reply to government the people of Tirah, wrote where one can see the inability of people to act for themselves: “Friendship and enmity are not in our choice; whatever orders we may receive from the Fakir Sahib of Swat, the Mullah Sahib of Hadda or by the Aka Khel Mulla, and from all Islam, we cannot refuse to obey them; if we lose our live, no matter.”\textsuperscript{85}

The point, which was missed by most historians, was that they confused fanaticism with the Pashtoons’ desire for independence. The desire for independence of Pashtoons can be more appropriate for interpreting their revolts against British Raj. This point is evident from the letter written by Mullah Powindah to Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan, in which he argued that, “In short, I shall continue to remain an antagonist
and will not come to friendly terms until the five prisoners are released. The hilly country up to the Gomal belongs to this territory..., there being no room for a foreigner.”

Different economic factors also contributed towards the complicated situation of the Pashtoon areas. The 1897 Pashtoon uprising was also due to economic factors, mainly the increase in salt tax extracted from different mines in Kohat. The tribesmen around Kohat were unhappy over the increase of salt tax. Majority of the tribesmen were involved in the salt business as labourers and transporters. Prior to 1883 the duty on Kohat salt ranged from 2 to 4 annas per Lahori maund (equal to 102 ½ pound) at the five mines in use, but in that year it was increased to a uniform rate of eight annas per Kohat maund. The Government decided in June 1896 to raise it from eight annas to two rupees a Kohat maund, with effect from the 13th July 1896. This increase in tax halted the trade of salt, the trade was almost entirely suspended during the 12 months following the enhancement, the total quantity of salt removed between the 16th July 1896 and the 15th July 1897 having been 4,468 Kohat maund only as compared with 967,531 maunds in the corresponding period of 1895-96 and 488,566 maunds the average quantity of salt removed in the corresponding periods of the five preceding years. The increase of salt tax was used by mullahs as a Pashtoon grievance against British Raj, as pointed out by Davies, “... the essential point to remember is not that salt duty did or did not constitute a grievance, but that it was cleverly utilized by the mullahs as an incentive.” Moreover, the increase in the price of salt has been utilized by mullahs and other persons desirous of creating disturbances as a means for exciting discontent and disaffection among the tribes across the border, and the Khyber Afridis and some of the Orakzai clans have included the enhancement of the salt duty with the occupation of the Samana and the Malakand as
one of their grievances against the British Government. The economic grievances may not be directly responsible for Pashtoon uprising of 1897 but indirectly these grievances were exploited by mullahs, to intensify the anti-colonial feelings among the Pashtoons.

In some quarters of the British administration it was suggested that many maliks may have involvement in the 1897 Maizar incident. The point made was that the maliks are losing their authority over their tribe. They wanted British troops in their areas to assist them in time of need. The presence of British troops could also provide a chance to a malik to show his loyalty to the British Raj if in case his tribe stood against the British. Moreover, it also suggests that there was a constant fear for lack of trust on the British appointed maliks by the British Raj, which created them to safeguard their interest and hence a malik was compelled to show his loyalty to the British authorities while at the same time he has to remain in good relation with his tribe as in time of need he would find himself friendless if his tribe do not extend support. Furthermore, many maliks did not extend their support to the British Raj particularly during the 1897 uprising was that British authorities discredited them for not allowing to represent the interest of the tribe before the government.

The whole Pashtoon dominated areas appalled against British in 1897, so it would be appropriate to find out any connections, which link all these rebellions on same time against same enemy. As one writer is of the view that, "He (R.I. Bruce) was convinced that each rising had its own particular local cause, and that in the beginning there was not the slightest connection between the Malakand, Afridi, and Maizar disturbances. That they occurred more or less simultaneously was, in his opinion, but an unfortunate coincidence. Sir Robert Warburton held similar views." But the most important, which
inspired all Pashtoons was their ethnicity mainly composed of same language and common origin and this sense of belonging to separate ethnic entity compelled the Pushtoon to rise against British Raj at a same time. On the other hand, they have more coherent tribal system as compared the Balochs, who did not present such a unified resistance. It may not be a mere coincidence as how than all Pashtoon dominated areas especially tribesmen rose against the British Raj at once and at the same time. This move was practical as well, once British forces were engaged in one part of North-West Frontier, the tribesmen of other areas considered it as a blessing in disguise and they also rose against colonial forces, and this uprising was the result of the active pursuit of Forward Policy in ‘Nineties’ as one writer summed up, “It is therefore my considered opinion, after sifting all the available evidence, that the 1897 disturbances were mainly the result of the advances which had taken place in nineties. Although many of the advances were justified from a military point of view, they nevertheless were looked upon as encroachments into tribal territory.”

But if these disturbances and revolts were mainly the result of active Forward Policy, than why it did not spread to Baluchistan and Kurram Agency? The difference was between Sandeman and the Punjab system, as the former succeeded to win over few Baloch Sardars through which he dominated the whole Baloch areas keeping in view the hierarchical character of Baloch society in which Sardars played prominent role, while Pashtoons had egalitarian character where Khans and Maliks were considered as one amongst equal and the Pashtoons cannot be controlled through controlling few maliks. As far as Kurram is concerned, it was mainly Shia dominated area, and they were in constant
strife with other Sunni tribes living in the neighborhood and at the same time they have
costant fears from Amir of Afghanistan, who most of the time being Sunni.

The last development of the last decade of the 19th century was the decision
through which the area was designated as separate province which was formally
inaugurated in 1901 by Viceroy Lord Curzon, who succeeded Lord Elgin as viceroy on
January 06, 1899. From annexation till 1901 the area was part of Punjab, and there were
various schemes, which were prepared to rule the area smoothly and control of the
Pashtoons than would be easier job for British officers directly responsible for that area.
“Of these schemes the most notable was that formulated by Lord Lytton in 1877, which
was laid aside on the outbreak of the Second Afghan War in the following year.” The
Imperial Gazetteer of North West Frontier Province wrote and continued that, “The
question was raised again in consequence of the experiences of 1897; and after mature
discussion and deliberation a scheme was formulated by which the Districts of Hazara,
Peshawar and Kohat, together with the Tran-Indus portions of Bannu and Dera Ismail
Khan, and the Political Agencies in the Khyber, the Kurram, the Tochi and Wanna were
removed from the control of the Punjab Administration.”

The period between the annexation of the Pashtoon areas and the beginning of the 20th
century proved as the most tumultuous period for the British Raj in the North-West
Frontier of India. During this period the British administration pursued their Forward
Policy very actively and formed political agencies in the areas bordering Afghanistan.
Furthermore, the British authorities also managed to draw a permanent boundary line
between Afghanistan and British India. In pursuit of Forward Policy the British Raj
occupied different Pashtoon dominated areas and this encroachment compelled Pashtoons
to revolt against the British Raj. The permanent annexation and presence of British authorities in the Pashtoon areas threatened the position of different social groups, which were earlier enjoying socio-political status in the Pashtoon social structure. Those social groups can be seen in the forefront of every Pashtoon resistance movement against British Raj.

The uprising of Pashtoons was interpreted as religious fanaticism ignoring the fact of Pashtoons desire for independence. The policies, which were formulated for those areas were not made according to genius of the people and social set up, coupled with the British soldiers’ presence on the Pashtoon soil made things worse for the British administration. Furthermore, the British Raj was pursuing different policies elsewhere successful in India but could not produce the desired objectives due to the unique socio-political and egalitarian structure of the Pashtoon society. The most important element of the Pashtoon social structure was the presence of Mullahs, who remained anti-British and provided a kind of leadership, which the Pashtoons were looking for against the British Raj. This important social element of the Pashtoon society would be the subject of next chapter.

Notes

1 National Documentation Center Islamabad (here after NDC) NDC Acc. No. 3946, IOR L/MIL/7/15929, p.4.
2 The Pashtoon having distinct social tribal structure, in which religion mixed up with culture in such a way that is difficult to separate one from another. For this study it has been termed as ‘religio-culture complex’ in which different Pashtoon social groups have their own space. It is not to suggest that Pashtoon social structure has different ‘classes’ the nature of the social structure as always remains egalitarian. For example this ‘religio-culture complex’ gives space to Mullahs at one specific time and to the Khans at other. Here it is not to suggest that the Pashtoon society has different social layers, it is by nature egalitarian but still having distinct social groups. For the detail discussion on Mullahs role in Pashtoon society see chapter 2 of the present study. However, the point to mention over here is that with the introduction of British Raj and its administrative system in the Pashtoon dominated areas, threatened the position of social groups which enjoyed social status in the prevailing social institutions working in the Pashtoon areas. When these social groups assumed that there would be no role available if the area became part of British Raj. Consequently
they started revolts against the British Raj in different Pashtoon dominated areas. Therefore, the Pashtoon resistance against the British Raj can be seen in this perspective, where this ‘religio-culture complex’ in danger gave rise to different Pashtoon resistance movements, which in nature were either religious or culture or mixture of both.


4 For instance the total revenue collected for the year 1903-04 was Rs.33,02,584/- while expenditure was Rs.55,18,902/. For details see Administration Report of the North West Frontier Province from 1903 to 1904, (NDC Acc. No. 4536), 29. Moreover, during the year 1910-11 total revenue collected was Rs.46,57,275/- while expenditure was Rs.99,33,435/ For details see Administration Report of the North West Frontier Province 1910-11 NDC Acc. No. 4537, p.75.


6 The writer is of the view that Russian or any other power increase inﬂuence on the borders of British India can incite the internal enemy. The external enemy was feared because of his potential effect upon the internal enemy. For details see, M.E. Yapp, Strategies of British India: Britain, Iran and Afghanistan 1798-1850 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p.15.

7 Ibid., p.16.

8 Colonel Dews’ Note on the North West Frontier Policy, File No. 8 S T B (1), NDC Acc. No. 244, p.6.


10 Memorandum by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow on Frontier Policy, in Selection from the records of the North West Frontier Province Secretariat, NDC, No. file no. S. 160, p.5.

11 As stated by Sir John Maffey Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General NWFP that, “It was the fear of Napoleon Bonaparte and his Eastern ambitions which brought Mountstuart Elphinston to Peshawar in 1810. It was fear of the Russian menace to India which carried Sir William Macnanghten, Sir Alexander Burnes and thousands of Englishmen and women to a dark death in Kabul in 1841. Again, fear of Russia led up to the murder of Cavagnari in Kabul in 1879 and to the disaster of Maiwand. This last chapter has its glories associated with the name of Roberts. But surely no conquering Napoleon or Czar no corrosive Lenin, no exuberant Amir can again tempt us forth beyond our mountains if we remain sane.” See, From the Honorable Sir John Maffey, Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General NWF Province, in North West Frontier Policy file no. 8 S T B (I) from 10-8-1919 to 16-12-1922, NDC Acc. No. 244, p.54.

12 Lieutenant Colonel Sir Armine Dew Agent to the Governor General and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan, Memorandum on Frontier Administration on 29th September 1921 in North West Frontier Policy file no. 8 S-T.B (I) from 10-8-1919 to 16-12-1922, NDC Acc. No. 244, p.29.

13 J.G Acheson Foreign Secretary Government of India, The Case of NWFP, in Selection from the records of the North West Frontier Province Secretariat, NDC, No. file no. S. 160, p.2.

14 Appendix VI, in Ibid., p.46.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 F. H. Humphrys dated, 9-7-1921 in North West Frontier Policy file no. 8 S-T.B (I) from 10-8-1919 to 16-12-1922, NDC Acc. No. 244, p.9.

19 Speech by The Earl of Northbrook in the House of Lords on Monday, March 7, 1898, North West Frontier of India on the motion of Lord Roberts of Kandahar, IOR: L/MIL/17/13/17, NDC Acc. No. 4187, p.7-8. The Earl of Northbrook is of the view that the Punjab System was the most successful, but he himself noted down that during the first thirty years of Punjab annexation, 28 punitive expeditions have been sent.

20 In Balochistan to take that Province first there has indeed been one policy consistently followed, the policy initiated by Sir Robert Sandeman, and, it may be said that it was faithfully carried on ever since: the policy, to use Sandeman’s own words of “conciliatory intervention.” It has resulted in the steady pacification of tribes originally no less independent than the Wazirs and Mahsuds. There is no natural, no legal, no political reason why the Kakar on British side of the Durand Line should be under British
unquestioned control any more than the Wazir. The only reason why the latter is not is that the Balochistan policy was not followed by the Punjab Government in the first place, nor after them by the Government of India. For details see, Lieutenant Colonel Sir Armine Dew Agent to the Governor General and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan, Memorandum on Frontier Administration on 29th September 1921 in North West Frontier Policy file no. 8 S-T.B (I) from 10-8-1919 to 16-12-1922, NDC Acc. No. 244, p.24.


22 Ibid.

23 Speech by The Earl of Northbrook in the House of Lords on Monday, March 7, 1898, North West Frontier of India on the motion of Lord Roberts of Kandahar, IOR: L/MIL/17/13/17, NDC Acc. No. 4187, p.6.

24 Ibid., p.11.

25 Davies, The Problem of North West Frontier, p.34.

26 Ibid., p.47.

27 For details see, Lieutenant Colonel Sir Armine Dew Agent to the Governor General and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan, Memorandum on Frontier Administration on 29th September 1921 in North West Frontier Policy file no. 8 S-T.B (I) from 10-8-1919 to 16-12-1922, NDC Acc. No. 244, p.24.

28 R.I Bruce the person who introduced Sandeman system in Waziristan was of the view that Sandeman system could not have succeeded with the Pashtoon tribes higher up the frontier to the same extent that he did with the Balochs, because it is said that Pashtoons are more democratic and not so amenable to the authority of their chiefs. But according to Bruce the success of Sandeman in Pashtoon’s areas of Baluchistan like Harmi, Quetta, Peshin, Thal-Choteali, Bori and Zhob, proved that this system can also be successful in other Pashtoon dominated areas. According to Bruce, it is the Sirkar who makes or unmakes these men (tribal chiefs) by supporting them materially. For details see R.I Bruce, The Forward Policy and its Results (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1977), p.18-19.

29 Ibid., p.170.

30 For details see, Memorandum by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow on Frontier Policy, NDC Acc. No. IV C-1, file No. S. 160, 18.


32 Most of the Maliki allowance was made in two forms, ‘tumani’ that is to be distributed amongst the sections of the tribe according to tribal shares, and as ‘Maliki’ that is to be distributed for ‘Khidmat’ namely for services rendered. The British authorities usually did not inform Maliks how much of their allowances were ‘tumani’ and how much Maliki (‘Khidmati’). Later on an effort has been made to get the whole of the allowances to be regarded as Maliki (‘Khidmati’). This later arrangement made the situation complicated as the tribesmen did not receive share in the allowances and made the position of a Malik vulnerable. The tribesmen than termed their respective Maliks as mere representatives of the government instead of the tribe. For Tribal Maliky allowances see, Note on the General System of Tribal “Maliki” Allowances, in The Tribes of Waziristan: Notes on Mahsuds, Wazirs, Daurs etc. by Lt.Col. C.E Bruce, NDC Acc. No 4, p.vi.

33 Note by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick on the letter from the Government of India, Foreign Department, No.2197, dated 14th August 1896, Punjab Frontier Policy in Selection from the records of the North West Frontier Province Secretariat, NDC Acc. No. IV C-I, file no. S.160, p.46.

34 For instance in Tochi valley three tribal sections Utmanzai, Ahmadzai and Daurs received Rs.63,736 on September 1st, 1895. For details of different allowances, grants and inams granted to different sections, see Ibid., in the Appendix Statement of Allowances, Inams, &c., granted on the Punjab Border, p.67.

35 For instance immediately after the conclusion of Kelly’s murder case when two of the Maliks, who acted on the jirga under the superintendence of the Commissioner and convicted the prisoners, were assassinated. For details see, Ibid., p.48.

36 For example in Waziristan area, Mullah Powindah who had great influence on tribes has raised ill-feeling against Maliks, who were receiving British allowances and has ordered that no funeral ceremonies shall be performed at the death of any one receiving allowances from British authorities. See Ibid., p.47.

37 Ibid., p.47.
38 For details see, Davies, *The Problem of North-West Frontier*, p.124-25. Further, in the traditional Jirga in the Pashtoon society where everyone can speak without fear and discrimination.

39 Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick on the letter from the Government of India, Foreign Department, No.2197, dated 14th August 1896, Punjab Frontier Policy in *Selection from the records of the North West Frontier Province Secretariat*, NDC Acc. No. IV C-1, file no. S.160, p.46.


41 Davies, *The Problem of North-West Frontier*, p.27.

42 Article 3 of Gandamak Treaty states that the Amir of Afghanistan and its dependencies agrees to conduct his relations with Foreign States, in accordance with the advice and wishes of the British Government. His Highness the Amir will enter into no engagements with Foreign States, and will not take arms against any Foreign State except with the concurrence of the British Government. For details see, C.U.Aitchison, (comp.), *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Vol. XIII, NDC Acc. No. 4480, p.240-42.

43 Article 9 of the Treaty of Gandamak states that His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its dependencies agrees on his part that the districts of Kurram and Pishin and Sibi, shall remain under the protection and administrative control of the British Government: that is to say, the aforesaid districts shall be treated as assigned districts, and shall not be considered as permanently severed from the limits of the Afghan kingdom. The revenues of these districts after deducting the charges of civil administration shall be paid to His Highness the Amir. For details see, Ibid., p.242.


45 Quoted in Ibid., p.25-26.


47 On the evacuation of the Kurram Valley in 1800 the Turis had been declared independent of the Afghan Government. A reign of anarchy at once set in. The raids of the Turis on their Afghan neighbours led to constant complaints from the Amir, who demanded that we (British) should keep them in order. In 1891 the independent Suni tribes surrounding Kurram were instigated from Kabul to combine for a crusade against the Shiah Turis. The latter petitioned for assistance, declaring that without British help they saw no alternative but submission to the Amir. Under the circumstances such an appeal could not be ignored. The Amir himself suggested the occupation of the country, and in 1892 troops were moved up from Thal, and the valley was reoccupied. Since then the whole valley, though not considered a part of British India, has been ruled by the Political Officer on a rough, but effective system. For details see, *Administrative Report of the North-West Frontier Province: From 9th November 1901 to 31st March 1903*, NDC Acc. No. 4536, p.9.

48 From the Secretary to the Government of India to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab August 15, 1892 in *Afghan Waziri Boundary 1892, 1896 and 1898*, NDC Acc. No.952, p.1.


50 Ibid.

51 Answer to the Mehsud petition by S.E. Pears, Resident in Waziristan, 1922, in Ibid., p.604-605.

52 Ibid.

53 Memorandum of Lieutenant Colonel Dew Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan, 4th October 1919, in *North West Frontier Policy* file no. 8 S-T.B (I) from 10-8-1919 to 16-12-1922, NDC Acc. No. 244, p.6.

54 This impression has been gathered by R.I Bruce from the letter of British Government which is quoted in the Letter from R.I Bruce, Commissioner and Superintendent, Derajat Division, to the Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, dated Dera Ismail Khan, 28th February 1894, in *Military Operations on the North West Frontier of India Vol.1, Papers regarding British Relations with the Neighbouring Tribes on the North West Frontier India and the Military Operations undertaken against them during the year 1897-98*, 10R: L/MIL/17/13/19/1, NDC Acc. No. 4187, p. 9.


83 Ibid., p.96-97
84 Ibid., p.97.
85 Ibid.
86 Mullah Powindah to Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan, 6th November 1894, NDC photocopy series S.269.
87 For instance 35,214 Khattaks, 13,231 Ghilzais, 7,076 Waziris, 6,355 Powindahs, 4,272 Bangashes, 4,060 Afridis and 809 miscellaneous in 1891-92 were involved in Kohat salt trade. For details see, Extract from Memorandum by Captain H.A. Deane, Deputy Commissioner, Kohat, dated 1st July 1892, NDC Acc. No. 4187, p.161.
88 Correspondence relating to the enhancement of the duty on Kohat salt, Letter from the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department, to the Right Honourable Lord George Francis Hamilton, Her Majesty’s Secretary of State for India, dated Simla, 30th September, 1897, NDC Acc. No. 4187, p.147-49.
89 Davies, The Problem of North-West Frontier, p.96.
90 Letter from the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department, to the Right Honourable Lord George Francis Hamilton, Her Majesty’s Secretary of State for India, dated Simla, 30th September, 1897, NDC Acc. No. 4187, p.149.
91 For instance see, Letter from L.W. Dane, Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated Simla 2nd July 1897, NDC Acc. No. 4187, p.92.
92 For instance a letter from Malik Sadda Khan, Madda Khel, where the said malik is of the view that the reason for my non-attendance and distrust is that during the demarcation of boundary between the Government of India and the Amir of Afghanistan, I applied for certain terms from Mr. Anderson Commissioner, for the satisfaction of my tribe, the tribe also demanded the terms from the said officer. But the officer incharge of the Tochi Valley did not allow me to make those demands, and discredited me before my tribe. See Translation of a letter from Malik Sadda Khan, Madda Khel, to Major General G. Corrie Bird, C. B., Commanding Tochi Field Force, dated 2nd September 1897 in Ibid., p.126.
93 Davies, The Problem of North-West Frontier, p.93.
94 Ibid., p.98.
95 Imperial Gazetteer of Indian Provincial Series: North-West Frontier Province, p.26.
Chapter 2

Religious Leadership and the Pashtoon Resistance

The role of religion and religious men in the Pashtoon society is very important for the understanding of the nature of the Pashtoon resistance against the British Raj, which was often led by people known to the locals as well as British officials as Mullahs. The most important aspect of the Pashtoon society is the amalgamation of religion with culture in such a way that it is very difficult to separate one from the other. This amalgamation of religion with culture gave rise to religio-culture complex in the Pashtoon society in which different social groups enjoy different roles and social status. The Mullahs were also a part of that religio-culture complex where they enjoyed their respective role. However, the introduction of the British administration in the Pashtoon dominated areas threatened their position as well as social status, which they were enjoying in the prevailing social structure. Moreover, the creation of new groups; new ideas and institutions threatened the already existing social status of the Mullahs. The social position that had been enjoyed by the Mullahs from very long time been threatened by the presence of British administration in the Pashtoon areas.

The leadership in the Pashtoon society can be categorized into two overlapping categories the religious and the secular due to the fact that religion and culture has a mixture, therefore, one can find both the leaderships overlapping with one another. The former came into prominence during crisis times and it is always the latter who led the Pashtoons’ day to day affairs. The Mullahs in the Pashtoon society used to fire the shots in crisis times. When the circumstances were normal than the Pashtoons used to follow the secular authority, and refused to accept the Mullahs as their leaders particularly in tribal affairs. For instance, several Mullahs met at Bagh in the Khyber Agency, whereby the Mullahs wanted to take the control of the tribal affairs with the
government, however, on receiving a flat reply from the Malikdin Khel, Qambar Khel and others, that they were not going to follow the Mullahs in politics and could not recognize them to be their leaders in tribal affairs, they began to molest some poor tribesmen, whom they accused of being government spies.¹

However, the introduction of the British administration in the Pashtoon areas gave more importance and space to the *Maliks* (representing the secular leadership) which threatened the position of the religious leaders, particularly the *Mullahs*. During the British stay in the Pashtoon areas, one can easily find the constant tussle of *Mullahs* with *Maliks* as well British authorities for space to maneuver and hence protect their already given position in the Pashtoon society.

