



Islamic Instrumentalism in Movement of Non-Violence by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

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Received: September 1, 2014
Accepted: November 13, 2014

ABSTRACT

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan-a pushtun and a staunch Muslim who practiced, propagated and institutionalized concept of non-violence during his life. His political life was dedicated to anti-imperialist movement along Islamic lines. Paper compares non-violent movement run by Ghaffar Khan with other leaders of the world who led the same movement at one moment of the history. Futuristic analysis of source of legitimacy for his anti-imperialist non-violent politics was rooted in Islam which was not only catching essence of his highly organized political movement but also a symbiotic platform for popular and religious faction of politics. Instrumentalization of religion through forging of non-violence in social reformation and politics of pushtuns-dominated region had been witnessed for the first time. Institutionalization of religiously inspired non-violent Ghaffar's legacy can bring peace specifically in terror-riddled Pakistan. Alternatives with state are available to deal with religion in politics.

KEYWORDS: Non-violence, Instrumentalization of Islam, Political Movement, Institutionalization of non-violence, Anti-imperialism.

1. INTRODUCTION

Non-violence simply means negation and absence of violence. Concept of non-violence is present in various traditions, civilizations, religions and personalities of the world. Striking distinctiveness about Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's usage of concept of non-violence in his life and politics was an amalgam of religion, popular politics and non-violence. Such amalgam makes a point that religion which is prone to monopolized maneuverability by religious elites and hence gives rise to violence can also be instrumentalized for purging the society and politics of violence. South Asian region where identity crises long lines of caste, class, tribe and religion is expressed in variant forms of conflicts within the society and between society and state, importance of interwoven relationship between religion and non-violence in politics of a country can't be ignored. Non-violence with its roots in religion is required to dissolve the strident friction among ethnic or nationalistic identities. Ghaffar Khan did the same thing. He extracted non-violence from Islam and incorporated in his politics to coalesce people around the concept of non-violence. He fostered this politico-religious concept of non-violence among his adherents for the fight against anti-imperialism. The popularity and intensity of adherence emanating out of spiritual and moral sanction of Islam and success of resultant political movement against imperial power proved that Islam, politics, populism and non-violent resistance can be enveloped peacefully to wage a highly effective way of resistance in a unique way where politics and religion can complement one another in today's modern world if a charismatic and selfless leader like Ghaffar Khan is present to lead.

There will be four parts of this paper. First part will delve into position of non-violence in major religions through a comparative approach for underlining generalized significance of religion. Role of religion is very important in matters of peace and politics in South Asian countries specifically. Second part will be combination of literature review and leadership approach towards analysis of non-violence. Third part discusses personal life of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and will attempt to enquire non-violence through trait approach i.e. in the light of personality traits of Ghaffar Khan. Fourth part will discuss his politics revolving around alliances/association with religious leaders and religious issues. Fifth part will discuss link between religious movement and Ghaffar's politics. Sixth part will analyze the amalgam of Islam and politics in institutionalization of non-violence. Seventh part will enquire how non-violence predicated on religion spoke up in popular politics. Conclusion will give alternatives to policy makers of those societies including Pakistan where religion has become inseparable.

2. CONCEPT OF NON-VIOLENCE IN MAJOR RELIGIONS:

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Hinduism, being the oldest religion of the world will be an interesting point to start from keeping in view our (Pakistanis) obsession with Indians and Gandhi-Ghaffar alliance in view. In Sanskrit, the religious language of Hinduism, *himsa* is doing harm or causing injury. The "a" placed before the word negates it. Very simply, *ahimsa* is abstaining from causing hurt or harm. It is gentleness and non-injury, whether physical, mental or emotional (Himalayan Academy, 2014). It is good to know that nonviolence speaks only to the most extreme forms of wrongdoing, while *ahimsa* (which includes not killing) goes much deeper to prohibit the subtle abuse and the simple hurt.

The Bhagavat Gita, which is considered to be very sacred by the Hindus, equate anger (*krodh*), pride (*mad*), arrogance (*darp*), cruelty (*krurav*), slaying the enemies (*satru hatya*), hatred (*dhavesh*), as demonic qualities (*asura pravritti*), in contrast to the divine qualities (*asura pravritti*), which are harmlessness (*ahimsa*), absence of anger (*akrodha*), peace (*santi*), compassion (*daya*), forgiveness (*kshama*), and absence of malice (*adhrho*). (Hindu Website, 2014) Presence of non-violence in the oldest religion confirms two things. First, that Ghaffar Khan was not coining something new, rather he was reviving a dormant concept in his society i.e. *pushthun* society. But it does not mean that he incorporated his version of non-violence from Hinduism as the later part will prove it.

Core of Hinduism contains the essence of *Ahimsa* or non-violence (Bondurant 1988). List of five moral principles also include non-violence (Ibid). Cycle of reincarnation embodies violence in a particular status but accords non-violence a status which brings a Hindu towards religious enlightenment (Fried 1999, 156). Such a prominent and preferable position of non-violence does not stop Hindu nation, predominantly living in India, from being less violent than other nations (Fischer 1997).

