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# **The Role of Non-violence Legacy in Combating Terrorism**

## **(A Case Study of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa After 9/11)**



**Nadeem Ahmad**

**Department of Anthropology  
Quaid-i-Azam University  
Islamabad  
2015**





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## **(A Case Study of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa After 9/11)**



**Nadeem Ahmad**

Thesis submitted to the Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Science in Anthropology.

Department of Anthropology  
Quaid-i-Azam University  
Islamabad  
2015



## **Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad**

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### **Final Approval of Thesis**

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## FORMAL DECLARATION

I hereby, declare that I have produced the present work by myself and without any aid other than those mentioned herein. Any ideas taken directly or indirectly from third party sources are indicated as such.

This work has not been published or submitted to any other examination board in the same or a similar form.

I am solely responsible for the content of this thesis.

Islamabad, December 2015



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Nadeem Ahmad



To

**“Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek and Its Legacy who are Struggling for the Pakhtun Cause  
Through Non-violence Philosophy”**

*(Jwandi De Pa Jwandun Ke Ye Shak Mh Kawa Dervesha,  
La Shta De Pa Tolana Ke Da Saa Ghondi Sa Khalak)*

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**Nadeem Ahmad Takkar**

## ABSTRACT

The present study is about the 'Role of Non-violence Legacy in Combating Terrorism'. The fieldwork for the present study was conducted in five districts of KP from March 2013 to September 2013. The main findings of the research based on interviews of fifty-eight people including academicians, politicians, literary people, artist, and singers who are the legacy of non-violent Khudai Khidmatgar Movement of Bacha Khan and had a major role in the countering of terrorism through non-violence philosophy.

The current research is divided into seven chapters, first chapter is the introduction, second is review of literature, third one describes locale, chapter fourth, fifth and sixth are based on fieldwork data and the seventh chapter concludes. Qualitative research method was use for the research.

The legacy of non-violence is the continuity of KKM (Khudai Khidmatgar Movement) that started in the early twentieth century by Abdul Ghaffar Khan Alias Bacha Khan to bring reforms in Pakhtun society, to unite Pakhtuns and to take freedom from British imperialism. The movement was based on non-violence philosophy and brings a drastic change in Pakhtun culture and society.

The KKM transformed from social to political with the passage of time. After the partition of subcontinent, the movement emerged in the shape of political party and struggled against the establishment and dictatorships. They criticized the project of Afghan Jihad as well as the emergence of Taliban in KP after 9/11. The legacy of the non-violence struggled through political as well as artistic ways to promote a narrative of peace and non-violence and for that; they counter the narrative of Taliban and resisted Taliban's through non-violent strategies. They arranged different events among the masses to raise the awareness of people and countering terrorism and were successful in the non-violent resistance to Taliban's, and for which they paid a high price in the form of target killings and suicide bomb attacks but never lose faith on non-violence philosophy and non-violent struggle.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Background

After 9/11, no other region perhaps in the world and surely in Pakistan that has been effected by the terrorism as it has been the KP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in Pakistan. Everyone and each aspect of life is been affected by militancy particularly after 9/11. Post 9/11 life in KP is effected by militancy that left traces on all expressions and manifestations of social life. The change is manifested in many forms including the increase in barricades, check posts, policing, presence of military and show of power and weapons. These manifestations are easy to decipher as 'fear of violence' and a concomitant 'violence' and 'counter-violence-violence. This all-around presence of pitfalls of militancy has implications for the political system and civil political order in the area were investigated.

However, on the other hand this region has been termed by Toynbee quoted by Mukulika as 'radiant' (Banerjee, 2000) region of Khyber- Pakhtunkhwa. Toynbee terming the region as radiant perhaps he has attached importance to its geographical location that it has captured. 'Radiance' is a metaphorical expression of violence and an expression of bravery. The researcher argument is adding as well as differing in some way for the Toynbee argument. KKM transformed the concept of bravery and revenge by replacing violence with tolerance and knowledge (education). The education and tolerance is the basis of non-violence philosophy of KKM. There exist a gap in this radiant conception in a sense that more than geographical location its radiant features is more reflected in one other factor that is little appreciated or acknowledged in the Pakistani scholarship before and after 9/11. This important factor is the researcher wants to explain or highlight *the legacy of non-violence of KKM (Khudai Khidmatgar Movement) and its role in combating terrorism and militancy.*

This study will answer that how the legacy of non-violence has been combating militancy in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa after 9/11, by describing the legacy of non-violence of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. In addition to this, the study describes; what is mean by the non-violence philosophy, and the legacy of non-violence of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

## 1.2. Statement of the Problem

Many researchers had studied the current prevalence of terrorism and its different aspects. Some studies have shown the causes and roots of terrorism in society. These studies investigated about the causes of terrorism, about how terrorism works, and why terrorism takes place in society. Some other studies investigated that how people are combating terrorism and how states and societies deal with terrorism, using different strategies. These studies show terrorism as a giant social evil and the various ways through which it can be controlled like using military force and through dialogue. In the context of Pakhtun society, many military operations occurred during last thirteen years in different areas of KP and FATA (Federally Administrative Tribal Area). The state has done operations almost in every agency of FATA along many districts of KP. The social scientists studied about these military operations and its social, economic, political, and psychological consequences on people and society.

Very few studies have shown that how the non-violent movements countered terrorism through non-violence philosophy and non-violent strategies. In Pakhtun society, there is a history of non-violent resistance in different times and periods. The historical roots of that non-violent resistance can be traced back to the time when Bacha Khan started his non-violent movement named as Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek. Bacha Khan started his movement in the times of British imperialism in the subcontinent. That movement resisted British colonialism through different non-violent tools and strategies. While after the partition of subcontinent the movement transformed into political party named NAP (National Awami Party). NAP struggled for provincial rights and sustaining democracy in the state and struggled against the dictatorship of Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and Zia Ul Haq. Beside that struggle NAP was the only party who strongly criticized Pakistani support to Saudi Arabia and USA in the project of Afghan Jihad against USSR. The NAP leadership was of the opinion that supporting Afghan Jihad will cause violence, and militancy in Pakistan and especially in KP and FATA.

After 9/11 when USA announced war on terror, the militancy and terrorism increased in KP and FATA. The legacy of non-violence actively struggled against militancy and terrorism in KP and FATA through non-violent strategies. The current research is to make an effort to examine the survival strategy of the non-violent movement by investigating the historical background of this non-violent movement. It will show that how in different periods the non-violent movement and

it legacy has interacted with the violent actors of the society. The prime focus of the study is the current situation of terrorism in Pakhtun areas and that how the legacy of KKM is combating terrorism in Pakhtun society. The study will show that how the non-violent legacy of Bacha Khan resisted the wave of terrorism by using different non-violent strategies. The study will cover the different manifestations of non-violent struggle. That how the nonviolence legacy is struggling through political means such as arranging *Jalsa's* (public gatherings), corner meetings, through changing the curriculum and through dialogues with Taliban. The study will also examine the nonviolent struggle through art such as literature and music and the expressions and ways of resistance through art.

### 1.3. Objectives

- To trace out the historical roots of non-violence legacy in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa;
- To investigate the different manifestations of non-violent legacy;
- To find out the role of non-violence legacy in combating terrorism,

### 1.4. Significance of the Study

The present research will be helpful for the academicians in understanding the effectiveness of the non-violence philosophy and non-violent strategies in countering terrorism. This research will also help to understand the nature of social movements in Pakhtun Society. The current study will provide deeper insight to the current researches on terrorism. This will also be fruitful for the policy makers to utilize the findings of the research to enrich the effective counter terrorism policy. The research will also depict and reason how a non-violent movement struggle in postcolonial states. It will also be helpful for the mass of society to understand the non-violence resistance and its effectiveness while combating terrorism and militancy.

## 1.5. Conceptualization of Key Terms

### Non-violence

So, for the purpose of this study, non-violence may be explained as a complex whole of attitudes ideas, behaviors, actions, gestures, statements, and any other expressions that inflict negative impact on the victim.

Non-violence according to some researchers is the mere absence of violence while dealing with a situation. Their view about non-violence is just neglecting violent means (Bondurant, 1965). While some others have described non-violence in a more classified and sophisticated way, that just the absence of violence did not relate to non-violence, but there are some non-violent actions, disciplined rules and a whole class of activities along with behavior, attitude, and lifestyle. Approaches that undertake non-violence are efficient and ethical means for dealing a dispute, conflict, or political instability (Sharp, 1973).

### Non-violence as a Philosophy

Mohandas K. Gandhi, viewed non-violence as a philosophy of life,. Being harmless or lacking the desire to harm or kill under every condition for achieving your aims. (Bondurant, 1965) (Pelton, 1974). Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence is guided by three basic principles throughout his life, i.e. *Ahimsa*, *Satyagraha*, and *Tapasya*. To understand the concept of Gandhi's Non-violence philosophy one should be fully aware of the in-depth knowledge lay down by these three principles. Throughout his life, he followed these principles in every sort of either actions relating to his personal or public life.

### Non-violence as a Behavior

As a behavior, non-violence is defined as "pure thoughts, words, and deeds which didn't lead to consequences of hurting, injuring, killing any form of life (Sharp G. , 1979). Some other explained non-violence as relating to those actions, which protects the nature, earth, and life. These actions lead to the forbidding and abandoning of violence, while often they have risky consequences for the performer. While according to Bondurant non-violence is the execution of power, force, or influence for bringing a change without providing harm or injury to the opponents. (Bondurant, 1965)

### Non-violence Legacy of KKM

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan known as Bacha Khan promoted the philosophy of non-violence through Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in Pakhtun society. Khudai Khidmatgar Movement was

a non-violent movement, emerged in the wake of violent resistance to British rule with some of the same participants. The people who own non-violence philosophy and struggling for combating terrorism through non-violent strategies is the legacy of a social movement named Khudai Khidmatgar Movement started in Utmanzai in 1928 based on non-violence philosophy. They are from different ways of life such as political activist, social workers, and artist like poets, literary people, singers and musicians. The legacy of non-violence struggled through non-violent strategies to combat terrorism and still struggling to avail peace and non-violence in Pakhtun society.

### **Terrorism**

The term terrorism is not been comprehensively defined until now, mostly because of the different approaches towards the context of the term by various legal systems and government agencies. The term terrorism being politically charge provides with much more difficulties for the international community to formulate its definition. Attempt by the United Nations, to define the terrorism remained unsuccessful mainly because of the differences of various members about the contextual use of violence in conflicts over national liberation and self-determination. This difference in opinions and views has made it impossible to conclude a single solid acceptable definition of terrorism (Martyn, 2002). However, in social science the term terrorism can be describe as the use of violent means in a planned and systemic way to attain certain political goals. It is a planned and organized procedure followed by a group, party, or state to achieve their aims through the execution of violent means. The aims are not only to cause physical, economic, and mental sufferings but also to psychologically terrorize the victims (Kaur, 2005).

## **1.6. Research Methodology**

The research methodology used for this study was ethnography. However, given the extend of geographical spread and constraint of time, 'case study' methodology was used to keep multi-locale ethnography more focused. According to Peltó and Gretel, a scientific research can be approach from multiple ways; in this way a number of alternative ways can be adopt to observe the relevant phenomenon. Thus, more than one measure and observation in the study of particular cultural institution can be adopted to reach your concern goal through multi-instrument methodology. It means Questionnaires, projective tests, specialized behavioral observation or the



fieldworker to special requirements of the local scene must adopt modes of informal-interviewing (Pelto & Gretel, 1978).

The above-mentioned methodology and strategy were used to extract and discern the historical background of non-violence legacy and its role in combating terrorism through means of politics and art. That how the nonviolence philosophy and struggled promoted in Pakhtun region, how it transformed in different time of shapes to the current scenario and how the legacy of nonviolence is contributing to combat the current militancy and terrorism. Hence, to cover the whole phenomenon of non-violence in Pakhtun society, the methodology is been divided systematically in the following manner.

### **1.7.1. Rapport Building**

The most important task in anthropological fieldwork is image development in the eyes of natives called rapport building. In the initial days of fieldwork, mostly the native population, who encounters you on daily basis and develops the different schemas in their minds regarding the field observer. Thus, the researcher encounters different and strange questions regarding his basic motives behind the research regarding their community. Hence he needs the help of the native assistance to introduce him and his work, thus to counter the wrong images in the mind of these people and developed a sincere and straight forward image in their eyes regarding his real motive behind the field work. It can easily help him to interact and penetrate in the given society and feel himself native among them.

Rapport is the state shared by two or more individual tools whose behavior; thinking and value come alignment, regardless of the “content” of their objectives or outcome.

Regardless of the context or objectives, rapport is the interpersonal glue that enables cross-functional and cross-cultural business success. (Marshall & Rossman, 1989)

In the present research, this methodology is been followed with great care and consciousness. During the fieldwork in five different districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, rapport building has been remaining the most important priority throughout the field. The tool of rapport building was used all the time in fieldwork as to multi locale study. Without rapport building one cannot penetrate in the native way of life neither could understand their point of view about the different things in their lives. Thus, it is the means to participate in the given community. Especially in the traditional communities, who do not accept any stranger in their personal lives; can only be

approach through these means of participation.

### 1.7.2. Key Informants

In the anthropological fieldwork, the key informants referred to those intermediates, who work like a bridge between community and researcher. It means after rapport building, the next task for a good field worker, is to choose his key informants. A good informant can lead one to most reliable and valid research. Due to such importance of this intermediate the researcher must spend a maximum time while choosing his informants.

After selecting the trust worthy informants, it is also essential to inform the informants regarding your research aim and goal, thus to developed the mutual understanding regarding the required approach in field. It means "More than one who controls a lot of information of a culture and willing' to talk to you" (Barnard, 1988).

Keeping in view such importance of key informants in the anthropological work; in the present research, every key informant has been selected with great care and understanding. Regarding current research topic nature, mostly the KKM legacy has been remain the main key informants. Most of them were poets, musicians, researchers, intellectuals etc. everyone has contributed on their behalf and remain as a means of communication in the given local. The part of them did not only guide me but also enrich my findings in different spheres of my research.

*List of Key Informants:*

#### 1. *Dr. Khadim Hussain*

- Age: 56 Years
- Qualification: PhD
- Occupation: Director Bacha Khan Educational Trust, Visiting Professor in Quaid e Azam University.

#### 2. *Zafar Iqrar*

- Age: 33 Years
- Qualification: Matriculate
- Occupation: Singer and Musician.

#### 3. *Mushtaq Yousafzai*

- Age: 63 Years
- Qualification: M.A Pashto

- Occupation: Poet and Editor of Pakhtun Magazine founded by Bacha Khan.