The Pashtoon *jihad* was not in the defense of Islam per se, but it was Islam as a part of the Pashtoon culture that the resistance leaders and their supporters believed to be in danger under the British rule. Moreover, the Pashtoon resistance movements, which were led by the Mullahs, should not be confused with pure religious resistance movements. The roots of the Pashtoon resistance must not be understood only in terms of religious fanaticism. The undercurrent of the Pashtoon resistance movements led by the Mullahs lay in the understanding of the Pashtoon social structure, which came under severe outside pressure from the British administration.

The Pashtoon resistance movements, in a majority of the cases, were led by the *Mullahs* and this phenomenon posed conceptual questions regarding the role of the *Mullahs* in the Pashtoon society and the following of the Pashtoons under these *Mullahs*. The present chapter will be an endeavor towards understanding the phenomenon involving Mullahs as resistance leaders. Moreover, it will also delve in detail into the role of the *Mullahs* in the Pashtoon society.
and particularly into their role in crisis times. This chapter will also look into the causes and effects of different resistance movements led by the Mullahs. It will also try to analyze how the militarization of the religious authority of the Mullahs came into being and how these Mullahs than mobilized the Pashtoons for different uprisings?

The present study argues that religious leaders are part of the Pashtoon society as compared to other works, which argues that religious men are outside to the Pashtoon social structure.2 The men who led the Pashtoons against the British Raj were mainly religious leaders, and they were themselves Pashtoons and in a majority of cases were from the same clan, which they were serving.

The Role of Religion and Mullahs in the Pashtoon Society

Religion and religious men play a prominent role in almost every traditional and tribal society. The case in the Pashtoon society becomes more complex as religion has been amalgamated with culture in such a way that it is difficult to separate one from the other, as my arguments in the previous chapter have highlighted. Therefore, religion and religious men must be seen in the overall social structure of the Pashtoons. As mentioned earlier, the mixture of religion and culture gave rise to religio-culture complex in which different social groups enjoy different social status as well as position. The introduction of the British Raj in the Pashtoon dominated areas threatened the position of these religious men who, in retrospect, stood against the British forces calling upon the Pashtoon tribes in the name of jihad. However, this jihad was not in defense of Islam per se but the religio-culture complex was in danger, which enabled the Mullahs to raise the tribes against the British Raj. The Mullahs wanted to protect their already existing social status in the Pashtoon society. On the other hand, they portrayed each and every conflict
with the British authorities within a religious framework and hence enabled themselves to
mobilize the Pashtoon tribes. However, it was not only the religious coloration of different
incidents which compelled the tribes to take up arms against the British forces. The tribes in
most of the cases followed the Mullahs as men of their own tribes due to ethnic affiliation.

The religious men in the Pashtoon society can be grouped into two overlapping
categories. In the first category, the status usually derives itself from profession. In the second
category, the status is derived from hereditary religious sanctity. The former include Mullahs and
Ulemas and the later include ‘astanadar’ (hereditary spiritual men) and Syeds. The astanadar
further divided into four different groups: Pirs, Mians, Akhunzadas and Sahibzadas. However,
the status enjoyed by Mullahs and Ulemas was not only due to their professions and the duties, it
was also due to their ethnic belonging to the tribe they were serving. Moreover, the Pashtoon
social structure also provided them with a chance for maneuvering within that social system.

The term Mullah designates a religious personage, and particularly applies to a mosque
attendant and administrator of different religious needs of a tribe which he is serving. These
religious needs include: leading daily prayers, supervising different ceremonies particularly that
of funeral as well as marriage ceremonies. The Mullahs, whenever provided with an opportunity
to translate their spiritual authority to secular authority, usually did so. This opportunity usually
came in the crisis times, particularly when the Pashtoons had been threatened by foreign non-
Muslim invaders, a fact which still manifests itself in the present. The Mullahs portrayed the
presence of the British forces in the Pashtoon areas as a threat to the overall survival of the
Pashtoons. This portrayal of the British Raj by the Mullahs compelled the Pashtoon tribes to
arise against the British forces.
The religious men in the Pashtoon society also worked as mediators when a conflict rose between two individuals or tribes. This role of a mediator gave and still gives the Mullah a very important social position within the Pashtoon social structure, because during a particular conflict those specific men were usually involved who had influence or respect, which would be valued by an individual or tribe. Therefore, the role of the Mullah in a conflict of individuals or tribes put him in a highly respectable social position, which was more often than not being constantly utilized by Mullahs for mobilizing the Pashtoon tribes for the defense of religion/culture or both. Hence, the Mullahs should not be considered as outsiders to the Pashtoon social structure. They are a part of the social structure and hence have had a say at different times if not all the time.

Moreover, in the Pashtoon society, different opposing factions cannot reach each other without the arbitration or mediatory role of the mullahs. The British authorities succeeded in bringing some clans within the British administration which means that the arbitrary role of the Political Agent was limited. Hence, the British authorities had to rely on the role of the Mullahs in times of trouble with a clan. At the same time, those tribes which accepted British allowances and had refused to align themselves with the Mullahs who had advocated opposition to the British, were dependent on the same mullahs to initiate dialogue with clans outside the allowance system.3

Once the position of these Mullahs had been threatened due to the imposition of different British policies, particularly the administrative structure, which the British authorities tried to introduce in the tribal territories, the Mullahs, in the tribal areas in particular and the settled districts in general, rose against the British authorities. The Mullahs gave a religious color to almost all the events, which happened to threaten their position. However, only religion was not
sufficient for the Pashtoons to take up arms against the British forces. Therefore, it was necessary for the *Mullahs* to present to the Pashtoons a kind of a situation, where religion seems to be mixed up with Pashtoon culture. Once this thing had been achieved by any *Mullah*, the Pashtoons were then ready to take up arms against the British Raj and to even follow the *Mullahs*. The phenomenon of showing a kind of mixture to the Pashtoons was not an easy task. More often than not, the Mullahs tried to show that all British policies including road construction, schools, hospitals and other infrastructure were meant to impose the British suzerainty over the Pashtoons and hence ought to be opposed.

Structurally, the British bolstered and encouraged the growth of a ‘chiefly’ *Malik* class in the Tribal Areas. Their efforts did not prove as fruitful as the British administration wanted. However, the foundations of the conflict, contradiction and dysfunction in the Mohmand society between the *mashars* and *kashars* were created. The very core of tribal democracy was touched. Nevertheless the *Maliks*, with all their secret allowances and political privileges, remained a little more than glorified tourist chiefs. In the interior of the Agency, the weight of their word depended to a great extent on their personal influence. The Agency remained a closed system. However, this class did open up a window to the Tribal Areas. It remained one through which the British could not only peer but make their voices heard.⁴

However, the Mullahs were mostly afraid of the creation of the *Maliks* in the tribal territory, because the *Maliks* were directly encroaching over the influence of the Mullahs in tribal territory. Therefore, the *Mullahs* opposed the creation of the *Maliki* system in the Pashtoon dominated areas. One can easily find a lot of examples of *Mullahs* constantly fighting with the *Maliks* for space to maneuver. The *Mullahs* were very much concerned over their decreasing influence in the Pashtoon areas with the introduction of the *Maliki* system. Therefore, the
Mullahs have to fight at two levels, one against the British Raj and second against their local collaborators—Maliks. The Mullahs in the Pashtoon society explained the role of the Maliks to the masses as being a part of the British administration and hence supporting the foreign rule, therefore, they needed to be eliminated.

However, with the increasing power of the Maliks in the Pashtoon society, the role of the Mullah was threatened. The space for maneuvering within the Pashtoon society for Mullah decreased as the British administration was heavily relying on the Maliks. With this British patronage of the Maliks, the Mullahs in the Pashtoon society got offended. Therefore, they started a kind of campaign at a two pronged level, as stated earlier, one against the British and second against the Maliks. “However, it is important to note that at the slightest sign of political trouble with the British it was the Mullahs who took the initiative and emerged as leaders stressing religious themes. British Maliks would be their first targets...”

According to one of the government reports, the cause for the murder of the Maliks was that they were becoming important. “No individual is permitted to become prominent; two maliks have been murdered during the last two years in the Malakand Agency largely because they showed signs of becoming important.” Therefore, the struggle between the Mullah and the Malik should be seen as a contest for space within the Pashtoon social structure. The Maliks were becoming important as well as powerful; therefore, the Mullahs started a campaign against the Maliks to restrict their power and prestige. Moreover, the loyal Maliks in the Pashtoon society were largely dependent on the support of the British authorities. Time and again, they demanded more and more British troops in their respective areas, so they could make the tribe as well as the Mullahs realize that the Maliks were more powerful as compared to the Mullahs. For instance, in one of the reports, the Political Agent from South Waziristan observed that Mullah Hamzullah
had tried to stir up the tribes for *Jihad* and had pointed out that in spite of repeated serious outrages by the Mahsuds involving the deaths of many British officers and sepoys and the loss of hundreds of rifles, the Government had taken no action against tribe… *Maliks* whom I have seen assure me of their loyalty to the British Government, but they state that our present weakness is everywhere realized and advise display of force to counteract *Mullah’s* arguments. This scantiness of troops certainly runs a risk.⁷

This also means that whenever the British authorities failed to take any action against any Pashtoon tribe for the outrages they committed, surely it put the Maliks in trouble. By not taking any action against the tribe, the British authorities made the Maliks’ position weaker, as compared to the Mullahs. Therefore, the Maliks were always looking for British support vis-a-vis the Mullahs in the tribe. Moreover, the British administrators were also aware of the fact that the influence of a *Mullah* was more than that of many *Maliks* combined. The reason is that it was hard to bring all the *Maliks* on the same page on certain issue. One of the British administrators very rightly pointed out, “if the leading men should by any chance combine, the influence of *Mullah* Powidah is sufficient to neutralize them, but is of sufficient to carry the Mahsuds against them. The two, Mullah and Maliks, just balance each other. I do not think we find this phenomenon anywhere else on the frontier, two political parties of about equal strength and a tribe now leaning to one now to the other.”⁸

The influence of the *Mullahs* in the Pashtoon society can also be gauged from the fact that they could easily impose asocial as well religious boycott of an individual or a tribe on the basis of that particular individual or tribe supporting the British Raj in one way or the other. The Mullahs could easily refuse to perform the death ceremony of an individual, which would be a great shame for the relatives of the dead person. Therefore, a lot of incidents occurred where
different Pashtoon individuals tried to remove their relatives’ name from the army or any other British institution's list. For instance, one of the British officers wrote that, “The Mulla influence at present is very strong and very fanatical both in Afridi and Orakzai Tirah…. Since the Black Mountain Expedition of 1888 they (Mullahs) have declined to betrothe, or marry any man in the Khaibar Rifles so long as he is in our service, and they (Mullahs) have also refused to bury any man who dies in our hospital or at his home whilst in our service. A few days ago the brother of a man in our (Khaibar Rifles ) ranks came before me and begged that his brother’s name might be removed from the rolls of the corps as he was dying at his home, and if this was not done the Mullas would not attend at his burial ceremonies.” Therefore, the important tool that the Mullahs could use was the religious as well social boycott of marriage as well as the death ceremonies of an individual, particularly the boycott of the death ceremony was considered to be a shame for any Pashtoon. Besides, the Mullahs enjoyed a very important social as well religious position within the Pashtoon social structure, which could not be challenged. Once this position had been challenged, they rose against the British Raj.

However at times, at many instances the Pashtoon clans of the different tribes rejected the religious decisions of the Mullahs and gave more preference to their culture and their secular authority. For instance, Mullah Babra demanded the execution of alleged rapists, but his proposed punishment was rejected by one of the clans involved.

Why the Mullahs rose against the British Raj and how the religious authority than became militarized, is the question, which poses certain conceptual problems regarding the role of the Mullahs as resistance leaders, and why than the Pashtoons followed them? Many Mullahs in the Pashtoon society belonged to families, which did not have any influence in the local politics. Therefore, many Mullahs wanted to become more important as well prominent and then
have a say in the matters related to a particular local area. This catalyzed in many Mullahs a very ambitious nature, whereby they wanted to dominate everyone, including the big Khans and Maliks. For this purpose, they opposed every move of the government and gave it a religious color. For instance, Mullah Powindah, who was very active in the Mahsud area, has been portrayed by a British officer as a man of a very ambitious nature. The British official is of the view that Mullah Powindah’s interests lay in the maintenance of the present British Raj’s state of peace with the tribe, and to all appearances his interests did lie therein. At the same time, while Mullah Powindah posed as a religious leader, one could judge him to be a man of great personal ambition, and his ambition undoubtedly was to establish himself as a great tribal leader amongst the Mahsuds and to be acknowledged by Government as such by being granted a large allowance on his own account, even though he might have agreed only to accept it in secret. But at any time, like other religious leaders on the frontier, he may, in order to retain his religious prestige, have been forced into a policy of hostility which he had to adopt under the penalty of abdicating his power. Therefore, the Mullahs' struggle against the British Raj should be seen in the context of getting more and more power due to their ambitious nature. This ambitious nature of the Mullahs compelled them to move the British authorities, which can be seen as a threat to their already privileged social status.

Moreover, there was another important factor for the anti-British sentiments on the part of the Mullahs and it was that many of the Mullahs wanted to become influential in case there was an Afghan autocracy instead of a British administration, because the former gave chances to the people like the Mullahs to be something important, while the latter had produced a counter balance in the form of the Maliks to oppose the Mullahs. For instance, in a memorandum, the British administrator noted that, “The prevalence of pro-Afghan and anti-British feeling is in my
opinion, due primarily to the religious view of *Da Kalima Badshahi* (the Mullahs termed the Afghan ruling family as legitimate Islamic rule as specified in Quran and Sunnah and therefore, it is essential for every Pashtoon to follow it) as noticed by Mr. Barton, and secondly to the fact that many families, who contain the natural leaders of the people, are often entirely under the heel of some low-bred Government officials. They naturally entertain the hope that under an autocratic Afghan regime they might again become people of influence. Such an idea cannot fail to make a strong appeal to them. Our western forms of civilization and administration stand for little in the balance.”

The Mullahs in the tribal areas misinterpreted different things of the British government in such a way to provoke the people against the British Raj. The Mullahs in the tribal areas were adept in this technique. The reason was that a majority of the Pashtoons in the tribal areas had less access to information. The Mullahs were one of the sources of the information. For instance, one Shay Khonai Mullah Jani Khel also accompanied with Abdul Jalil’s party. He and Mullah Abdul Jalil informed Tori Khels of the following three things:

1. The ‘*Sarkar*’ had decided to overlook the Quran and showed a poster or newspaper in which they said it was written that the reading of the Quran was no good.
2. That the ‘*Sarkar*’ was doing a post-mortem of dead bodies in the down districts and cutting them into many pieces, which is not approved off in religion.
3. That the ‘*Sarkar*’ had appointed doctors who would conduct a full body examination of unmarried girls. They had meant the ‘Sarda Act’.

However the Mullahs, on the other hand, used their influence to demonstrate not only their engagements with community practices but with the contemporary discourse and representation
of the tribe. In several instances, the Mullahs helped try to secure good terms of settlement
between the clan and the Political Agent. In one case, the Faqir of Ailingar wrote to the Political
Officer of Mohmand on behalf of the Safi clan to allay tensions between the community and the
authorities and to secure allowances for them. In a difference sort of a case, Mullah Mahmud
Akhunzada started a massive campaign against the Shia Orakzai to punish them for asking the
Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar for territorial recognition and allowances as a tribe, trying to
prevent them as Shias and as adversaries for his own favored clans, from getting that status.

**Militancy and the role of the Mullahs in various resistance movements in the Pashtoon area**

The *Mullahs* in the Pashtoon society were the keenest observers of the British advancement in
the Pashtoon areas. They interpreted the British advance as a menace and a threat to the social
status they were already enjoying. They saw the British system as something which in future
would at least decrease, if not eliminate, their influence in the Pashtoon areas. To counter this
threat, they employed different tactics, which in their view might have helped them. The most
important tactic they used was the exploitation of the religious sentiments of the Pashtoons.
However, religion alone was not solving their problem. Due to this reason, they took advantage
of the Pashtoon social structure, where religion and culture are mixed together. They tried to
make the people aware of the fact that the British advancement was not only endangering their
religion but also their independence. The Mullahs tried to link their cause with the cause of the
tribe. On the one hand, they were portraying the British Raj endangering the religion of the
Pashtoon tribes; while on the other hand, they were making the people aware of the fact that the
British Raj was threatening their independence. One of the contemporary observers of the 1897
uprising observed, “The single class had viewed with quick intelligence and intense hostility the
approach of the British Power. The priesthood of the Afghan border instantly recognized the full
meaning of the Chitral road.” It clearly indicates that the Mullahs were aware of the British advancement and its repercussion for the religious class.

Moreover, many British officials, who later on wrote about the different Pashtoon resistance movements, termed the struggle of the Mullahs as based upon keeping their tribesmen ignorant and superstitious so that the Mullahs could usually exploit them for their own interests. For instance, Winston Churchill wrote that with the introduction of the British Raj and its administration in the Pashtoon areas would make the Pashtoon aware of their ignorance and superstitions, which usually the Mullahs exploited. However, it was not only the ignorance and superstitious nature of the Pashtoon society which the Mullahs exploited, but the Mullahs made their cause united with the cause of the tribe. Hence, it became easier for the Pashtoon tribes to follow a particular mullah. The Mullahs in the Pashtoon society also exploited their tribal associations with the different Pashtoon tribes, as many of the Mullahs were men of the same clan whom they were serving. For instance, many of the leading Mullahs in the tribal areas used the tribe name as a suffix to their original names. For instance, Mullah Said Akbar used to call himself Mullah Saïd Akbar Aka Khel. Therefore, the Pashtoon following of the Mullahs should not be seen only as being a product of their ignorance or superstition.

The most interesting aspect of the importance of the Mullahs and their influence among the Pashtoon tribes was that the Mullahs combined their cause with that of the tribes. For instance, the construction of roads and bridges was making the position of Mullahs weaker; however, they portrayed the construction of roads as something which was endangering the independence of the tribes. The Mullahs in the Pashtoon areas tried to realize the tribes that more and more British penetration meant more and more British interference and more and more British interference meant endangering their independence. Therefore, the Mullahs opposed the
construction of roads and bridges not only in the name of religion but also in the name of the Pashtoon culture, in which the independence of the tribes was more important. The tribes were made to realize by different Mullahs that they should oppose the road construction as the government was not increasing the rates of their labor. It meant that the Mullahs made their cause combined with that of the tribes. For instance, Mullah Fazal Din held a jirga at Kaniguram. He reminded the tribesmen that they should not allow further road construction unless their rates for labor and their allowances were quadrupled or quintupled and their khassadars doubled. The road had been constructed and the rates of labor fixed arbitrarily and without consultation with the tribe. He appealed, then, to the tribe to abandon the making of the road; if they could not do this they should at least insist on an alignment that would leave them as free from interference as possible. Finally, the Mullah assured the tribesmen that he was actuated only by desire for the welfare of the tribes. Moreover, in one of the proclamations of Jihad, Badshah Gul son of Haji of Turangzai stated, that the British had constructed a large road in Gandao. The Balambat Bridge was also ready. These things were not being done temporarily. They intended to take possession of their country. The Jirgas they were holding at that time were a deceit and a fraud.

At another place, the Haji of Turangzai, while addressing the tribesmen stated that "you are fully aware that the British have occupied Gandao. The Balambat Bridge has been reconstructed and at both places troops have been posted... Now no Muslim has any religious argument to refrain from Ghaza. Today according to the injunction of the Holy Quran, Jihad is binding on each grown up man and woman, young and old, pedestrian and Sawar, master and servant... Ye Pashtoons! This is the land on which our leader the Mullah Sahib of Hadda Sharif walked with his blessed feet and fought against the infidels in the interest of Islam." What this
means is that the Mullahs, in a struggle against the British Raj, were gaining legitimacy for their actions not only in the name of religion but other symbols was also used. Like in the above proclamation of *Jihad* the Haji Sahib of Turangzai was trying to raise the sympathies of the Pashtoons in the name of their leader, Mullah Sahib of Hadda.

In a second proclamation of *Jihad*, the Haji of Turangzai re-iterated that, “You (Pashtoons) are fully aware of affairs in Gandao and Bajaur. Big roads in Gandao and Balambat Bridge have been constructed. At both places the British authorities has collected its troops and is going to take possession of the land of the Independent Frontier... Let it be known to all Mussalmans in general and the Afghan nation in particular that this is the same land on which our leader Mullah Sahib of Hadda had done *Jihad* with the same infidels. You should, therefore, prove that his blessed spirit exists in Afghan nation.22 This proclamation also shows that the Mullahs were trying to raise the Pashtoon tribes against the British Raj while pointing to the construction of roads and bridges and the stationing of troops in the Pashtoon areas. It shows that the Mullahs were aware of the fact that the Pashtoon tribes cannot arise on the name of religion.

The introduction of British administration and construction of roads and posting of troops endangered the independence of the Pashtoon tribes. Once this independence of the Pashtoon tribes was in danger, it made sense to the Pashtoon tribes to fight against the British Raj. Therefore, the Mullahs not only made the Pashtoon ready for *Jihad* in the name of religion but they also appealed to the Pashtoon culture, where independence was considered to be the most important part of that culture. Therefore, the Pashtoon resistance should be seen in the context of religio-culture complex, a combination of both that was cumulatively in danger.
There was another important factor for the Mullahs opposing the British authorities. They had concluded from their past experiences with the British administration that loyalty did not pay. The British administration would only give one importance if one was opposing them. For instance, in the Pashtoon areas, when a certain Mullah was asked as to why he had joined the opposition. He answered that in those days only those who gave trouble to the Raj were of any importance, loyalty did not pay. The Mullahs became aware of this fact as they were engaging more and more with the British authorities so that the only way to get prominence in the eyes of the British Raj was to create more and more trouble for them.

The British administration's unjust dealing with the Pashtoon tribes gave a chance to a specific Mullah to use one tribe against the other on the pretext that the British authorities had not dealt with those people with justice. As, for instance in Mohmand country, when one clan of the same tribe got more allowances than the other, the Mullah of Hadda declared the tribes getting British allowances as infidels. However, the real case in point was that one section of the tribe got less allowances as compared to the other, and hence the houses of that section had been burnt with the help of Mullah Hadda. “The Mulla Sahib of Hadda had taken a promise from all the Khwaizai and Baizai Usman Khels, and even from all the Mohmands, that no passage (through their country) would be allowed to the British Government, but when all the Mohmand tribes assembled at Matta Mughal Khel they accepted allowances from the Government. On their return, (the Mullah) with a gathering destroyed the whole of Yakhband by fire. He (the Mullah) had declared the Halimzai tribe as infidels. The smallness of the allowance of the Burhan Khels than the Halimzais was the cause of the latter’s destruction (at the hands of the Mullah). The former said that they were in no way inferior to the latter.”

23
Many Mullahs were also against the deployment of *khassadars* in different Pashtoon areas. The deployment of *khassadars* created job opportunities for the tribes concerned; however, many Mullahs opposed this deployment on the pretext that deployment of *Khassadars* would undermine their independence. However, the real thing was that by the deployment of the *khassadars*, the Mullahs could not raise the anti-British sentiments in the tribe. For instance, Mullah Mahmud Akhunzada had heard from the Shias and Sunnis of Kohat that the Government intended to employ *khassadars* in Mani Khel and Bar Mohammad Khel. He was much averse to this and sent letters to the Massozai, Alisherzaï and the Afridi elders to be prepared for a “Ghaza” as he would oppose the scheme with all his power and had also written to the Hakim of Jalalabad to help him with ammunition in times of trouble.24

Moreover, many Mullahs in the Pashtoon society portrayed themselves to be speaking for the benefit of the tribe. However, with this, the Mullahs’ own interest was interlinked. The more they would speak for the tribe, the more sympathies they would get. For instance, it was reported that Mullah Said Akbar, in order to enlist the sympathies of the Afridis and Orakzais, tried to induce the elders of those tribes to demand that the Government should pay three times the usual blood money for the Afridi and Orakzai sepoys killed in active service, and that no more recruits should be enlisted.25

The Mullahs in the Pashtoon society did everything to maintain their influence in the Pashtoon social structure which they had been enjoying it for many centuries after the arrival of Islam. The space available for maneuvering to the mullahs was encroached upon by British administrators and particularly the newly created institutions and ideas new to the Pashtoons as well as the Mullahs. To enlist the support of the Pashtoon tribesmen, the Mullahs then joined
their interest with the interests of the tribe and hence mobilized the tribesmen to engage in anti-British resistance movements.