Shastri and Shastri noted that *ahimsa* as concept is not only confined to religion in its meaning and attributes but also has its roots in philosophical and ethical realm. As a "positive doctrine of love friendship and equality among all living beings in the universe" *ahimsa* is an antidote to violence in the world. It embraces both the pursuit of good of humanity and devotion to the good of all living beings and the environment (Mayton 2009, 76-77).

Shastri and Shastri stemmed out arguments from four *Vedas* in support of Hindu view of non-violence. They observed that Hindu view of non-concept was coined and evolved hundreds of years before rabbinic and Christian writings. The Hindu reference to the concept of the golden rule predated rabbinic and Christian writings by hundreds of years. They further underlined horrendous consequences caused by departure of players from one another in any type of interaction. Hindu text evokes belief and interest in the notion of combination of individual and all except that individual. When an individual feels himself/herself as a part and parcel of what surround him/her and God, he/she can't exercise violence because violence, in such a case, would be akin to harming one own self. The unification with others is according to intertwined view of self (ibid).

Buddha became well-known for the doctrine of *Panchasheel* which included abstention from violence or *himsa*, undue appropriation, sexual corruption, lying and drinking (toxication). Grace (*daya*), charity and non-violence (*ahimsa*) were three principles of propagation of Kapila. Yoga's centre of evocation of interest in his followers involved the yamas or social necessities-refraining from violence, stealing and appropriation, saying of truth and chastity. White Hahn (1993) in concord with other Buddhist scholars, believes that harmony and peace of mind are required for practice of nonviolence. An engaged Buddhist deals with nonviolent action which transcends the mind. He doesn't tackle with non-violent speech and actions but also faces nonviolent inaction. Silence and unresponsiveness in a situation do more wonders than other way around by creating hesitation in others to say or do something harmful because of our positive presence.

Jains have highest regard for nonviolence and consider it as an unsurpassed religion. Base and fountain of all principles and ethos of Jainism is mentioned in Jain scriptures as nonviolence out of which all other principles emanate (Natubhai 2004, 108). Jainism recognizes the inherent and innate weaknesses and vulnerability towards sins. In view of these facts, Jainism provides a unique system to attain inner peace and happiness (Jainstudy 2014). Bhagwaan Mahaveer propounded five virtues nonviolence (*ahimsa*), truth (SATYA), non-stealing (ACHAURYA), continence (chastity, BHARMACHARYA) and non-possessiveness (APARIGRAH). Non-violence implies consciousness free from attachment (love) and aversion. Violence is also akin to rejection of equality and provision of justice on the basis of religion, race or social status. Untruth (falsehood), stealing, intemperance (unchastity) and possessiveness (greed) involve mental and physical violence of others. Thus the virtues of truth, non-stealing, chastity and non-possessiveness are integral part of non-violence. In his famous work PUURUSHAART SIDDHYUPAAYA, Acharya Amrit Chandra Suri states that all moral practices are included in non-violence (Ibid).

Hazrat Esa (A.S.) or Jesus characterized God as nonviolent and viewed domination system and violent. On such juxtaposed dichotomy he crafted non-violent resistance embodying the preferable aspiration of being killed over killing others. Nonviolent attitude or behavior on the part of Jesus showed his encounters with a non-violent God. Jesus' death on the cross testifies that God's power, whatever it maybe, is invitational and not violent or coercive. Jesus disapproved commandments of God and history rooted in the wrath and negative sanctions of

God(Nelson, 2011). Horsley(1986) equates theme of 'love your enemies' with the essence of morality of non-violence embedded in the legacy of Jesus. He has explained the social context in which Jesus propagated and practiced non-retaliation(Davis 2005, 24-25).

Walter Wink propounded the thesis in his essays on Jesus' sermons following the *lex talionis* given in Mt.5.38-42, which rejected both notions of Jesus' advocacy of passivity and Jesus' violent action. Instead his thesis gave a third choice rooted in Jesus' legacy known as 'active nonviolent resistance'(Ibid).

Finally, talking about Islam as a source of non-violence doesn't need any explanation because life of *Hazrat Syedna Mohammad (S.A.W.)* is an evidence enough to furnish the contention that Islam not only in its holy literature but also in its practical version (life of *Hazrat Mohammad (S.A.W.)*) stress on non-violence, tolerance and forbearance. However it is necessary to draw attention towards a very important point present in all the religions in one form or another, which demands its followers to adhere to midway between the two extremes in any context. It means that religions do not deny the presence of evil forces of society and where there is a principle demanding the follower to abstain from wrong-doing there it is also ordained that stop the wrong-doing on seeing it. Therefore, extreme of anything in general and of non-violence in particular is also not welcomed. To articulate it, versus of Qurans merit attention which require Muslims to rise up against any foreign power with full preparation and on the same time discourages them to do if there is peace and non-aggression from infidels.

3.WESTERN DISCOURSE ON NON-VIOLENCE:

Non-violence is a process which is not confined to absence of violence only. Its description with reference to absence of violence augments the significance of description of non-violence. It is the time-consuming and energy-consuming process in which agreements are forged on contested points of issue before hand (Cox, 1986). The belief that parties to conflict have equal probability of having won builds up the foundational block for nonviolence (Meyer 2000,8-9). This highlights the necessity of measures that fosters mutual respect and that exhorts individuals to commit to the objective of securing the best results for all participants.