#### **4. *Sardar Hussain Babak***

- Age : 46 years
- Qualification: M.A Journalism
- Occupation: Politician, Provincial Information Sectary Awami National Party Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Ex information Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa during ANP government

#### **5. Dr. Waheed Ullah**

- Age: 57 years
- Qualification: PhD
- Occupation: Chairman Department of Pashto, University of Peshawar

#### **6. Himayat Ullah Mayar**

- Age: 47 years
- Qualification: LLB
- Occupation: Ex member of National Assembly and President of ANP (Awami National Party) Mardan District

#### **7. Faiz Muhammad Kaka**

- Age: 81 years
- Qualification: B.A
- Occupation: Khudai Khidmatgar, Social Worker and Leader of Islaahi Jirga in Swabi.

#### **8. Sulaiman Khan Yousafzai**

- Age: 28
- Qualification: M.Phil
- Occupation: Social worker, Lecturer in Private College.

#### **9. Shakeeb Uddin Takkar**

- Age: 26
- Qualification: M.A Pashto
- Occupation: Member of Literary Society

### **1.7.3. Participant Observation**

What distinguishes Anthropology from other social sciences is participant observation as its basic research identity. In which the researcher participates in daily life activities of the native community, during which he tries to understand the reality around the people from their point of view. Thus, the very participant observation makes it possible to understand and comprehend the whole ideas behind any logic of particular culture. Which makes Anthropology complete in its scientific sense.

Keeping in view such importance of participant observation in the fieldwork, the present research has done under the required terms and conditions of participant observation. During the field work in five different districts, the multiple daily life activities such as Jirga, academic seminars, political gatherings, literary festivals and literary gathering, public as well as corner meetings, music gathering and painting competitions etc. has been attended as means of participant observation during my research work. These formal and informal activities and gatherings have served as ultimate source of data collection. This did not only enrich my research data but also guided it in particular and organized way. The field-worker observes detail of daily life and activity enacted by people who become relatively indifferent to an unabashed by the presence of the foreigner. The field-worker sees element of daily-life repeated over again and again" (Pelto & Gretel, 1978).

### **1.7.4. Sampling**

As sampling is turned one of the best ways in scientific methodology to represent the whole, which helps not only in collecting the precise data but also in providing the logical arguments during the representation of the whole research project.

"A sample is the name implies in a smaller representation of larger whole" (Goode & Hatt, 1952). Hence due to such importance of sampling in collecting and explaining the data, it is used during the fieldwork in five districts of KP. Further, to make it more precise and reliable source of data collection, the following ways of conducting sampling used.

#### **1.7.4.1. Judgemental Sampling**

Judgmental Sampling has used as the main strategy for producing the required data and information according to the nature of my research topic. Under which the choice of respondents have directly guided by the judgment of researcher. Thus under this strategy, different prominent



members of the legacy of the KKM has been consulted and articulated the information under the required rules of judgmental sampling. The samples have been articulated and produced according to the judgment of researcher in five districts of KP.

#### **1.7.4.2. Snow-Ball sampling**

To make the present research more reliable and valid, the Snowball sampling has been used along with Judgmental sampling. Hence, according to principals of this way conducting research, different party member of KKM have been consulted to further provide and made the link to other relevant persons, who have been also the part of this movement and having the in-depth information about the nature of my research topic. In such particular help, most of the attached members were helpful in suggesting and organizing meeting with other required persons for interview and in-depth discussions.

#### **1.7.5. In-depth Interviews**

An important part of the research, interviews has been also taken seriously in the present research. Both formal and informal ways of conducting interviews have been used as source of generating relevant and precise information. Especially the focus has been remained on the informal interviews, in which the researcher tries his best to keep the environment friendly and extract the valid and reliable data. Further in-depth interviews have been conducted with different particular personalities of the KKM and its legacy. The in-depth interviews were conducted on the basis of sampling. Social workers, political activist, academicians, intellectuals, poets, literary people, singers and musicians were interviewed. This further remained as a source of great guidance and information.

#### **1.7.6. Focused Group Discussions**

During the fieldwork, beside sampling and interviews, group discussions have been also the main source of finding and data availability. For this purpose, such discussions have been conducted with different groups. The first discussion has been conducted with different local and regional poets of Pashto language in Peshawar city, in this way the second group has been targeted the political party members of ANP. While the third group of focus was musician and



artist and in last the intellectual and researcher groups have been also kept in touch along with continue field work.

### **1.7.7. Case Study Method**

Conducting an anthropological research is like focusing on so many issues at same time. This requires utilization of different research techniques. Therefore the case study as a source and part of research, has been also remained the important part of research. Different case studies have been discern in detail and linked to the nature of findings and exploring. It does not only enrich my findings about nonviolent resistance to combat terrorism but also shed the light on historical roots of KKM and its legacy. Case study has been remained the important source of exploring the in-depth knowledge about this movement.

### **1.7.8. Daily Diary**

The researcher used daily diary through the fieldwork as well as before and after the fieldwork. In daily diary, the researcher noted the important things, events, dates, contacts of respondents, and important ideas during the interviews and focus group discussions. The daily diary was also very useful in probing the questions from respondents, as the researcher writes all the important questions in daily diary, which came into mind during interview and asks after and during the interview or discussion. In anthropological fieldwork, the tool of using daily diary is important.

A daily dairy on the other hand is personal you absolutely need a diary in the field. It will help you deal with loneliness, fear and other emotions that make fieldwork difficult. Your dairy will become on important professional document. It will give you information that will help you interpret your field notes and will make you aware of your personal biases (Russel, 1994)

According to the above-mentioned importance of daily dairy has been used as a source of knowing the particular emotions and experiences during the fieldwork and its impact on the data collection, thus to erase the biasness from the collect data, this method of writing in daily diary has been adopted, while to making my work more scientific and accurate. The important contacts and addresses were also written in daily diary.

#### **1.7.9. Field Notes**

Field notes is the elaborate and detail form of daily dairy notes. The researcher used the method randomly in the fieldwork. Beside daily diary notes, further explanation also added from voice-recorded interviews. It did help in recalling the important details about so many events and incidents during my fieldwork and then organizing the whole data for final writing of thesis. Thus at each stage of my work, recorded interviews and daily diary has been a great source of recalling the exact detail of each event. Field notes were also helpful in the writing of final dissertation.

#### **1.7.10. Photography and Recording**

During my fieldwork, photography and recording have been also served as a source of accumulating and preserving the visual and voice data. It helped me later in particular aspect of organizing and concluding the whole research project. Interview also helped in writing field notes in an organized way. Further, it also preserved Conscious experiences of my fieldwork and the response of community in its actual and real form.

#### **1.7.11. Multi Sited Ethnography**

Before discussing the locale in details, it is highlighted for the readers that it is multi-locale study. The reason of the selection of the multi-locale is that the sufficient volume of data could not be furnished from specific locale like one village, street, or town for such type of topic, which the researcher investigates. So therefore, the researcher opted for multi-locale study.

The locale in general is KP for the study under investigation. As it is evident and the researcher has stated in the beginning that the terrorism has effected it badly but it is also the region that is custodian of the legacy of KKM.

However, the more focused locale for the study is the valley of Peshawar and the district of Swat. The reason for focus on the Peshawar valley is that as compare to the other districts and region of KP the Peshawar valley has been remained very rich bastion of the non-violence movement and its legacy across the Indus. Second reason is that it is from this valley that the militancy has been resisted form the people adherent to the non-violence philosophy and practice of this region. The reason of the focus on Swat is that the militants almost controlled this district.



This was the only district where the propagators of nonviolence philosophy suffered more and the nonviolence legacy directly resisted to Taliban's in this district.

Districts where research was conducted are Peshawar, Mardan, Swabi and Charsada of Peshawar Valley and Swat district of Malakand Division.

## **1.7. Thesis Outline**

The current research work is divided in seven chapters described briefly below.

### **Chapter 1**

The first chapter is about the plan of research project. It gives an overall view of the research plan; topic's historical background, the research questions, statement of the problem, significance of research and objectives. The researcher specified the research topic by conceptualizing the key terms. The research methods and tools used in fieldwork are also discussed in this chapter. At the end, the locale of the research is discussed for the understanding of research plan, research questions, objectives of research and the methodology used in fieldwork.

### **Chapter 2**

The second chapter sheds light on literature and theoretical framework. The literature is further divided in four segments. The first segment is about the social movements and nonviolent social movements. The philosophy of non-violence and the use of non-violent strategies are also discussed in this segment with examples non-violent movements and non-violent resistances in the world. The second segment is about the historical roots and the promotion of non-violence philosophy in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The transformation of nonviolent movement in different stages of time to the current scenario is also discussed. The third segment is about terrorism. In this segment, the terrorism and its root in Pakhtun region are discussed. In the last segment, the current shape of non-violence legacy and their strategies of resisting militancy are discussed.

### **Chapter 3**

The third chapter is about the locale where the fieldwork was conducted. The research was multi locale and was conducted in five districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa that are Peshawar, Mardan,

Charsada, Swabi and Swat. The history of the area and its relevance with KKM is discussed in the beginning. The basic facilities, communication ways, economy, culture, and social organization of the research locale are briefly discussed in this chapter.

#### **Chapter 4**

This chapter contain the data gathered in the fieldwork through observation and interviews. The historical roots and promotion of non-violence philosophy in KPK has been discussed. That how the movement emerged and how it progressed in Pakhtun society. The ideology, history, and reforms brought by KKM by using different non-violent strategies are discussed in this chapter. Moreover, the transformation of KKM into the current situation and shape is also discussed in this chapter.

#### **Chapter 5**

Chapter fifth is also based on the fieldwork data. The rise of militancy and its impact on society, culture, and daily life is discussed in this chapter. The political struggle of nonviolence legacy in the form of public gatherings, corner meetings, protest, seminars, and dialogues are discussed in this chapter. The ways and strategies of nonviolent resistant are briefly discussed in this chapter through field data.

#### **Chapter 6**

In this chapter, the relation of art and non-violence in Pakhtun society is discussed. The shape and pattern of Pashto literature, poetry, and music before and after KKM are discussed here. The propagation and promotion of nonviolence philosophy through art is also discussed in this chapter. The main focus of the chapter is that how the artist are combating the current terrorism. The nonviolent ways of artists like poets, literary people, singers, and musician are also discussed in this chapter. The data of this chapter also based on findings of fieldwork data.

#### **Chapter 7**

The final chapter contains the conclusion and summary of the current research.

## 2. REVIEW OF LITRATURE

Literature review provide theoretical framework for the research. Literature review is the basic of every research and through literature review, the researcher investigate research questions. For the present topic, which is “The role of Non-violence legacy in combating terrorism”, the researcher had studied some literature which is elaborated in details in the following segment.

Before discussing the historical roots of nonviolence and its current resistance to terrorism in KP, the researcher will briefly discuss the study of social movements in anthropology, the effectiveness of non-violence philosophy and strategy in social movements, and the examples of non-violent movement across the world. It will give a brief sketch that how different non-violent movements became successful. It will be helpful to understand the promotion and transformation of non-violent movement of Bacha Khan. It will also help to understand the way of resistance in KP and the strategies of non-violent legacy in combating terrorism.

### 2.1. Social Movements in Anthropology

The study of social movements in anthropology was absent until 1970s, Escobar criticize the role of anthropology in documenting and focusing on social movements before 1970s, when other discipline of social science focused on social movement and produce a whole body of literature (Escobar, 1992). Different anthropologist and writers define social movements in different ways. Eyerman and Jamison tells about social Movement that the basic purpose of social Movement is to create new ideas and replace old ideas to get the society updated with changing societal norms and traditions. To give new ideas, thoughts and solution to new existing unsolved problems in society. Thus, social Movements are base on new ideas that give the society solution to their problems (Ron & Jamison, 1991). According to Nick Crossley, social movements emerge in the result of collective actions and efforts of the people to solve the crisis and needs of the human society. Feminist Movements, Nationalist Movements, Labor Movements, Environmental Movements, Animal rights Movements and Peace Movements are the examples of social movements (Crossley, 2002). The social movements emerging from the crisis of modernity are shaping themselves towards the constitution of new orders and embodying a new understanding of social life and politics. The social movements also result in the formation of collective



identities, which foster social and cultural forms of relating and solidarity as a response to the crisis of meanings and economies that the world faces today (Escobar, 1992).

### **2.1.1. Non-violent Social Movements**

Different social scientist defined non-violence in their own ways; some define it as a philosophy of life as Gandhi does (Bondurant, 1965). Some people define non-violence as the absence of violence (Pelton, 1974), while some others explain it as a strategy to achieve goal without any violence to a person or persons working to thwart ones goal achievement (Sharp, 1973). Different groups, ethnicities, and nations struggled to achieve their goals through non-violent resistances and became successful. One example of such non-violent movement was in Hungary. The people of Hungary resisted through non-violence during the mid- nineteenth century, when the Austrian emperor Franz Josef tried to subordinate Hungary to the Austrian power. The people of Hungary at that time resisted through non-violent struggle such as, boycott of goods, civil disobedience, and many other non-violent strategy. Through that non-violent struggle, the people of Hungary gained victory. The emperor capitulated and gave Hungary her constitution (Gregg, 1959). The non-violent movement by Indian labors in Africa is another example of non-violent struggle. It was the start of nineteenth century, when many of Indians were working in Natal mines. Working for years in mines, they entered into trade, farming and then started to compete with Europeans. In 1906, 12500 Indians crossed the border to Transvaal and settled in Transvaal. The Government of Transvaal passed a bill that the Indians will require to be registered by fingerprint otherwise they will be subject to punishment and even will be deported if not registered. Through a mass protest lead by M.K Gandhi, Indians refused to register. The Government of Transvaal put the leadership and some others in jail. The prime minister then promised to repeal the law if the Indians get registered. Indians get registered but the government passed another bill in which they modified the old laws. Moreover, a European Judge of Transvaal Supreme Court made a court decision which make further problems for Indians. In the result of which Gandhi started non-violent struggle, organized a march and protest and pressurized the government to accept their demands. This movement became very successful and the British accepted all their demands (Gregg, 1959).



## 2.2. History of Non-violence in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

If we look in the context of our country, a somehow similar non-violent movement started in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, which was known as Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. Bacha Khan who was the leader of this movement propagated his non-violence philosophy through this movement in Pakhtun areas (Johansen, 1997). The movement which started by Bacha Khan was different from other non-violent movements in many ways. As conventional wisdoms says that the non-violent movement emerges from the peaceful culture when it confronts genteel enemy. Conventional wisdom argument aside, but the case of Abdul Ghaffar Khan stood differently when he organized Pakhtuns against British rule on non-violent philosophy who were depicted as warriors and violent people in western literature (Kurtz, 2011). The movement was started in 1928 in the continuity of Tanzeem Islaah-ul-Afaghina (Reformation movement for Afghans) and Zalmi Pakhtun (Youth Organization) (Shah, 2007). The prime focus of the movement was to eradicate social evils from Pakhtun society, to promote education, economic reforms, religious reforms, and elimination of internal clan feuds (Shah, 2007). This movement of Bacha Khan focused on various social, political, and religious reforms. The main philosophy behind these reforms was non-violence. He was not only the propagator of non-violence but he also gave practical shape of non-violence in the events of the Babarra and Qissa khwani bazar (Gandhi, 2004).