**Afghan Amirs’ Alleged Support of the Mullahs and Movements**

The activities of most of the *Mullahs* were mostly restricted to the areas adjacent to the Durand Line. A majority of the scholars argued that almost all anti-British movements had started with the alleged support of Afghan Amirs from time to time. However, they ignored the fact that the Mullahs were looking towards Afghan Amirs as legitimate rulers with whom they share same religious as well ethnic ties. Therefore, the Mullahs in the Pashtoon areas were always looking towards the Amirs at Kabul for support against British authorities. This was the bone of contention between British India and Kabul, as the former was always blaming the Afghan Amirs for their support to the Mullahs opposing British rule in the Pashtoon areas. The most important thing in this context was that the Mullahs considered the Afghan Amirs as their legitimate Pashtoon rulers as well the protectors of their faith. At the same time, due to showing allegiance to the Afghan Amirs, the Mullahs in the Pashtoon areas could easily mobilize the Pashtoons for their cause against the British rule. Moreover, the Afghan Amirs were using the anti-British Mullahs as a pressure group against British India. The presence of these anti-British Mullahs and their perceived allegiance to the Afghan Amirs put the British authorities in trouble for not pressurizing Afghanistan for everything they wanted in this region as the Afghan Amirs could easily make the situation in the tribal areas worse for the British authorities. Hence, these anti-British Mullahs were used by the Afghan Amirs as a bargaining chip for their own interests’ vis-à-vis British India.
For instance, the Afghan Amirs had an inconsistent policy for the area of Mohmand. Amir Abdur Rahman in his correspondence with the British authorities was always of the view that a few Mohmand villages did not matter a lot for him. What mattered a lot for the Afghan Amir was friendship with the British. For example, in one of his letters, Amir Abdur Rahman wrote: “I do not wish that, for the sake of a few Mohmand villages, there should arise a disagreement between Afghanistan and the illustrious British Government... and I have written to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to commence the boundary demarcation in accordance with the terms of the above letters of your Excellency.”

However, on the other hand, the Amir in his letters to the Mullahs of the Mohmand territory reiterated time and again that the Mohamand territory belonged to Afghanistan and at no cost would be given it to the British authorities. For instance in one of his letters, Amir Abdur Rahman wrote, “I have written to our brave Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to send for the Maliks and Motabars (of Mohmand), and give them the assurance that if the (British Government) offer one karor of rupees even for a single stone of the Mohmand country-weighing one seer only- I will not accept the offer.” Therefore, Amir Abdur Rahman had a kind of a dubious policy towards different Pashtoon areas on this side of the Durand Line, whereby he did not want to make relations worse with the British administration. At the same time, he wanted to make the tribesmen happy by giving them false hopes. It also shows that the Amirs were using different influential anti-British Mullahs for their own interests.

Moreover, Amir Abdur Rahman had also written different books and pamphlets on the question of *Jihad* to influence the Muslims in general and Pashtoons in particular to wage a *Jihad* for the protection of their religion. These books and pamphlets were widely distributed among the Pashtoon tribesmen of the North West Frontier and had a considerable influence as
well. The Amir himself admitted in his autobiography that “I have written separate books dealing with the subject of the protection of our religion and its strict observance; I have also written upon Jihad (to fight for religion and truth, and to maintain it.) Among the books and pamphlets I have written on this matter, which are published in Persian, those named *Takwin din* (the strong foundation of religion) and *Pand Namah* (my advice), are of great importance, and every Muslim ought to read them.”

The Afghan Amirs in different times enjoyed the support of different Mullahs in the Pashtoon tribal areas. These Mullahs, while making the Afghan Amirs happy, wrote many letters in which they cursed the British Raj while praising the Afghan Amir in the hope of getting more and more allowances as well as making their position more influential in the tribe. For instance, one of the Mullahs wrote to King Nadir Khan (1929-1933) that, “I have succeeded in persuading the Mahsuds, Wazirs and Bhittanis to make common cause within the brotherhood of Islam. I have instructed these tribes to pay homage to Mohammad Nadir Khan of Afghanistan, in his capital at Kabul, and have forbidden them to disobey his orders.” Moreover, in the same letter, the Mullah wrote, “Furthermore, with the consent of these tribes I told the ‘Farang-i-Badrang’ that they must stop making roads and acquisitions in Waziristan, and that they must give us our freedom as we could no longer bear their tyranny. I instructed the tribes to subvert the allegiance of Mahsud *khassadars* and to induce them to throw in their hands with us.”

On the other hand, the British authorities had a consistent suspicion of the role of the Afghan Amir whenever any event contrary to the interests of the British happened in North West Frontier. The British administration, time and again, reiterated this point that without the connivance of the Afghan Amir neither the internal nor the external danger could threatened their interests in the NWFP. They considered the Afghan Amir as a key to success or failure for their
desired objectives in the NWFP. For instance, a report in the year 1922 stated, “But there is the other problem, the danger of real war and invasion. The two problems are very different, but they have one common factor—the Amir and Afghanistan. Invasion of India from the North is unthinkable without the active connivance of the Amir, while prolonged tribal raiding (such as we have experienced in Bannu and the Derajat for the last five or six years) is a luxury which the tribes cannot afford unless the Amir or his officials support it with rifles ammunition and money.”31 Furthermore, the Afghan intrigue’s only target was the British presence in the NWFP. Therefore, the Afghan Amir was using different Mullahs for their own interests time and again. “It may of course be argued that if you remove British interference from tribal territory you remove the target at which Afghan intrigue is aimed.”32

Moreover, in a letter Khushal Khan Afridi expressed his sympathies with other Pashtoons in these words, “The question of giving help to guests and taking care of the oppressed people of Afghanistan lay equally on all tribal people. If, through the intervention of the British Government, the tribal people are stopped from helping people of Afghanistan then their country which is so far considered independent according to the Hanifi Law will be considered as Dar-ul-Harb (War area).”33 What this shows is that the tribal people, while helping the Afghans, considered it to be a part of their social structure, custom and tradition as well as according to Sharia as well. The British officials, while ignoring this point, always blamed the tribal people for helping the Afghans, while at the same time alleging the Afghan Amir for helping the tribal people. Moreover, in the same letter the Afridi is of the view, “although I am an Afridi all Afghan tribes are brothers in my eyes and the joint interest of the Afghan Nation and sympathy with the whole Islamic world has always been my foremost aim.”34

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The Mullahs in Pashtoon areas, while portraying Afghan Amir as the legitimate Islamic ruler who has all the authority to rule over the Muslim inhabitants of the tribal areas, were time and again looking towards the Afghan Amir as a savior in times of crisis. For example, once Mullah Fazal Din in Waziristan stated, that, “He did not advise the people to oppose the road (construction in tribal areas) by force as the Government was all-powerful; they should present their complaints peacefully and these were ignored they should appeal to the King of Islam (Afghanistan) and inform him how they were being treated by the tyrannical Government that rule them.”35

Moreover, most of the Mullahs in the tribal areas were doing everything to make themselves popular in the eyes of the local tribesmen, the Afghan Amirs as well as feeling their presence to the British authorities. “Fazal Din’s main object in touring is believed by reliable tribal elders to be to raise his status in the eyes of the Afghan Government, the tribes of Waziristan and the British Government.”36 This raising of status and influence would make different Mullahs in the tribal territory request for different grants from the Afghan Amirs from time to time. The Afghan Amirs usually paid those Mullahs with considerable influence in the Pashtoon areas with a fair amount of money to keep them in contact with the rulers at Kabul, so they might be used in time of crisis against the British Raj. Therefore, different Mullahs in the tribal areas used to receive a substantial amount from the Afghan Amirs. For instance, one British officer reported in 1924 that “One cardinal fact has been lost sight of, namely, that in their original form these allowances were totally different in theory from the present allowances. They were disguised, after the time-honored Afghan manner, as religious endowments, and were granted to almost entirely tribal Mullahs whose religious position was undoubted and whose hostility to us was represented by the Afghans as a regrettable coincidence.”37
The Afghan Amirs used to pay a substantial amount to the Mullahs in different tribal areas that had an affiliation with different tribes. The most important tribes, which caused numerous of problems for the British Raj were the Afridis, Mahsuds and Wazirs. The Mullahs living in those tribes used to receive the Afghan Amirs’ endowments. These allowances were continued for the Sheikhs of the particular Mullah and onwards. For instance:

The earliest grantees, to my recollection, stated by the General Officer Commanding Waziristan Force in his letter to Secretary Government of India were following, though in some cases the original grantees were the fathers or uncles of the present holders:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Mullah Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afridis</td>
<td>Mulla Said Akbar, Aka khel</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>His Sheikhs</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mulla Ibrahim, Kuki khel</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mulla Hayat, Kuki khel</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Their Sheikhs</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mulla Qazi Mir Haider, Malikdin khel</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>His Sheikhs</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mullah Abdullah, Qambar khel</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>His Sheikhs</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahsuds</td>
<td>Mulla Powinda, Shabi khel and his Sheikhs</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wazirs</td>
<td>Mulla Hamzulla, Bizan Khel</td>
<td>1,20038</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, on the other hand, the Afghan Amirs had constant problems with the Mullahs in Afghanistan, particularly Amir Abdur Rahman, who narrated different stories in his autobiography. For instance, the Amir wrote in his autobiography that the well-known mullah,
Mushk-Alim, (fragrance of the universe) whom the Amir referred as “Mush-Alim, “the mouse of the universe,” in the Amir’s understanding would be a more appropriate name for him than the first, because his face was like that of a mouse. The Amir stated that the Mullah joined with the so-called Ghazis who used to extort money from the people. They called themselves Ghazis and Mullahs in order to appear like great men and people of importance in the eyes of the subjects. As he had stopped all that nonsense (in his words), they tried to give him trouble by using the great influence they exercised over the ignorant, uncivilized people of the Ghilzai nation, to which they themselves belonged. One of the Amir’s favorite sayings is: “More wars and murders have been caused in this world by ignorant priests than by any other class of people”; and further, he frequently says that, if it were possible, he would kill every one of them. He also says that the great drawback to progress in Afghanistan has been that these men, under the pretence of religion, had taught things were entirely contrary to the principles and teaching of Muhammad (PBUH), and that, being false leaders of religion, the sooner they are got rid off, the better. He has once or twice tied up their long beards to a rope, or to each other’s beards, ordering the one to pull away from the other.

It is pertinent to mention that the Afghan Amirs were using the pro-Kabul Mullahs in tribal territory as a bargaining chip against any British aggression towards Afghanistan. The Mullahs were the best tool in the hands of the Afghan Amirs to use in any case of British aggression, or in case, the British India was trying to pressurize the Afghan Amirs for different imperial designs in the region. While on the other hand, the Afghan Amirs had constant problems with the Mullahs living in Afghanistan. However, the Afghan Amirs had no such problems with the Mullahs living in tribal territory where they could easily make trouble for the
British authorities. Therefore, any Mullah who created trouble for the Afghan Amir had to be expelled from Afghanistan and their most favorite place for refuge was always tribal territory.

The Mullahs in tribal territory usually had the patronage and support of Afghan Amirs from time to time. There were two important reasons behind this; firstly, the Mullahs in tribal territory or any other Pashtoon dominated area under British administration considered the Afghan Amirs as legitimate Muslim rulers, who had all the authority to rule over the Pashtoons. Moreover, with this point in mind, the Mullahs would get patronage and legitimacy for their actions in tribal areas. Secondly, this patronage and legitimacy through the Afghan Amirs enabled the Mullahs to be more popular and more influential vis-à-vis the Maliks. This had made the Mullahs' task easier by provoking anti-British sentiments in the Pashtoons in the tribal territory while portraying themselves as pro-Afghan Amirs.

The Afghan Amirs’ support for the resistance leaders including Mullahs was very high during the 1897 uprising. The British colonial record as well as the officials who were present there were of the view that it was the Afghan Amir’s direct intervention, which made the situation worse for the British authorities in the tribal areas. For instance Winston Churchill had to make such a high claim that at any rate, he could not doubt, nor did anyone who was present during the fighting in the Mamund Valley, that the natives were aided by regular soldiers from the Afghan army, and to a greater extent by Afghan tribesmen not only by the supply of arms and ammunition but by actual intervention.\textsuperscript{40} However, most of the British officials ignored the fact that most of the Pashtoon areas used to be under the Afghan Amirs’ domain and it was after the Durand Line 1893 that the tribesmen came to realize that they were no more under the Islamic rule of the Afghan Amirs and had practically come under the rule of non-Muslims. At the same time, the Afghan Amirs were considered to be the legitimate Muslim rulers of the
Pashtoons living on both sides of the Durand Line. Therefore, the Afghan Amirs’ intervention in the tribal affairs, particularly when the tribesmen were having strained relations with their new colonial rulers, was obvious. Moreover, the tribesmen asking for help from the Afghan Amirs was also a kind of natural thing for the people as their past experience had taught them that whenever they were in danger, it was the Afghan Amirs, who used to come to their rescue. The Afghan Amirs’ help to different mullahs in the tribal areas continued till the British occupation of the tribal areas.

The underlying theme of the presence of religion and religious men in the Pashtoon society in almost every resistance movement against the British Raj was that religion and culture in the Pashtoon society had integrated with one another so that it was difficult to separate one from the other. Moreover, the Mullahs in the Pashtoon areas of NWFP were mostly the relatives of the same clan which they were serving. The Mullahs, as keen observers of the changing circumstances in the region, utilized every aspect of the Pashtoon culture as well the Pashtoon affinity with religion in such a way to make a unified force against the British penetration in the tribal areas.

The Mullahs’ opposition to the British administration was due to the fact that it was encroaching on their space and influence in the Pashtoon society by creating Maliks as an influential class who were termed by the Mullahs as British supporters and were created for the smooth functioning of the British administration in the Pashtoon areas so as to threaten the Mullahs’ position. Once the position of the mullahs was threatened, then they rose against the British authorities as well as their handmade Maliks as well. The Mullahs joined their cause with the cause of the tribe and hence were able to persuade the tribesmen to follow them and make the British penetration more and more difficult.
The Mullahs’ main target was the British authorities; however, they did not spare the Maliks either. The reason was that the Mullahs considered the Maliks as an immediate threat to their social status in the Pashtoon society. Therefore, the Maliks, along with the British authorities, had to be eliminated from the tribal areas. The elimination of British presence from the tribal areas as well as other Pashtoon dominated areas of NWFP was not that easy a task. Therefore, the Mullahs adopted different strategies, which could mobilize the Pashtoons in the leadership of that religious class. The most important thing that the Mullahs did was that they mobilized the Pashtoons on the name of religion as well Pashtoon culture and tradition. In the Pashtoon social structure, independence was considered to be the most critical, particularly for the people in the tribal areas. The Mullahs assured the Pashtoon masses that the British penetration in the tribal areas means the taking away of their independence, hence it should be stopped.

The Mullahs in the tribal areas, in their struggle against British colonialism, got the support of the Afghan Amirs from time to time. The Mullahs perceiving the Afghan Amirs as legitimate Islamic Pashtoon rulers should be recognized as their patrons in times of crises. Therefore, the Mullahs in the tribal areas got the support and help of the Afghan Amirs, however, the latter also used the same Mullahs for their own interests vis-à-vis British pressure on different regional interests of the British Raj.

These Mullahs in the Pashtoon society continued their struggle for more and more influence as well as space by mobilizing the Pashtoons in the name of Pashtoon culture and tradition as well as religion. This struggle for the emancipation of the Pashtoons from the British authorities was the hallmark of the religious leadership in the Pashtoon history. The Mullahs presented themselves to the tribesmen as alternate leaders, who could guide them in their
struggle for independence. Therefore, that effort for getting rid of the British rule on the part of the Mullahs and the Pashtoons kept continue and later on it took a new form of more violent armed resistance, which is the topic of next chapter.

Notes and References

1 For details see, Khyber Agency, in Confidential Provincial Diaries 1917, in Confidential NWFP Diaries 1917, NDC Acc. No. 886, p.303.

2 For example Stephen Allen Rittenberg in his study argued that men of religious status have different ethnic roots and most of them belong to the non-Pakhtun lower classes, for Pakhtuns consider their position demeaning. For details see, Stephen Allen, Rittenberg, The Independence Movement in India’s North-West Frontier Province 1901-1947 (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1977), p.40-41.


5 Ibid., p. 70.


7 This information has been gathered by Political Agent Wana on 20th May 1917, From Viceroy, Foreign Department, 24th May 1917 to India Office London, NDC Acc. No. 3946, p. 49.

8 From W.R.H. Merck Esquire, I.C.S, Commissioner and Superintendent, Derajat Division, to the Chief Secretary to Government Punjab, 18th May 1901 in Waziristan Agency 1873-1929 NDC Acc. No. 627, p. 10.

9 From Colonel E.L. Ommaney Commissioner and Superintendent Peshawar Division to the Under Secretary to Government Punjab, 16th September 1890, file no. 19 STB I, Punjab Frontier Policy, in Frontier Policy, NDC Acc. No. 59, p. 6.

10 In that incident one of the relative of the influential Khan in a tribe committed a rape with a woman; the Mullah Babra wanted to give stone to death punishment, however, the tribe refused on the grounds that it is against our customs and traditions. For details see, Sana Haroon, *Frontier of Faith: Islam in the Indo-Afghan Borderland* (London: Hurst & Company, 2007), p. 69.

11 From E.B Howell, Political Agent Wana to the Secretary to the Hon’ble the Agent to the Governor General and Chief Commissioner North West Frontier Province, dated 22nd February 1905, Mahsud Blockade, in South Waziristan Agency 1873-1929 NDC Acc. No. 627, p. 37-38.

12 Memorandum of Lieutenant Colonel Dew Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan, 4th October 1919, in North West Frontier Policy file no. 8 S-T.B (I) from 10-8-1919 to 16-12-1922, NDC Acc. No. 244, p. 8.

13 Report by the Political Naib Tahsildar, Datta Khel, to the Political Agent, North Waziristan, Miranshah, dated 5th August 1930, in South Waziristan Agency 1929-40, File No. 6-S of 1930, Civil Disorder and their Reaction on Tribal Territory, NDC Acc. No. 618, p. 36.

14 For details see, Sana Haroon, *Frontier of Faith*, p. 67

15 Ibid.


17 This point has been discussed by Churchill in detail. For details see, Ibid.

18 For details see, Confidential Provincial Diaries 1918, in Confidential NWFP Diaries 1918, NDC Acc. No. 887, p. 181.

19 Express letter from the Resident Waziristan, to the Secretary to the Honorable the Chief Commissioner North West Frontier Province, No.1063-S, dated the 6th July 1931, in North West Frontier, File No. L/PS/12/3122, NDC Acc. No. 1682, p. 10.

20 Translation of a poster in Pashto broadcasted by Badshah Gul son of Haji of Turangzai, in Mohmand Situation, File No. IOR/R/12/28, NDC Acc. No. 1212, p. 49.

21 Proclamation of Jehad by Haji Sahib of Turangzai, in Ibid., p. 76.

22 Second Proclamation of Jehad by Haji Sahib of Turangzai, in Ibid., p. 77.


24 Extract of Letter No. 146-C dated the 11th April 1924, from the Political Agent Kurrum to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, North West Frontier Province, in Kurrum Agency 1920-30, NDC Acc. No. 629, p. 45.

25 For details see, Khyber Agency, in Confidential Provincial Diaries 1915, in Confidential NWFP Diaries 1915, NDC Acc. No. 884, p. 25

26 Translation of a letter from His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its Dependencies to the address of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated 13 January 1897, in Mohmand Boundary Demarcation, in Office of Commissioner, Peshawar File No. 44, Mohmand Affairs 1896-97, Vol. 1, NDC Acc. No. 914, p. 51.

27 Translation of a letter, dated the 21st December 1896 from His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan to Mulla Muhammad Qadir son of late Malik Khalil Akhunzada of the Mohmand country, in Ibid., p. 299.

29 Letter from Maulvi Mohammad Gulin, to His Majesty Mohammad Nadir Khan, King of the exalted Dominion of Afghanistan dated 27th July 1930, in South Waziristan Agency 1929-40, File No. 6-S of 1930, Civil Disorder and their Reaction on Tribal Territory, NDC Acc. No. 618, p.33-34.

30 Ibid.

31 Note by PA Miranshah on Razmak Policy, November 6, 1922, in Summary of events in NWFP Disarmament of Waziristan, MSS Eur 670/13, NDC Acc. No.8408, p.10-11.

32 Ibid., p.11.


34 Ibid., p.1.

35 Memorandum from the Honourable Sir Stuart Pears, Chief Commissioner, North West Frontier Province dated 11th July 1931 in North West Frontier: Waziristan: Afghan, Soviet and Congress Activities in Waziristan, File No. 23, IOR L/PS/12/3122, NDC Acc. No. 1682, p.3.

36 Ibid., p.4.

37 From the General Officer commanding Waziristan Force, Dera Ismail Khan to the Secretary to the Government of India in the foreign and political department Delhi, 11th January 1924, Afghanistan boundary issues, NWFP boundary, NDC Acc. No.878, p.9.

38 Ibid., p.9-10.


Chapter 3

Pashtoon Resistance Between the Two World Wars

With the turn of the century the mode and techniques of resistance by the Pashtoons changed into more organized and more intense than it was before. Keeping in view the importance of NWFP for the defense of India, the British administration wanted to keep the inhabitants of this area peaceful. The British strategies were designed to cope up with the problem in a more sophisticated way instead of engaging in wars with the Pashtoons on a day to day basis. The British authorities made their position stronger particularly in the tribal areas by dispatching more and more regular forces there. On the other hand, the Pashtoons’ resistance leaders, while being aware of the British advances into their areas, made it expedient to deal with the advancing armies with more organization and mass mobilization. This is why the British administration had to face a tough resistance in the interval between the two World Wars in the Pashtoon areas. The time period was also very critical for both the parties, as one way or the other, it was crystal clear that the British authorities had made their position very strong with their presence in the tribal areas, and that is why the Pashtoon resistance leaders wanted to confront them with more vigor and passion.

The time period between the two World Wars was very important because the British authorities made some very important political decisions for the NWFP, and particularly for the tribal areas. Moreover, those policies had retrospective reaction from the Pashtoons, which one can observe from the mode and intensity of their resistance against the British administration. Therefore, during this time period, the Pashtoon revolts against the British authorities became more widespread. The Pashtoons of the tribal areas challenged the British authorities more
intensely and vigorously. This time period also witnessed changes in the British policies, particularly concerning the use of blockades against different Pashtoon tribes and their consequences. Moreover, in the same time period, the British authorities tried to integrate the Pashtoons in their administrative set up. For this purpose, the British administration built different schools, hospitals and roads. However, the construction of roads and the establishment of schools and hospitals did not attract the common folk in the Pashtoon areas, as the resistance leaders perceived these things as an encroachment on their independence and hence mobilized the masses on the name of Pashtoon culture as well religion.