Gene Sharp has highlighted tactical-strategic and pragmatic-ideological as two major dimensions of concept of non-violence. He underlined nine major types of non-violence: Non-resistance, Active reconciliation, Moral resistance, Selective non-violence, Passive resistance, Peaceful resistance, Non-violent direct action, Gandhian non-violence(*Satyagraha*) and non-violent revolution. On the basis of these dimensions of non-violence, he categorized four types of exponents of non-violence. Four kinds of exponents of non-violence, according to Sharp are Tactical exponent, strategic exponent, Pragmatic exponent and ideological exponent. While tactical exponents of non-violence focus on attainment of certain goal in particular context of time and place, strategic exponent exercise long-term mission of bringing change in society by its transformation. Pragmatic exponents consider non-violent ways as most beneficial and fruitful means towards achievement of their goals. Ideological exponents adopt non-violence as a way of life due to ethical and moral reasons, through amalgamation of means and ends, which can satisfy the needs of all.

Mark Garavan equated 'politics of moral force' with 'conventional, parliamentary politics on the one hand and physical force or violence on the other'. Shared concerted resistance without help of formal institutions or due processes of the state in which positive or negative sanctions are used for attainment of political and social goals defines nonviolent political action.

Michael Randle considers civil resistance as a nonviolent political practice in which ordinary citizens and civilians don't use formal political structure or any of its parts. organizations (such as political parties). Roots of such nonviolent political action exist in apparatus used by civil society which is not included in formal institutional or constitutional body.

Tolstoy finds essence of his moral commitment to nonviolence as Christian. His interpretation of Christian principles enabled him to remain consistent follower of nonviolence. Tolstoy found in his interpretation of Christian teachings that love is the law which is capable of not only governing the human lives but also of uniting human souls and practices emanated out of such unification.

Gandhi influenced the extent of Martin Luther King's commitment to non-violence. His view of nonviolence was also monochromatic i.e. love. Love is the centre of nonviolence from which centripetal force is provided to nonviolence for its application. King underlined and drew a comparative picture of 'three words for love in the Greek New Testament'-*eros, philia and agape*. *Eros* is the attribute of soul which enables the soul to aspire for getting itself familiar with divine. Aesthetic or romantic attachment as an emotion of love constructs the meaning of *Eros*. Development and nurture of this love is linked to perceptual attribute of lover. He distinguished between *eros* and *philia* by underlining meaning of *philia* as cherished and extreme care between friends. *Philia* means a kind of mutual love: love is exchanged with love. Finally King explained *agape* as the status of independent, global or

mixed love that supplies the stimulation or devotion for non-violence as an instrument to block injustice and oppression (Atack 2012,1-16).

Life of Ghaffar Khan was deeply influenced by culture and social code of conduct of the land i.e. *Pushtunwali*. Features of *Pushtunwali* are *badal*, *malmastai*, and *nanawatai* or revenge, hospitality, and sanctuary. *Badal* among other features of *Pushtunwali* is the fundamental reason of violent actions among *Pasthuns* which gave rise to many blood feuds. It simply means that whenever a *Pashthun* is disgraced then he would hit back to inflict the same extent of disgrace over offender in the same way. Usually land and woman are main causes of revenge or *badal*. As every society has its own means of settlement of disputes, *Jirga* is a social institution aimed at settlement of disputes in Pashtun society. *Jirga* consists of notable elders of an area who holds trust and respect of majority of locales. This institution is still active in Pushtun areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan (Economist, 2006).

Khan also convinced his Pashtun brethren to follow the Prophet, whose life at *Makkah* was an ample model of non-violence. The Prophet Hazrat Sayedna Mohammad (S.A.W) practiced defensive *Jihad* during which four battles were fought. Battle of Trench (*Ghazwa e Khandaq*) was the battle in which strategy was made to avoid war which resulted in victory without violence. Inaction in tandem with strategy based on consensus produced surprising results (Ansaf, 2010).

4.LIFE OF GHAFFAR KHAN:

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was born in 1890 at *Uthmanzai* (Charsadda) district Peshawar (Khan, 1983,1). His father Bahram Khan was a well-to-do landowner of Mohammadzai clan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was the fourth child of Bahram Khan. According to the then popular tradition, Ghaffar Khan was sent to the local mosque to take early lessons in the Holy Quran. The *Pushtuns* have great respect for religious education and majority of them send their children to mosques. There was hardly any government school in the rural areas and thus, in education, the NWFP was one of the most backward areas in British India. Moreover, unlike the state patronage of *Ulema* in other parts of the sub-continent, in the NWFP the *Ulema* remained at logger-head with the establishment, indeed preoccupied with *Jihad* to get rid of the British rulers in that part of South Asia(Ibid).