As one of the basic aim of the KKM was to get liberation from the British and it needed an organized political struggle. The KKM was aimed at getting freedom from British rule, its leaders mobilized their Pakhtun fellows (Khudai Khidmatgar's) towards their goal through socio-religious reforms and economic modernization. This movement was instrumental in organizing the people against the British Raj.

Bacha Khan noticed that freedom movements in the region against British were of two types; one was violent/ armed struggle and the other was non-violent struggle. He said that the violent movement produces hatred and more violence, and that the non-violent movement creates love and brotherhood (Kurtz, 2011). Bacha Khan in almost every speech constantly emphasized certain fundamental objectives of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement which were; National unity, Hindu-Muslim brotherhood, Service for humanity and Freedom through non-violence (Marwat, 2009). Bacha Khan opposed violence in any form and for any purpose and appealed his

followers to do so. Violence always creates a sense of hatred and this hatred ultimately destroys the societies. The starting progression of violence, itself is a manifestation of moral deterioration, has been retarding progress on all fronts. If some individual or group supports violence and terrorism in any form and for whatever objective, that group or person would ultimately fall in trouble and a prey of violence itself (Marwat, 2008).

This movement also struggled for the equal rights of all citizens in a state. After partition of the Sub-Continent, Bacha Khan continued his struggle with this aim of equal citizenship. Bacha Khan said that I consider it a crime to be a slave. Therefore, until we establish in this country a true people's government under which every community secures equal opportunities for expansion, you will find me struggling for freedom, no matter who dominates the scene (Esawaran, 1984)

Many people have written their viewpoints about the movement of Bacha Khan. In 1947, Nehru wrote that, Bacha Khan struggled against different odds at different places. He struggled to unite Pakhtun among themselves and against British through non-violent philosophy. He and Congress party due to common adversary came closer but partition of India made them alienated. After independence, he tried to unite different parts of Pakhtun region. He remained an advocate of non-violence in the newly created state after 1947. He preached brotherhood, unity, philosophy of constructivism against destruction and division before and after 1947. Kurts (2011) has quoted Nehru tribute about Ghaffar that;

The man who lived his gun better than his child or brother, who valued life cheaply and didn't care for death. Who avenged the slightest insult with the thrust of a dagger, has suddenly become the bravest and most enduring of India's non-violent soldiers. That was due undoubtedly to the influence of one man—Abdul Ghaffar Khan—whose word was almost law to his people, for they loved and trusted him.

### **2.2.1. Khudai Khidmatgars and Partition**

After the partition of India, Bacha Khan wanted to work for the betterment of the newly formed state. In the constituent assembly of Pakistan, he reiterated his will and ambitions. He said that if the government of Pakistan would work for the betterment of people and country, then the KKS would be with them.

He said that;

I repeat that I am not for the destruction of Pakistan. If there is any constructive program with you, if you want to do something constructive for our people, not in theory but in practice, I declare it before this honorable house that I and my people are at your service (Marwat, 2010).

After partition the movement of Bacha Khan was mainly focused in Pakhtun areas and it shaped into a Pakhtun nationalist movement. Bacha Khan was conscious to his society problems. He had devoted his life for the protection of the rights of Pakhtuns. In this connection he desired to unite the divided tribes of Pakhtuns, spread out from Baluchistan to Chitral, into one single community and brotherhood. So that they could collectively share their sorrows and joys. He argued that the Pakhtuns have been depicted as quarrelsome nation. Now we had to show to the world that what civilized mean (Gandhi, 2004).

### **2.2.2. History of National Awami Party**

After partition, the KKM undergone through a paradigm shift and its organization moved into a new political party which was National Awami Party. National Awami Party was established on July 25, 1957, as a result of a split in the Awami League (Mehmud, 1984). Maulana Abdul Hamid Bashani, the East Pakistan Chief of the Awami League, differed with the party president, Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy (Mehmud, 2003). Similarly the West Pakistan's PNP (Pakistan National Party) merged into NAP. The PNP itself was union of the six parties i.e. Azad Pakistan Party, Red Shirts, Sindh Awami Mahaz, Sindh Hari Committee, Wror Pakhtoon and Ustaman Gal (Mehmud, 1984). Its formal convention was held in Dhaka in July 1957. The NAP was formally launched with Bashani as a head of this organizing committee. These all groups that had merged into National Awami Party were secular in nature.

Among the various group of the west wing, only Azad Pakistan Party had participated and favored the Pakistan demand. Whereas, all other groups had asserted the regional politics rather than the Pakistan Movement. Some of the NAP leaders including Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and Prince Karim who had never subscribed to the Muslim League politics. In fact, they had opposed the demand of Pakistan and sided with the Congress in the freedom struggle, and another leader, G. M. Syed, a former leaguer, was now working for a vague plan of Sindhu Desh (an independent state for Sindhis) (Mehmud, 2003).



They promoted the idea of socialism to an extent that even the landlord also participated in their campaign. In this regard Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din would be set as a best example. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, once an active Muslim Leaguer from Punjab, also joined them. He was at one time president of the Punjab Muslim League (1948). Known for his leftist views, he propagated socialism despite the fact that he himself was the big landlord. To make long story short, it can be stated that NAP stood for the abolishing of feudalism, peasant-proprietor relationship and securing the right of the working class (Ahmed, 1982).

The manifesto or the main objective of the NAP relates to the circumstances prevailed at that era. During that era, when NAP was established, Pakistan was in faltering position. It was confronted by various internal political problems due to the wrong policies of the materialistic and opportunistic politicians. The main objectives of the NAP consist of; dissolution of One Unit, Provincial Autonomy, Independent foreign policy, Radical economic reforms and Abrogation of defense pact (Aziz, 1976).

One Unit was formed in 1954. As result of this, two wings were formed. The people of the East Pakistan had grievances about this One Unit. They were of the view that the consolidation of the West Pakistan into One Unit Province and its parity with East Pakistan in the National Assembly could be understood as an attempt to safeguard the center from a populist Bengali challenges (Mehmud, 2003). The NAP was formed in reaction to this One Unit. Their manifesto consisted of the dissolution of the One Unit. NAP, since its creation, emphasized the idea of provincialism. While championing the cause of the provincial autonomy, it demanded the establishment of Pakhtunistan for Pakhtuns, Sindhu Desh for Sindhis and Baluchistan for the Baluchis (Mehmud, 2003).

As mentioned earlier NAP was formed by various political groups in which most of the people were socialists in thoughts. Then there were also some internal groupings in the party. There were also two factions in the NAP. One faction was NAP (Wali group) which was tilted toward Moscow. Whereas the second faction NAP (Bashani group) was tilted toward Beijing. Since the creation of Pakistan, its foreign policy is being turned toward USA. So therefore, followers of NAP supported the idea of non-aligned foreign policy.

NAP leaders also tried their best to bring drastic economic reforms. However, there were differences of opinion within the NAP leaders. Bashani favored the idea of economic reform and labor rights. Whereas, Bacha Khan and Samad Khan Achakzai favored the idea of dissolution of One Unit (Mehmud, 2003). Throughout its life, the NAP remained the strong opponent to the tilted foreign policy of Pakistan. NAP throughout martial law as well as Bhutto regime forced the government to remain neutral in the global power game and to improve bilateral relations (Afzal, 1988).

During the martial law regime, the NAP suffered more than any other party because of its strong political views. During this regime, political activities were restrained. The NAP chiefs, Maulana Abdul Hameed Bashani, including the other top leaders were detained. This detention was so much delayed that they could not get time for its revival. Due to detention of its top leaders, NDF provided a safe platform to its leaders and workers. Although, the NDF did not recognize the NAP's main demand for the dissolution of One Unit and non-aligned foreign policy. Maulana Bashani's release from the detentions in November 1962, caused a country wide demonstrations (Afzal, 1988).

One section of the NAP supported the ideas of its revival whereas the other section opposed. At the same time, Ayub Khan's foreign policy and rift in the international communist movement constantly fuelled tensions in its ranks. The process began with the development of Pakistan's close relations with People Republic of China. The East wing of NAP was pro-Beijing whereas the West wing of NAP was pro-Moscow (Mehmud, 2003). So, when Bashani led a semi-official delegation to Beijing, he had a meeting with Chairman Mao Tse Tung and Prime Zhou En Lia, who advised him to adopt a soft policy toward Ayub Khan (Ali T. , 1970). Whereas, the West wing initiated open demonstration against the Ayub for being the member of the capitalist bloc and assisting USA against USSR. So, as a result of this, rift widened between the East wing and the West wing of NAP.

In 1964, once again the efforts started for the revival of the party. The party's central committee was forced to hold a meeting in Peshawar. But after a long negotiation, consensus was made that the NAP central committee would meet at Dhaka on 28-29 February 1964. In this meeting, the party was formally revived, its organizational structure was patterned on its earlier party constitution-- the east wing and the west wing. The west wing was further consisted of six

provincial units. The party had eight office barriers : A president ,two vice president (one from east and other from west Pakistan), a general secretary ,two joint secretaries (one from east and other from west Pakistan), and the treasurer. Mualana Abdul Hameed Bashani was elected its president .

When Mualana Abdul Hameed Bashani became the president, then the NAP was divided into two factions due to indifference on the internal issue .The NAP policies separated it from the main stream of the opposition Movement. Opposition parties lost trust on NAP. When in 1967, all the parties set for an alliance, they deliberately kept NAP out of these meetings .As a result of this, the Awami National Party leaders labeled PDM as “a conspiracy of the extreme rightist elements (Afzal, 1988).

The formation of the PDM brought a simmering conflict in the NAP into the open. The conflict was surfaced in 1966, together with the open split in the international communist movement into two camps. This clash was ideological; the pro-Moscow had a great grievances against the pro-Beijing leader, Mualana Abdul Hameed Bashani and his supporters. Various charges were inflicted against him i.e. for calling off the disobedience movement, his obsession of foreign policy and his role in the 1965 presidential election etc. But the pro-Beijing faction denied all these allegations (Sultan, 1968).

The formal split occurred in December 1967, when the Pro-Moscow faction set up a separate NAP in East Pakistan under the leadership of Professor Muzaffar Ahmad. Later on, in 1968, national level meetings elected Khan Abdul Wali Khan as its all Pakistan president where as the other faction elected Bashani as its president.

Politically, after Partition, perhaps no other party, but it was NAP that proved as a carrier of Bacha Kahn philosophy and legacy in some way. NAP in that era had across the countries support bases and constituencies. Apart from the organizational structure, internal rifts, opposing viewpoint on ideological issues about communism and capitalism, this party struggled against oppressors in form of landlord; in form of military dictator; inform of supporter of One Unit; and rightest forces in the country.



### **2.2.3. NAP during Post Ayub Regime**

When NAP was disintegrated, its one faction NAP (Wali Khan group) had no clear cut majority in other areas of the Pakistan instead of the NWFP (presently Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Afghanistan. But during the election campaign of 1970, Wali Khan tried to mobilize support from the land owning class as well as from the petty bourgeoisie, particularly in the areas of the Mardan and Peshawar division. But the NAP (Wali group) could not get majority in the NWFP and Balochistan. Instead of that, his mobilization and coalition with the JUI led him to sit on the opposition benches after the dismemberment of the East Pakistan.

### **2.2.4. NAP during the Bhutto Era**

During the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971, the President Yahya Khan banned NAP. But later on Bhutto announced the lifting of ban in his address on 20 December 1971.

The elections of 1970s represented the existing ugly division of Pakistan on the regional line. The elections had produced three different center of power as the Awami League in East Pakistan, PPP in Sindh and Punjab and NAP-JUI in NWFP and Baluchistan. But at the end of these elections Mujeeb ur Rehman and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto could not settled their disputes and as a result of this East Pakistan was disintegrated. In West Pakistan, PPP formed the government. The time period of this regime was almost five and half year (1971-1977). It was to be considered the era of public elected government (Khokar, 1990).

Bhutto understood that he could not practice his total power on NWFP and Balochistan. Similarly, for the acceptance of the constitutional draft, he needed the support of the coalition partner of NAP –JUI. Bhutto realization meant to share power with NAP –JUI but this thing was unbearable to traditional rivals of Abdul Wali Khan. But Wali Khan's good reputation, family prominence and political contacts had contributed a pivotal part in the success of NAP. Due to the common element of socialism in agenda of NAP and PPP, there were expectations of broad agreement. But it did not come into the pipeline because of the clash of the personalities between Wali Khan and Bhutto. Bhutto planned to increase his influence in Balochistan and NWFP. Wali Khan declined the Bhutto's offer of two seats in the cabinet. As a result of this, Wali Khan was to sit on the opposition benches. Wali Khan was elected as a leader of the opposition in national assembly and kept on denouncing the undemocratic politics of the PPP (Mehmud, 2003).



On 6th march 1972, the tripartite agreement was signed by PPP, NAP and JUI to settle the political disputes and to establish the provincial government. After the formation of the NAP-JUI coalition government with PPP, center inflicted various charges against the Wali Khan i.e. instigating the Pakhtunistan issue. But Wali Khan refuted all the allegations. He confessed “we have left the Pakhtunistan issue. We are not even rethinking the renaming of NWFP as a Pakhtunistan because it is no longer an issue of the NAP” (Woolpert, 1993)

But at the same time in the Iraqi embassy of the Islamabad an arms cache were discovered (Yousuf, 1980). This meant an arm struggle against the government on the pattern of the Bangladeshi movement (Wringging, 1975). Due to this mishap, the NAP –JUI government could not sustain for long time. In 1973 Bhutto dismissed the NAP –JUI government in Balochistan. As a reaction NAP-JUI ministry resigned in NWFP (Talbot, 1999).

During Bhutto era a movement was launched named UDF (United Democratic Front). it consisted of eight parties including NAP (National Awami party) PML (Pakistan Muslim league), JUP (Jamiat Ulema Pakistan), JI (Jamiat Islami), Khaksar Party ,PDP ( People democratic party), and JUI (Jamiat Ulema –i- Islam). This movement aimed at the restoration of democracy and release of political prisoners (Shafique, 1977).

In 1975, Hayat M. Khan Sherpao, a PPP senior minister was killed in bomb explosion (Woolpert, 1993). As a result of this NAP was banned. After the ban on NAP, some of its activists organized a new party by the name of National Democratic Party known as NDP. It was a new forum for NAP; it continued its work against Bhutto. Latter on this NDP was transformed into Awami National party known as Awami National Party (Waseem, 1989).

The activist of Non-violence in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is the legacy of non-violent movement of Bacha Khan. Abdul Wali Khan founded the party in 1986 with the merger of National Democratic Party, Awami Tehrik of Sindh and Pakistan National Party of Balochs. Abdul Wali Khan was became its first president. The party was split shortly after launching and its influence was limited mostly to the NWFP now called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Lyon, 2008).

## 2.3. Terrorism

Terrorism means the use of violence in an organized and planned way to gain political and military goals. It is a method where by an organized group or party or a state seeks to achieve its affirmed goals chiefly through the systematic use of violence. It does not just aim at causing physical, economic, and mental sufferings on its victims but also creating psychological effect on the society. In other words, indiscriminate use of force and power against civilians and non-combatants is terrorism (Kaur, 2005).