During this time period, both parties revisited their insurgency and counter-insurgency techniques. The Pashtoons’ resistance leaders and their followers were focusing on guerrilla warfare, while on the other hand, the British authorities added some sophisticated weapons to its military arsenal to counter this guerrilla warfare of the Pashtoons. However, neither the guerrilla warfare of the Pashtoons nor the sophisticated weapons of the British army completely eliminate one or the other. The conflict continued for decades and both sides lost precious human lives.

The Pashtoons adopted certain strategies of resistance, which they had learnt from their historical experiences. The most important of those strategies was the guerilla insurgency warfare, which was the most successful due to the area’s topography and the Pashtoons were also adept at it. During the British stay in those areas, the Pashtoon constantly engaged the British forces in such warfare and consequently, the British forces also adopted certain counter insurgency techniques which were formulated to cope with such guerilla insurgency. The Pashtoons lacked technological and organizational skills in their culture, which initially made them more prone to British penetration. Furthermore, the British Raj exploited the intra and
inter-tribal rivalries, internal weaknesses and persistent errors of the Pashtoons. However, the British administration did not make successful inroads into the ranks of the Pashtoon resistance leaders.

This chapter will look into the details of the Pashtoon resistance against the British Raj between the two World Wars. During this time period, important political decisions had been made by the British Raj regarding the Pashtoon areas. So this chapter would look into the details of different Pashtoon uprisings against the British during that period of time. Insurgency and counter insurgency techniques had been revisited by both parties during this period, so this chapter would also look into that change as well.

**Armed Resistance**

At the turn of the century, the British authorities came to the conclusion that as far as their economic life was concerned the tribesmen were solely dependent on the territories under British control, particularly the cities and bazaars. For instance, the British authorities could arrest as many Afridis as they wanted to in Peshawar. The extent to which the various Frontier tribes were dependent on the commercial inter-course with the British territory varied greatly. The British authorities could at any time arrest as many Afridis or Mohmands in the Peshawar bazaars as and when they wanted to, maintaining the element of surprise. This gave them a most powerful hold. On the other hand, if the British forces entered their country, the Pashtoons would term them as the enemy, as is well-known, hence the number of enemy of the British authorities in the Pashtoon areas would be invisible. But their economic life was based on intercourse with Peshawar, its bazaars and villages and there the British could find them.1
The other important tool which the British used was the blockade, which was used against different Pashtoon tribes as an important instrument to deal with them. The blockade usually remained for months, whereby different Pashtoon tribes compelled to enter certain agreements. During the blockades, the British authorities usually cordoned off whole areas and cut off all the communication links of the tribe with any other tribe or with any British controlled territory. The blockade usually gave the British an upper hand and the Pashtoon tribes were compelled to pay the amount that was demanded of them. For instance during the Mahsud blockade of 1900-01 the Mahsuds paid Rs. 68,000 in the blockade of 1900-1901, the larger amount than any frontier tribe had paid without an expedition since the annexation of the Punjab.²

At the turn of the century, the British administrators devised different techniques to deal with them. Apart from the blockade, the British authorities made a militia system, which was composed of the same tribe with which it usually deals. Earlier, the Border Military Police was established to look after law and order in the tribal areas. However, in 1913 the Border Military Police was replaced by the Frontier Constabulary, whose special duties were the patrolling of the border, the prevention of raids, and the capture of raiding gangs and outlaws. The Frontier Constabulary also supervised the District Levies in the Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan districts: while the Dir and Swat Levies remained under the control of the Political Agent at Malakand. There were four trans-border Corps - the Chitral Scouts, the Kurram Militia, the Tochi Scouts and the South Waziristan Scouts: the two latter having replaced the old North and South Waziristan Militia. Their primary duties included the prevention of raids, ensuring the safety of commutations, and dealing with minor tribal disturbances. Shortly after the outbreak of the Afghan War of 1919, on the disbanding of the remnant, a force of Khashadars, or tribal
levies on a purely tribal basis, supplying their own arms, was raised to replace this Corps. Moreover, *Khassadars* were employed on an extensive scale, especially in Waziristan, where this form of service, of which the essence is that the *Khassadar* provided his own rifle and ammunition, became popular.³

At times, the militia system played very crucial role. However, at critical times it failed. There were many reasons for that, however, the most important reason was that the militia was composed of the same tribesmen who did not have the courage to shoot their own tribesmen. As envisioned by Lord Curzon, who was wide awake to the danger of locking up troops in the tribal hinterland, the tribal militia system was created. The essential principle of his policy was that the tribesmen should themselves keep watch in their own territory and that the British should keep clear, leaving the responsibility to them.⁴

The importance of the militia and the creation of the agencies cannot be minimized as it was the best tool that the British authorities used to control the tribes. Many British officials were very sympathetic towards the creation of the militia and defended it on many occasion. For instance, one official in his report suggested that the agencies and militias had given the British a hold over the tribes which they would never have had without them. The troubles of 1919 led to a wholesale condemnation of the old system; however, the condemnation was hasty and unjust.⁵

Obviously, even the creation of militia could not solve the problem, and hence one of the British administrators had to accept that the militia was not the first line of defense against anything. They were a tribal police responding to tribal influence and stimulus. A tribesman in *khaki* may be called a *sepoy*, but he remained a tribesman.⁶ Many Pashtoon tribesmen joined the militia in the hope of getting a chance to kill one or more British officials and hence, would get
importance as well as prestige in the eyes of the common folk. For instance, on February 11, 1905, Sabir Khan- a Shabi Khel Mahsud sepoy of the Alizai Company of South Waziristan Agency killed Lieutenant Colonel R. Harman. The statement of the murderer, Sabir Khan, also revealed facts of importance. He stated that he meant to kill Colonel Harman at the Jandola Jirga in December 1904, but refrained because he knew that by so doing he would bring his section and the whole tribe into trouble. With the idea of securing the freedom for an individual action he enlisted in the Militia with the sole purpose of killing as many British Officers as he could, and thereby proving himself a better man than the Bahlolzai Kabul (over whose grave a ziarat has been made, and whom the “fatwa” of a local Mullah had already declared to be a “shaheed” and the first to open the gates of paradise at the Resurrection). His intention in entering the Mess was to kill Colonel Harman first and then all the other officers. He had often had opportunities of killing one officer, but had not availed the opportunities, wishing to make this coup. He had had no personal grievance against Colonel Harman.7

Any crisis in the world where the British authorities engaged in provided an opportunity for the Pashtoon resistance leaders to get a benefit out of it. The outbreak of World War I also provided such an opportunity for the Pashtoon resistance leaders to deal with the British presence in the Pashtoon belt with more intensity and vigor. However, the Afghan Amir Habibullah Khan's (r.1901-1919) declaration of neutrality did not provide a chance to the Pashtoon resistance leaders to go for a unified struggle. Therefore, the time period of World War I (1914-1919) was not as fatal as it was perceived by different British strategists. During World War I, the British authorities succeeded in recruiting a large number of Pashtoons, both the tribesmen and residents of the settled districts in the British armed forces. The total number of combatants who were serving in July 1914 or were recruited up to 31st December 1918 amounted to 62,188.
men. The sanctioned strength of the Armed forces of India (Militias, etc.) recruited from and serving in the North West Frontier Province in July 1914 was 10,218, all told. During the period of the war 13,416 men were enlisted by these forces. The total amounted to 23,634 men. The grand total of man-power which the North West Frontier Province contributed thus amounted to 85,822, out of which 72,772 were combatants and 13,050, or about 18 per cent of the total was non-combatants. 

During the war, NWFP sent many more men in the British forces as compared to any other area of British India to win the war for the British. For instance, the total male population of the Province (including Europeans and Christians but excluding Trans-border territory) being 1,182,102 souls, and the total number of men supplied by the Province being 85,822, it is obvious that the North-West Frontier Province mobilized one man in every 131 men of its total male population... The total number of men of military age in the North West Frontier Province (at 15 per cent of the total male population) was 177,315. The mobilization of 85,822 men means that the North-West Frontier Province sent approximately one man out of every two men of military age to help to win the war. This was an achievement which spoke for itself.

However, this does not mean that the Pashtoons were integrated in the British Imperial system or that they refused to resist the British penetration in their areas. Moreover, the sudden death of Amir Habibullah Khan (d.1919) and the capture of the throne at Kabul by King Amanullah Khan (r.1919-1929) was a great boost for the resistance leaders in the Pashtoon areas. The new king in Afghanistan wanted more and more independence for Afghanistan and for this purpose, he started the Third Anglo Afghan War (1919) which provided another opportunity for the Pashtoon resistance leaders to come to terms with the British troops’ presence in the tribal areas.
The Third Anglo Afghan War (1919) provided an opportunity for both the religious as well tribal leaders to launch armed revolts against the British authorities. The Mullahs were the main factor behind the major Pashtoon revolts during this time period. The Mullahs championed Amir Amanullah Khan's cause of achieving Afghanistan's independence as something which would also provide the Pashtoons in the tribal areas with some kind of relief from the British atrocities as well as a chance to integrate that area again with the kingdom of Afghanistan. The Third Anglo Afghan War and the participation of the tribal people against the British administration made many British officials to revisit their strategies, which were made to deal with these Pashtoons in the case of an Afghan crisis or any other movement. For instance, one British official noted that when their system had failed during the Afghan troubles, the failure must be attributed to certain definite causes or to definite defects in the system in vogue in those particular parts of the frontier, rather than to the system itself. Prominent among those causes appeared to be, an ignorance of the psychology of the various tribes and a want of real sympathy, which was so essential to a settlement of their mutual difficulties. The British administrators had never made proper preparations, either military or political, for an Afghan war and a Pan-Islamic movement.10

The British administrators' ignorance of the tribal psychology and lack of sympathy with the tribe concerned made the situation worse for them, particularly during the Afghan crisis. Moreover, the lack of preparation on the part of the British authorities for any kind of misadventure on the part of Afghan Amir and its consequences in the tribal areas was also not dealt with in detail by the British strategists. There were other problems related to that and many British officials were of the view that the regularization of portions of the North West Frontier Province at too accelerated a rate had been one cause of their partial failure to meet a crisis.11
This haste put the British authorities in trouble particularly keeping in view the Afghan crisis of 1919. The tribesmen used to commit raids on the settled districts of NWFP, however, the number of raids increased dramatically during the year 1919-1920. For instance, the raids committed by tribesmen in the Districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan in the year 1910-11 was only 20, in the year 1915-16 it was 172, however, in the year 1919-20 it was 324. On the other hand, the cost on different military operations on NWFP was also very high. For instance, during the year 1919-20, the British authorities spent a huge amount of Rs.23,87,44,327 on different military operations in NWFP.

Furthermore, the time period during World War I and the subsequent Third Anglo Afghan War was very critical in terms of expenditure and human loss for the British authorities. On the other hand, the Pashtoons’ resistance leaders found a chance whereby they could easily mobilize many tribesmen against their enemy. Therefore, the time period from World War I to the end of the Third Anglo Afghan War proved very affective for the Pashtoon resistance leaders in the area. They tried to get the support of as many anti-British states as possible. In this connection, the Pashtoon resistance leaders drew benefit out of the Third Anglo Afghan War. For instance, Mullah Chaknawar got 300 tribesmen to fight under his command during the Third Anglo-Afghan War.

The most important episode of that time period was the presence and influence of different Muslim Indian Nationalists, who wanted to use that area against the British administration as a ground to recruit more and more people in their ranks and files. The tribal territory was their prime focus; however, they were also interested in the rest of NWFP. The leaders of the movement wanted to use tribesmen to destabilize the British government in India
and hence provide a chance to the Turkish army to open up new front against the British. This movement also aimed at liberating India from the imperial clutches of British through an armed struggle. Therefore, the tribal territory of the Pashtoons was a good option, as the leaders believed that the Pashtoons living in tribal territory were already fighting against the British forces. Furthermore, to provide financial aid, arms and ammunition, these tribesmen would prove to be a very affective element in their movement against the British. For instance, Hussain Ahmad Madni, one of the leaders of the movement wrote that without a violent armed struggle, one could not get rid of the British Raj. Therefore, for this violent eviction of the British from India a center, weapons and mujahedin was needed. Hence, it was thought that arrangements for weapons and the recruitments of soldiers should be conducted in the area of the ‘free tribes’.\textsuperscript{15}

Therefore, the leaders of the movement wanted to make the tribal area as a center for both recruitment and the conduction of resources and weapons to the mujahedins to destabilize the British administration. There were two important causes behind this; one was that the leaders saw an anti-British feeling prevalent in the Pashtoons of the tribal area, which they wanted to use for their own interests. Secondly, the leaders of the movement wanted to recruit as many Pashtoons as possible in their rank and file, who would be proved to be more affective soldiers in their armed struggle against the British forces.

For quite some time, the movement used the tribal area for their activities, whereby they distributed money and weapons and succeeded in recruiting some people in their movement. For instance, in just six months 3000 rupees, 50 horses and 303 rifles were sent to the Mohmands directly, 30,000 Kabuli rupees were passed on for onward distribution to the Wazirs and Mahsuds; and 30,000 Kabuli rupees from the Afghan minister to be distributed in Yaghistan (the name the movement used for this area of free people i.e., tribal territory).\textsuperscript{16}
Through their religious clout, leaders like Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan and Obaidullah Sindhi influenced many Mullahs in the tribal territory to get united with the anti-British ideology of the Indian Nationalists and hence to jointly pressurize the British. This incident culminated in the famous Silk Letter Conspiracy, whereby the leaders of that movement wanted to use the tribal territory as the best available and strategically located area for future anti-imperialism moves. However, the failure of the movement and the British intelligence’s access to this scheme did not give its leaders the chance to become successful in using the Pashtoons’ anti-British sentiments in their best of interests. Moreover, the Pashtoons showed little interest in the Pan-Islamic and Indian Nationalist ideology of the movement. Hence, very few prominent leaders of the movement were Pashtoons. The only prominent leaders were the Mullahs of the tribal territory who showed their allegiance and support due to their religious affiliation. The reason was that the movement lacked a Pashtoon-centric ideology through which they could mobilize the masses in the tribal territory and the adjoining Pashtoon belt of the settled districts.

However, the Pashtoons did not abandon their resistance which continued for more than two more decades in which the Pashtoon forces challenged the British forces with their newly adopted guerrilla warfare - the hallmark of the Pashtoon resistance against the British authorities. Therefore, the British administrators themselves admitted that the Pashtoons lacked the organization of a regular army, but they were capable of offering stubborn resistance to an advancing column. Their mobility enabled them to rapidly concentrate for a fight. In following a withdrawing force, or in harassing its column in a country suited to their own tactics, or when it came to attacking a detachment isolated beyond reach of support, they proved to be the most formidable soldiers. This kind of mobility and unified struggle would not have been possible if
the Pashtoons had not have that kind of social structure whereby all male adult members of a
tribe had to come forward for the defense of the tribe and its controlled territory.

However, the British officials misunderstood the social structure of the Pashtoons and
concluded that since the Pashtoons were divided into tribes and sub-tribes and had feuds with
one another, therefore, they could not present a unified resistance to the outsiders. One of the
British reports says, “The Pathans are divided into tribes and sub-tribes, and the extent to which
these will co-operate against a common enemy is always uncertain. A tribe will naturally pay
more attention to the defence of its own territory, but on occasion they have sunk their feuds and
made common cause against us.” However, the Pashtoons proved to be the opposite of what
the British authorities had concluded. The Pashtoons came against the British forces whenever
and wherever they saw the British administration penetrated their territories. In particular, the
Pashtoons of the tribal areas challenged the British presence in their area.

In this connection, different Pashtoon resistance leaders appealed to the Pashtoons in a
different tone. The Mullahs appealed to the tribesmen in the name of religion and unity among
all the Muslims and Pashtoon brethren. For instance, the Faqir of Alinagar, appealed to the
tribesmen in the name of religion when the British authorities decided to re-absorb the Loe Agra
into the Maddakhel protected area. The decision of the Government to re-absorb the Loe Agra
Salient into the Malakand Protected Area resulted in a fierce outcry from the Faqir of Alingar.
He announced that the Government’s action was merely a preliminary to the absorption of the
whole of Bajaur, and he called upon all local Muslims to oppose the invaders. He made a strong
appeal to the Utman Khel and particularly to the Shamozi section, not to tolerate any move of
tying their kinsmen, who were living in the Loe Agra, in to bondage. In addition, the Faqir
violently urged the inhabitants of Loe Agra to resist the demands of the Government. Therefore, it was not easy for the British forces to penetrate into the Pashtoon dominated areas. The anti-British sentiments which were prevailing in the NWFP and the tribal territory were best utilized by the resistance leaders in their own favor and hence provided a less chance to the British administration to effectively integrate the areas being dominated by the Pashtoons.

In a quest to incorporate the Pashtoons in their administration, the British authorities established different schools in the province. The purpose was to introduce the British education system and to minimize the role of the religious madrassas, and hence of the Mullahs, in the area. In order to meet this objective, the British authorities established schools for both boys and girls. To some extent, these schools attracted the attention of the students; however, the scheme did not prove to be as successful as it had proven to be in other areas of British India. The number of students registered in those schools was very low as compared to the total population of the area. The number of schools and students gradually increased from 1901-02 to 1926-27 as is evident from the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Schools</th>
<th>Year 1901-02</th>
<th>Year 1926-27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary schools for boys</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools for boys</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary schools for girls</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools for girls</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The expenditure on those schools also increased from 1901-02 to 1926-27 as is evident from the following table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Students</th>
<th>Year 1901-02</th>
<th>Year 1926-27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of male scholars</td>
<td>12938</td>
<td>69718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of female scholars</td>
<td>4911</td>
<td>5628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total expenditure</td>
<td>1,52,972</td>
<td>20,76,785</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The decade of the 1920’s was also very important in the history of the British occupation of the area. This decade saw many operations being conducted by the British forces against the Pashtoons in different parts of the province as well as tribal territory. During this decade the British administration after dealing with the turbulent World War I, the subsequent Third Anglo-Afghan War as well as the Khilafat movement, tried to establish its control over the tribal territory. For this purpose, the British forces launched many operations. In the years 1921-24, the British authorities started an operation and occupation of Waziristan and Wanna as well as the Razmak operation. In those operations, the British forces incurred a huge expenditure. For instance, the British forces spent a huge sum of Rs.3,33,33,678/ on those operations.\(^{21}\) During the first year of the decade, the total expenditure on the administration also rose. For instance, the total expenditure for the administration of the agencies and tribal areas on the North West Frontier in 1920-21 was 62.28 lakhs.\(^{22}\) Therefore, the British authorities facing a lot of problems in strengthening their control over the Pashtoon territories during the 1920’s.

The decade of 1930’s also proved to be very crucial for the British administrators as well as the Pashtoon resistance leaders in the area. They both employed different tactics to achieve their desired objectives to the maximum possible extent. During this decade, the British authorities saw the interference of international powers in the area and the contacts of different
Pashtoon resistance leaders with those powers. This decade witnessed two very important events, which left a great impact on the region. Firstly it was the Faqir of Ipi episode, which engaged thousands of British soldiers in the area, and secondly it was the Second World War, which enabled the anti-British powers to pressurize the British in the Pashtoon dominated areas including the tribal territory. This decade also saw an anti-British movement in Tirah led by Khushal Khan.

Waziristan remained a nucleus of many anti-imperialistic movements which challenged the presence of the British forces over there. The Faqir of Ipi episode was also one of those, whereby he challenged the British authority and its penetration in Waziristan. Mirzali Khan known as Faqir of Ipi was the son of Arsala Khan, Maddi Khel Tori Khel of Ipi village. Up till 1936, he was a very ordinary mullah who was not known outside his village. By preaching anti-British slogans and making extensive capital out of the Islam Bibi case in Bannu, he raised a formidable lashkar in the Khaisora Valley in 1936. The Faqir of Ipi was regarded as a Saint Warrior, was much respected by all tribes of Waziristan and the Afghan Southern Province, and had a considerable influence among them. Nearly all the tribes of Waziristan and the adjoining Afghan country took part in his hostilities against the Government.23

In the British military as well as the political department records, the Faqir of Ipi has been portrayed as a person who got importance and fame due to preaching jihad and getting a huge impetus from the Islam Bibi case. In that famous case, a Hindu girl by the name of Islam Bibi ran away with one Muslim. However, her parents were of the view that she had been taken by force. The police brought both before the court and it was decided by the court that the girl should be returned to her Hindus parents. The Muslims held the point that the girl had accepted...
Islam and hence was the legal wife of the Muslim husband, therefore, she should have been given to her Muslim husband. This case was later on perceived to be some kind of interference into the Muslim legal code of life. The Muslims at that time were of the view that if there would have been Islamic laws; the girl would have been given to them. Therefore, that case created a hue and cry in the Pashtoon areas, particularly in Bannu and its suburbs, because the person involved was a Pashtoon. However, the Faqir of Ipi movement was not only the result of that incident. The Faqir of Ipi initially used that incident to garner the sympathy of the Pashtoons at that time; however, his movement emanated out of other social, political and economic causes which enabled him to get the support of the people living in Waziristan, Bannu as well as of some parts of Afghanistan.

The Faqir of Ipi many times declared that his movement was because of the British intervention in the Muslim life, citing the example of Islam Bibi case. For instance, the Tori Khel Maliks met the Faqir of Ipi at Sarkai Nakkai and discussed with him the question of his attitude and their responsibility to Government. The Faqir of Ipi described the case of the Hindu girl of Bannu as a direct interference with the Muhammadan religion and desired its redress. By citing the Islam Bibi case time and again, the Faqir of Ipi wanted to get support for his anti-British movement in Waziristan.

However, the Wazirs, Mehsuds or other Pashtoon tribesmen did not follow the Faqir of Ipi merely because of that one incident. The Faqir of Ipi earned the support of the tribesmen because of his anti-British slogans as well his opposing different Maliks, whom he considered to British agents who were working against the will of the tribes. The Faqir of Ipi movement was not only directed against the British forces, he also launched an anti-Malik campaign in the
Pashtoon areas. The Faqir of Ipi won the sympathy of the people on the pretext that the *Maliks* were making life easier for the British forces, and that the *Maliks* were also providing them with a kind of mechanism by which the British imperial control would increase in the Pashtoon areas in general and in the tribal areas in particular. Therefore, the Faqir of Ipi wanted to minimize the influence of the Maliks in those areas. According to one of the government reports, the attitude of the Faqir of Ipi was now actively hostile and there was little doubt that his immediate plan of campaign was to challenge the recently acquired right of the Government to move in the Lower Khaisora and that to achieve that end he was doing everything he could do to stir up the tribes in that area. Therefore, the motive behind the Faqir of Ipi movement was to challenge the authority of the government and to resist the British penetration in the area. The tribesmen, therefore, followed the Faqir of Ipi not because of religious sentimentalism, but due to the convergence of the interests of the Faqir and tribesmen who resultantly formed a united front against the British forces.

The Faqir of Ipi got benefit from the Islam Bibi case; however, he gave less importance to it, while divulging his movement’s objectives. For instance, in a long letter to the Naib Tehsildar of Mirali; the Faqir of Ipi mentioned the Islam Bibi case at the end. In his letter he presented his objection to the following government acts:

1. The restoration of the 500 year old mosque of Lahore handed over to the Sikhs for use as a temple.
2. The order of the government for Muslims of Bannu to produce girls and women for medical examination.
3. The orders prohibiting the marriage of boys and girls below 15 years of age, their medical examination and the imposition of Rs.50/- as (marriage registration fee) fee. Such conditions were nothing short of adultery and the imposition of tax is ‘*Haram*’ (unlawful).
4. The system of post-mortem, though it was an old order is ‘Zulum’.