Ghaffar Khan was deeply influenced by teachings of Quran so much so that later on this influence had been translated into his public life (Shah 2007). His learning of Quran during his early life inculcated many Islamic principles in his mind. The environment and society in which his earlier grooming had been done was purely Islamic and it would be unrealistic to believe that he had been insulated from his society. Islamic principles were embedded in *pushtun* culture and respect and sensitivity for Islam was widespread. It can be observed by going through Shah's account:

“According to the popular tradition,he was sent to the local mosque to take early lessons in the Holy Quran. The *pushtuns* have great respect for religious education and majority of them send their children to mosques ...Moreover, unlike the state patronage of the Ulema in other parts of the sub-continent, in the NWFP they remained at loggers-head with the establishment, and indeed were preoccupied with *jihad* against the British rulers in that part of South Asia.”

Cognitive, behavioral and cognitive-behavioral psychological approach convince one on Islamic grooming of Ghaffar Khan and building of his behavior in an Islamic direction. Sigmund Freud¹ and his daughter Anna Freud² who were proponents of psychodynamic theories of development merit citation. Their importance given to first few years of life strengthens the argument in favor of religious development of Ghaffar Khan's behavior.

5.ASSOCIATION WITH HAJI FAZL E WAHID AND SHIEKH MAHMOODUL HASSAN

As it is out of the scope of this paper to ascertain the sincerity of Ghaffar Khan for the Islamic cause of Pakistan, it is required to focus on Islamic experiences faced by Ghaffar Khan and translation of such experiences in his political philosophy. Ghaffar Khan in beginning of his adult life came across an ultra Islamic personality who was opponent of non-violent inclinations.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan commenced his social activities as an educationist and came into close contact with another social reformer of the area, Haji Fazli Wahid, popularly known as the Haji of Turangzai. Ghaffar Khan had collaborated with Haji Taurangzai to set up *Azad Islamia Madrassas* as alternatives to British missionary schools in *Uthmanzai*, Bannu and Kohat before the Haji moved to the tribal areas in 1914 (Haroon 2007,156). Their combined efforts resulted in the opening of educational institutions called the Dar ul Ulum at *Uthmanzai* and *Gaddar* (Mardan) in 1910. Apart from religious education, students were imparted the concept of patriotism. No details are available

¹ Sigmund Freud, born in Germany, on 6 May 1856, was an Austrian neurologist who became known as the founding father of psychoanalysis.

² Anna Freud (3 December 1895 – 9 October 1982) was the sixth and last child of Sigmund and Martha Freud. She Compared to her father, her work emphasized the importance of the ego and its ability to be trained socially.

about the exact number of these *Madrasahs* or the number of students, teachers and their sources of income (Shah 2000,18). The two were joined by some other pushtun intellectuals including Maulvi Fazal-i-Rabi, Maulvi Taj Mohammad, Fazal Mahmud Makhfi and Abdul Aziz, the majority of them being the graduates of the Deoband seminary (Tendulkar, 1967,22). Abdul Ghaffar Khan was also in touch with Mahmud ul Hassan, the Chief Divine at Deoband, and Ubaidullah Sindhi, the 'revolutionary scholar' and a noted pupil of Mahmud Hassan. Ghaffar Khan had also participated during the early years of Maulana Mahmud ul Hassan's tehrick, travelling and living for a time with the Babra Mulla and taking bait at the hand of Haji Turangzai. However he disagreed with the Tribal Areas mullah's militancy and their charismatic authority and distanced himself from their methods (Khan n.d.,1-100) They even had planned for the establishment of an anti-British centre, deep inside the tribal area, but it did not materialize (Khan 1983,1). In the year 1914, he visited Deob and secretly. Such visits were later on referred to by him during his visit to India he said at Darul Uloom Deoband, "I have had relation with Darul Uloom since the time the Shaikh-ul-Hind, Maulana Mehmud Hasan, was alive. Sitting here, we used to make plans for the independence movement, as to how we might drive away the English from this country and how we could make India free from the yoke of slavery of the British Raj. This institution has made great efforts for the freedom of this country"(Jamiatulamaiahind Mysore, 2014)

Many deliberations took place. Understanding was created. Plot was set under the shared understanding that first a hub of support of India's complete liberation would be constituted in Frontier tribal's areas, then Ghaffar Khan along with his *Pashtun* friend Maulvi Fazle Mohamed would reach Bajaur Agency after passing through Fazle's village, where they would wait for Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi to get themselves ready for next step.

Under the same consensual understanding Ghaffar Khan announced at *Uthmanzai* that he would visit Ajmer Sharif for pilgrimage. He left his village on the same pretext but in reality his journey was destined for Maulvi Fazle Mohammad's village. Having left Fazl there, both Ghaffar Khan and Fazl's relative proceeded to Bajaur. Ghaffar Khan visited many villages of Bajaur but at the end stayed at Zagai-a village situated in Mohmand-where he spent his period of secluded prayers known as chilla in mystical terms. Chilla ended but Ghaffar had yet to see Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi for whom he stayed. Unwillingly Ghaffar Khan returned to his village *Uthmanzai*. (Gandhi, 2008,49-51).

Ghaffar Khan not only had reverence for Islamic ethos but he also followed the political guidelines propagated in the garb of politics. It is observed that he was not against the use of religion in politics. Had it been so he would not have responded to religious calls of leaving India after *Khilafat* movement. In addition to this it also suits here to refer to his earlier joining of religious chorus and his role in opening of religious institutions. So to say that Ghaffar Khan and his movement was a secular one and consist of elements attracting communist ideas is preposterous.