One cannot trace out the exact history of terrorism but the recent history of terrorism can be traced back to the World Wars between European powers. Until the First World War, terrorism was thought to be generally associated with leftist ideology, however, this assessment and generalization is not proper and entirely true, as in 1920s and 1920s terrorism stemmed from both- the extreme right and extreme left and they stood for collective rather than individual terrorism. With the end of the Second World War, the terrorism action shifted from Europe to Middle East, Asia and Africa in predominantly agrarian societies, it took the form of guerrilla warfare, with Indo-China as the classic example of it. In the post Second World War era, terrorism erupted in Palestine, Israel and Algeria. West Asian politics remained violent, marked by the assassination of many great leaders. Political assassinations were also a characteristics feature in Asia and Africa. Terrorism in the third world was mostly stimulated by nationalism and religion. The economic and political inequalities of the post- Second World War and the new global order further contributed to the escalation of terrorism (Asad, 2007). The terrorism took a new turn in late 1970s as it witnessed the emergence of radical Islamic forces in South West Asia and some other parts of the world. Political developments in Iran, Afghanistan Pakistan, Middle East, and North Africa contributed to terrorism. The denial of the great powers to Palestine to have a separate and sovereign state and expansionist policy pursued by Israel boosted terrorism. The ill-conceived US support to dictators monarchs and military rulers in different parts of world created the anti US and anti West feeling that further intensified terrorism. In its war against communism and Soviet Union, the United States supported and strengthened fundamentalist forces that later challenged its own hegemony (Kaur, 2005).



United States with the support of Pakistani military regime supported militants against USSR forces in Afghanistan. US indirectly destabilized the secular and non-aligned character of Afghanistan and created space for violence and terrorism and instability.

Apart from political dimension, the terrorism around the world has a religious as well as a political dimension. Many of the terrorist organization around the world has now been organized along religious or ethnic lines. The extreme political position arises when majority group rejects the socio-political pluralism. This trend is very common in third world countries. Most of these countries have recently got freedom from yoke of colonialism, failed in their nation building process and are now vulnerable to the ethnic and religious terrorism. Thus in the late 1960s ideological and ethnic terrorism emerged on world scene (Kaur, 2005).

### **2.3.1. Terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Post 9/11**

The militant face of Pakistan is seen as in the historical perspective of its political phases. Problems of the ethnic issues, culture variance and political interest made Pakistan as a weak state. The narrative of the Islamic state and ideologies has been taken by the Mullas who are using it for their own political interest and gaining of power (Kaur, 2005). Apart from internal rifts and ethnic differences, the neighboring countries have also played their role in the extremism and militancy of the religious groups. Pakistan has also played its role in increasing sectarian violence in the neighboring countries (Paris, 2010). The Zia regime gave free hand to all these religious groups to work across the country and strengthen their position in the society. For his personal gains and benefits, he started the Islamization of Pakistan and these religious groups were part and parcel of that campaign. Zia had a soft corner for these groups as he wanted to win the sympathies of the people in the state (Achar, 2004). As the power of the imam Khomeini was rising at that time in the region, Pakistan also propagated the radical type of Islam with the collaboration of Saudi Arabia. The *Madrassa* has become the safest place for all the religious extremists. The poor children who came here for education mostly use for religious extremism and sectarianism in the world through their teachers and owners of *Madrassa*'s. The situation of Pakistan is getting worse day by day and the number of these radicals is increasing in the country (Volpi, 2011). After 9/11 when USA attacked Afghanistan, most of the Afghan Mujahidin's came to Pakistan. They were still attacking NATO as well as Afghan forces using Pak-Afghan border. However, it took turn when Pakistan joined hand with USA against



terrorism. The Taliban has also challenged Pakistani state and start a guerrilla war against state (Evans, 2011). Robert Pape is of the opinion that after the Afghan and Iraq wars, the dramatic change in the warfare in the Muslim countries was only the occupation of lands. Pape also argue that terrorism and their way of terrorizing is always strategic. The targeting of mass, public and government places as well as religious places is not less than emotional hurting and gaining someone's sympathy (Pape, 2003). They started weakening of native socio-cultural discourse as well as destroying human life and property of the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA (Hussain K. , 2013) .

## **2.4. Non-violence Legacy in Combating Terrorism**

The legacy of Non-violence was the only political platform in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA who resisted the extremist very openly not only after 9/11 but also in the case of Afghan Jihad. Wali Khan and his fellows of ANP openly criticize Afghan Jihad sponsored by U.S and Saudi Arabia through Pakistan saying that it is not Jihad but war on economic resources (Abbas, 2007). On ZA Bhutto attitude on Bacha Khan views about Afghan Jihad, Wali Khan replied that ZA Bhutto didn't know Bacha Khan, as we are like sitting on dynamite in the case of Pakistan's closeness to Taliban (Ali M. , 2011). All their predictions became true latterly and while criticizing extremism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa it was the very important narrative of ANP that; If the Pakistani state accepted the narrative and policies of Bacha Khan and Wali Khan regard Afghan Jihad, today the situation will be some different (Dawn, 2014).

### **2.4.1. Political Struggle of Non-violence Legacy**

Just soon after 9/11, when Taliban was on full swing in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Fata, the nonviolent legacy and especially ANP started campaign against extremist in a non-violent way. Taliban clearly saw this threat and they start attacking ANP leadership and public gatherings. In a bomb attack on ANP rally 25 were killed and 35 were injured, while in attack on ANP public gathering in Miran Shah eight people were killed (Puri, 2011). The ANP pronounced its election campaign with the slogan of vanishing violence and extremism from Pashtun land. They become successful to get majority seats of provincial and national assembly seats 2008 election (Hussain K. , 2013).



In government ANP leadership decided to solve the issue through dialogues as the Pakistani Army was near to start military operation against militants. For that purpose, the ANP government held meetings with Taliban leadership and a deal was signed between government and Taliban. The demands of Taliban were accepted in the form *Sharia Muhammadi* in Malakand division as well as of government in the form of ceasefire. But soon after that Taliban didn't sustain the peace dialogues and start attacking other areas of Malakand division and different areas of Peshawar valley (Puri, 2011). The army started military operation in summer 2009 after Taliban violate the compromise of peace talk with government. A huge number of the locals were displaced from Malakand division and migrate to nearby districts in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and to other provinces (Puri, 2011). After the military operation in Swat and Dir district, the targeting of ANP became a routine in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Only in 2013 election campaign, ANP was targeted more than 37 bomb attacks and more than hundred target killings. More than thousand members party workers as well as leadership and member assemblies were also killed (Hussain K. , 2013). Even the attacks were called as "Taliban's are reshaping the democratic landscape by reshaping the Ballot (Times, 2013)". Taliban has repeatedly targeted the secular parties and especially ANP. The party chief Asfandiar Wali Khan narrowly escaped from suicide bomb attack in 2008 in his residence. After 2008 election more than dozens leaders and more than 700 hundred party member, followers were targeted include Provincial senior minister Bashir Biolour, and MPA's AlamZeb Khalil from Peshawar and Dr. Shamsheer Ali from Swat (BBC, 2013). The party was declared 'un-Islamic' by Taliban's and threaten people all over the campaign to stay away from campaign with secular parties and election also. The case with ANP was not only limited to KP but also they were also targeted in Pishin district of Baluchistan and Karachi of Sindh province where they were consider to won the elections (Tribune, 2013).

However, the ANP and relatively people always struggled for the awareness and solving the issue through non-violent ways. Many times ANP leadership requested the concern leadership of Afghanistan and Pakistan to solve this problem by mutual understanding as the war has affected the region a lot (Dawn, 2014). As seeming to their historical roots, ANP continuously announced a manifesto based on Non-violence for the future. In 2013 election the indigenous socio-cultural discourse of ANP was not less than confrontation of extremist organizations on ideological basis i.e. political, and cultural levels (Hussain K. , 2013). The way ANP followers and leaders were



targeted was for the purpose to put psychological pressure on ANP to boycott the elections. Moreover, Taliban's and their ideological supporters succeeded to snatch the right of representation from a secular and well-established political party of the country (Husain, 2013).

#### **2.4.2. Art and the Non-violent Resistance**

The legacy of Non-violence also struggled to combat militancy and terrorism through promoting art. Many of the social scientist and journalist document their struggled with the passage of time. Before discussing non-violent resistance through art, the relation of Non-violence philosophy with Pashto Poetry will be, discuss.

The third period of Pashto Poetry starts with the uprising of Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek. Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek gives much of attention to art and especially to Pashto literature and music. Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek started *Mushairy* (gatherings for poets), as well as other activities like stage dramas and start monthly journal "Pakhtun" in 1928 for further promotion of Pashto literature (Ullah, 2010). Bacha Khan observed that there were two freedom movements in the region: one violent and the other non-violent. He claimed that the violent movement preached hatred, terror, more violence, and that the non-violent movement preached the philosophy of love and unity, speaking of "a new life for the Pathans" and "a great splendid revolution in art, in culture, in poetry, in their completely social life" (Kurtz, 2011). The movement took drastic social and cultural reforms in Pakhtun society and the struggled against colonial power to free their land. That is way; KKM turned the focus of Pashtun Poets from romanticism and Sufism to Nationalistic way of thinking and writing. The poets start writing for the unity of Pakhtun through discussing the social problems and social evils of Pakhtun society and resistance to British imperialism. Literary peoples and especially poets changed the perceptions of Pakhtuns from being *Gherati* (the superior image of Pakhtuns as a nation) to a peaceful, tolerate, and believer of coexistence (Buneri, 2012).

Poets like Fazal Mahmood Makhfi, Shad Muhammad Maigay, and Ahmad Marghuz, and Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar were prominent in that struggle. In the second generation of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement poets like, Qalandar Mohmand, Ajmal Khattak, Ghani Khan and Wali Muhammad Toofan were prominent for the literary contributions as well for awareness in Pakhtun society through their poetic and literary essence. These poets also write about the dictatorships in Pakistan as well as resisted violence from state and non-state actors. While the

third generation of Pakhtuns poets were those who watch the current wave of militancy on Pakhtun land, Rehmat Shah Sail, Ali Akbar Siyal and Sahib Shah Sabir and so many more are prominent in this stage. (Mahmood, 2012)

The poets and literary people of the third generation of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement resisted this militancy and terrorism through non-violent means on different levels. These literary people had made literary societies in the communities such as *Speenghar Adabi Jirga*, *Mohmand Adabi Ghuncha*. These literary societies represent a secular platform for all sects of their communities and arrange *Mushairay* for the awareness and peace as well as for resistance to militancy (Rumi, 2015). In these *Mushairas* the poets present their writings in front of social gathering in which they resisted violence. Sher Alam see's Modern Pashto poetry as a poetry of resistance by explaining that every the poetry of Pashtun poets is a challenge to militants and terrorist mindset (Buneri, 2012). The books and articles produced by these literary people aware the society and resisted to militancy. In these literary contributions some prominent books are, *Pa Jang De Oor Olagi* (To Hell with War) and *Da Parharonah Ba Gundal Ghwari* (These Wounds Need To Be Healed), *Ukhkay Ukhkay Musketub* (The Tearful Smile), and *Zamung Pah Kalee Ke Shar Mah Jurrawai* (Don't Create Chaos In Our Village) (Dawn, 2012).

Same like poetry, the Pashto music also resisted the militancy, and militants targeted the people who were promoting Pashto music. The musicians of Pakhtun society were not safe after the uprising of Taliban. However, the Pashtun musicians and artist's resisted the militancy as much as they were able to resist (Mashal, 2013). There is a series of Pashto singers and musicians who were threatened and even attacked so many times for stopping the promotion of art. The story of Ghazala Javed is one of these when she murdered in 2012. Singers like Sardar Ali Takkar, Shahensha Bacha, Sardar Yousafzai, Sarfaraz Khan and Spogmai were also threatened and targeted many times. In these singers Wazir Khan Afridi was kidnapped three times by militants and was put in prison to stop promoting Pashto music. Sarfaraz also shifted to other cities of the country only because of security threats. According to Sarfaraz, the peace, tolerance and change is possible through Pashto music, as the Pashto music is a way of awareness in Pakhtun society (Hussain H. , 2014)

### 3. LOCALE PROFILE

This chapter deals with the selection of the area for the fieldwork in detail, which is very important for a productive research. The locale for current research is comprised of the five districts of KP; Peshawar, Mardan, Sawbi, Charsadda and Swat. The rationale behind the selection of these five districts is that the Khudai Khidmatgar movement had a strong hold in these districts. Another reason is that the people of these districts supported and promoted Bacha Khan's non-violence movement and thus contributed their part in combating terrorism.

#### 3.1. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has the largest Pashtun population and lies on the latitude 31.4 to 37.8 N and longitude 69.16 to 47.7 E. The total area of KP is 74,521 sq. kilometers and its population is 13.1% of the total population of Pakistan. The province has divided into eight divisions, and sub-divided into twenty-two districts (as of 1996 statistics). The division is mainly on ethnic/tribe basis. The major tribes include *Yousafzai*, *Mohmand*, *Marwat*, *Bannuchi*, *Afridi*, *Shinwari*, *Utman Khel*, and *Khattak*. Pashto or Pakhto is the language spoken and understood throughout KP. It has two main dialects; the soft and hard dialect. Furthermore, a considerable population speaks *Hindko* and *Urdu* in urban centers (Caroe, 1958). The importance of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is that it is the gateway of Central Asia and specifically of Afghanistan to subcontinent and to Gulf countries, Arab countries and Europe through sea forts of Gawadar and Karachi. Huntington also described these areas as 'fault line', as it connect Central Asia to South Asia through Khyber-Pass and central Asia to Gulf, Arab, and European countries through sea fort (Huntington, 1997).





Figure 1: Map of KP Source; Google, 2015

### 3.1.1. Peshawar

Peshawar is the capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It has long been known as the ‘Frontier Town’—it is twenty-three miles from Khyber Pass; the main pass linking Afghanistan to the sub-continent. Peshawar is a historical city and has places like *Qissa Khwani* and *Islamia College*, Peshawar, which are known worldwide.

The old names of Peshawar includes ‘fo-la-sha,’ given by the Chinese traveler Fa-Hien in about 400 A.D., and ‘poshpura,’ a Sanskrit name of about 119 A.D. which means ‘the city of flowers.’ The flowers of Peshawar were also mentioned in Babur’ memoirs. Al-Masoodi and Al-Biruni in 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries mentioned its name as ‘peshawar’ in their travelogue and it retained that till the time of king Akbar, who personalized it to ‘Peshawar’—the combination of two Persian

words “Pesh” and “Awar,” which means ‘artisans,’ and that is because the city have a large number of artisans.