5. The imposition of Haisiyat Tax, varying from 50/- to annas 4 in addition to the ordinary land revenue.

6. The last being the order of imprisonment of Muslims in the case of the ‘Shaikha’ the Hindu girl.²⁶

Therefore, it is evident from the above cited letter of Faqir of Ipi, that his movement was not only aimed at the Islam Bibi case; there were other reasons which enabled him to get the support of the tribes of Waziristan and the adjoining areas. For instance, in the above cited letter, points No.2 and No.3 were very sensitive issues for the tribesmen. The Pashtoons at that time did not want to produce their women for medical examination. The prohibition of marriages of boys and girls below 15 years age was also considered to be against the Pashtoon customs and traditions. Therefore, the Faqir of Ipi movement was not only in the defense of Islam per se, but of Islam as part of the Pashtoon custom and traditions which most of the resistance leaders wanted to defend. Point No.5 regarding Haisiyat Tax and land revenue was also opposed on the pretext that the tribesmen had no history whatsoever of giving taxes to the government. The Islam Bibi case was mentioned by the Faqir of Ipi at the end. Therefore, his movement should not be considered to be only religious movement whereby the leader got the support of the followers on the pretext of religious symbolism. The Faqir of Ipi united his cause with the cause of the tribesmen; therefore, he mobilized a large of Pashtoons for his movement.

The Faqir of Ipi warned different Pashtoon tribesmen not to help the British forces. He was even annoyed with those serving the British government in different capacities. He wrote different letters to the people serving in government bodies, to abstain from providing their services to the government. For instance, in one of his letters he wrote; “if Mussalmans abstain
from helping the British, so much the better for them, otherwise when the war starts the
repentance of the supporters of the British with religion will not be accepted. It is the decree of
the religious Ulemas of Waziristan."27 The Faqir of Ipi wanted all the tribesmen to support him
in his struggle against the British authorities. Many of the government reports also confirm that
the Faqir of Ipi movement was getting popularity. For instance, an intelligence report confirmed
that sympathy in North Waziristan and the adjoining Mahsud country with the Faqir of Ipi and
his cause was generally widespread.28

The popularity of the movement can also be gauged from the fact that he mobilized
thousands of tribesmen for his cause. This mobilization of thousand people was not all that easy.
The mobilization could not be only made in the name of religious symbolism or only on the
pretext of Islam Bibi case. At one point, the Faqir of Ipi’s lashkar consisted of more than two
thousand followers. This had been confirmed by the intelligence reports. For instance, in one of
the reports, it was confirmed that the lashkars in the Khaisora, scattered along the hills on both
sides of the valley, were estimated at 2500.29

Another important cause for the popularity of Faqir of Ipi movement was that he was himself
a Pashtoon. Therefore, it was very easy for him to get the support of his fellow tribesmen.
Moreover, it was also very feasible for the tribesmen to follow him considering him to be his
own kith and kin. This is the most important point in understanding the resistance movements in
the Pashtoon dominated areas, that the leaders were themselves Pashtoon by blood and their
objectives were also Pashtoon-centric. In the case of the Faqir of Ipi, he was a part of the tribal
social structure. Therefore, it was very easy for other Pashtoon tribesmen to follow him in his
struggle against the British forces. Even the British official reports also confirmed that, being a

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part of the tribe, the Faqir of Ipi had considerable influence. For instance, in one of the reports it was confirmed that “it is not possible, however, to predict how far the disaffection will spread, but it must be borne in mind that the Faqir of Ipi, the leader is a Tori Khel Wazir and wields considerable influence with that tribe.”

The Faqir of Ipi, as part of the social structure, did not have good relations with the Maliks. He considered the Maliks to be pro-British and always held them with distrust. For instance, in one of the letters, the Faqir of Ipi wrote that he was even not relying on the Maliks for putting his demands before the government. Therefore, he wrote that “I will hand it (letter) over to the Maliks of all tribes. I am not prepared to give it to one or two Maliks as they are not to be relied upon.” The Faqir of Ipi was against the Maliks due to the fact that by getting importance, the Maliks would make trouble for him. Moreover, the popularity of the Maliks meant that the space available for Faqir of Ipi in the Pashtoon tribal culture would be reduced. Therefore, the Faqir of Ipi was struggling at two ends: at one end he was struggling against the British authorities and their penetration while on the other hand he was struggling against the Maliks. More and more British penetration in the tribal areas meant more and more British influence and more and more British influence meant the introduction of new institutions, which would make life difficult for the Faqir of Ipi. Therefore, he was resisting the British penetration in the Pashtoon areas. However, he was trying to stop the influence of the Maliks, because the importance of the Maliks was a form of encroachment upon the privileged position already enjoyed by people like the Faqir of Ipi. Therefore, most of the resistance leaders in the Pashtoon society had to struggle against the British authorities as well as the Maliks.
The Faqir of Ipi, in his proclamations, showed anger against the Maliks, elders and other people who were serving in the government. For instance, a report by an officer of the Peshawar Intelligence Organization on the papers recovered from the Faqir of Ipi’s cave at Arsal Kot wrote that the proclamations and Jihad announcements by the Faqir were thirteen in number. Numbers 1 to 5 were dissuading Maliks, Levies, Militias, Police and Informers from serving the Government, declaring those as ‘Kaffars’ who were to go contrary to this advice… No. 6 was an appeal to the Mullahs, Maliks and elders of the Khonia Khel tribe.32

The Faqir of Ipi tried to unify all the tribes of the tribal areas. In this connection, he wrote many letters to different tribes. At times, he received sympathetic reply from different tribes who had problems with the British authorities. However, on certain occasions he did not get a sympathetic reply from the tribe concerned. For instance, in a letter to the Faqir of Ipi, who wanted to create trouble for the government in Tirah area by visiting it, one resident of Tirah wrote, “As regards your intention of visiting our tribe, I may say that now-a-days our tribes intend to remain on peace with the Government of India. Compared to other times the relations between our tribes and Government are cordial. The attitude of Government towards our tribes is good, and so we have no protest or pretext by which we could interfere in the form of raids or turning out lashkar to attack Military posts of Govt. As Government has established good relations with us, how can we think of trouble either to ourselves or Government? In the past the leaders did not create trouble without reason.”33 Furthermore, the Faqir of Ipi movement also got the attention of the Pashtoons of some settled districts. For instance, the people in one of Bannu's mosques were praying for the success of the Faqir of Ipi considering him to be ‘The Champion of the Islamic Cause’. They stated that the British, if they were sensible, would learn a lesson
because their illegal entry into the Khaisora had been successfully repelled by the Faqir's miraculous powers.34

Conducting operations against the Faqir of Ipi movement in Waziristan was very costly in terms of human as well material loss for the British forces. The most important reason for this was that Faqir of Ipi and his followers were adept at guerrilla warfare, which was the hallmark of their prolonged engagement with the British troops in Waziristan. The followers of the movement knew the area very well; however, the British forces were not aware of the area's topography. Therefore, the British forces had to suffer a lot of losses. For instance, during the 1936-37 Waziristan operations the British authorities had spent a huge amount of Rs. 1,58,11,000.35

In the meantime, the Second World War started, where the Axis Powers wanted to harm British in India at a low price. For this purpose, the tribal areas were considered to be the most important part, whereby they could easily incite the tribesmen against the British. In this connection, the Faqir of Ipi movement gained importance in the eyes of the Axis powers which wanted to give as much support in the shape of weapons and money as was required by the Faqir of Ipi. On the other hand, the Faqir of Ipi knew how to get benefit out of that situation. “The holy man from Waziristan had a quite definite idea how he should charge the Axis for his real and potential capabilities. Through his intermediaries, the Axis legation in Kabul received the following price list: 25,000 pounds sterling paid every other month to keep the pot boiling, to double the sum if tribal unrest should be ex-tended to other areas; in the event of a general uprising on the Frontier the price would have to be tripled, not counting supplies of weapons and ammunition which the Faqir also required urgently.”36 Therefore, it was very obvious for both
the parties i.e. the Faqir of Ipi and Axis power to harm British India at a low cost in the tribal areas. The contacts with the world powers also gave a chance to the Faqir of Ipi to be recognized at an international level.

The international recognition and contacts with world powers was usually desired by the resistance leaders. The same was true for the Pashtoon resistance leaders, who wanted that they should be recognized as well as supported by anti-British powers specifically. The Second World War was a very great opportunity for the Faqir of Ipi who tried his best to extract greater benefits out of that situation.

The Axis powers, particularly Italy, were more interested in the tribal areas whereby Italy wanted to get the support of the tribesmen against the British forces. The Italian Ambassador in Kabul made no secret of the fact that his Government was intensely hostile to Great Britain and would do their utmost to make things intolerable for that country by utilizing every opportunity in India and Afghanistan in creating difficulties. “We could not defeat Great Britain in a war in those areas (tribal areas) but seriously injures them and we possess adequate instruments for the purpose.”

Moreover, the Italian press also criticized the British policy in the tribal areas, and in one of its articles published in the daily ‘Tevere’ dated May 13, 1937 entitled, “Is the British campaign in Waziristan a prelude to a new attempt on Afghanistan?” the author argued that the present conflict between the British forces and the Faqir of Ipi has, however, a character of its own, distinct from that of the previous encounters. He says that it was absurd to accept the British version which traced the present trouble to the preaching of a ‘fanatic holy men’, roused to indignation by the action of the British authorities in connection with the abduction of a Hindu
woman. This sentimental story was a ‘mask put by the British authorities on the real facts in order to conceal their real significance.' The writer concluded that “the struggle of the Afridis, Mohmands and Wazirs in defence of their liberty and against ‘the British conquerors and invaders’ was not the result of religious fanaticism. The heads of the independent tribes were alive to the danger that threatened their independence, and, knowing that British policy tended to do away with their liberties and privileges, they had risen in a supreme attempt to resist this last act of British aggression.

On the other hand, the Russians also showed their interest in the anti-British resistance movements in the tribal areas. For instance, the Russian Ambassador told the British Ambassador at Kabul that Russia, being a neighbor, was ready to help India out of those economic problems. For instance, the Russian Ambassador talked about “the need of rural reform in Asia- here, in India, he thought must ultimately come to the Soviet Government for help. Landlordism, money-lending, the Indian Princes and the capitalistic bureaucratic tradition had to go. After all the Soviets were near neighbors and ready- the time for cooperation was arriving.”

Furthermore, Germany also remained active in the tribal areas by providing money and weapons to the resistance leaders through different intermediaries. Giovanni a German agent in the tribal territory, is stated to be in touch with certain leaders in the British tribal territory through various tribesmen employed in Kabul, one of whom is stated to be Hameesh Gul Afridi, an employee in the motor department of the Ministry of Commerce. Giovanni is stated to have given out those 40,000 rifles and a considerable consignment of ammunition and bombs that would have reached the Afridi territory via Chinese Turkestan and Chitral.
The Afghan Royal family was also unhappy over the affairs in NWFP and tribal areas. They showed discontent over the policy being pursued by the British authorities in the Pashtoon dominated areas. They termed it to be a forceful annexation and less attention had been given by the British authorities to resolve the economic and political problems of the people of those areas. The British Ambassador at Kabul reported that, “The Afghan Royal Family still feels that the British policy of annexation at the frontier has not been finally discarded, and it was repeatedly pointed out to me that permanent friendliness and trust cannot be established till the British Indian frontier policy is clarified. In their opinion, the British political and military Departments are working at cross purposes; economic problems of the tribes have never been properly handled- with consequent uncertainty and a permanent state of uncertainty on the other side of the Durand Line.”

The Afghan government also looked towards the British authorities with suspicion and perceived the British policies across the Durand Line as not helping the Afghan government, instead it was making things worse for them. The British Ambassador at Kabul observed that, “The Afghan government fear that the Great Britain is not with them in trying to curb the influence of reactionary Mullahs, on the contrary, the Frontier policy, they think is to increase the power of the Mullahs on the Indian side so that Afghanistan cannot follow the path of Iran and Turkey.”

The time period between the two World Wars was very crucial for the British authorities as well as the Pashtoon resistance leaders. The former was trying hard to make inroads into the Pashtoon areas and incorporating them into their imperial designs. However, on the other hand, the Pashtoon resistance leaders made every effort to pressurize the British forces with a unified
resistance. In this time period, the Pashtoon resistance leaders joined their interest with the interests of the tribes, and hence won the support of thousands of tribesmen.

The British authorities, in their effort to integrate the Pashtoons into their administrative set up, took some very important decisions. However, they remained unsuccessful in the peaceful subjugation of the Pashtoons particularly in the tribal belt. Moreover, the British authorities used power for the forceful coercion of the Pashtoons. However, the insurgency techniques of the Pashtoon made it hard for the British authorities to bring them under their direct control.

During this time period the Pashtoon resistance leaders won the support of anti-British world powers. In this way, the resistance leaders gained popularity in addition to monetary as well military help from the world powers. At the same they got international recognition and support for their cause.

The Pashtoon resistance in the interwar years was not only in the defense of Islam. The resistance leaders were trying to stop the British penetration into their concerned areas so as to keep their space for maneuvering openly. The leaders were themselves Pashtoons and hence a kind of influence and space, which was threatened by the British authorities control in those areas. They also opposed the Maliks because the Maliks were also encroaching upon their position and prestige.

Moreover, the Pashtoons followed their resistance leaders because they championed the cause of the tribes. Furthermore, the leaders were themselves Pashtoons; hence, it was easy for the common folk to follow them. The leaders did not only use religious symbolism, they also employed different tactics to rally the support of the tribesmen. The leaders' and followers'
interest converged. Therefore, it was a joint effort for their common cause against the British forces.

Notes and References

1 From the Honorable Sir John Maffey, Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General NWF Province, in *North West Frontier Policy* file no. 8 S-T.B (I) from 10-8-1919 to 16-12-1922, NDC Acc. No. 244, p.66.


4 From the Honorable Sir John Maffey, Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General NWF Province, in *North West Frontier Policy* file no. 8 S-T.B (I) from 10-8-1919 to 16-12-1922, NDC Acc. No. 244, p.55.

5 Note by PA Miranshah on Razmak Policy, November 6, 1922 in Summary of events in NWFP Disarmament of Waziristan, MSS Eur 670/13, NDC Acc. No.8408, p.11.

6 From the Honorable Sir John Maffey, Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General NWF Province, in *North West Frontier Policy* file no. 8 S-T.B (I) from 10-8-1919 to 16-12-1922, NDC Acc. No. 244, p.56.

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8 For details see, W.J. Keen, Comp. *The North West Frontier Province and the War*. IOR L/MIL.17/13/32 NDC Acc. No. 4189, p.38.

9 Ibid.

10 Memorandum of Lieutenant Colonel Dew Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan, 4th October 1919, in *North West Frontier Policy* file no. 8 S-T.B (I) from 10-8-1919 to 16-12-1922, NDC Acc. No. 244, p. 6.

11 Ibid., p.7.

12 For details see, Appendix III of Memorandum by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, 29th June, 1939 on the Frontier Policy, NDC Acc. No. 59, p.42.

13 Ibid.


15 For details see, Hussain Ahmad Madni, *Naqsh-i-Hayat* (Karachi: 1935) chapter 6 in Ibid., 93.

16 For details see, North West Frontier Province Provincial Diary, 13 Nov, 30 Oct. 1915; 6 May 1916 in Ibid., 101.
17 For details see, Manual of Operations on the North West Frontier of India (Calcutta: Government of India, 1925), NDC Acc. No. 4184, p.3.

18 Ibid., p.4.


21 For details see, Frontier Policy NDC Acc. No.59, Appendix iv, p. 43.

22 Ibid., p.45.

23 For details see, Who’s Who in the North Waziristan Agency Corrected upto 1st July, 1939, IOR L/PS/20/B296/20, NDC Acc. No. 6606, 61. The life history of Faqir of Ipi is as “Mirzali Khan is the 2nd son of one Arslallah Khan, Bangal Khel, Maddi Khel Tori Khel. He was born at Zakkar Khel village near Khajuri about the year 1900. His elder brother is Sherzaman, at present one of the most active hostiles operating against Government. His younger brother Gulzali Khan died (from natural causes) recently in the Shaktu. Arslalla Khan owned a ‘kot’ and approximately 31 kanals of land in Zakkar Khel village. Sherzaman was at one time a teacher in the primary school at Idak, which Mirzali Khan attended. Having read up to the 4th Primary standard, Mirzali Khan left the school to acquire further religious instruction, proceeding first to Peshawar and later to India; he eventually returned to this Agency some four years later. In the year 1922, following a dispute with his cousin Malik Lalai, he and his brothers sold their property in Zakkar Khel villages and shifted to Arghund in Spalge. There they purchased 30 kanals and 13 marlas of cultivable land and built a house and a mosque in an area of 3 kanals. In addition they acquired a cave and some 4 kanals of land in Zindarga (Sham area). The 3 brothers lived in Arghund for about 4 years, during which period Mirzali Khan frequently visited Ipi village for further religious instruction under Mullah Alam Khan. In the year 1926 he took up his permanent residence at Ipi in the house of a widow of one Rezi Gul, a Dawar of that village. Here in 1928 he married a daughter of Qazi Sherzad, Bannuchi who was at that time practicing as a Hakim in Idak Khel a neighbouring hamlet. Shortly afterwards he proceeded on ‘Haj’. He has heretofore lived a purely religious life, frequently visiting shrines, and places of worship in such localities as Swat, Tirah and Qarbogha and religious leaders such as Naqib Sahib of Charbagh. Murzali Khan has never served in the M.E.S or any other Government Department.” For details see, From V.M.H. Cox Political Agent, North Waziristan, to the Resident in Waziristan Razmak, 15th June 1937, NDC Acc. No. 240, p.167-68.


25 Ibid., 13.

26 For details see, Translation of an Urdu letter from the Faqir of Ipi to the Naib Tahsildar, Mir Ali (Agha Faqir Shah) on the 18th November 1936, in Ibid., p.62-63.

27 For details see, A translation of a letter, in possession of Intelligence, Peshawar, received by a Malkhel Mahsud Subedar-Major and presumed to be from the Faqir of Ipi, in Faqir of Ipi 1936, NDC Acc. No. 240, p.161.


29 Ibid.

30 For details see, Proposed Plan of Campaign Lower Khaisora Valley in Ibid.

32 For details see, From V.M.H. Cox Political Agent, North Waziristan, to the Resident in Waziristan Razmak, 15th June 1937 in Faqir of Ipi 1936, NDC Acc. No. 240, p. 193-94.

33 Translation of a letter from Khushal Khan Malik Din Khel Afridi to all Afghans, Civil Secretariat North West Frontier Province Political Department, Situation and Future Policy in Tirah, in File No. 682, STBI Vol. IV, Tirah Movement 1926-52, NDC Acc. No.252, p.55.

34 Memorandum, from The Deputy Director, Intelligence, Government of India, Peshawar to The Chief Secretary to Government NWFP in Khaisora Situation, File No. 260 S.T.B (I), Vol. II, Civil Secretariat NWFP Political Branch, p. 98.

35 For details see, Appendix IV of Memorandum by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, 29th June, 1939 on the Frontier Policy, NDC Acc. No. 59, p.43.


37 For details see, British Ambassador and Italian Ambassador discussion, From British Legation Kabul to Simla, in Italian and German interests in the affairs of British Tribal Territories, L/P&S/12/3249, NDC Acc. No. 3626, p.94.

38 For details see, Letter from Secretary Political and Secret Department India Office, to Minister Kabul, dated 26th May, 1937 in Extract from Kabul Military Attache’s Summary No. 43 for week ending 28th October 1938, p.163.

39 Ibid.

40 For details see, British Ambassador and Italian Ambassador discussion, From British Legation Kabul to Simla, in Italian and German interests in the affairs of British Tribal Territories, L/P&S/12/3249, NDC Acc. No. 3626, p.94.

41 For details see, Extract from Kabul Military Attache’s Summary No. 43 for week ending 28th October 1938, in Ibid., p.145.

42 For details see, British Ambassador and Italian Ambassador discussion, From British Legation Kabul to Simla, in Italian and German interests in the affairs of British Tribal Territories, L/P&S/12/3249, NDC Acc. No. 3626, p.96.

43 Ibid., p.97.
Chapter No. 4

Non-Violent Resistance: Unique Phenomenon among the Pashtoons

In the first half of the 20th century, a kind of shift occurred in the strategy of the Pashtoon resistance. Many leaders tried to transform the armed struggle of the Pashtoons to a non-violent political struggle, as it became obvious for the leaders that as long as different social evils persisted in the Pashtoon society, the British Raj could not be defeated. Moreover, the Pashtoon leaders were also aware of the weaknesses of the Pashtoon society, particularly its unsophisticated weapons, which could not compete with the modern arsenal of the British Raj. They were also aware of the harsh treatment meted out to different Pashtoon tribes, who confronted the British authorities with their weapons in different Pashtoon areas. The aim of the present chapter is to find out that how the Pashtoons’ armed resistance converted into a non-violent resistance and what the impacts of non-violence on the Pashtoons were. It also explores how different sections in the Pashtoon society became non-violent and how the non-violence affected the socio-political circumstances in the province. In addition, it focuses on how the Pashtoons then benefited from these developments.

Non-Violence: Ideas and Concepts

The word non-violence has many connotations and meanings and has been widely used by scholars in a variety of ways. However, for the present discussion non-violent resistance means a political struggle of the Pashtoons against the British authorities in order to meet certain desired objectives. The non-violence of the Pashtoons was in fact a “non-violent direct action”, a method to produce or thwart social, economic or political changes by a direct non-violent intervention aimed at establishing new patterns or policies or disrupting the institution executing new patterns or policies which were regarded as undesirable or evil. The motivation for this kind of resistance
among the adherents varies from belief in non-violence as a moral principle or a temporary non-violent discipline as a practical method to achieve a particular objective.¹

Once it became obvious that violence was giving rise to more violence, a novel idea of non-violent resistance was put forward by the founder of an organization Khudai Khidmatgar, which came into being in 1929 under the astute leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.² The movement was started as a socio-reform movement but in reality it was a resistance movement with clear objectives. Diverse groups in the Pashtoon society found in Abdul Ghaffar Khan a patron and defender of the Pashtoon culture. Furthermore, to attract those groups Abdul Ghaffar Khan started propaganda, which appealed to every section of the society. The Khudai Khidmatgar’s ideology attracted all segments of the society; however, its main power base was in the rural as well as the urban educated classes, which provided the movement with a mass following in the shape of rural population, and a kind of educated leadership from the urban educated elite.

The Khudai Khidmatgar movement took advantage of the economic grievances of the peasant class in the Pashtoon society, which came under severe economic stress due to the imposition of land revenue tax. The abolition of the land revenue tax and the economic uplift of the rural population were the main objectives of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement in the Pashtoon rural areas. However, the popularity of the movement remained restricted to certain areas, where the Khudai Khidmatgar movement had a strong support base. The main focus of the movement was the masses living in villages. To make the Pashtoons of the villages ready for a peaceful political struggle against the British Raj, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement gave more importance to the rural areas of NWFP.³ It was also a kind of first movement which started from
the rural areas and spread to the urban areas. Earlier movements had started in the urban centers and spread in rural areas. However, it was the success of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement that it started from rural areas and reached urban centers.\textsuperscript{4}

The idea of the non-violent resistance of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement gained popularity in some areas, particularly in the Peshawar valley and its suburbs, where the tribal structure had gone under certain historical changes. The people of those areas had been incorporated by earlier rulers into their spheres of influence and hence had a distinct middle class, which was more conscious of the prevalent socio-political circumstances. The social structure of the people of the settled areas allowed them to accept the call of non-violence. The movement was not allowed to establish any contact with tribesmen because politics were forbidden in the tribal territory. This was the main reason that the Khudai Khidmatgars found it almost impossible to get in touch with or establish any kind of link with their fellow Pashtoons in the tribal territory. During the Second World War, they tried to do so but were not successful in penetrating into the tribal area. Therefore, the message of non-violence of the Khudai Khidmatgars did not reach the tribesmen, whereby they kept continuing with their traditional armed resistance against the British Raj.