6.HIJRAT MOVEMENT-TURNING POINT

Hijrat movement was an offspring of *Khilafat* movement. In religious discourse and debates dominated by *Ulemas* of that time encircled India as *Dar ul Harb* (Land of War) and exhorted Muslims to consider leaving Dar ul Harb and settling at Dar ul Islam as their religious duty. Afghanistan was and is our neighbor country. Government at that that time in Afghanistan was of Muslims with whom Indian Muslims were feeling their political, religious, cultural and ethnic affinity. Such feeling attracted Afghanistan towards them as their choice of selection of *Dar ul Islam*. Ghaffar Khan also migrated to Afghanistan along with innumerable *pashtuns* (Shah, 2007). Ghaffar Khan's migration was a follow-up signal to not only religious command but also to Islamic ideology of any polity. A secular Ghaffar can't respond to religious calls. He could have refused to migrate on the pretext that the notion of danger to Islam was an eyewash. The time, in which he had been responsive towards migration for Islamic cause was also noteworthy. By that time he had installed machinery of his organization based on principles of non-violence. Therefore it can be inferred that he had no qualms in adhering to state ideology of Pakistan which was theoretically Islamic and very appealing to innocent adherents of Islam. But he was aware of the refuge taken by upper class of society in the realm of religion and their ill intentions to grab the power by stressing on their Islamic identity for the sake of preservation and protection of class interests.

Anti-British feelings and objectives brought the then Amir of Afghanistan, Amanullah Khan and religiously inclined *Muhajrin* on the same. Such coherence between ideas and objectives left no other option with Amanullah except to offer asylum to incoming *mohajreen*. As a result Afghanistan became the host of 60,000 *Muhajirin*. Most of *Muhajrin* got themselves recruited in Afghan army at Jalalabad (Qureshi 1999). They found that life in Afghanistan was not a bed of roses. Others became weary of idle life and held protest meetings. The enthusiastic, emotional and sentimental youngsters, especially those belonging to the Frontier, passed an 'ultimatum' to the Afghan government to equipped them with weapons so that they can wage *jihad* against the British or else facilitate them for their departure to Anatolia or return home.(Ibid) In fact a provisional Azad Hind Government was formed in Afghanistan with Raja Mahendra Pratap as President and Prof. Barkatullah as Prime Minister (Ali 2005).

Amir responded administratively and mollified the charged muhajrin by sending his message through Abdul Ghaffar Khan that they should behave responsibly and rationally (Ibid). He knew that haste makes waste. Amanullah suggested proper military training and patience in making due strategy as a pre-requisite for *Jihad*. Soon, charged environment and over-ambitiousness of *muhajrin* tighten the noose against the necks of policy makers in Afghan government regarding their absorption and deliverance to their demand of *Jihad* (Shah 1987, 128-36).

7. ANJUMAN-I-ISLAHUL AFAGHANA AND AZAD ISLAMIA MADRASSAS

After discussing his earlier Islamic-ridden life which preceded his non-violent movement, it is necessary to analyze the foundations of his non-violent movement. The first brick of a building determines the foundation of building and foundation of building determines the whole infrastructure. Ghaffar Khan's first brick to constitute his non-violent movement was made up of Islamic material. The organization, foundation of which had been laid by him in April 1921 had to work and unify its supporters along Islamic lines of action. On 1 April 1921, He founded *Anjuman-i-Islah-ul-Afaghana* (the Society for the Reformation of Afghans). He himself became its President and nominated Mian Ahmad Shah as its Secretary. Operational body of the organization declared The stated objectives of the *Anjuman* included: promotion of unanimity amongst the *Pushthuns* about political and social affairs; ejection of social evils such as blood feuds; prevention of extraordinary expenditures on social events such as marriages and birth of child; emboldening and propagation of Pashto language and literature, and igniting the fire of 'real love' for Islam in the heart of Pashtuns (Shah 2000, 18). Rauf (2006) pointed out this element of real love for Islam and *Anjuman's* tendencies towards Sharia Laws in his reliance on annual report of *Anjuman*:

"The *Anjuman* aims at propagating the cause of Islam and imparting national and religious education in the Pashto language to the Muslim community. It has hitherto been found impossible to reform the Afghans in the matter of party feeling and morality under the existing foreign education and law. The *Anjuman* will try to put a stop to the evil customs which are against the laws of *Shari'at* and have impaired the Pathans financially"

Unity among *pushthuns* remained a stumbling block throughout the history. Lindholm consider *pushthun* society as a society where there is no leader. So society where centrifugal pulls were very active Islam was the only instrument which could have united them and rubbed out the tribal sharp lines among *pushthuns*. Here it is necessary to link this tribal friction in pashtun society to tribal quarrels prevalent in Arab society centuries ago. Before descent of Hazrat Mohammad (S.A.W.) in Arab society there was complete societal chaos and tribal battles and racism was on its peak. Then advent of Islam with the passage of time Arabs had been blended into religious colors to impart unity among them. However such an example is not aimed at all to compare two movements, as it was quite clear that the change which had been brought up in Arab society was unparalleled. But it shows the extent to which Ghaffar Khan was in need of Islam as building blocks in his movement because he knew that it is the only key to eradicate blood-feuds and tribal rifts.