Peshawar district lies between 33 and 44° and 34 and 15° North and 71 and 22° and 71 and 42° East. Peshawar borders Charsadda district to its north, Nowshera to its east, tribal areas to its south, and Mohmand and Khyber agencies to its west. The total area of Peshawar district is 1257 sq. kilometers. The district consists of almost fertile plains and a small hilly area in the south-east. The central part of the district consists of fine sedimentary deposits. The cultivatable areas consists of rich, light and porous soil— that is composed of a kind of mixture of clay and sand— which is favorable for the cultivation of wheat, sugarcane and tobacco.

After 9/11, the city was on the target of Taliban. Thousand were killed in bomb blasts, target killing, and attacks. Hundred were kidnapped for money and political purposes. The Peshawar were known as the city of bomb blasts everywhere rather than the city flowers- Peshawar was known for city of flowers before. However, the legacy of the non-violence also struggled through non-violent means to combat terrorism. In the sound of bomb blast and bloody targeting, they struggled for peace and nonviolence. The legacy of nonviolence did their activities mostly in Peshawar, as it was the capital of the province. They arranged seminars, protest, study circles, public gatherings, as well as artistic activities to combat terrorism.

### 3.1.2. Mardan

Mardan has grown into an important city of KP. It is the second most populous district after Peshawar with an approximate population of 3 lace. There are two Tehsils, Mardan and Takht Bhai. Mardan tehsil consists of 75 union councils in which 60 union councils are in rural and 15 in urban populations. The city is expanded to a vast area because of the adjoining villages. Mardan has a specific relation to Gandhara Civilization as it contains the famous ruins of Buddhist age at *Takht Bhai*, *Jamal Garhi* and *Shahbaz Garhi*. Mardan has a very fertile land because of which known best for agriculture, and the eminent canal system of the district enhances the richness of the soil. Mardan is the biggest producer of sugar in Pakistan. Apart from the growing businesses of the district, the main source of income of most of the people is agriculture. There is Abdul Wali Khan University in the heart of Mardan city.

People are linked to government services in handsome amount and it is one of the important political fronts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Most of the population is Muslim but there exist Buddhists and Parsis of handful amount. Importance of Mardan district is that it is attached with Malakand division where Taliban get their control soon after 9/11. The legacy of non-violence struggled to aware the people about terrorism and terrorists. Taliban tried their best to control the district but because of KKM and its legacy they were unsuccessful in the case of Mardan.

### 3.1.3. Swabi

Swabi was part of the Mardan district until July 1, 1988. District Swabi lies between the River Indus and Kabul and has a fertile land like Mardan. It has three sub divisions; *Chota Lahore*, *Rajar* and *Swabi* city. Swabi is the fourth most populous district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa inhabited by the *Yousafzai* clan up to greater extent. They are the sons and daughters of *Razarr* and *Utman*, who came down from 'Ghoa Maghai' and inhabited the place. *Mandar* is a subdivision of *Razarr* with a prestigious esteem among their tribe (Caroe, 1958).

The motivation behind choosing Swabi district for this research is its importance in KKM (Khudai Khidmatgar Movement) and its being the hub of KKM. The first very assembling of KKM was at '*Marghuz*'. The district Swabi is the center of Pakhtun Nationalism until day. Swabi is also attached with Malakand division through Bunir districts. However Taliban faced a tough time while doing their violent activities.

### 3.1.4. Charsadda

Charsadda is a historical place; it was the capital of Gandhara kingdom in 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. until 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. and referred to as 'Pushkalavati' in ancient times that mean 'Lotus City.' Charsadda remained an important administrative center of the Gandhara kingdom and was under the rule of Greeks, Persians, Maurya, Greco-Bactrian's, Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parathions, Kushans, Huns, Hindus, and Muslims. Gandhara merged in Achaemenid Empire after 516 B.C. and thus Charsadda paid tribute to Darius the great of Persia until overthrown by Alexander the great in 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. After the death of Alexander the great, Gandhara was under the rule of Chandragupta Maurya. Later Asoka built a stupa there, mentioned in famous Chinese traveler Hieun Tsang's works. He mentioned that the stupa (Po-Lu-Sha) was of 2-1/2 miles circumference. There was a Brahmanical temple to the east of the stupa and a monastery to

the north, where according to Buddhist legends Buddha taught his lessons. The name of Gandhara vanished as the Muslims conquered the area and the population converted to Islam.

Charsadda was a tehsil of Peshawar formerly and was given the status of district in July 1988. The total area of the district is about 996 sq. kilometers and it has a significant fertile land watered by the local '*SarDaryab*' river.

The importance of Charsadda in the current research is that it was the hometown of Bacha Khan. Bacha Khan also opened his first school in Charsadda. The training camp of Khudai Khidmatgars was also in *Sardaryab*-Charsadda. Secondly, Charsadda also share its boundaries with Mohmand Agency where Taliban have strong hold. The Party central president Asfandiar Wali Khan was also from Charsadda in all these years after 9/11. Taliban did suicide bomb blast on him, but he got safe in these attacks.

### 3.1.5. Swat

Swat valley is the most beautiful valley of KP. The average height above sea level of the valley is 2800 ft. and the area it covers is about 5737 sq. kilometers. In north of Swat there lay the beautiful mountains of Chitral and Gilgit, in its west lay Upper and Lower Dir, in the south Sam Ranizai while in east, Shangla is located. Swat district consists of two Tehsils; Swat and Matta Tehsils. There are sixty-five union councils in district Swat and the approximate population is 1738945.

The Swat River emerges in high mountain ranges, about 18,000 to 19,000 ft. high. It is the third important river of KPK and a tributary of Kabul River. It has a key role in the economy of Swat. It magnifies the beauty of Swat valley, provides water for irrigation and domestic use, wells and springs depends on it also and it provides a habitat for different species of fish and birds.

Swat is enriched with breathtaking landscapes, very pleasant weather, crystal like waters, flora and fauna, historical places, fascinating alpine lakes, modern resorts and very attractive tourist locations. People from all over the world visit this beautiful valley. Majority of population is Pashto speaking and belong to the prestigious clan; *Yosafzai*. They came from Kabul valley in about 1500 A.D. and made their way to Swat valley, replacing the existing tribe *the Swatis*, who came to the area some two hundred years ago in the pursuit of overpowered *Dilazak*. Before them there was Mehmud of Ghazni who captured it in 1000 A.D. Swat has remained a center of

Buddhism also at some time and Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Wu Kong travelled here in 752 A.D. (Stein, 1929).

The reason of the focus on Swat is that the militants almost controlled this district. This was the only district where the propagators of nonviolence philosophy suffered more and the nonviolence legacy directly resisted to Taliban's in this district. In every village of Swat, Taliban killed the propagators of non-violence philosophy.

### **3.2. Basic Facilities**

In these districts, people have access to daily life necessities like health, education, and commerce. The major facilities in the area discussed below;

#### **3.2.1. Education**

In these aforementioned districts, the literacy rate is not satisfactory and female education is quite low in fact. Most of the people of locale are not well educated but the trend towards education is gathering mass day by day. Now parents want their children to seek good education as compared to the past when they would want them to earn some money for livelihood. This has been possible because of the awareness among people; educational facilities and somewhat better economic condition compared to the past. The children of those who are poor would not continue their education after middle school because the family needs them to earn. For that purpose, they turn to the Gulf especially and some of them make it to Europe.

#### **3.2.2. Medical Facilities**

To some extent, government has failed in providing thorough medical facilities to the people of these districts that is why private clinics are to be found abundantly. As soon as a medical student gets hold of a degree, he uses to run a part time clinic in his village. Retired army medical technical have also opened their clinics street by street and village by village. These clinics have a limited stock of medicines in his dispensary. Serious patients referred to the neighboring towns or to Peshawar. Midwives take care of most of the delivery cases.

#### **3.2.3. Small Bazaar**

Every village and rural area has a number of small shops, which carries items of daily use like flour, oil, vegetables, fruits, tobacco etc., and these items are bought from nearby towns or the

city. In villages, usually the shops are adjacent to shopkeeper's house and are open until late hours depending on customers. Most of their business is on cash but they also do it on credit as they get paid when the single earning hand sends some money home. The single room that contains the stuff is made of either bricks or mud. These shops and the small *bazaars* are the places where local people spend their leisure time and come across news from the village. The shopkeepers slowly expand their business with the profit they get from daily sale. There can be found a mobile services shop now when the need and use of mobile is so entrenched in the society. They provide repair and other facilities to the customers.

#### **3.2.4. Source of Light**

Houses that date back to farther past at the area use electricity as a source of light, which was given to these districts in 1976. In these districts, the electricity consumption is ordinary because of its unavailability during 24 hours. Shops are open till midnight because of the light. Few people of whole population do not have the facilitation and thus use kerosene oil for light. Wood is a necessary source of heat and light in those houses in the hilly areas.

#### **3.2.5. Source of Fuel**

Most of the houses of the area are deprived of natural gas where some use it from cylinder containers. These cylinder containers are the main source of heat now because of the shortage and high prices of burning wood.

CNG made from natural gas is also a source of fuel for those who have cars. The workers class and especially those who are *Raksha* drivers also use CNG as fuel in their *Raksha*'s.

Petrol and Diesel are also use as fuel for heavy vehicles.

#### **3.2.6. Drinking Water**

Water is the most essential requirement for human life. Wells are dug in these villages for drinking water. Average depth of these wells is 60 to 70 ft. Economically prosperous people dig their own wells in the vicinity of their house and use electric motor to suck water from the well. Some informants told that twenty years back there were a few wells only in these villages. In a *mohalla* there was only one well that delivered water for the whole *mohalla*. Women used to fetch water from the well in their pitchers. The well was like the old river bank where women of



the *mohalla* would exchange news and gossips. Now the situation is far more different; almost every house has its own well or hand pump. Irrigation is done with tube wells or the old pulling system.

### **3.3. Communication**

Communication facilities can be summed as roads, transportation, telephone and mobile networks, postal services, dish antennas and the Internet.

#### **3.3.1. Transportation**

General Population use local transport for travelling while some of them have personal vehicles, motorcycles, or bicycles.

#### **3.3.2. Roads**

Most of the roads of these districts are made of concrete, and fulfill the purpose of transportation efficiently. These have trees on both sides and are wide enough to accommodate big vehicles.

#### **3.3.3. Telephone**

Telephone facility is available everywhere in all the above mention districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the connections were provided to the people since 1998 when it first arrived in the province. There is one telephone exchange in every Tehsil of the districts. Almost every house in the village had telephone connection but now the mobiles have

#### **3.3.4 Mass Media**

Television has been there for long now and general public use to read newspaper as well. Literacy rate has increased and so did the use of TV and other sources like newspapers and magazines. Satellite dish antennas are also a source of communication but limited only to those who can afford it. The use of internet is growing via wireless and mobile phones. Almost all mobile companies extend their networks to these villages.

### **3.4. Economy**

Economy of the areas is mainly dependent on agriculture along with other sources of income like own business and government jobs. Before 1987 trends towards government jobs and other

employments were less mainly due to the cultivation of opium. But after the declaration by the Zia's regime that opium should not be cultivated on the soil of Pakistan, a shift in the modes of incomes from agriculture to own business and government jobs occurred. This bring the people of rural areas to cities, and they started work in private and government firms. While an average majority opted the Middle East countries for their earning and survival.

#### **3.4.1. Agriculture**

The nature and fertility of the soil along with excellent irrigation system had made agriculture as a back bone of the economy of these districts. Many high yield crops are cultivated in the respected areas, like wheat, rice, sugarcane, tobacco and maize. Vegetables like onions and tomatoes provide a high output for the locals of the district Swat, as these are the cultivated alongside the major crops. The climate of Swat favors various high yield fruits providing a good effect on the economy of the territories. Among the fruits, orchids of peach, plum, apple, apricot and persimmon are common.

The locals of the rural areas normally don't purchase the major crops for the daily use as they are cultivated locally and are provided in bulk, while the people of the urban areas mainly purchase these things.

#### **3.4.2. Government Services**

A good proportion of the educated community have availed various government posts and are providing their services normally in every institution like health, engineering, revenue and administrative, law and order, teaching institutions etc. Educated females normally have access to teaching and health fields. Normally females are not supposed to work, but with the passage of time the trends are changing, and they are there in every field providing their services.

#### **3.4.3. Services Abroad**

Due to the unemployment scenario here in Pakistan, another good proportion of the illiterates and literate are moving and opting KSA (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia), UAE (United Arab Emirates) and other Middle East countries for their earnings and survival of their families in this chaotic world.

They are providing their services normally in private firms, daily wages, as drivers and a small proportion in serving in health and engineering fields.

#### **3.4.4. Business**

The locals of the districts have engaged themselves in various forms of businesses, from small or local to national and international scales. Transport, construction, food and health fields, and small scale industries like marble and brick industries are common among them.

#### **3.4.5. Live Stock**

Normally in the villages domestic animals like buffalos, cows and goats are kept by the locals, providing the needs of the dairy products for them. Normally men bring fodder and other eatables for these animals while they are managed by females in the houses. Milking from them is normally done by females. Besides milk these animals also provide the manure which is used for fertilization of agricultural land.

### **3.5. Culture**

Pakhtun society is enriching with cultural heritage. It is easy to observe local traditions and norms in daily life events and festivals. *Pakhtunwali* which is a complete code of life is based on the same culture and tradition. Cultural manifestation of Pakhtunwali is well depicted in festivals and events.

#### **3.5.1. Religion**

Explicitly all the population of the locale is Sunni Muslim. Religion plays an important role in the life of people of locale, deep regard for religious ceremonies is found among majority people. Full representation of religion is important for maintaining status quo and good repute. All the people are *Tableeghi Deobandi* (School of thought in Sunni's), but there also lies a big *Madrassa* of religious education in Panj Pir-Swabi. This *Madrassa* is famous for providing religious education to thousands of students from the whole province. The history of this *Madrassa* goes back to Maulana Hamdullah Jan, a great *Deobandi*. From the whole province and Afghanistan, thousands of students gets religious education. The *Madrassa* was founded by Maolana Hamdullah Jan, famous as a great *Deobandi* scholar, father of whom named Maulana Tahir was very close to Bacha Khan in KKM. He is recognized all over the province and in Afghanistan

and his verdicts are given owing importance by the followers. There is another Sunni sect of great influence on people.

### 3.5.2. Language

Mother tongue is the language which is used for communication between parents and their children. The only language used in whole villages is Pashto. Every single native speaks Pashto and any person speaking other language is assuredly considered as a guest. The migrants of Afghanistan, students in the *Madrassa* are both speakers of Farsi and Pashto languages.

### 3.5.3. Food Pattern

People of the village take breakfast very early in the morning because of their strict schedule to go to fields. Time wise in summers the breakfast is served near 6'o clock around 7:00 or 7:30 am in the winters. The breakfast is usually couple of tea cups, homemade bread, a *Paratha* and rarely an egg. The lunchtime usually starts around 12'o clock and consists of wheat *Chapaties* baked in *Tandoor* with vegetable often with beef. Beef is the common and famous meal used in lunch. Likewise, the dinner is also served with beef cury and a small new item. The food pattern is very simple which includes wheat and maize *Chapaties* baked in *Tandoor* . Breakfast is called *Dh Saher Chaye*, Lunch is called *Dh Maspakhin Dodai* and dinner is called *Dh Makhostan Dodai*. *Da Maspahen Chai* (the afternoon tea) is the most common element in food pattern regardless of the season. The trademark of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the rite of *Milmastia* (hospitality) is deeply rooted in this area. People are excessively hospitable, in the guest's menu chicken is very common with rice. Tea is served very often and new visitors might get fed up with tea served almost everywhere. Interestingly if someone denies to have a cup of tea in *Hujra* is considered as a breach of the local customs and a sign of arrogance.