In the first half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, the political atmosphere of British India became intense, firstly, due to the First World War and, secondly, due to the subsequent Khilafat Movement followed by the Hijrat movement. Peshawar became the center of political activities during the Khilafat Movement and the following Hijrat movement, which was also joined by the Pashtoons of NWFP. The disaster that followed the Hijrat campaign compelled people like Abdul Ghaffar Khan to concentrate on the elimination of social evils and to make the people of
the province more conscious of the prevalent socio-political circumstances. Furthermore, the Pashtoons’ resistance was also to be transformed from an armed resistance to a non-violent resistance. For this purpose, a social reform movement by the name of *Anjuman-Islah-ul-Afaghina*, (the Society for the Reformation of the Afghans) which aimed at safeguarding the interests of the Pashtoon community, started in April 1921. This organization was responsible for the eradication of social evils from the Pashtoon society. As far as the objects of the *Anjuman* are concerned, it has been said that the *Anjuman* aimed at propagating the cause of Islam and imparting national and religious education in the Pashtu language among the Muslim community. The *Anjuman* wanted to bring reforms to the Pashtoon society in such a way so as to inculcate political feeling as well as morality. The leaders of the movement observed that this task of reforming the Afghans seemed impossible, particularly in matters of party feeling and morality under the existing foreign education and laws. Moreover, the organization had to establish schools, which would provide an opportunity to the Pashtoons to get education. The elimination of social evils and the attainment of education were the pre-requisites for any future non-violent resistance movement. On April 01, 1921, the first branch of the Azad Islamia Madrassa was opened at Utmanzai, followed by many more branches in different areas of the Peshawar valley. About the origin of the Azad Schools, one of the reports submitted by the founders wrote that the remedy for the degradation of the people suggested in the form of Hijrat and Rowlatt agitation did not prove very effective. It was, therefore, necessary that a fresh remedy in the form of opening national schools be applied. No accurate figures are available about the exact number of these schools but a careful study suggests that they were about seventy. In the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Azad Madrassa, one of the speakers said that religious education should be imparted alongside secular education... which would
eventually free them from slavery.\textsuperscript{10} The establishment of the Azad Madrassa schools was a prerequisite for a future successful resistance movement. The speeches in the proceedings of the annual meetings of the Azad Madrassa schools affirm this. In one of the annual meetings, a speaker emphasized that “their community (Pashtoon community) could not make any progress unless and until the curriculum of education was in their hands…for with the progress of their national \textit{Anjuman} rested their liberation from the clutches of slavery.”\textsuperscript{11} The logic behind the establishment of the Azad Madrassa schools can be inferred from the fact that Abdul Ghaffar Khan wanted to take control of the curriculum into his own hands. This control would enable the founders of the schools to inculcate their own ideas in the Pashtoon youth. In one of the annual meetings, Abdul Ghaffar Khan said, “one reason why European nations were in a state of progressiveness was that the curriculum of education was in their own hands…so long as the curriculum of their Schools was in the hands of Aliens, they (Pashtoons) could not make any progress nor could they free themselves from the clutches of slavery.”\textsuperscript{12} The Azad Madrassa Schools garnered popularity among the Pashtoons and, according to the report published by the secretary of the \textit{Anjuman}, the number of students enrolled increased. For instance, in March 1922 the number of students was 140, which increased to 350 in September 1925.\textsuperscript{13} However, the British authorities did not like the activities of the \textit{Anjuman} in general and the Azad Madrassa Schools in particular. The British administration argued that “the propaganda [was] calculated to poison the minds of the young boys against Government institutions and the Government itself.”\textsuperscript{14}

This organization was the first step towards the formation of another organization by the name of \textit{Zalmo Jirga} or Youth League, which was established on the pattern of the Young Turks, the Young Afghans and the Young Bukharans on September 01, 1929 at Utmanzai. The Youth
League was, founded by Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Utmanzai and advertised in the press in August, 1929. His political lieutenant was Ahmad Shah, Bar-at-Law, of Charsadda, who was a cousin of Mian Abdullah Shah of that village. A conference held at Utmanzai on the 1st September, 1929 was attended by, among others, Maqsud Jan, B.A., L.L.B. of Bannu, the brother of Amir Mumtaz, headmaster of the Azad School at Utmanzai, and Khushal Khan. Of the office bearers appointed, Abdul Akbar Khan of Utmanzai became the president and Mian Abdullah Shah of Charsadda the Treasurer. The proceedings of the conference were at the time kept secret, but an account was subsequently published in the *Pakhtun*, which gave the names of 70 members of the Central Frontier Youth League, of whom the following apart from those already referred to deserve mention: Qazi Ataullah Khan, B.A., L.L.B., of Mardan, Amir Mumtaz Khan B.A., Headmaster of Azad School of Utmanzai, Mian Qaim Shah B.A. L.L.B of Qazi Khel. The avowed object of the League was to obtain complete independence. Moreover, the organization had to bring about Hindu Muslim unity; and the improvement of educational and religious conditions and other similar aims.

In the rules of the Frontier Youth League, which were later published in a pamphlet form by the Secretary Mian Ahmad Shah; it was laid down that the office of the League would be established at Utmanzai and that the official language would be Pashtu. It was to extend over the whole Province. The avowed object of the League was to obtain complete independence by all peaceful means. During the first six months of its existence the Youth League won immense popularity due to its program. According the estimates gathered by the organizers, the League attracted the middle class of Peshawar and Charsadda Sub-Division including Hindus and Sikhs and opened 67 branches of the organization. According to the secretary of the organization the aims and objectives were to organize the Pashtoons for the services of the country and every free
man could become its member. The organization in its first six months enrolled 650 members.\textsuperscript{20} This organization can be termed as the first of its kind in the Pashtoon society, where the objectives were to attain independence for Hindustan and it was also dedicated for the advancement of the Pashto language and Pashtoon culture. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was personally interested in the program of this organization and he visited many parts of the province for the propagation of the \textit{Zalmo Jirga}. The Pashtoons, particularly of the Peshawar Valley, showed an immense interest in the program of the Youth League. According to the estimates gathered by the Police, as a result of a single tour of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mian Ahmad Shah in the Swabi and Mardan Tehsils, many adherents to the League were engaged from villages such as Marghuz, Swabi, Maini and 300 volunteers are stated to have been enlisted in the Swabi Tehsil alone.\textsuperscript{21} By the end of March, the volunteers enrolled in the Charsadda Sub-Division were reported to be between 2,000 and 2,500.\textsuperscript{22}

However, the membership of the Youth League was restricted to the literate youth alone; therefore, a majority of the non-literate and aged Pashtoons could not get a chance to be enrolled in this organization. To enlist the majority of the Pashtoons, who at that time were mostly aged and illiterate, another organization by the name of Khudai Khidmatgar (Servants of God) was established in November 1929. However, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, or the Red Shirt and its allied bodies were declared as unlawful in the province. The Chief Commissioner of the province declared in a notification that “Whereas the Chief Commissioner, North West Frontier Province, is of the opinion that the Association known as the “Red Shirts” or “Raza Karan” or by similar designations, and its allied bodies in the Peshawar District are interfering or have for their objects interference with the maintenance of Law and Order and that they constitute a danger to the public peace: Now, therefore, the Chief Commissioner, North West Frontier
Province, by virtue of powers conferred on him by section XVI of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, as amended by the Devolution Act, 1920, is pleased, hereby, to declare the said Associations to be unlawful within the meaning of section XVI of the said India Criminal Law Amendment Act.\textsuperscript{23}

Many scholars pointed out that the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was a socio-reform movement whose primary objective was the elimination of social evils from the Pashtoon society and the revival of the Pashtoon culture. However, in reality it was a resistance movement, aimed at the complete independence of India in general and of Pashtoons in particular. The volunteers of the movement had to sign the following oath before getting enrolled to the party:

1. I solemnly and truthfully put forth my name for enrolment.
2. I shall sacrifice my life, wealth and comfort in the cause of the motherland.
3. I shall refrain from party friction, grudges, haughtiness, and shall side with the oppressed against the oppressor.
4. I shall not enroll myself in any other party nor shall I tender an apology when my party goes to war with the alien rule.
5. I shall always obey my officers.
6. I shall always follow the path of non-violence.
7. I shall serve humanity alike and my object will be to win freedom for my country and religion.
8. I shall always try to be good and be just in my dealings.
9. I shall never expect a reward for the services rendered in His name.
10. All my endeavors would be to please God, irrespective of any personal motive, gain or show.\textsuperscript{24}

The above pledge and the following party song indicate that in truth, the movement was created for resistance and not only as socio-reform movement. The party song that was sung by the volunteers during their marches:

\begin{verbatim}
We are the army of God,
Of death and wealth care-free,
We march, our leader and we,
Ready to die.

In the name of God we march,
\end{verbatim}
And in His name we die,
We serve in the name of God,
God’s servants are we.

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

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

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

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

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

As is evident from the oath and the song of the movement, the real aim was to unite the Pashtoons against foreign rule.

The working of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement can be classified into three phases. During the first phase, which can also be termed as the revival period, the movement stressed upon the elimination of social evils prevailing in the Pashtoon society. During this period, the leaders of the movement called upon all the Pashtoons, irrespective of their territorial belonging. In other words, the movement was not meant only for the Pashtoons of the NWFP. In this phase, emphasis has been laid down on *Pakhtunwali*, and the revival of the Pashto language and Pashtoon culture. The second stage was to make the Pashtoons realize their respective political
deprivation in the British system vis-à-vis other areas of India. During this stage, the movement tried to get maximum political reforms for the province. In this stage, the movement concentrated on the territory within the NWFP province alone. The movement used slogans of economic deprivation under the British rule and tried to turn the movement into a mass movement. Hence, majority of the population was living in villages and were peasants so the slogans must have been shaped to appeal to the rural population. The economic reform agenda of the movement attracted the rural population comprising of peasants of the settled districts. This was the first attempt to get the movement ready for organized resistance against the British Raj. For this reason, the movement mobilized the strategically placed peasant class against the British administration. The mobilization of the peasants was a pre-requisite for a successful mass movement. The third stage was to use slogans and symbols of slavery of the Pashtoons under the British Raj. In this stage, the movement tried to make the Pashtoons aware about the fact that they should rule their own country by ending their subordination to the British Rule.

As late as 1947, Abdul Ghaffar Khan himself declared that, “Our struggle was against the British rule and domination… Our struggle all along has been for the freedom of India and more especially the Pashtoons. We want complete freedom.” Therefore, the avowed objective of the movement was freedom and that could only be achieved through a political struggle. “Its (Khudai Khidmatgar Movement) long range goal was to free India; its immediate objective to organize for a confrontation with the government. The Khudai Khidmatgar preparation was part and parcel of those preparations.” However, the Pashtoons could only be made agents for political struggle once the prevailing social evils in the Pashtoon society are eliminated.
Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah very rightly concluded that different sections of the Pashtoon society interpreted its (Khudai Khidmatgar) program in their own way. According to the author for the Pashtoon intelligentsia it was a movement for the revival of Pashtoon culture with its distinct identity. To the smaller Khans it was a movement that demanded political reforms for the province that would enfranchise them and give them greater role in the governance; its anti-colonial stand suited the majority of anti-establishment Ulema, who always regarded the British rule in the sub-continent as a curse; for the peasants and other poor classes it was against their oppressors, their agents like the Khan Bahadurs and big Khans.28

However, the strong support base of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was in the rural areas, where a majority of the Pashtoons belonged to the peasant and poor classes of the society. In order to attract those sections of the society, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement had to present some kind of economic reform agenda which in future would benefit the economically oppressed sections of the Pashtoon society.29 Besides, it was the economy-centered propaganda that became the main cause of the popularity of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement particularly in the rural areas, where majority of the Pashtoons were involved in agriculture.

The British Raj introduced the land revenue tax in the Pashtoon areas where earlier the people had been ignorant of such taxes. For instance, during the year 1922-23 the total demand for fixed land revenue was Rs.18, 94,978 for the province.30 The Pashtoons interpreted the land revenue tax as the most coercive and unlawful. The abolition of land revenue tax from the Pashtoon areas was the major objective of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Moreover, the peasants were very much delighted over the Khudai Khidmatgar movement demand of the land revenue tax abolition. The collection of land revenue tax was one of the major bones of
contention between the peasants and the British administrators. The administrative report of the NWFP for the year 1903-04 shows that coercive processes for the collection of land revenue, 4,682 processes were issued as against 4,575 last year (1901-02). Of this number 2,215 were issued in the Peshawar and Bannu districts, where the people still regarded the revenue demand as one to be evaded as long as possible. Therefore, the popularity of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement has to be seen in the economic, and not solely in the social reform, perspective. The peasants and smaller Khans interpreted the Khudai Khidmatgar movement as a kind of economic reform movement, which would address their economic grievances and would bring about their economic uplift. Similarly, the decision of British authorities during the 1930’s to reduce the number of army personnel in India brought adverse affects in the North West Frontier Province. At that time, the efforts of all international politicians were directed towards removing the dangers of war by removing the means of war. Considerable steps were initiated towards the reduction of fighting forces of all kinds, in which Great Britain took the lead. This policy was manifested in India by reductions in the strength of the India Army. Therefore, during these years, while the politicians were striving to attain a Utopian peace, the young men of the North of India and of the Frontier were finding fewer and fewer vacancies open to those of military tastes which for generations had sought them- in the Indian Army. Concurrently with this, the population was rapidly increasing. The younger generation was more numerous in the families who lived on the land. For these young ‘have-nots’ with no outlet for their inclinations, a movement like the Khudai Khidmatgar provided some sort of answer to their problem, whether they were politically inclined or not. From their point of view, if it did not have the stability and advantages of army service under the Government, it was at least a novelty, an interest, an outlet for energy, and a means to food.
The economic grievances of the Pashtoons against the British Raj provided an opportunity to the Khudai Khidmatgar movement to make the movement popular in the Pashtoon rural areas among the peasants and economically oppressed sections of the Pashtoon society. The convergence of interests brought together the peasants and Khudai Khidmatgar movement more closely, and the leaders of the movement started economic resistance as a no tax campaign. The no tax campaign or civil disobedience was lawful and politically more practical for the Khudai Khidmatgars to continue with. It is also suggested by one of the police reports that according to the information gathered in January 1930, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was believed to be preparing the people of the Charsadda Sub-Division for a No-Tax campaign.33

The leader of the movement Abdul Ghaffar Khan stressed time and again on the economic grievances of the Pashtoons and their remedies. Abdul Ghaffar Khan made a speech at Matta Mughal Khel, where he elaborated on the economic hardships of the Pashtoons in detail. “This joy of mine is at once converted into grief and sorrow when I see you in poverty and perturbed condition and see your children naked and hungry. Brothers, I am not anxious to have any jagir, Shukrana, Malkana or titles of Nawab or Khan Bahadur for myself…. We do the labour and the wealth goes to the foreign nations (means Englishmen). We are dying of hunger while benefits go into the hands of Englishmen”34

The Khudai Khidmatgar leadership tried to take advantage of the economic grievances of the Pashtoons in their own favor as they termed the economic backwardness of the Pashtoons as mainly due to the presence of the British Raj in the area. By doing so, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement firstly attracted the oppressed sections of the Pashtoon society and later put it up against the British Raj. This attraction of the Pashtoon economically oppressed sections, and
later their fostering of an anti-British sentiment was the main success of the movement. Without such a strategy, the movement would not have lasted for so long particularly in the Pashtoon rural areas.

In one of his speeches Abdul Ghaffar Khan made three demands from the government. Firstly, the revenue should be altogether remitted, if not all, half should be remitted permanently. Secondly, they should be given an equal share in services. A British soldier gets Rs.60/ p.m. while an Indian sepoy is paid at Rs. 15/ p.m. and, thirdly, they should be given a share in the Government so that their poor children should get education and breeding and should have equal status in the Government. It all indicates that the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was more concerned with the economic uplift of the Pashtoon society and later in converting the economic grievances in their own favor for their anti-British agenda in the province. The economic agenda of the movement was made to attract the peasants, which at that time composed the largest section of the Pashtoon society. The leadership of the movement was well aware of the fact that without the mobilization of the bulk of the population no movement could succeed, and for the mobilization of the economically oppressed sections in the society, the movement had to offer economic agenda and Khudai Khidmatgar did it.

The Khudai Khidmatgar movement also assured the economically oppressed sections that it was the only movement, which aimed at addressing their economic grievances. Moreover, the leadership also, at times, indicated the division within the Pashtoon society, which benefitted from the British Raj. The movement was very much at loggerheads with the big Khans in the Pashtoon society. The big Khans enjoyed social, political and economic status at that time under the British patronage. The British Raj relied heavily on the position enjoyed by the big Khans for
their administration in the province. To dislodge the big Khans and to popularize their own agenda, the Khudai Khidmatgars had to make the Pashtoons realize that it was the latter who was sincere to the Pashtoon cause. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in a speech concluded, that “The Khans went several times to their fathers (Angrez Baba and Firingi Baba) for remission of revenue but they did not succeed, but by the Grace of God the efforts of the Red Shirts have succeeded in getting the remission.”36

The economic reform agenda of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement attracted the rural population particularly the in those areas where bulk of the population was dependent upon agriculture. The demand for the abolition of the land revenue tax greatly influenced the rural population of the province. The movement heavily relied on the rural population for their support, and it is also evident from one of the police reports about the civil disobedience in the province, which says that, “In this District (Peshawar), active Civil Disobedience is carried out only by the followers of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and his adherents are entirely composed of the rural elements. His preaching was such that the poor cultivator and landless Pathans welcomed his doctrine....”37 Moreover, Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah wrote that the Civil Disobedience Movement in the NWFP was carried out only by the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and its followers under the leadership of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. The writer is of the view that earlier the All India Congress had failed to make the Civil Disobedience Movement successful in the province.38

The Khudai Khidmatgars' ideas greatly influenced the oppressed and somehow marginalized groups in the Pashtoon society. It also attracted the occupational groups in the Pashtoon society, like weavers, carpenters, barbers, blacksmiths and drum beaters. The numeric
strength of the occupational strength was also very significant as they could easily be used as street power during political protest movement. For instance, in the Peshawar and Mardan districts the number of the artisan classes was significant. There were 18,600 weavers, carpenters 17,000 and blacksmiths 10,000. In the artisan classes, the most significant were barbers, who numbered 11,000.<sup>39</sup> The Khudai Khidmatgar movement then used those classes particularly in their protest movement to gain street power.

Among the occupational groups, the attraction in the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was due to the fact that membership in the movement gave them a social status equal to that of the other Pashtoons. The occupational groups were usually not considered as a part of the Pashtoon society and hence were given low status in the social system. However, in many instances, these people got higher ranks in the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, where other Pashtoons were working under these people. For instance, a Khan from Charsadda used to say that he would not join such a party, which had people like butchers, barbers and drum beaters as its members.<sup>40</sup> However, it was made clear by Abdul Ghaffar Khan that their leadership was not based on social status. Rather, it was based on the services that a particular person rendered in the movement.<sup>41</sup>

When Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested in 1931, the British authorities were concerned about what he had left behind. The authorities came to the conclusion that he left behind people who harboured the following ideas:

i. That the subordinate administration, including the rural police and revenue officials, were living on extortion, bribery etc leaving the people in a destitute state.
ii. That owing to their poverty stricken condition, the people were unable to bear increased taxation i.e. the *Haisiyat* tax, as well as additions to the rates of land revenue due to the settlement, etc.

iii. That legislation likely to offend their religion had been introduced as the Sarda Act owing to which most of the people had been made to think required the examination of girls by doctors and police.  

For the propagation of the above mentioned ideas, Khudai Khidmatgar movement needed a strong propaganda machine. The Youth League made this possible and approached the rural population as a majority of the members of the Youth League themselves belonged to the rural areas. The British authorities also realized this fact as is evident from one of the policy statements, “These ideas have been widely disseminated among the people by the agency of the Youth League which comprises numerous volunteers from villages and functions as centre of propaganda from Utmanzai.”

The Khudai Khidmatgar movement became popular as they focused on issues peculiar to Pashtoons. The leadership took advantage of the Pashtoons’ eagerness for religion and their belonging to ‘Afghanism or Pashtoonism’ - a sense of belonging to a one proud race of Afghans - as they assured the Pashtoons that both religion and ‘Afghanism’ could not be considered as safe under British rule. For instance, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in one of his speeches said, “When somebody enquires from us as to who we are, we reply, some of us saying, ‘I am Afghan’, ‘I am Arbab’, ‘I am Khan Bahadur’, ‘I am Nawab’, but this is our mistake…. As a matter of fact we are neither Afghans, nor Arbabs nor Khan Bahadurs. You would think in your mind that I am going to turn you out of Afghanism, but my brothers it is our mistake indeed. We are slaves and
we are ruled by others. If you will refer to the Quran you will see that there can be no religion in slavery…. Brothers Afghans are those who have their own control over their country.”

After popularizing the movement in the Pashtoon areas, next step for the movement was to make alliances with other political forces in India. The movement was declared as un-lawful by the British authorities. On the 13th May, 1930, the Youth League volunteers, by whatsoever, names called, were declared as an unlawful association under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. When the movement was declared unlawful, it became immensely important to make alliances with such political parties, which had recognition and reputation across all India. The alliance with other political parties would give the movement recognition across all India and the alliance may also give the movement a kind of a protection against the British atrocities. To achieve these objectives, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement made an alliance with the Indian National Congress. In the month of August 1931, an alliance between Congress and the Red Shirts was ratified at a meeting held at Utmanzai. While retaining its local color, setting and nomenclature, and with Abdul Ghaffar Khan as its ‘Generalissimo of volunteers’, the whole organization now came under the control of the Congress, and was to be conducted in accordance with its constitution, rules and program under the Congress flag. Many scholars attributed many reasons to the Khudai Khidmatgars' alliance with the All India Congress. However, on the 25th May the Tribune published “A Statement of Facts on the Situation in the N.W.F. Province” prepared by Jafar Shah, and Abdullah Shah, ‘Members of the Central Committee of the Afghan Jirga, N.W.F Province’, in which it was definitely stated that the Afghan Jirga and the Khudai Khidmatgars formed a part of the Congress and followed the Congress' creed of independence and non-violence. This statement was issued later in July, 1930, in the form of a pamphlet. However, it was the conversion of the interests of both the parties,
which brought them closer to each other. The only interest, which brought both parties closer, was their anti-British attitude. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in a statement, emphasized on the Khudai Khidmatgar decision to join the Congress and not the Muslim League. “Our struggle was against the British rule and domination. In this struggle we allied ourselves with the Indian National Congress, the great organization which was similarly fighting. Naturally in the circumstances we found ourselves in close alliance and comradeship with the National Congress…. In spite of our requests the Muslim League gave us no help. As a matter of fact many of the present leaders of the Muslim League in the Frontier helped the British against their own people.” Furthermore, Abdul Ghaffar Khan himself declared that as there was no other movement except the Congress which could support the Khudai Khidmatgars, so he joined it. He added that the Muslim League, Mahasabha, etc., were the Government's movements.