Second challenge for him was lavish spending on social events by *Pushthuns*. He was keen observer of class stratification, class society and class struggles going not only across the sub-continent but also with in the *pushthun* society. On the other side he was also cognizant of the pride which *pushthun* families take in heavy spending on their cultural gatherings and rituals such as occasions of marriages. He didn't want to repeat the mistakes of Syed Ahmad Shaheed who violently banned such traditions with the intention of eradication of social evils. He adopted the non-violence face of same Islam which was exercised violently by Syed Ahmad Shaheed and more interesting thing to note in his endeavors was the institution which he intended to use. He first made the institution i.e. schools and organization which will engrained his ideas into minds of recipients of his educational curriculum.

Last objective of the society for reformation of Afghans has the potency to characterize it as Islamic movement only. Love for Islam as an objective is enough for an organization to show his Islamic nature. But when stress is on real love for Islam then it means that vacuum is still there to fill up. It drove the organization in a quest to achieve something more Islamic which was already prevalent in the society. Such an objective in initial stages of movement clearly showed the courses in which seed had to germinated, plant had to come out and develop in full fledged trees. Islamic state for *pushthuns* where shariat would be functional in letters and spirit could be the ultimate end of such an objective because the only roadblock in the way of implementation of shariah had been resistance and reluctance of society. Such reluctance was lacking in *pushthun* society where rituals of Islam were more stresses as compared to beliefs.

Story of new project of reformation of *pushthun* society started on 10 April, 1921, when he opened the first branch of *Azad Islamia Madrassa* at his own village *Uthmanzai*. Later on more outlets of same project were constructed in different places of the Peshawar Valley. One can't say with full conviction about the number of Azad schools because meticulous reading limits the choice of selection of number of schools to 70. Subjects which were taught at those schools were Holy Quran and Hadith, *Fiqha*, Islamic history, Pashto, Mathematics, English and

Arabic. Before discussing the curriculum of the schools, a moment must be given to think about the name of such schools: *Azad Islamia Madrassa*. The name was actually aimed at combining two ideologies. 'Azad' meant freedom in English and had been pointing towards freedom from tentacles of actors who were ultimate benefactors of concentration of wealth. On the other side Ghaffar Khan was aware that *pushthun* society would never welcome any ideas antithetical to Islamic doctrines which according to most of *pushthuns* but not all can be produced and interpreted rightly by *madrassas*. So he took work with his political and societal vision. The name being symbiotic of two ideas had been given to accommodate and integrate the doctrinal differences. By this and the later work which will be discussed later on, he also proved that Islam does not only discourage financial, societal and political disparity but also has arrangement of depleting the wide gap among social statuses of society.

He installed various schools to propagate his ideas. He knew that educational institute is the hub from where ideas can not only be propagated but ideological grooming of youth in his colors could also be done rapidly. Approach was bottom-up, that lower echelon of society, where most of the people are young and belong to lower class, will be targeted. Next generation who will be the product of these schools will constitute a core group responsible for mobilizing *pushthun* society on a large scale. *Azad Islamia Madrassa* was opened for provision of education. One of the major objectives of the school was impartation of religious education moral reformation and true spiritual representation of Islam.. Thus theology comprised one of the important sections of the school. The Holy Qur'an, Hadith, *Fiqh*, history of Islam and Arabic language were included in the section separately dedicated to theological studies which was important in many aspects(Rauf 2006). Maulavi Shah Rasul and Maulana Muhammad Israel were two prominent forerunners of this section. This section made the splash in water by producing students skilled in variety of fields. Some were fluent in recitation of Quran. Others were endowed with deep insight knowledge of Quran and Hadith. One lot as witnessed in one of annual ceremony of *Anjuman* held considerable command over Arabic language. In that gathering, a debate was held among the students to evolve conciliation among religion, modern education as well as technical and industrial assignments taught at school (Ibid).

From curriculum it clearly seems that inclination of non-violent *Anjuman* tilted vehemently in favor of Islam. Four out of seven subjects introduced were aimed at acquiescence of Islamic Education. Teachings of Holy Quran and Hadith were to make *pushthuns* aware of the coherent picture of Islam in which balance among every various aspects and different quarters of life is emphasized. He was confirmed about *madrassas* working in sub-continent. In other parts of sub-continent where patronage to Ulema was provided by the colonial state but in North West region as mentioned above were arch rivals of colonial Masters. So he was facing two main challenges. First challenge was to present a balance picture of Islam to *pushthuns* following which they could offer resistance to colonial invaders and also to alleviate any loyal inclinations if had been transported from those areas where state-patronized *madrassas* were working. Second challenge was to insulate *pushthuns* from violent fanatics who were arch rivals of colonizers. Actually culturally society was full of blood feuds and if violent principles based on *Jihad* had been penetrated then it could have fanned the bloodshed.