Since wheat and maize are frequently cultivated, henceforth people are very fond of eating them. Rice and Rice *Chapppli Kabaab* served is considered as sign of hospitality. Spices are usually homemade from herbs. Beef is the favorite of all dishes, the use of chilly is rare. Green tea or *Qehva* is offered after meals while in the breakfast black tea is offered.

#### 3.5.4. Dress Pattern

In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, *Shalwar Kameez* is considered as the favorite dress and likewise in the community. White *Shalwaar Kameez* is common among men but this trend is not followed by the young male members. Young men go for more colorful dresses. It can also be applied on females, the elder one wear mostly light colors. On special occasion like *b eids* or marriages women mostly wear bright colors. Women in any case are supposed to be covered with a *Chel* or *Parwoney* (a big red dotted *chaddar*) as *Pardah* to cover herself and her dress because *pardah* is seriously observed in the locality. Two kinds of *Chels* are used by the women. Elder women use the one with big red dots though the young females use the *Chaddar* with small dots. Interestingly, the males of the area consider some colors as feminine like dark blue and green. Similarly, some colors are associated with working class like people would say that he has worn a color that is trademark of *Kolalan* (occupational class). Strict caste boundaries are common among the local inhabitants. A light weight *chaddar* is common among males on their shoulders however the young ones do not take the *chaddar* very often. The common footwear among men is *Charsadwaley saplay* (sandals of *charsada*). A man in *Chappal* (sleepers) is rarely seen. Women however use plastic chapels in homes and in weddings they wear high heels sandals or leather chapels. In daily life women are less seen using jewelry except earrings or bangles. Some men wear rings but this not very common.

#### 3.6. Social Organization

Social organization defines the specious structures of any community. These are the features on the bases of which communities are distinguished from each other. The social organization of one community is different from the other because every community has its own way to relate the people and consequently developing a unique living style. In any social system, social organization is the functional and dynamic key element. The ordering of social ties within the group and other social institution is based on social organization.

The social organization of Swabi is very exclusive with regard to their social structure. Swabi social organization is an interlinked system of political structure and socio-economic. Their relations, their behaviour and interactions echo the economic and political institution of the village.

Individuals in this social organization are small units living together in groups, their relation is based on their communication and interaction with each other.

The village is settled by the Pakhtuns who are patriarchal in their residential arrangements. As Barth says about the patriarchy of Pakhtun Society in the following words

*“Every domestic unit is dominated by its male members, in particular by the senior male .in all relations outside the circle of close kin, the male represents the household ;indeed with respect to right to make contracts, take decisions, or in any way commit the domestic unit as a whole, are the household”* (Barth, 1959)

Pakhtuns are famous to give rank to males and accept their authority over females in every situations that is why their society can easily be called as a patriarchal society. In these societies the power lies with the man. Further, he said about the patriarchal nature of Pakhtun society in these words.

### **3.6.1 Family Structure**

The family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adult of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship and one or more children own or adopted of the sexually cohabiting adults.

All over Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, family forms the basic precursor of social structure and organization and a center of all social activities. In a family there is usually one male bread earner on which the rest of the family depends. The family is responsible to provide support to all members in terms of food clothing and education. All family members have their own rights as well as obligations. Different members have different status in the family. Joint family structure is more common in villages the nuclear family never exists from the beginning but it is formed eventually depending on the circumstances which leads to formation of nuclear family for example at the time of marriage the bride is supposed to move to the groom's parents' house, the common factors are death of parents or conflict with parents which leads to formation of nuclear family. The common family structures in Swabi are joint families, extended families and nuclear families though nuclear families are less common. Swabi family structure is predominantly patriarchal in nature, all nature of problems and important decision of families are dealt by elder male member of the family. it is the right of the bread earner to give all earned



money to that elder male member of the family. Elderly women only exercise their authorities in the domestic activities but issues of higher importance are always taken to the elder male and he has the final authority in all sorts of issues.

#### **3.6.1.1. Nuclear Families**

Nuclear family is the primary and the elementary form of the social body. The nuclear family is a worldwide anthropological social group, both as the soul dominant form of the family or the elementary part from which more compound families' are formed. In every society nuclear family structure exist as social group. In simple words nuclear family consist of married man and and woman and their children. In Swabi, nuclear families are rare to find in the beginning of marriages they are often formed after two or three years of shared residence and are eventually divided into two or three nuclear families.

#### **3.6.1.2. Joint Families**

Joint family is a predominant practice of extended family. It is cluster of people sharing same house and financial source. The joint family unit is formed of often two or even more than two brothers and their spouses; the bound of union in consanguine. In joint family the brothers lives as joint unit and share same economic.

#### **3.6.1.3. Joint Extended Families**

Another form of family is called an extended family comprised of consecutive three generations living together as one family entity. The key feature of this family unit is shared kitchen "chula" and married child lives with the same parental family.

### **3.6.2. Kinship**

The study of kinship holds an important position in anthropology. The order of simpler societies to complex one can only be understand with the help of kinship. Kinship system allows to understand about the existence of different sets of relationships in the human group. Kinship plays a significant role equally in the regulation of conduct and the creation of social acknowledgement and cultural implementation of relations resulting from lineage.

Descent among Pathans is totally relied on male line. The mother is found to have no right that she could transmit to her children, wither in her natal or in her marital home; she does not control any resources which are productive. Woman as a wife is completely dependent on her husband



(Barth, 1959). All villages distinguish the relationship categories on descent. Below are the components of kinship in village.

#### **3.6.2.1. *Kor* (Family)**

The *Kor* (family) can be defined as the basic unit and element of social organization. *Kor* existence is dependent upon marriages. More than two generations are included one of vertically downward and both first and second cousin in horizontal dimension. The pattern of residence in families is patriarchal in nature. Therefore the woman after marriage moves from parents house to husband's household. The children live with the parents after their marriages. The male line determines the descent in the *Kor*. The male member is always important because he moves the patriarchal line to the coming generations.

Traditionally property is inherited by male. The woman gets dowry only and also surrender from her right of property for her brothers. Only a woman can get property if she has no brother. In village the popular age of boy to get married is 20 years and for girls 18 years is the appropriate age.

#### **3.6.2.2. *Tarboor* (Patrilineal Cousin)**

A patrilineal group *Tarboor* is formed by father side consanguine to make a group of lumped together. In this group members can easily trace their relations with each other. In *Khel* *Tarboor* are more important. *Tarboor* is also important unit because members associated have shared prestige. The balance of *Tarburwali* is maintained by equal prestige, if any member's prestige rises it is damaged.

#### **3.6.3. Caste System**

The population is not only divided in territorialial units but also into social stratification. Every single stratum is homogenous hierarchically but is territorially dispersed. The parentage determines the position in this hierarchically frame work. This hieratical type of category is usually called *Qoum* (caste). Different Castes of Swabi includes matrilineal, hereditary, raked occupational groups, conceptually endogamous. Every *Qoum* is name and membership in a *Qoum* is influenced by brit. Sociologically, they might be classified estates or castes.

The village land is further divided into *Mohallahs* (streets). The *Mohallah* further cannot be divided in terms of the supposition as occupied only by one *Khel*. Only two *Khel* are

systematized in their *Mohallahs*. In the village, every single person is known by the name of his *Khel*. In *Khel*, every member can trace their ancestry to one common ancestor. They all are blood relatives. *Khel* can also be defined as the mixture of many *Khanadans* (Families).

#### 3.6.3.1. *Qaum and Khel* (Caste and Clan)

The common term for patrilineal ancestry group is *Khel* and maximum men, whatsoever their caste is able to title a *Khel* to which they claim to go. But the non-land owner's *khel* turn out to be nothing more than names and the descents presented are just false lineages. A complete patrilineal descent therefore holds closely all the Pakhtun families in the village, and describes a classification of groups and sub groups which places them on all in a strict frame work.

There is found to be no clear process for the integration of strangers into this organization. The position of a person is clearly described by patrilineal ancestry, outsiders cannot be integrated. This patrilineal descent places all Pakhtun in a fixed position.

Their chief significance is in relevance to the land share system and to the public assemblages for discussing settlements which in native communities.

The greater component of concentric circle is *Khel*. It can also be called as an extension of a lot of families sharing same caste or it can also be called as an extension of *Tarboor*. People participate in both primary and secondary relations in *Khel*. It means that whether there is an event of sorrow or happiness they will have to participate. In some occasion such as quarrel of one *khel* or member with the other, they will fight against other together.

During fieldwork it has been observed that mainstream people of one village have same *Khel*. Several *Khels* after combining with each other formulate a bigger circle which is called as *Qaum*. From *Qaum* they identify different castes while *Khel* is the unit where they participate each other. Members identify themselves with other by same surname, which offers a sense of identification of its members.

Most of the females are getting education. Four government degree colleges are present in the district. People likes their daughter to get the education. Women are found to be submissive. Mostly women remain silent and submissive in front of male members of the family. It is the duty of the women to serve the meal and wait for the male members to finish their meal. Most of

the time women eat separately. Women are much respected in this community. Their integrity is intensely protected. Ill treatment of women and beating them is considered as a bad moral and reduces the pride of the family, and mostly of the male members. Women are highly respected and are considered as Women are respected and honored and they are considered as ornament of the house. Males are dominant however the women opinion is respected, especially the elder women like mother and grandmother are highly respected and their say is given much importance in decisions.

#### **3.6.4. *Jirga System (Counseling/ Assemblies of Public)***

Jirga is an association of council which provides justice to individual As well as group conflicts. Jirga plays an important role in the process of development in village as well as is the key body of decision making. The grading of Jirga/public assemblages of landlords is representative merely of the acephalous Pakhtun- detained part of setting. The leading assemblies of pious are much more official, but now days the prominence of the Jirga is gradually weakened.

The Jirga delivers an established setting for assemblies among the two contrasting local blocs. But earlier the role which these play in the Jirga can be defined, the procedures leading of the gatherings themselves must be potted. Some of these directions are extremely official, and have a weighty influence on the strategies of conflicting parties.

The right to express in Jirga is limited to patrilineal progenies of the apical descendants in terms of whom relationship is defined, who have got property in their own name, or in simple words, to the concerned head of household of Pakhtun lineage group. Interestingly the most important rule is the right given to every landowner head of household to argue in the gathering even if the matter is of small nature.

Usually the Jirga has no regular set of meeting intervals. It is often based on consensus among members sometimes a group of members calls for a meeting. It is said that any member of the group has the right to gather for a Jirga to discuss any sort of issue but in fact only can the major leaders can do that without any consultation.

Every Jirga follows certain set of rules and procedures. These rules for pathans are the underlying principles of the Jirga ; No one is allowed to think of himself as someone higher, because of the fact



that there is no chairperson of Jirga that is the sole reason free conversation with any of neighbor on any topic that interests. Everyone has an equal right to speak. A unanimous final decision is taken in the assembly. This is not determined by any kind of vote, but by the nonattendance of open opposition.

Occasionally, verdicts of other kinds are made as well. Disapproval of the jirga and harm to public assets are penalized by fines collected by its retainer or other representative. The rules of process are sustained by the block pressure opposed to the person who breakdowns them. Nevertheless the Jirga itself never arise as a part in corporate action; the purpose of discussions in jirga is to discover the potentials of agreements and reach at negotiations.

So, it is concluded from the above discussions that Jirga is an institution of rules which governs the conduct of local assemblies.

It is also revealed from the above discussion that the Jirga also acts as a political institution because it effects on blocks extension through all turfs of everyday activity. In Jirga the emergence of local blocks is on the representation as a corporate and co-ordinate bodies of higher importance. The Jirga also provide an established location for assembly and solving clashes between opposite blocks.

### **3.6.5. Hujra (Men's House)**

*Hujra* holds an important status in representation of Pakhtun culture. It forms one of the basic institution of Pakhtun society. *Hujra* is found in areas dominated by Pakhtun families. In Pakhtun society, *Hujra* plays a vital role in everyday activities of people of village. *Hujra* not only serves as guest house and dormitory but it serves as a club house. All activities related to rituals and feasting are done in *Hujra*. In the realm of greater Political part of Pakhtun life, in relevance to present scenario holds It is the scene of the greater part of Pakhtun political life, and is thus of particular importance in the present connection, one such house is seen in every precinct of Pakhtun dominated village (Barth, 1959). There are some areas where larger proportion of Pakhtun population is present, in that case more *Hujra's* are found in each ward. *Hujra* also serves as a place where disputes of the village are settled through Jirga.

Adult men holds the membership of the *Hujra*. Children have special restriction to keep quiet in *Hujra's*, children of both sexes may enter the *Hujra's* but if they are in greater number are



usually dashed away (Barth, 1959). Women are not allowed to enter *Hujra*'s because of shame and *pardah*. Two different segments are there, one who acclaim the *Hujra* and the other who backs to its building and maintenance. The upkeep and mending common labor of all in the whole ward is responsible, it is often done by the chief only or may be by any landowner who have their personal *Hujra*. Apart from that the person who bring visitor is held responsible for such activities.

*Hujra* yet the male club and a house for male companionship offers to facilities every big ceremonies and high scale celebrations of both personal and village occasions is more a means for expression of political devotions. Chiefs maintain the political alliance by visiting each other houses. Interestingly the subordination to any of chief is associated with repetitive visit to his house, the common phrase to indicate this subordination is "he sits in my *Hujra*", this phrase has become standardized to express political subordination (Barth, 1959).

The social difference between persons associating in a *Hujra* is clearly expressed in the course of these activities, though occasions calling for a complete linear ranking are avoided. The chief and his lineage mates, the *Pakhtun*, usually sit in an inner circle, sometimes on chair, while others sit on squat on the ground around them.

So, from the above discussion and have a personal experience in the locale the *Hujra* plays an important role in shaping up the leadership. The bulk of the chief's supporters are formed by the regular occupants of his *Hujra*.

### 3.6.6. Political Affiliation

The main political party of the Peshawar Valley is Awami National Party. Most of the village people have affiliation with this party. The people of village actively participate in politics and are commonly known as Red Shirts. Abdul Gaffar Khan is considered to be ideological and political leader. Other important names in political side of KP includes JUI, Jumat-e- Islami and Imran Khan's Tehreek-e- Insaf .