To eliminate foreign rule from the Pashtoon areas, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement needed a strong support from other communities like the Hindus and Sikhs of the province, and other political organizations. Besides, the membership of Khudai Khidmatgar was open to everyone from any caste or creed, however, a majority of the members of the movement were Pashtoons Muslims. Other communities showed little interest in the program of the movement. Here it is not to suggest that there was no non-Muslim in Khudai Khidmatgar movement. There were certain non-Muslims, particularly from amongst the Hindus of NWFP. However, the British authorities concluded that, “The movement here bears no actual relation to the Congress movement except that both are allied in a common cause against the Government. The demands (requirements) here are for reform of the lower administration that affects the villagers while the aim of the Congress is to capture the upper machinery of the administration. Again the
movement here is vastly Muhammadan the Hindus only foment it is the wider interests of the Congress."  

The difference between the Congress and the Khudai Khidmatgars lay in their approach; the former was more concerned with their all-India demands while the latter was more anxious about local issues, particularly the lower administration, which was involved in the realization of land revenue tax. Dr. Khan Sahib, in one of his speech said, “This Minister of ours, who went to D.C. (Deputy Commissioner) or to the Police Officer, Bannu, was told to see them in their office-time. I congratulate the D.C. and Superintendent of Police on this. They did well. They (Minister) should be treated like this. If the Congress (in alliance with Khudai Khidmatgar) had the majority, the Police Officer or any other officer, would have come out to receive them on the road; and if any subordinate were to behave like this, he would have been taken by the car and turned out.” This clearly shows that the goal of Khudai Khidmatgar was to control the lower administration.

When the NWFP was given the status of a full governor province in 1932 and reforms were introduced, the Khudai Khidmatgars took advantage of this and told the Pashtoons that it was due to their sacrifices that the British authorities were compelled to treat them as equals to other parts of British India. The CID reported that “The tone of speeches has gradually become worse, and the standard speeches now describe how the Redshirts (Khudai Khidmatgars) by their revolutionary activities in 1930 were alone responsible for extracting from Government the new step in the Reforms. It was due to the sacrifices of the Redshirts that a partial release from slavery has been attained.” Moreover, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement also emphasized that in future, votes ought to be given to the Khudai Khidmatgar candidates, because that right of
vote had been given to the Pashtoons through the sacrifices of the Khudai Khidmatgars. “The Redshirts, by their sacrifices, had alone obtained for Pathans the right to vote and so this vote must be exercised in favour of the Khudai Khidmatgars, more than whom no one has a greater claim on the electorate... (Once) having captured Councils and Assemblies, their aim is complete independence. Well-wishers of Government should be regarded as enemies and votes should not be given to ‘Toadies’”.56

It was the main target of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement to get the masses ready, first for sacrifices and then for political struggle through non-violent political means. The Pashtoons were made agents of political change through political non-violent means. But the whole process of converting the Pashtoons from violent to non-violent struggle was a complex phenomenon. To convert the Pashtoons into non-violent soldiers, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement evolved a strategy, which was best suited to the prevailing socio-economic and political circumstances of the Pashtoon areas. The concept of the Khudai Khidmatgar non-violence can be better understood from the article written in the Pakhtun Journal. In that article it had been argued that non-violence was not an ordinary thing. It was the most valuable asset of human beings. Non-violence created love within humanity. The non-violence of the Khudai Khidmatgar meant that one had the power to get the desired objective but through using such tactics which did not harm anyone, even the oppressor. This non-violence not only intended to resist the British authorities, however, it also required that the Khudai Khidmatgars must follow it till death and most importantly in dealing with their own Pashtoon brethrens.57

This mode of non-violent resistance was a unique phenomenon in the Pashtoon areas as earlier the inhabitants of the area had been involved in an armed resistance against foreign rule in
different time periods in the past. The Khudai Khidmatgars followed non-violence as their creed and remained non-violent soldiers all their lives. Besides, this organization was established after the unsuccessful armed resistance of the Pashtoons in the recent past. Here, one can argue that the mode of non-violence was adopted due to practical reasons. For instance, one of articles the *Pakhtun* journals of the Khudai Khidmatgar stated that it was possible that fighting with British non-violently may also have involved some of their own weaknesses as well.⁵⁸

The difference between guerilla and non-violence protest movements is that, while a guerilla fighter has to wait patiently for the enemy to approach, the non-violent protest movement moves to the target of its choice and thereby constantly seizes the tactical initiatives an important consideration given the need to sustain the morale of its members over many years.⁵⁹ Keeping this in mind, the motive of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was to keep the Pashtoons away from violence, and to infuse in them qualities like patience, non-violence and the love of humanity. Moreover, at that time violence and armed resistance were considered as essential parts of Pashtoon life. In his instructions to the members of Khudai Khidmatgar, President of the Jirga Abdul Akbar Khan stressed upon the adherence to non-violence by its members and those who believed in violence were not to be considered as members of the Khudai Khidmatgars. Moreover, communal harmony and unity among Hindus and Muslims of the province had to be maintained.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the overall success of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was its strict adherence to non-violence. Banerjee rightly concluded that “if the Khudai Khidmatgar had employed guerilla tactics it would not have lasted 17 years.”⁶¹

But the question is as to how Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgar movement succeeded in infusing patience and non-violence in the Pashtoons who were traditionally
considered to be a warrior race? Many things had been attributed by historians, like the charismatic leadership of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the ideology of non-violence itself. But one aspect which was not given due importance was the Pashtoon social structure. This social structure was earlier considered to be producing warrior Pashtoons but later the same social structure produced non-violent soldiers due to its peculiar characteristics. For the philosophy of non-violence to be effective in a community, it must be practiced by those who could have the option to resort to violence if they chose. The concept of non-violent tactics would go unnoticed if it had been followed by those groups which were traditionally considered incapable of violence. Hence, non-violence would be more effective in societies like the Pashtoon, which was historically resorted to armed resistance against the British Raj. If the Pashtoons had no history of armed resistance, then the non-violence would have not appealed to them as such. Hence, the non-violent tactics were something unusual and different. That is why they got popularity within the Pashtoons. Due credit should also be given to the Pashtoon social structure for the effective propagation of non-violence in the Pashtoon society. This peculiar social structure was responsible for bravery and consequently brave people could prove to be the most successful non-violent soldiers.

Once Abdul Ghaffar Khan asked Gandhi that he had had been preaching non-violence in India for a long time, but he (Khan) had started teaching the Pashtoons non-violence only a short time ago. Yet, in comparison, the Pashtoons seemed to have learned that lesson and grasped the idea of non-violence much quicker and much better than the Indians. Just think how much violence there was in India during the war in 1942. Yet, in the North West Frontier Province, in spite of all the cruelty and the oppression that the British inflicted upon the Pashtoons, not one Pashtoon resorted to violence. How could he explain that? Gandhi replied: Non-violence is not
for cowards. It is for the brave, the courageous. And the Pathans are more brave and courageous than the Hindus. That is the reason why the Pathans were able to remain non-violent. It seems obvious that the Pashtoon social structure, which is mainly responsible for the courage and bravery of the Pashtoons, contributed to the success of non-violence among them in a very short time period.

However, the non-violence movements of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Gandhi has many differences and some writers attributed it to the influence of the latter over the former and many writers concluded that the Khudai Khidmatgar's non-violence was the creation of their own founder Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah asserted that “The biographers of Abdul Ghaffar Khan wrongly attribute his adherence to the non-violence as the result of Gandhi’s preaching. Their emphasis is surely misplaced. Actually the Gandhian non-violence had very little effect on the Pashtoon mind.” On the other hand, D.G. Tendulkar quoted Abdul Ghaffar Khan as saying: “But we had so far forgotten it (non-violence) that when Mahatma Gandhi placed it before us, we thought that he was sponsoring a new creed or a novel weapon. To him belongs the credit of being the first among us to revive a forgotten creed and to place it before a nation for the redress of its grievances.” While Banerjee concluded that “Thus I would argue that the strength of will which Gandhi attributes to the feminine principle in Indian cosmology is similarly present as a virtue of ideal Pathan manhood. It was thus possible for KKs (Khudai Khidmatgars) to establish a non-violent persona from within their own cultural resources without the need for Gandhian philosophy.” All these arguments are valid and well taken; however, a single cause cannot explain the success of non-violence among the Pashtoons. The philosophy of non-violence was not a new or novel idea, it was an old method employed by different people at different times. Gandhi introduced it in the Indian Sub-Continent, Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s own
version of non-violence – a combination of Islam and Pakhtunwali - made it possible to introduce it to the Pashtoons, while the Pashtoons’ culture made it easier for the Pashtoons to adopt it as a belief due to their previous history of armed resistance and their courage and bravery.

The Pashtoon culture and Islamic way of life had become complementary to each other; hence it was mandatory for the Khudai Khidmatgar movement to derive motivation among the Pashtoons for non-violence both in Islam and Pashtoon culture. If the non-violence of the Khudai Khidmatgar would have been Islamic but not in accordance with Pakhtunwali - the code of life of Pashtoons - the Pashtoons would not follow it so easily. The success of non-violence among the Pashtoons was that the Khudai Khidmatgar movement made it connected with both Islam and Pakhtunwali and in this way it became easier for the Pashtoons to adopt it. A writer rightly concluded “that what Badshah Khan (Ghaffar Khan) sought to do above all was to create an improved political and social context in which the people of the Frontier could live prosperously and fully express themselves as Pathans and Muslims.” Moreover, the Pakhtun Journal of the Khudai Khidmatgars also published many articles regarding the compatibility of religion and politics. In these articles it has been stated that Islam does not forbid politics and Pashtoons being Muslims must take part in politics. One can easily infer that here politics implies a non-violent political struggle for independence.

Another important aspect of the success of non-violence among Pashtoons was that the area they inhabited was once the center of Buddhism, which flourished there and its followers had occupied that area for many centuries. The non-violence which had been practiced by the Buddhists of that region was still there in the blood of the Pashtoons. However, this infusion of non-violence could not be made possible unless and until it was mixed with Islam and
Pakhtunwali, which made it easier for the Pashtoons to accept it. This credit should be given to the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, which made it easier for the Pashtoons to adopt non-violence as their creed.

There had been different propagandas against the non-violence of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Many people dubbed it as Abdul Ghaffar Khan converting the brave Pashtoons into a cowardly nation. However, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was of the view that if violence has its power, similarly, non-violence has its own power. The difference, however, is that violence has its army or armies, while non-violence's modus operandi is preaching. Moreover, violence creates hatred while non-violence creates love. According to Abdul Ghaffar Khan, there is no defeat in non-violence; however, there is defeat in violence.\textsuperscript{68}

Once the Khudai Khidmatgar movement proclaimed non-violence as their creed against the British Raj, the idea fell on fertile soil. The Pashtoons adopted it as a creed and remained strict adherents of it till death. The popularity of non-violence among the Pashtoons can also be gauged from the impact it had on the Pashtoons, during their struggle against the British atrocities. The Khudai Khidmatgars were meted out harsh treatments by the British authorities and these harsh treatments had to provoke strong resentment among the people. But the followers of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement remained non-violent in their struggle against the British Raj.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan emphasized on the need for patience and non-violence in his speeches which he made during his visits to different areas, and asked the Khudai Khidmatgar as to which weapon they could use to liberate their country? “With patience, this is the only weapon against which neither the guns nor machine-guns of the Firangi can stand.”\textsuperscript{69}
This unity of the Muslims and non-Muslims of the area proved more beneficial for Khudai Khidmatgar movement in their political struggle. The movement had to get a substantial number of seats in the provincial assembly to bring about a change in the socio-economic life of the Pashtoons. When the Khudai Khidmatgar movement made an alliance with the Congress, the non-Muslims, particularly the Hindus, voted for the Khudai Khidmatgar-Congress alliance in the province. This alliance remained in power at different occasions in the province from 1936 to 1947.  

**The Impacts of Non-Violence on the Pashtoons**

The Khudai Khidmatgar concept of non-violence gained immense popularity among the Pashtoons. Their popularity can be gauged from the impact the non-violence had on the Pashtoons during their struggle against the British Raj. The followers of the non-violent movement were meted out harsh treatment by the British authorities. The Raj officials wanted to eliminate the movement as it was creating political and administrative problems for them. Hence, the British authorities could not altogether eliminate the movement, as the activities of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement were legal. They did not take the law into their own hands. The followers of the movement always kept their activities within the British laws and hence could not provoke the British authorities. However, there were some incidents where the British authorities inflicted brutalities on the Khudai Khidmatgar movement’s followers. The brutalities inflicted on the Pashtoons should have caused strong resentment among the Pashtoons as is evident from their previous history of armed struggle against the British Raj. However, the followers of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement remained non-violent throughout their struggle against the British Raj.
For instance, at Kohat one of the Khudai Khidmatgars committed suicide due to the brutalities of the government. In a letter, which he wrote to Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and the letter had been shown to Abdul Ghaffar Khan when he visited Kohat, he said that as “I have made allegiance to be non-violent throughout my life, no matter what kind of atrocities I have to bear, but when the government had insulted our women, and entered our homes, I could not bear that shame due to my Pashtoon culture, that is why I am doing suicide. It could be easier for me to take my gun and kill some of the government servants, but as a follower of non-violent creed I could not do this, so I am doing suicide instead.” These kinds of instances clearly show that the followers of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement did not leave their creed of non-violence even in the most severe circumstances. Here, one can easily argue that the practice of non-violence was more difficult in the Pashtoon culture, where Nang and other components of Pakhtunwali, had to be affected. To practice Pakhtunwali, violence could have been the easiest possible alternative; however, the Khudai Khidmatgars remained non-violent and were still practicing Pakhtunwali. This had been the most difficult task that the Khudai Khidmatgar had to do. On the one hand they had to be non-violent, while on the other hand, their Pakhtunwali has not to be undermined.

The Khudai Khidmatgar movement was heavily emphasizing on the political mobilization of the rural population particularly the peasant class, which later became its strength in the struggle against the British Raj. The movement mobilized the strategically placed minority in such a manner that it became very difficult for the British authorities to cope with it. This strategically placed minority was later used in the Civil Disobedience movement in the 1930’s and later during the Quit India movement in 1940’s. Through this mobilization of the rural population, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement raised their political slogans in the cities. According to official reports, those villages where the Frontier Youth League or Zalmo Jirga had a considerable
membership were participating in the Civil Disobedience movement particularly in the picketing of shops. For instance, in one of the reports it is stated that picketing had been taken up as a special form of demonstration as it was believed that it was this item of the Civil Disobedience program on which the authorities took action. It has been pointed out that those villages had been most conspicuous in supplying picketers where the Youth League Village Committees had been formed.\textsuperscript{72} In another report it is stated that active Civil Disobedience in the Peshawar district was carried out only by the followers of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his adherents were entirely composed of the rural elements.\textsuperscript{73}

The mobilization of the strategically placed minorities was the strength of the movement. The peasant class was mobilized on the basis of economic-cum-political grounds and later was used to resist the British Raj. Moreover, the movement mobilized the women of the province for political struggle. According to official sources, for instance in one meeting at Lundkhwar (Mardan) the Khudai Khidmatgar mobilized some 20,000 demonstrators including 5000 Red Shirts, about 4000 women and 500-600 Hindus.\textsuperscript{74} The \textit{Pakhtun} played a very vital role in this connection. It published different articles, which encouraged women's rights, education and their participation in politics in particular. The journal also publicized the women's participation in politics. For instance, the journal in one of its issues highlighted the women's gathering at Sawaldair (Mardan) on July 10, 1931, where a significant number of women participated. In this meeting, a resolution was passed. In this resolution, the Pashtoon women promised that in future they would not use any foreign-made clothes and instead would use local clothes. Furthermore, the women asked Abdul Ghaffar Khan to give them permission to make their own \textit{jirgas} of female Khudai Khidmatgars. The meeting further pledged that in case the male Khudai Khidmatgars failed to achieve their objectives, then they would come out for the cause and
would take part in it. Moreover, the women pledged that if any harsh treatment in the process was meted out, they would face it with patience and would remain non-violent.\(^7^5\)

Moreover, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement also mobilized a significant number of the members of the religious class for the non-violent struggle.\(^7^6\) The mobilization of the Ulemas for the non-violent struggle was a remarkable success of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Earlier the Mullahs in the Pashtoon society engaged in armed resistance against the British Raj. In many areas, the Ulema played a vital role for the propagation of the Khudai Khidmatgar ideology of non-payment of revenue and also of telling the people to help the organization as it was also their religious duty to support the “\textit{Inqilab} (revolution)”\(^7^7\). The Ulema of Katlang (Mardan) area had declared that “\textit{Inqilab}” was a religious duty and that anyone who died in the course of the agitation was a martyr.\(^7^7\) However, there were differences among the Mullahs and the leadership of the Khudai Khidmatgars. During the Civil-Disobedience movement of the 1930’s, a \textit{fatwa} was issued against Abdul Ghaffar Khan, declaring him as a \textit{kafir} (non-believer). According to Abdul Ghaffar Khan, this \textit{fatwa} had been issued with the connivance of the British authorities.\(^7^8\)

The most important impact of the movement was the raising of issues/problems of NWFP in India. Earlier the masses in India as well as in Britain were unaware of the situation in NWFP. Through the efforts of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, the people of India realized the problems of the Pashtoons. The movement not only raised the issues of the settled districts but also made popular the issues of the Tribal areas. For instance, Dr Khan Sahib in one of his speeches raised the issue of Waziristan and said that the British authorities wanted to make the Wazirs slaves and through this act they wanted to make the other (Pashtoons) slaves as well. The
object behind the construction of a road in Waziristan is to deprive the Wazirs of their independence.\textsuperscript{79}

The impact of the movement can also be gauged from the fact that how the Pashtoons reacted to the demands of Khudai Khidmatgar movement particularly the refusal of land revenue tax. The followers of the movement strictly followed the directives of the movement and started no tax campaign in the districts of the NWFP. For instance, during the financial year 1930-31 only 48\% of the fixed land revenue had been collected in the province. The total demand for the year was Rs.20,86,884, where only Rs.9,96,746 had been collected.\textsuperscript{80} Moreover, in the Peshawar district, land revenue collection was only 38\% for the year 1931-32.\textsuperscript{81} The British authorities also recorded that in the Peshawar District the first murmurs were soon heard of the non-payment of revenue in spite of the announcement by the Government of a 20 percent remission on the \textit{Kharif} crop of 1930. In the Mardan sub-division, the collection of revenue ceased almost completely. It was openly advocated that \textit{Jirgas} should be set up for the trial of cases.\textsuperscript{82}

Once they came into power, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement started to dislodge the position of the big Khans in the province by introducing different legislations, which enabled the movement to take away all the concessions given to the big Khans. Moreover, those legislations were intended to give more importance to the peasant class, which was a strong support base of the movement. For instance, when the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, in alliance with the Congress made ministry in 1937, they passed the Agriculturists Debtors’ Relief Bill. The Bill contained a clause which provided that all rents payable by a tenant-at-will or occupancy tenants, which had accrued before October 1st, 1937, and which were outstanding on the date when the Bill was enacted, were deemed to be discharged, even if a decree had been obtained for their
payment. The tenants in the Peshawar District had interpreted this clause as releasing them from their obligations, and some of them even had an idea that the land would eventually become their property. Moreover, the Khudai Khidmatgars abolished all the honorary titles, *inams* or other things, which were benefitting the big Khans and were harming the peasants. For instance, Honorary Magistracies were abolished in September 1937. The office of *Zaildari*, by virtue of which the Khans in certain districts undertook responsibility in the land revenue matters in return for a small fee, was attacked. The Ministry had also proposed to throw open to election the office of *Lambardari* (a semi-official position which imposed on the headman of the village certain revenue responsibilities). “*Naubati Chaukidari*” was also to disappear except in special circumstances; the watchmen enlisted under this arrangement were misused by certain Khans as kinds of private servants. The election (supplementing partial nomination) to Local Bodies was another hit at the Khanate class. Therefore, the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement achieved some of their desired objectives and goals. It gave space to the ordinary Pashtoons in politics and provided a platform for the masses to get united against the powerful Khans of the province.

The Khudai Khidmatgar Movement was a unique episode in the history of the Pashtoon resistance against the British Raj. The movement mobilized the Pashtoon rural masses for a peaceful political struggle non-violently, which can be attributed as a great success on the part of the Khudai Khidmatgars. The success of the Khudai Khidmatgar lies in the fact that it appealed to the Pashtoon masses on the grounds of their religion and culture both. The non-violence, which was propagated by the movement, was presented to the Pashtoon as a mixture of both religion and Pashtoon culture. Once both these things got united in the ideology of Khudai Khidmatgars than it was followed by almost all sections of the Pashtoon society.
The Khudai Khidmatgar movement was a socio-reform movement; however, its main objective was to get rid of the British rule in the Pashtoon-dominated as well as whole India. The movement got a substantial leverage from the economic grievance of the Pashtoons in the villages. Therefore, the focus of the movement was to address the economic grievances of the people of the province. However, this cannot be achieved without the masses' participation in politics. Towards this end the Khudai Khidmatgars had to make the bulk of the population ready for a peaceful resistance movement. This they achieved through the opening of schools in different parts of NWFP. The schools provided the Khudai Khidmatgars with a tool to propagate their non-violent ideology as well as to develop a class of educated persons, who could later on play a vital role in their struggle against the British Raj peacefully.

The movement's success was the mobilization of the Pashtoon rural masses, including women, for a peaceful resistance against the British forces. The movement's main focus was the rural areas of the province because it was here that their ideology could easily penetrate and could get better results. This mobilization of the rural Pashtoons for the struggle made the movement more popular in the province and hence posed a challenge to the British authorities. The movement also gave space to the marginalized classes in the Pashtoon society, particularly the artisan class to participate in the politics. Members of this class later on became office barriers in different capacities.

The impact of their non-violence creed was very much obvious as every member of the movement remained peaceful throughout their lives. The members of the movement followed the creed of non-violence as the most important part of their lives. They remained non-violent even in the worst of situations. The success and prolonged life of the movement can also be attributed
to their creed of non-violence; otherwise the movement would not have seen such a success and longevity in the political history of the province.

The movement's main strength in their struggle against the British Raj was their creed of non-violent resistance embedded in the mixture of religion and culture. The movement propagated their ideology in such a way as to attract the attention of all sections of the society and hence became a peaceful political force in the province.
Notes and References

1 For detail discussion on the classification/meanings of non-violence see, Gene Sharp, “The Meanings of Non-Violence: A Typology (Revised)” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol.3, No.1, March 1959, 41-66. In this article the author has classified non-violence into nine types of “generic non-violence” including non-resistance, active reconciliation, moral resistance, selective non-violence, peaceful resistance, non-violent direct action, *Satyagraha*, and non-violent revolution. However, it is the non-violent direct action method of non-violent resistance, which best suits the non-violent resistance of the Pashtoons under Khudai Khidmatgar movement. The non-violent direct action, according to the author means, a method of producing or thwarting social, economic or political changes by direct non-violent intervention aimed at establishing new patterns or policies or disrupting the institution of new patterns or policies regarded as undesirable or evil. There is variation in the degree to which the act of intervention is intended to bring about a change in the opponents’ attitudes or values or simply to produce a change in the policy in question. The direct action may follow investigation of facts, discussions with those responsible for the policy found objectionable, negotiations, public appeals, and publicity about the grievances. The non-violence of Khudai Khidmatgar was like what Gene Sharp called it “non-violent direct action” where the followers of the movement was struggling against the British Raj particularly the economic and political policies, which were affecting the masses in Pashtoon society. The Khudai Khidmatgar movement never went outside the British imperial system. They were struggling within the system through peaceful means for the attainment of their desired objectives. As the author has pointed that motivation for this type of resistance may come from belief or temporary practical reasons. The motivation for non-violence among the Pashtoons can be seen in the temporary practical reasons. The Pashtoons has the earlier history of armed struggle against the British Raj and the Khudai Khidmatgar movement being aware of their history, remained non-violent for somewhat practical reasons.