Fiqh is the legal circle of Islam where the Islamic jurisprudence evolves. *Fiqh* as a subject was necessary because the legal interpretation of dispute and administration of justice was based on it. Two things for the non-violent *Anjumans* were very important. First was to envisage a justice system where justice must be speedy, inexpensive and blind towards all statuses of society. Second was to prevent *pushthuns* from following *Fiqh* which had been tailored to vested interest of *Ulemas* and which could have made *Ulemas* omnipotent. Because in that case purpose of dispensation of justice would have been killed and Islam would have been equated to sayings of *Ulemas* as today it is witnessed in the same area. It is the death of legacy of Ghaffar Khan which have led the situation to the place where *pushthuns* are equated to talibans.

8. ISLAMIC ESSENCE OF ANJUMAN MOVEMENT:

Ghaffar Khan brought change in his line of action after attending the Grand Conference held in Mecca in 1926, by laying down the foundational stone of an organization with the name Pushtun Jirga (Pashtun Council). Three walks of life: politics, culture and education was touched upon by this organization in pursuit of its program. Body running the organization possessed the same lot which was educated in schools founded by him. Embryonic organization attracted many towards its structure and functions and in 1929 new lot of volunteers joined it to form organization of *Anjumans* (servant of Gods) (Stepha, 2009).

The ideology and course of strategy was wholly solely Islamic in the sense that the source embodying legitimacy among its adherents required to inject power and life in the body of organization was lessons and teachings of Hadith and Quran. He strongly believed in Last Prophet's legacy of patience and forgiveness. He presented this legacy as strength and source of power for *Anjumans*. He told people that he was going to give them such a weapon that the police and the army would not be able to stand against it. That was the weapon of the Prophet but they were not aware of that (Tendulkar, 1967,22). 'That weapon was patience and righteousness. No

power on earth could stand against that. He further directed his adherents to tell their brethren on reaching their villages that there was an army of God, and its weapon was patience and to ask them to join the army of God. Endure all hardships. If they exercised patience, victory would be theirs (Ibid).

Ghaffar Khan was fully conscious of what nonviolence had meant to a *pushthun*. He ruled out feeling of surprise about according to practice nonviolence. He referred to centuries-old practice of Last Prophet *Hazrat Sayedna Mohammad* (S.A.W.) to show that what he introduced is not something impossible to do for *pushthuns*. Secondly it is ordained by religion Islam and necessary for faith. Third it is a prophetic means of getting rid of an oppressor's stranglehold (*Dallmayr 1999; Lal*) and hence is a distinguished kind of *Jihad* in which a *jihadist* do *jihad* without violence.

Ulemas in North West region of colonial India were anti-establishment and so were followers of *Anjuman* movement (Shah, 2007). This informal, unorganized, and implicit alliance further strengthened the Islamic character of non-violent movement. Moreover the participation and membership of various *ulemas* in *Anjuman* movement clarify that a particular faction of *ulemas* ratified the Islamic legitimacy of movement because had it been against the Islam then *Ulemas* wouldn't have participated in it.

The oath taken by *Khidmatgars* was not free of religious inclinations. Oath consisted of message of selflessness which also remained the message of Sufis. Oath in itself is clarification about the nature of work which a follower has to do and can be considered as term of reference for loyalty to any organization. An Islamic term of reference can only be undertaken if organization will be Islamic along with its objectives. If taking oath is agreement with the objectives of organization then those who took oath before joining *Anjuman* Organization were agreed over Islamic mission and were doing so out of their religiosity. One of the terms of oath was 'All my efforts will be decided to seeking the will of god and not towards mere show or becoming and office-holder' (Ibid).

Legacy of non-violence and its legitimacy were entailing from Islam. Source of inspiration was Last Prophet *Hazrat Mohammad S.A.W.* which shows fundamental Islamic picture of the said movement. He knew that *pushthun* will not be easily ready to do away with their cultural code of revenge unless they had been compelled by religious injunctions. If Ghaffar tried to convince them out of the secular love for peace or out of allegiance to leadership of Ghaffar Khan then no doubt that *pushthuns* might reject not only his ideas but his leadership straightaway as well. But a *pushthun* couldn't finalize his infidelity by questioning the religious injunctions used for legitimacy, let alone the rejection. This fact was in full cognizance of Ghaffar Khan. He created the perception among his followers that non-violence is the sunnah (act) of *Hazrat Mohammad S.A.W.* and choice is yours (of *pushthuns*) to accept it or reject it. Who could have dared to reject it being a Muslim and then being a *pushthun*-Muslim? But he didn't touch upon the *Jihad* which was also the sunnah of Last Prophet S.A.W. and had been a source of legitimacy for his contemporary 'violent' *Ulemas*. This duality was not a contradiction rather it was a message of middle way between two extremes by Last Prophet S.A.W. which had been missed by Ghaffar Khan.

Ghaffar Khan was accused by some of his close associates, including Mian Ahmad Shah, Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar and Mohammad Akbar Khadim, for merging the *Anjumans* with the Hindu-dominated Congress. They were indignant over it as they saw the *Anjumans* losing their separate identity in their merger with the Congress. Ghaffar Khan, however, argued that he had sought the merger as a last resort because the *Pushthuns* needed help from outside the province. He saw no harm in the merger with the Congress. He gave examples from the life of the Holy Prophet who made alliances even with Jews and Christians to protect and safeguard the interests of the Muslims (Shah 2000,18).