## 4. HISTORICAL ROOTS OF NON-VIOLENCE LEGACY

This chapter is primarily focused on the history, roots and promotion of non-violence in Pakhtun society. This chapter will shed light on how Bacha Khan founded KKM and how the KKM brought societal and cultural reforms, how the movement united Pakhtuns, and how the movement resisted British Imperial powers through reforms. The transformation of KKM in different eras before and after partition of Subcontinent, its role in different times and transformation to the current scenario has also been discussed in this chapter.

### 4.1. Non-violent Movement of Bacha Khan

The continuity of Non-violence in Pakhtun society is the legacy of KKM (Khudai Khidmatgar Movement). The movement was a Social Reformation Movement initiated by Bacha Khan in Pakhtun dominated areas in 1928, and was rooted in Non-violence philosophy. KKM was the continuity of *Anjuman Islaah ul Afghana* (Reformation Movement for Afghans), and *Pakhtun Zalmi* (Pakhtun Youth). Bacha Khan before KKM also founded these two movements in 1924 and 1927 informed key informant Dr. Khadim Hussain. However, KKM was a more organized and modified movement. Dr. Waqar Ali Shah also quoted that, the focus of the KKs (Khudai Khidmatgars) was on the rural areas, small villages and towns and they created a popular support group to pursue their manifesto. The main leaders of the KKM were also the same people who spearheaded the *Zalmo-Jirga* (Youth Parliament) and *Anjuman Islaah ul Afghana*. As Waqar Ali Shah writes that, the leaders were almost the same; the same group of Pakhtun Intelligentsia, which was prominent in the *Anjuman Islaah ul Afghana* and *Zalmo-Jirga*, was at the forefront of the KKM. Within a short time span, they established a network of the organization all over the province, particularly in the rural areas, hitherto neglected by other political organizations (Shah, 1999). The movement spread all over Peshawar valley and other areas of the province rapidly. Seeing this development, British imprisoned Bacha Khan and his KK fellows many times. However, the Khudai Khidmatgars were faithful to their cause and continued their work and organized Pakhtuns under the platform of KKM, stated Faiz Muhammad Kaka- a prominent Khudai Khidmatgar from Swabi. The KKs (Khudai Khidmatgars) continued their struggle even while they were in jail and kept Non-violence integral to their faith. Many of the Khudai

Khidmatgars who could read and write were given the duty to teach other Khudai Khidmatgars. Abdul Khaliq Kaka, who was at the age of 103 years at the time of interview, stated that I learnt reading and writing many of languages i.e. Pashto, Urdu, English, Persian, and Arabic through this indigenous way of teaching. He also shared that we studied different literatures of other languages and educated our fellow KKM who were in jail. From the very start, Bacha Khan was clear about his aims and objectives that was to spread awareness among the people about the prevailing social evils in their society and culture. According to a respondent, the KKM brought reforms to the Pakhtuns by creating awareness of about their economy, politics, religion, education, and other social issues like social stratification and internal and external tribal feuds.

#### **4.1.1. Ideology of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement**

The movement was very conscious about every aspect of the society. The purpose of KKM was to bring reforms to the Pakhtun society. For reformation of society, Bacha Khan based the movement on two principles; to serve the humanity without religious discrimination and the principle of Non-violence as stated a respondent. The movement started with the basic by serving humanity through education and sanitation. It also encouraged poetry, music, literature for eradicating the vicious roots of violence among Pakhtuns. The connotation of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement means 'Servants of God'. However, as God needs no service and help, so by serving God mean to serve the humanity, Bacha Khan told his fellows. Similarly, the Non-violence became the basic principle of the KKM as the Pakhtun society were entangled in individual as well as external and internal tribal feuds. Therefore, to demolish this curse from the Pakhtun society and to unite them on a single platform, the KKM propagated the philosophy of Non-violence. As Waqar Shah wrote that the main purpose of KKM was to eradicate social evils, give education, serving Pakhtun nation through social work and the propagation of Non-violence. The main motto of this Movement was, "God needs no service so by serving human, God is served". Therefore, the followers of this Movement propagated the idea of educational reforms, non-violence, Pakhtun nationalism, and liberation from British imperialism. So, in a nut shell, by dissipating the education, they eradicated the evils (Shah, 1999).

For all these activities of awareness, reformation, and organizing Pakhtuns under the philosophy of Non-violence, Bacha Khan opened a training camp in Sardaryab-Charsada. Sardaryab was not only a training camp, but also the Headquarters of the KKM. In Sardaryab, Bacha Khan trained

the KKs and made a non-violent army of more than hundred thousand of people very soon after the formation of movement. From Sardaryab camp Bacha Khan started reforming the society by organizing public gatherings, encouraging social work and spreading awareness through education and literature.

For the awareness of society, the KKs adopted different non-violent strategies such as sanitation activity which comprised the cleaning of their streets and villages as well as *Hujras* of other people, making of *Islaahi* committees. Such individuals were banned from KKM who had a tribal or individual enmity, Moreover it was necessary for every member to do two hours of labor and write daily diary. According to a respondent, these activities were very simple but very deep in nature. By cleaning homes, streets and *hujras* of other people, the KKs sought to eliminate feuds from the society. The *Islaahi* committee had the sole purpose to solve internal and external feuds of the Pakhtuns. Another non-violent act to ensure longtime peace and harmony in the society was that at the time of *Rogha* (resolving of conflict and feuds) both of the opposite groups had to clean the Hujra's of one another. The cleanliness was a symbol of cleaning of hearts and minds from hatred and violence. Banning of those people in the KKM who has enmity was a symbol for people to adopt the philosophy of Non-violence as their faith and behavior. Necessity of labor on every KK was to make them sensitive about their economy and to make sure they were not dependent on other people of society. A KK from Swabi who was 85 years old and was selling cups told that I sell these things in *Bazar* only because I did not want to be dependent on society and this is what Bacha Khan taught us. The instruction of writing daily diary was not only to document the history of KKM but also for the promotion of Pashto literature. The ideology of KKM was not only an ideology to resist the British imperialism but also a behavior and way of life to bring reforms in Pakhtun society.

#### **4.1.2. Reforms by Khudai Khidmatgar Movement**

The ways of reformation adopted by KKM were unique in their nature. They addressed every aspect of the Pakhtun culture and society. The movement brought various social and cultural reforms in Pakhtun society. Through reforms in Pakhtun society, Bacha Khan attempted to create unity amongst the Pakhtuns, to inform them about their rights and to unite them to get freedom from British. The reforms brought by KKM are discussed in the following paragraphs.

#### 4.1.2.1 Educational Reforms

The prime focus of KKM was the promotion of education. As Noor Ul Amin Yousafzai quoted that Khudai Khidmatgar Movement found more than hundred schools in NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). These schools were comprised of both primary as well as high level schools. These schools played an important role in giving education to Pakhtuns. In these schools religious as well modern subjects such as science and mathematics were taught. Teachers of these schools were also members of the KKM and they inculcated the spirit of the movement in the students. The British tried to resist Bacha Khan many times and put him in prison. However, Bacha Khan continued his struggle of educating people through his schools. The religious clerics (*mullahs*) also used different propagandas against the education system of Bacha Khan, as Noor Ul Amin quoted a piece of poetry through which the *mullahs* were doing propaganda against Bacha Khan.

*Sabbaq dh madrasi wayi,*

*Dh paraa dh paise wayi.*

*Pa janat ke ba yee zai na wi,*

*Pa duzakh k ba ghoty wayi.*

**Translation:** Those who learn in schools, Are none but money's tools.

In heaven, they will never dwell; they will surely go to hell.

Besides male education, Khudai Khidmatgar Movement also did its best to promote female education. The girls and their parents were also encouraged to go to school. As there were stereotypes for sending females to schools so Bacha Khan sent his daughter to England for graduation to set a precedent for Pakhtuns. It was the first time in history that Pakhtuns started sending their girls to schools. The struggle of Bacha Khan for education provided creative mind people to society such as Syeda Bushra Begum (a prominent Pakhtun writer), Ghani Khan (scholar, writer, poet and artist), Abdul Wali Khan (politician and writer), Ajmal Khattak (poet, writer and politician) and so many more people. These people proudly worked to promote the philosophy of Non-violence in Pakhtun society.



#### 4.1.2.2. Elimination of Feuds

Besides educational program, KKM also worked for the eradication of social evils from Pakhtun society through Non-violence philosophy. Before KKM, the history of Pakhtuns was filled with internal and external tribal feuds. As Raj Mohan Gandhi writes that, the history of Pakhtuns is marred with bloody conflicts. The Pakhtuns tribes and individuals were engaged in conflicts whether that were in their personal capacity or a tribal conflict. There was only a small period of time during the harvesting of crops when a self-proclaimed truce was in place from both the sides to have a peaceful harvesting of crops and to store grains for the whole season. The period of harvesting of crops was the only time window with peace in conflict-filled life of Pakhtun tribes (Gandhi, 2004).

Bacha Khan was aware of the fact that to unite Pakhtuns, it is necessary to eliminate the social evils such as feuds and hatred from the society. The only way Bacha Khan found possible for the demolishing of such feuds in Pakhtun society was to convince them on the virtue of Non-violence. Bacha Khan used unique strategies for the promotion of non-violence philosophy, for example one could not join KKM if he had any individual enmity or tribal feud. Through these strategies very soon the people who were engaged in feuds and enmities became non-violent soldiers of KKM. Many of the people and groups who had strong enmities with one another became companions in the KKM and worked for Non-violence and betterment of Pakhtun society stated a respondent.

The movement also made *Jirga* in different areas who worked to resolve conflicts as well as inter and intra tribal feuds. Before KKM there was no organized effort on mass level to solve these conflict. Before KKM, *Jirga*'s only held at the time whenever conflict arises and had no relation with people of other areas outside its jurisdiction stated a respondent. This also shows that there was no organized way of elimination these issue and conflicts on societal level. The reforms brought by KKM in Pakhtun had a great impact on society a respondent stated. Rafi Ullah quoted that the preaching of philosophy of non-violence by KKM transformed the Pakhtun society and especially the Peshawar valley to a social, organized and nonviolent society.. It was the philosophy of Non-violence that progressed the movement of Bacha Khan. Due to the phenomenon of this non-violence, various types of stereotypes which labelled the Pakhtun as wild, barbarian, bigot and war-monger were eliminated (Ullah, 2010). This is only the result of

KKM that the people of Peshawar valley are somehow in better position as compare to other areas of the KP and FATA in the context of blood feuds. Another respondent added that the terrorists took control of FATA and some areas of Malakand division as well as southern districts of KP. In the case of Peshawar valley, which is the strong hold of nonviolence legacy, Taliban faced a non-violent resistance in the mass level. That is how the philosophy of Non-violence transformed the Pakhtun society to a peaceful society.

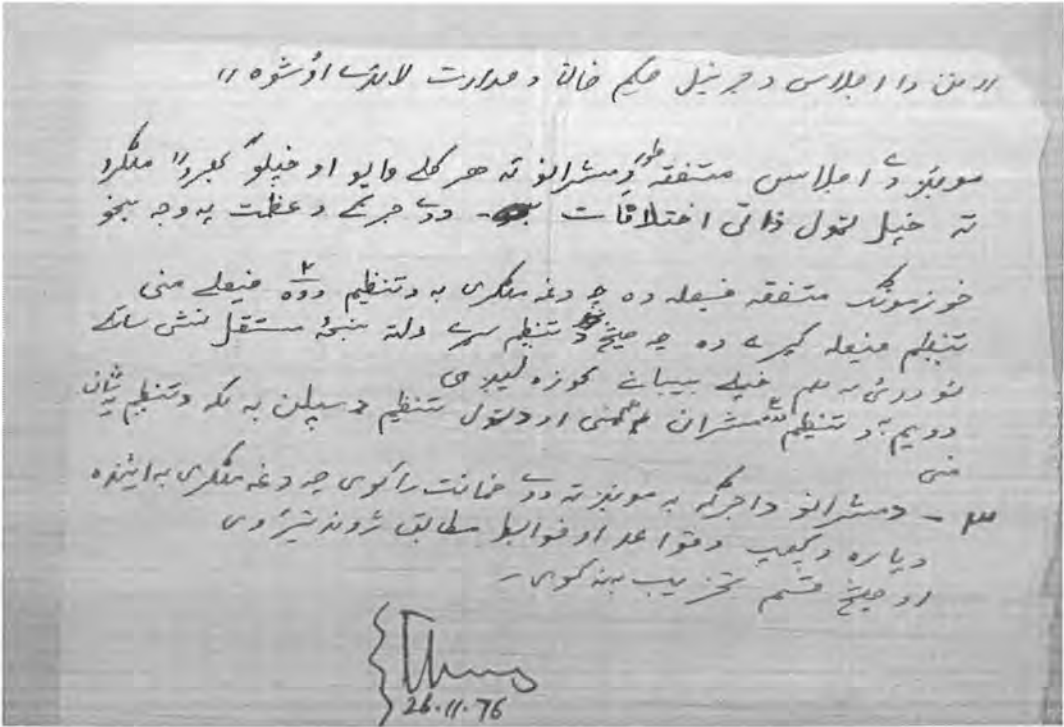


Figure 2: Image of Decision Document of Khudai Khidmatgars' peace Jirga, source; author

(Documented form of KKM *Islahi Jirga* which remains the written proof of what is decided in Jirga. A respondent stated that in order to make each party binding to the decisions of that Jirga so that no one could violate it afterwards.)

#### 4.1.2.3. Economic Reforms

Bacha Khan was also very sensitive about the economy of Pakhtuns and gave much importance to economic reforms. Bacha Khan knew that economy is the basic pillar in the development of a nation, so he emphasized the importance of trade and commerce. He advised the people to start their own businesses. The economic conditions of Pakhtuns were very weak and their

unnecessary expenditures on hospitality were further damaging their economy. According to Aman Khan, the KKs were teaches not to use money in unnecessary expenditures on hospitality and musical concerts and other extravagance in the marriage ceremonies, KKs were advised to live a simple life. It was strict rules for all KKs to do labor work for two hours daily where they are. It was because Bacha Khan did not want them to be burden on Pakhtun society. The KKs always ate maize bread with onion while they were on political visit to other areas of the province. It was because Bacha Khan did not want KKs to be burden on society. All of these interventions have had a very deep impact on Pakhtun culture and the Pakhtun economy. KKM reinterpreted the values and meanings of Pakhtunwali and its codes. *Melmastia* (hospitality) is the basic code of Pakhtunwali and KKM propagated for not expending much of money on *Melmastia* as in the name of *Melmastia* Pakhtuns were expending much of their money.

In *Pakhtun Journal*, many businesspersons and traders used to give advertisement about their businesses. As Fazal Raheem Marwat told that, knowing the vitality of trade and commerce, Bacha Khan used to advise the people to start their own businesses. He was also very much conscious about the quality of the commodities, which were advertised in *Pakhtun Journal*. He used to check out the things, which were advertised in the journal and said that if any businessman was found guilty of adulteration in the commodities, his/her advertisement will not be published in the journal (Marwat, 2008).