2 Abdul Ghaffar Khan was born in the house of Bahram Khan in 1890 in village Utamnzai. His father was an influential Khan of the village and people called him *Mashar* Khan (literally means elder, but it was due to his status not only of his age). He got education at Mission School Peshawar. Later devoted his whole life to the Pashtoon cause and established Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. For details see his autobiography, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhound au Jedo Jehd* (Kabul, 1983).

3 Ghaffar Khan was of the view that masses live in villages and therefore, villages should be given importance to make people ready for the struggle. It was the belief of the founder of the movement that masses live in villages and hence villages must be the focus of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. For details see, Abdul Ghaffar, *Zama Zhound au Jedo Jehd* (1983), p.584-85.


5 For details see the report published by Muhammad Akbar Khan (Khadim) and Abdul Akbar Khan the secretary of the Anjuman Islah-ul-Afaghana, in Copy of Internal Section Diary No.71, dated 29-10-1925, *Political Diaries Intelligence Bureau 1925*, in Deputy Commissioner Office Peshawar file No.4 List 1, Provincial Archives Peshawar, p.55.

6 Ibid., p.57-58.

7 Ibid., p.55.

8 Ibid.


10 For details see, Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Azad Madrasa Utmanzai, in the Copy of Interanl Section Diary No.66, dated 27-10-1925, *Political Diaries Intelligence Bureau 1925*, in Deputy Commissioner Office Peshawar file No.4 List 1, Provincial Archives Peshawar, p.51.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., p.52.

13 For details see the report published by Muhammad Akbar Khan (Khadim) and Abdul Akbar Khan the secretary of the Anjuman Islah-ul-Afaghana, in Copy of Internal Section Diary No.71, dated 29-10-1925, Political Diaries Intelligence Bureau 1925, in Deputy Commissioner Office Peshawar file No.4 List 1, Provincial Archives Peshawar, p.60.

14 Ibid., p.61.


For details see, Proceedings of the Frontier Youth League meeting held at Utmanzai on the 19th April, 1930, in Diary dated 19-04-1930, Political Diaries Intelligence Bureau, NWFP 1930 (April-to-December) Deputy Commissioner Office File No. 17, Booklet 1, Provincial Archives Peshawar, p.139.


For details see, Mohammad Yunus, Frontier Speaks (Lahore: Minerva Book Shop, 1942), p.148.

For details see, Mohammad Yunus, Frontier Speaks (Lahore: Minerva Book Shop, 1942), p.149-150.


Rittenberg came to a conclusion that the Khudai Khidmatgars were identified with the factions of Peshawar valley’s smaller Khans who owned less land than their rivals and received little or no government patronage. Opposition came from the once dominant Khans. Moreover, Rittenberg is of the view that due to large Khan’s enmity and the lower classes’ support, the nationalist Khans (Khudai Khidmatgars) associated themselves rhetorically with the masses against their own class. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his associates, however, had no desire to introduce radical measures which would destroy their own economic power and social standing as Khans. Their apparently self-abusive rhetoric was predicated upon a redefinition of a Khan which narrowly limited the term to the senior segments of the Pakhtun elite which supported the government. Thus, the object of their anti-Khani propaganda was primarily political and not social or economic. See, Rittenberg, The Independence Movement in India’s North-West Frontier Province, 1901-1947, p.151-153. However, the writer failed to give importance to the economic agenda of the Khudai Khidmatgar, which attracted the masses. The people would not give importance to social or political centered ideology of Khudai Khidmatgar movement in the already prevailing egalitarian social structure. The Khan in Pashtoon society is considered as one among equals. The Khans got more importance with the introduction of British administrative system in the Pashtoon areas, where the British Raj heavily relied on their support for smooth functioning of the administration. Moreover, the introduction of land revenue tax also affected the smaller Khans. Therefore, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement has to address the economic centered issues of the Pashtoons, not only social or political.

For details see, Report on the Administration of Land Revenue, Land Records and Agriculture, Estates under the Court of Wards, Government Litigation, and the Alienation of Land Act in the North West Frontier for the year 1922-23, NDC Acc. No.4513, p.5


Ghaffar Khan speech at Matta Mughal Khel on 21-4-1930, Report dated 21st April, from Wazirzada Moharrir Khassad of K.B. Matta to the A.P.A Mohmands, Shabkadar, in Charsadda Situation, File No. 10/89 PI, Red Shirts, NDC Acc. No.269, p.186-87.

Ibid., p.187-88.
36 Ibid., p.188.
40 Abdul Ghaffar, Zama Zhound au Jedo Jehd, p.627.
41 For instance the General of Utmanzai Khudai Khidmatgar section was Ziarat Gul, who was a Shakhel enjoying low status in the society. However, in Khudai Khidmatgar he used to give orders to Khans, Arbabs, Miagans and Mullahs. For details see, Ibid.
44 Ghaffar Khan speech at Matta Mughal Khel on 21-4-1930, Report dated 21st April, from Wazirzada Moharrir Khasadar of K.B. Matta to the A.P.A Mohmands, Shabkadar, in Charsadda Situation, File no. 10/89 PI, Red Shirts, NDC Acc. No.269, p.187.
47 Mian Jaffar Shah and Abdullah Shah met all the political parties of Muslims at that time. However, they could not find a party, which would want an alliance with Khudai Khidmatgar. When they met Sir Fazl-e-Hussain (at that time member of the council of state) he told them that if you want to get rid of British atrocities, than Khudai Khidmatgar must join Indian National Congress, because the Muslim political parties are not resisting the British Raj. They are struggling for their rights with the help of the British Raj. The politics of all Muslim political parties revolves around one point: opposition of Hindus. If Khudai Khidmatgar was resisting Hindus than Muslim League would certainly help you. But Congress is the only political party opposing British Raj. Congress has a strong support base. So Khudai Khidmatgar must align itself with Congress. For details see, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Bacha Khan au Khudai Khidmatgar (Pashto), (Peshawar: n.p., 1993), p.104-105.
48 Ibid., p.8.
51 The police reported certain non Muslims particularly Hindus in the movement, like Kanwar Bhan of D.I. Khan, Vishwa Mitter and Khushi Ram of Bannu. For details see, Weekly Confidential Diary Peshawar District, No.47, dated 21-11-1941, in Congress cum Red Shirts Activities Charsadda Sub Division, NDC Acc. No. 280, p.9.
53 Dr. Khan Sahib was the elder brother of Ghaffar Khan and was a prominent leader of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Later he served as Chief Minister in different Congress ministries in NWFP.
54 Translation of a speech delivered by Dr Khan Sahib at Dera Ismail Khan, For details see, Congress cum Redshirts, Criminal Investigation Department NWF Province Political Branch, File No. 8/12/4, in Congress activities in NWFP 1931-43, NDC Acc. No. 430, p.457.
55 For details see, Congress cum Redshirts, Criminal Investigation Department NWF Province Political Branch, File No. 8/12/1, in Congress activities in NWFP 1931-43, NDC Acc. No. 430, p.270.
56 Ibid.
60 For details see, [Charsadda Situation, File No. 10/89 PI, Red Shirts, NDC Acc. No.269, p.176.](#)
62 For details see, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *Zma Zhound au Jid-o-Jehd*, p.674-75.
66 Ibid., p.164.
67 For details see, ‘Siyasat ao Islam’ in *Pakhtun*, Utmanzai, August 1938, Issue 1, p.38.
70 For details of the politics of NWFP during that time, see, Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*.

71 The name of the follower was Abdul Ghaffar, for details of the letter see, Ghaffar Khan, *Zma Zhound au Jid-o-Jehd*, p.432.
73 For details see, *Measure to Counteract Mischievous propaganda in Connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement*, in Intelligence Branch N.W.F Province Peshawar, File No. 3841, NDC Acc. No. 430, p.25.
74 For details see, Confidential Diary, dated 15-04-1931, Chief Commissioner Office, Political Branch File No. 10/88 P.I, in *Mardan and Hazara situation, Peshawar disturbances, Congress activities 1901-1936*, NDC Acc. No.628, p.7-g. As far as the number is concerned Nawab Amir Khan Secretary Afghan Youth League village Lundkhwar Peshawar District in a letter dated 22-04-1931 to “Zamindar” Lahore wrote that the audience numbered about 50,000 including 10,000 Red Shirts and 5,000 ladies. For the letter see, Ibid., p.7-h.
75 For details see, The *Pakhtun* Journal, Utmanzai, August 1931, p.42.
76 For details see, Confidential Diary, dated 15-04-1931, Chief Commissioner Office, Political Branch File No. 10/88 P.I, in *Mardan and Hazara situation, Peshawar disturbances, Congress activities 1901-1936*, NDC Acc. No.628, p.7-g. It is noted by the British authorities that a large number of mullahs attended the meeting at Lundkhwar.
77 For details see, Confidential Diary, dated 21-04-1931, Congress cum Red Shirt Activities, File No. 8/3/2B, NDC Acc. No. 290, p.143.
78 Ghaffar Khan himself was very surprised at the issuance of that fatwa. He was more surprised by the fact that Manki Mullah and Badshah Gul(son of Haji Turangzai) signed it. According to Ghaffar Khan Manki Mullah and those following Hadda Mullah had some religious differences; however, they showed unity over the fatwa against me. This fatwa was engineered by the British authorities to defame the Khudai Khidmatgar movement and its leader. For details see, Ghaffar Khan, *Zma Zhound au Jid-o-Jehd*, p.683.
79 For detail speech of Dr Khan Sahib, see *Measure to Counteract Mischievous propaganda in Connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement*, in Intelligence Branch N.W.F Province Peshawar, File No. 3841, NDC Acc. No. 430, p.457.
81 Ibid.
83 For details see, *Linlithgow Collections*, Correspondence with the Governor of the NWFP and his Secretary, January-August, 1938 in IOR/IOL MSS Eur F 125/72, NDC Acc. No. 518, p.77e-77f.
84 Ibid., p.13.
Conclusion

The time period from 1897 to 1947 was very critical for both the Pashtoons of India’s North West Frontier and the British authorities. The period witnessed many momentous upheavals in the Pashtoons’ relations with their colonial masters. It was time when both the parties tried their best to bring the opposing party to terms. However, neither party succeeded to achieve its desired objectives completely. The century did not provide solutions to the troubles of the Pashtoons’ engagement with the British forces. The problem of the North West Frontier remained very crucial for the British authorities since 1849 the year the area was annexed with the annexation of Punjab. The Pashtoon inhabitants of the area did not accept the British suzerainty with ease as being accepted by other regions of India. There were many factors, which contributed towards the Pashtoon reluctance to come under the foreign rule. Moreover, there were many causes for the British Raj to bring under control the independence loving inhabitants of the area.

The Pashtoon reluctance to come to terms with the British imperialism was its social structure, which did not provide a chance to the British authorities to incorporate them within their imperial system. The social structure, which the Pashtoon possessed, was consisted of many social groups, which has its own interests in keeping the things as they are. These social groups wanted status quo, which could guarantee their space for maneuvering within that social set up. They did not want any kind of change of whatsoever, whether political, administrative or legal, which could threaten their already enjoying position. However, on the other the British wanted to introduce new mechanism for the control of the Pashtoons. The new administrative and political mechanism, which the British authorities formulated for the control of the Pashtoons, did not prove fruitful.
The British Raj was only interested in North West Frontier of India from a defensive point of view, whereby they wanted to secure the defense of India keeping in view the Russian expansionism in Central Asia. The British authorities wanted to merge the Pashtoons in their imperial control with force. The Raj did not evolve any type of political strategy, which could win over the Pashtoons’ hearts and minds. The British wanted to create a new loyal class in the Pashtoon society, through which they could control the Pashtoon tribes. However, the creation of new class in the form of Maliks did not succeed to achieve its desired objectives. They were successful at times to control the Pashtoons politically but as pointed out earlier, failed in winning their hearts and souls.

The main hurdle in the way of British forces integration of the Pashtoon areas was its peculiar social structure, which enable the Pashtoons to present a unified resistance to the foreign rule. The Pashtoon social structure was such that gets united against any foreign threat and due to this reason many of the Pashtoon resistance movements during the time period under analysis were a prime examples of Pashtoon tribesmen united effort. The Pashtoon tribes did not like the British advances into their areas, and challenged all the British authority with whatever means they possessed. Moreover, the egalitarian social structure of the Pashtoons where every Pashtoon consider himself as equal to other did not give a chance to the British authorities to initiate any type of interaction with the Pashtoons. This egalitarian social structure of the Pashtoons compelled to create a new loyal class with that social system, which could guarantee a smooth functioning of the British administration in the area. The logic behind the creation of Maliks in the Pashtoon areas was that it would provide the British authorities an influential person to whom the British could negotiate during the crisis time. The Maliks were given resources, power and artificial influence, which was perceived by the British authorities that it will work.
However, it did not give the desired objectives for which the Maliks were created. The problem with this approach was that the British authorities wanted to create a same loyal class, which they had created in Balochistan. However, there was a big difference between the Pashtoon social structure and other tribal societies i.e. the Baloch social system. The Baloch society was inherently hierarchical, due to which they naturally accepted the influence and authority of the Sardars, who were loyal to the British authorities. However, in the case of the Pashtoons it was very difficult for them to accept the Maliks as their representatives or to accept the idea that Maliks will deal with the British Raj on part of the whole tribe concerned. This was against the Pashtoon customs and traditions, whereby historically the Pashtoons used to decide their problems in a traditional *jirga*, which provide a platform for every adult male to speak for himself. The Maliks or tribal chieftain is usually considered as ‘first among the equals’ amongst the equals and not the ‘the God Father’ as in Baloch society. Therefore, the creation of this new loyal class in the Pashtoon society made things more complicated. The Pashtoons perceived the Maliks not their own representatives but the nominees of the Raj, who are working for the interest of the British authorities. This created hatred in the minds of Pashtoons against the Maliks, and in many of the instances many of the Maliks have been murdered. Therefore, the creation of new political and administrative mechanism did not prove fruitful for the British authorities.

The Russian advances in Central Asia in the 19th century created more troubles for the British Raj vis-à-vis the larger Indian defense. During the last half of the 19th century the British authorities evolved different strategies to counter the Russian advances in Central Asia so as to stop it coming closer to India. To achieve this objective, the Pashtoon dominated areas bordering with Afghanistan strategically became more important. Most parts of the Pashtoon areas were
considered as part of Afghanistan and the Afghan rulers were always taken as ‘their’ rulers. To strengthen its position in the area the British Raj moved thousands of soldiers in the Pashtoon areas, however, to their utter surprise the Pashtoon reacted violently considering it against their independence, customs and traditions.

Moreover, to make its presence feel in the Pashtoon areas and to strengthen its position militarily the British Raj made the Pashtoon dominated areas once being part of Afghanistan as part of their Indian empire through the signing of the Durand Line agreement with Amir Abdur Rahman. The signing of the agreement and dividing the Pashtoons into the Afghan sphere of influence and British sphere of influence created more hatred and problems for the British administration. The treaty was in itself ambiguous, did not clarify each and everything. The Persian/Dari language copy of the agreement either has been lost or has not been keep preserved. The Afghan sources are also silent about that issue. The treaty has been signed to divide the Pashtoons into three spheres of influence i.e. British India, tribal territory and under Afghanistan, so to make it easier for the British authorities to get control over them. However, later on the British officials interpreted the treaty as the official as something which has given them the right to annex the Pashtoon areas as far Durand Line permanently. Once the British Raj started annexing the Pashtoon areas permanently with force, the Pashtoon reacted violently.

The major Pashtoon uprising started in 1897, however, before that time the Pashtoon fought many small scale revolts with the British forces. The major uprising of 1897 was the reaction to the Durand Line agreement; however, many other factors also contributed towards the Pashtoon antagonism vis-à-vis British authorities. The main cause was the British forces presence in their areas, which the Pashtoons considered it against their independence and interference in their
social and political life. They considered the British forces as foreign rule and subjugation of the Pashtoon to any alien rule was not acceptable to them. The permanent annexation of the Pashtoon areas by the British authorities brought another problem for the Pashtoons. The introduction of British administrative, political and legal mechanisms gave the Pashtoons a chance to get united against the foreign threat. Therefore, one can see many Pashtoon tribes joined hands with one another against the British forces, no matter how much disunity they had in among themselves.

In their struggle against the British colonial forces, the Pashtoons of North-West Frontier sought the support of different Afghan Amirs from time to time. The Afghan Amirs in many instance provided material and moral support to the resistance leaders. The Amirs of Afghanistan also used these anti-British elements in the Pashtoon areas as a pressurizing tactics in their relations with the British authorities. Moreover, the Pashtoon resistance leaders looked towards the Amirs of Afghanistan because they consider them as legitimate Islamic Pashtoon rulers, who have the right to rule over them under the Shariat and Pashtoon customs and traditions. Furthermore, the Pashtoons of the North West Frontier has a kind image of the Afghan Amirs, because they had never interfered in their religious as well as in their customs and traditions. Therefore, the resistance leaders sought to get the support of the Amirs of Afghanistan. Further, to the resistance leaders the rule of Sunni Muslim Amirs was a rule what they termed it as “De Kalim-e-Badshah” means the rule of the Amirs under the jurisdiction of Islam. Therefore, it was very easy for the Pashtoons to accept it and this enable the resistance leaders to get the support of the Pashtoon masses on the name of Afghan Amirs, whom the Pashtoons consider as legitimate Pashtoon Muslim rulers.
The introduction of the British administrative as well as political mechanism in the Pashtoon areas made things more complicated for different social groups in the Pashtoon society. This introduction of British institutions gave rise to new ideas, institutions as well as new groups within the Pashtoon society. The social structure of the Pashtoons was such that it provided every social group i.e. Mullahs-the religious class- as well traditional Khans and other institutions like Jirga its own space for the smooth functioning of the day to day affairs. However, the British administration created new groups within the Pashtoon social structure. Therefore, this emergence of new groups within the Pashtoon social structure created tension within the society between the already existing groups and the newly created groups. This tension ultimately created division within the society. The already existed social groups, which has influence and prestige as well as space for maneuvering perceived the creation of new groups as a threat to their existence. Hence, the religious class in the form of Mullahs started different resistance movements in almost all parts of the Pashtoon dominated areas. The Mullahs perceived the introduction of British administrative as well as political mechanism as a threat to their existence. At the same the Mullahs also considered the creation of Maliks as an encroachment over their space within the Pashtoon society. Therefore, the Mullahs started resistance against the British Raj as well as their loyal class of Maliks.

While getting the support of the tribes the Mullahs in the Pashtoon society has to converge their interest with the interest of the tribes concerned. The Mullahs in the Pashtoon society did not get the support of the tribes only on the name of religion. The Mullahs’ jihad in Pashtoon society was not the jihad for the defense of Islam per se, but their jihad was the struggle for the protection of the Pashtoon interest as well. Therefore, the Mullahs got popularity as well the support of the Pashtoon tribes in their struggle against the British forces. The Mullahs wanted to
keep the independence of the Pashtoons as well consider themselves as the champion of the Pashtoon customs and traditions.

Moreover, the Mullahs who became the resistance leaders in the Pashtoon society were part of the same tribe. The Mullahs in the Pashtoon society were part of the same society and had some kind of influence. The Mullahs were the leaders of the Pashtoons in the crisis time. However, in routine life the traditional khans were those who made decisions on the part of the tribes concerned. Therefore, they also got help from their tribal affiliation with the tribe. In many of the instances the Mullahs provoked the Pashtoons against the British Raj in the name of Pashtoon honour and their love for independence. Further, the Mullahs’ ideology was Pashtoon-centric and not doing something for the larger interest of Muslims in any other part of the world.

During their struggle against the colonial forces in the Pashtoon areas, the Pashtoon resistance leaders revisited their strategies. The hallmark of their strategy was the guerrilla warfare, which enabled them to fight against the well trained and well equipped British army. The training of the British army was not for the area having difficult terrain. Therefore, this tactics of guerrilla warfare also helped the resistance leaders to inflict more damage to the British forces with minimum resources at their disposal. The Pashtoon knew the area and terrain very well therefore, it was very easy for them to prolong their struggle against the British army in their respective areas.

During the time period between the two World Wars the British authorities made many advances into different Pashtoon areas. To counter that advances the Pashtoon resistance leaders also made it expedient to deal with the advancing British army with more skill and organization. The time period between two World Wars was very critical for both the parties. This time period proved
very disastrous for the British authorities as well as the Pashtoon, whereby both the parties had a lot of material as well human loss. The time period also witnessed many Pashtoon uprising in the tribal areas. The most important one was in Waziristan led by the Faqir of Ipi, who engaged the British army for years. The time period which the Faqir of Ipi chose for his movement was also very critical. This was the time period when the world was embracing towards the World War II, and hence the Faqir of Ipi was in a best position to pressurize British authorities as much as he wanted. The Faqir of Ipi movement also attracted the attention of the anti-British powers in the world. They wanted to put more pressure upon the British Raj indirectly in the Pashtoon areas. Therefore, the Faqir of Ipi movement also got the support of the international players. This support of international powers gave him a chance to get legitimacy and moral support from across the world.

When the Pashtoon leaders realized that the un-sophisticated weapons and traditional armed strategy could not defeat the well armed and well trained British forces, they turned towards political struggle against the British authorities. The time period was also ripe for such a political struggle as rest of India was also engaged in such struggle against the British colonialism. Therefore, the most important part of the Pashtoon resistance against the British Raj was the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, which expounded the ideology of non-violence. The movement was started as a socio-reform movement; however, later on it was converted into political movement. The Pashtoons found in Abdul Ghaffar Khan a patron and defender of Pashtoon culture.

The aim was to get rid of the British Raj and get independence for the Pashtoons through political and non-violent means. The ideology of non-violence was very difficult and it was
Initially thought that there would have been less chances of its success if the leadership of the movement did not embedded it into *Pashtoonwali* and Islam. Once it was embedded into *Pashtoonwali* and Islam than it became easy for the Pashtoons to accept it and follow it.

The Khudai Khidmatgar movement made its ideology as such that it was appealable to all sections of the society. It was a kind of movement, which brought different sections in the Pashtoon society on one platform. However, the real strength of the movement lies in the rural areas, where it mobilized the peasants and artisan class on the name of their economic reform agenda. It was the only movement with far reaching effects which started from rural areas and got popularity in the urban areas. The movement worked for the economic uplift of the rural areas as well the abolition of land revenue tax, which made it more popular in the Pashtoon areas. The movement also gave more importance to the women participation in politics; therefore, one can see many women took part as an active member of the movement.

The present research is an endeavor to understand the phenomenon of resistance in the Pashtoon dominated areas, hopefully it will initiate new questions regarding the nature and mechanism of the Pashtoon resistance. It will also help in understanding the present problems in the Pashtoon areas, whereby the policies should be formulated such to integrate them without any kind of force or persuasion but with some kind of economic and political agenda, which could strengthen their confidence in those policies and hence willing to submit to it.
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