Secondly *Khidmatgars* didn't compromise on their religion as a precondition for alliance with Congress. When Ghaffar Khan saw no light at the end of the tunnel and had been turned down by his co-religionists then he unwillingly turned towards All India National Congress. Muslim League-a Muslim dominated body remained always the first option of *Khidmatars* in general and Ghaffar Khan in specific. But there was no space for the wishes of common people or lower class of the society. Feudalistic mindset didn't welcome the objectives of *Khidmatgars* based on classless society. Such class-oriented objectives were perceived threat for class status of political leadership of Muslim League (Ahmed, 2010). So from this, one can also draw the assumption that leadership and politics of Ghaffar Khan was a unique blend of popular politics and religion because symbols, slogans, political figures, sources of legitimacy and attraction of recruits for his movements were linked to Islam in one way or another.

Thirdly, the reason for his alliance was again an Islamic one. He referred to Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) and such a reference was apparently very convincing. It had legitimized his alliance with Gandhi and All India National Congress. In Pakistan, it is the dominant discourse of political and academic circles that anything against Islamic injunctions is clearly against the Pakistan. But such an allegation of being leaguer of Congress had been brushed aside by Ghaffar Khan himself during his lifetime by following Islamic ideology of Islamic law and acting upon Islamic tradition.

Ghaffar Khan brought the act of acceptance of partition plan by Congress in notice of leading activists of that time in a joint meeting between Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, *Anjumans* and other associated organizations which took place at Bannu on 21st June 1947 and tried to evolve a consensual strategy among participants of meeting. All the parties were very disappointed over betrayal of Congress. They vowed to establish an autonomous Pashtun state which will be run under a constitution crafted on traditional Pashtun culture and values. The institutional framework for application of such constitution will embody Islamic concept of democracy, equality and social justice as its governing principles (Ibid; Khan n.d.,1-100).

He was not a frontier Gandhi. He incorporated his non-violence out of true Islamic traditions. His cause, personality, behavior, line of action and means to organize his followers was Islamic. Moreover the perceived constitution of Islamic democratic state of autonomus *Pushthuns* was planned as Islamic. So if the yardstick to gauge the 'Pakistaniat' is to measure the adherence of Islamic principles then no one among the forefathers of Pakistan can be more Pakistani than Ghaffar Khan.

9.CONCLUSION:

His way of practicing Islam and view about it was not evolved against backdrop of society and politics. Picture of Islam with his natural as a religion can be sketched from his personality. Personality of Ghaffar Khan embodied the basic feature of religious piousness which was complete submission to Allah almighty. Such submission denotes annihilation of self. Suffering in life ends when self is finished. This fundamental lesson of selflessness was not only highly regarded by Islam but possesses a valued position in every religion.

The dominant discourse sees Khudai-Khidmatgar movement with its non-violence essence as a ultra secular organization which was in league to atheist communists. Such discourse is not only owned by its colonial writers but also is ratified, propagated and reproduced by *pushthun* nationalists to burnish the image of *Pushthuns* as indignant of talibans. But on the other side 'official nationalism' of Pakistan demanded its pioneers to characterize non-violence of Ghaffar Khan as anti-Islamic due to his alliance as a last political resort with Ghandhi. Such dominant discourse has shadowed the activities going on beneath the surface which were intrinsically of Islamic nature. The slogans, the purpose, the ideological machinery and above all leadership i.e. Ghaffar Khan, all were Islamic. Therefore *Anjuman* movement seems to consist of some staunch Islamic principles/elements. Hence it is necessary to enquire the Islamic nature of what widely known as 'secular', 'nationalist' and 'communism'

Keeping in view, the practical and ideological commitment of Ghaffar Khan to Islam, criticism over his faith seems to be unfounded and baseless. He made his all-out efforts to install Islam as a social order for evolution of an ideal, utilitarian, just and perfect society embodying peace and harmony among the people.. Individualism, based on selfishness was pointed out by him as the cancer of society out of which all forms and kinds of violence emanates.

10.RECOMMENDATIONS:

Historians in particular and intelligentsia, needs to imbibe the universalistic essence of non-violence rooted in life of Ghaffar Khan, in their discourse on pushtun's nationalism. Narrative can thus be generated about non-violence and its recognition in the society of current pushtuns who are passing through deadly wave of intolerance. Such narrative will resolve many disputed issues about which general public are in deep confusion. Confusion about contentious contradiction between secularism and religiosity can be clarified. Debate on contradiction in particular context of pushtun's culture will gain diversity.

Government of Pakistan should carve out the ways and channels through which legacy of Ghaffar Khan can be installed in educational structure of Pakistan. Educational sector consists of important social institutions such as school, colleges, universities etc. All such institutions carry out socialization of individuals living in the society and hence build up the collective behavior and response towards range of issues faced by society. Insertion of contents on non-violence movement of Ghaffar Khan in curriculum will drive the process of socialization towards tolerance, magnanimity, brotherhood and peace. Here it is pertinent to mention that proposed insertion is not opposite to ideology of Pakistan, because both are rooted in Quran and life of last prophet Hazrat Mohammad S.A.W.

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