#### 4.2.1.4. Eradication of Social Stratification

KKM was against the social hierarchy in the society and struggled to eliminate social stratification from Pakhtun society. It was very difficult to unite the Pakhtun society without balancing the class system of society as stated by a respondent. KKs changed the perception of people in a very good way. Abdul Khaliq Baba quoted that Bacha Khan and KKs used to say that everyone who lives in our society is our brother and everyone who speaks Pashto is Pakhtun. Other people who want to make us weak and want to enslave the poor people create social stratifications. The strategy of Bacha Khan was unique, as the ranks in the organization of KKs always given to the people from occupational castes, as stated by a respondent. By doing this, Bacha Khan tried to eradicate social stratification as well as to strengthen Pakhtun economy, as Bacha Khan knew that these occupational castes are the backbone of our economy. The Pakhtuns and people from occupational castes have no difference in KKM, and this led to the eradication

of social stratification from society. For eradicating social stratification Bacha Khan also used other non-violent tools, according to Zain Muhammad Kaka, Bacha Khan started charkha (machine for making dress) in his home and started stitching clothes by his own hands. *Charkha* was a symbolic action for the propagation for eliminating social stratification in society. Through which Bacha Khan tried to change the perception of people toward occupational castes.

## **4.2. Transformation of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement**

In the starting days, Khudai Khidmatgar Movement was a social reformation movement. With the passage of time it changed to a political movement. The survival of the movement was threatened by the British, so the followers of the movement also took active roles in politics.

### **4.2.1. Affiliation with Indian National Congress**

The movement was the close ally of Indian National Congress and struggled side by side with Indian National Congress against British colonizers. According to Dr. Khadim Hussain, looking at the larger interests and well-being of Pakhtun nation, Bacha Khan formed an alliance with the Indian National Congress, which was the biggest political party of the sub-continent, but it retained its own identity. The coalition of KKM was very natural as both had a secular agenda for the freedom of their people against British raj. According to Mian Iftikhar, KKM was not a political organization, rather it was a reformative organization, and Bacha Khan was a reformer, but was against the English imperialism, as Gandhi was, and Muslim League was against Hindus, so naturally we became friends with Congress. It was 1931 when the leaders of movement for the very first time joined the congress session in Karachi. This meeting resulted in KKs publicly declaring their co-operation with Indian National Congress. However, their association and co-operation with the Congress would not shun their own identity, and they still retained their separate organizational identity. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was made leader of NWFP of this organization to diminish the hostilities found between the rural and urban worker of Congress (Shah, 1999). In NWFP, the KKs provided an efficient support to Congress and mutually worked for each other. According to Faiz Muhammad Kaka, the layer of communalism had fomented the rivalry between Muslims and Hindus in the numerous parts of India. But, KKs, believing in the true message of peace in Islam, had restrained themselves from any kind of strife found between Muslims and Hindus. They were of the view that the Islamic consciousness had



taught them lessons of restraining from torturing the other communities (Shah, 1999). My key informant Faiz Muhammad Kaka told me that the British realized that with the presence of Congress their plans could not be carried out effectively. Therefore, they used religion as a tool to divide Hindus and Muslims. Abdul Wali Khan says; "The British knew that their real enemy is Congress. So, to make the Congress less powerful for a purpose to get their objectives, the imperialist used Islam as a dividing force between Muslims and Hindus. Although Islam does not teach the lesson of mutual discord but still it was fomented to use as a dividing force to achieve their divide and rule policy (Khan, 2004).

#### 4.2.2. Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek after Partition

After the inception of Pakistan, the movement fell to troubles. The struggle against the British colonization was a rational one, as they had usurped India, and it was a war of independence for India. According to Zaland Momand, when Pakistan came into being, by efforts of All India Muslim League, the heroes of independence were shown as villains by these people (Muslim League) and this was the compulsion/obsession of establishment, who did portray KKs as villains. If the Pakistani state and Muslim League had shown the real picture of KKs, then they would have had to expose their virtues to the people as well. So the circumstances were shaped against KKs.

Soon after the partition, Jinnah was invited to the camp of KKM in Charsadda by KKs. Due to his friend advice he did not came to Charsadda, which caused great disappointment and distrust among the KKs stated a respondent. On 12<sup>th</sup> August that year round about 600 people were martyred at the incident. That bloody massacre of *Babara* also occurred very soon after the partition when Qayum Khan ordered to shoot KKs. The police and army killed more than six hundred KKs in *Babara* in the public gathering of KKM. However, the movement of Bacha Khan still remained non-violent. According to Dr. Khadim Hussain, the decline of Pakistan started at the time, when the real freedom fighter were made villains, and the people who were not imprisoned for a single day by the British Raj became the heroes. The decline of Pakistan and the rise of India is because in India the heroes of independence came in government while in Pakistan the heroes were considered as villains and the people who had no part in struggle of independence came in government.





When Bacha Khan delivered his speech at the constituent assembly in 1954, he made it clear that we are not against Pakistan, it is our country now, but we were against the partition of Subcontinent. Bacha Khan also suggested to make the new state, 'a social welfare state'. The point was that with division of India, Muslims are being divided, and it's a tragic loss. Now whatever is done, is accepted, and please don't let the new state divide more, because it will need more blood from us, and that he declared he was against the bloodshed.

#### **4.2.3. National Awami Party**

As the Khudai Khidmatgars in the leadership of Bacha Khan were still struggling for the rights of people and especially of Pakhtuns, KKs formed a new party named National Awami Party (NAP), with other secular and nationalist leaders of Pakistan in 1957. NAP was formed as the result of one unit formed in 1954. According to Mukhtar Kaka, on national level the ideological party was NAP, which was formed, after the release of Bacha Khan from jail, in which all the progressive personalities of Pakistan participated, all other parties were governmental parties. The NAP had personalities like, Ghaus Bakhsh Bazinjo, Sardar Ataullah Mengal, Abdul Hameed Bashani from East Pakistan, Anas Khan Kaka, Iftikharuddin from Punjab, Kasargardezi, Mahmood Ali Qasoori and other well-known people who were ideologically progressive combined under the leadership of NAP Abdul Wali Khan. The progressive and democratic nature of Pakistani politics is therefore because of Abdul Wali Khan, without whom the politics of Pakistan we would not have seen a democratic Pakistan stated a respondent. NAP was secular socialist party and struggled for the rights of small provinces and Bengal. The main objectives of the NAP consisted of; dissolution of One Unit, provincial autonomy, independent foreign policy, radical economic reforms and abrogation of defense pact (Aziz, 1976).

Besides its political struggle, it also struggled against the establishment who were exploiting the rights of small provinces, dictatorship and military governments stated a respondent. The role of Wali Khan under the flag of NAP in the first election of Pakistan was very positive. Sheikh Mujeeb and his party made them the rightful party to form government by winning majority seats. However, West Pakistan did not want him to come in power, so they denied his victory. According to a respondent, Wali Khan went to East Pakistan to negotiate with Sheikh Mujeeb who remained adamant on his stance concerning the 6-point agenda. This conflict resulted in the fall of Dhaka.

After the fall of Dhaka, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto formed his government, with the cooperation of Wali Khan, who was the opposition leader. This cooperation was mainly to strengthen the country in these tough times. When the constitution of 1973 was presented in the assembly, Wali Khan on the record said to Bhutto that, *I do not trust you but due to the current circumstances of Pakistan, I am voting for you in favor of passing this constitution.* At the same time Wali Khan did talk to Bhutto about the Concurrent List, because he believed in the politics of provincial autonomy stated a respondent. These were the people who in spite of being in the opposition participated in the formation of the constitution of Pakistan, and who were later blamed in the ‘Hyderabad case’, ‘Iraqi Arms scandal’, ‘London Plan’ and in the disintegration of the country, and were jailed again. Along with all these blames and struggle of administration to weaken the NAP, the politics of Wali Khan was never defeated, because of its very natural and genuine nature, stated a respondent.

KKs were very active in politics under the flag of NAP. From Yahya Khan to Ayub and from Ayub Khan to Bhutto era, NAP actively struggled for the rights of small provinces stated a respondent. However, due to the assassination Hayat Khan Sherpao in a bomb blast in 1975, NAP was banned by the government. Very soon after banning NAP, the activists of NAP organized a new party named NDP (National Democratic Party) which later on transformed into Awami National Party (Waseem, 1989). Abdul Wali Khan was the president of Awami National Party.

#### **4.2.4. Awami National Party**

The time when Awami National Party was emerging as a political party and was still struggling to organize itself, Russia invaded Afghanistan. The Americans, the Arabs and Pakistani officials were favoring the Afghan Jihad and *Mujahideen*. Awami National Party leaders, being followers of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement opposed the destructive strategies of Americans and Pakistani Government, because they were aware of its long lasting effects and impacts on the whole Pashtun belt. A respondent added that from the very early times the leadership of Awami National Party opposed the Afghan Jihad and the establishment of Taliban regime in 1996. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Abdul Wali Khan strongly opposed Afghan jihad as well as the support of Pakistan for the militants. Abdul Ghaffar Khan stated this many times that throwing stones at

someone else's home always has bad consequences and one day the others will throw stones back at you.

On political side of parliamentary politics, in 90s election, the new phase came. Awami National Party participated, other candidates of Awami National Party won their seats in the election, but Wali Khan was defeated on his seat. The victorious candidates went to Wali Khan and offered him to come and contest the election from their constituencies. Wali Khan denied it, saying that, what my people have decided about me is acceptable to me. After that defeat, he never participated in any election till his death, while he remained an active participant of politics stated a respondent.

#### **4.2.5. Awami National Party after 9/11**

According to a party central leader that after the 9/11, due to poor health, Wali Khan did not participated in the political issues actively. In the issue of war on terror ANP was facing a huge problem in deciding what party to join. Either to march with a dictator, against which they had a history of struggle, or to march with America, always criticized by their party leaders for supporting Afghan Jihad, or the next party was of Taliban. The decision was very difficult for them to be taken. According to Mian Iftikhar, Wali Khan cleared the confusion by joining this meeting of central leadership. In that meeting Wali Khan analyzed that, before this, America and Taliban were on the same side, but now in a war against each other, they are against each other, since we Pakhtuns suffered at the hands of Taliban, therefore America has rightly decided to finish off this evil, and rebuild Afghanistan and eradicate the evil of Talibanization. It was a very difficult decision, and some of them were not ready to agree with this decision, but due to the authority that Wali Khan commanded, everyone agreed. In the general elections, very few people voted for the party that year due to the unpopular decision of supporting America stated a respondent. After some years, the time has proved the decision right. According to a respondent, taking such unpopular and historic decisions are the qualities of leaders like Wali Khan. He pointed that ANP and Wali Khan were always against Taliban, they never changed their policy but America and Pakistan surely did so. This party was always against violence and terrorism; either by Taliban or by America. The leaderships of Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, China, and even America is doing what Wali Khan did long before stated a respondent.

#### 4.2.5.1. Case Study 1

##### **Faiz Muhammad Kaka**

Faiz Muhammad Kaka is 83 years old Khudai Khidmatgar and belong to *Shiva Kali* of Swabi district. He told that it has been years since I have lifted active politics and especially parliamentary politics but have a positive role in *Amn Islahi* committee of Swabi district. Faiz Muhammad Kaka got his education from Azad Schools made by Bacha Khan through KKM and also made a Khudai Khidmatgar in his early age. He spent many years in prison for his political cause. He was the member of the KKM and seen all the transformation phases of KKM. He is very active in all these years after 9/11 and had a significance role in organizing different political gatherings in Swabi district. Faiz Muhammad Kaka said that terrorism is a drama of great powers for their own interest but being a Khudai Khidmatgar and being a nationalist, I believe that we have our own meanings of all these events of violence. Faiz Muhammad Kaka is also an active member of a civil society named *Pakhtunkhwa Ulasi Tehreek*. The purpose of the organization is to make people aware about the different issues in society. He said that to resist this terrorism Non-violence is the only option for us.



Figure 3: Khudai Khidmatgar Faiz Muhammad Kaka, source; author

(Khudai Khidmatgar Faiz Muhammad Kaka is in his late 60s but he still plays active role in the political activities of party. He arranges *Islaahi Jirga*, corner meetings regularly and mobilizes people and participated in discussions about the prevailing situations. At this old age his esteem and resolve is commendable and worth following for younger generations.)



## 5. NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE THROUGH POLITICS

In this chapter, the researcher will discuss the emergence of Taliban in Pakhtun region especially in Malakand division and will briefly discuss the role of Non-violence legacy in ongoing terrorism. This chapter will shed light on the ways and methods of how they are resisting and countering terrorism and militancy through politics. The legacy of KKM are struggling through different political parties and groups such as ANP, Aman Tehreek, *Aman Jirga*'s and civil societies such as *Pakhtunkhwa Olasi Tehreek* (Pakhtunkhwa Social Movement). The major contribution is of ANP, as it is a major political party in KP. The non-violence legacy is struggling for countering terrorism through non-violent strategies. Their policies while in government, and countering terrorism as well as the narrative of militants through protests, corner meetings, and through *Awami Jalsas* (public gatherings).

### 5.1. Uprising of the Taliban (Militants)

Just soon after 9/11, the violence of the extremists or militants groups started their activities in KP and FATA. They started terrorizing people which lead them into various territories of KP especially Malakand Division. They acquired a well-organized way to get hold of Malakand Division. First of all, they started mobilizing people about various activities in the name of religion, which wasn't a new thing in the history of Pakhtun society. From time to time Pakhtuns are being always subdued by religious clerics. After listening to the speeches of Taliban on various religious matters, the illiterate majority of the locality adopted their lifestyles. Seeking the enthusiasm and interest of the unaware innocent locals, Taliban started their own FM radio to spread their teachings to everyone. The people of Malakand division and especially of Swat district were fed up of the state judicial system as well as of law and order authorities. This was the case all over the province. In the beginning Taliban followed the critical judgments laid down by Islamic jurisprudence, which were welcomed by the despaired one's/ hopeless who were in the seek of justice for a long time in various affairs. Locals started to bring their issues and affairs to the Taliban to seek immediate justice. So by doing this Taliban got famous, and they got attachments of the locals both emotionally and physically. People of the locality became their followers, they started attending their ceremonies which were held all over Malakand.

After that these militants started opening of various Madrassa's (religious education center) to get financial benefits from the community through donations stated Muhammad Suliman Yousafzai. People all over the Malakand division participated in their campaign for the fund raising with great enthusiasm and energy, of which they were unaware, that it was just the beginning of the game.

#### **5.1.1. Impact of Taliban on Daily Life**

From writers to literature, from laborers to businessman's, from arts to artists, from journals to journalists, from social to political organization, and from governmental to nongovernmental organization, Taliban started inquiring about various issues. They banned various activities of the normal day life or in other sense activities regarding the routine daily life of a free human being. According to Muhammad Suliman Yousafzai, being a free human you have the solemn right to live your life your way in the boundaries of some cultural and societal rules, which no one can deny. But the scenario here took a twist and a wave of suffocation spread all over there. Is there be any thing more disastrous for an individual, while he has to lose the umbrella of those precious and disciplined standards in which he lived for centuries stated Amjad Shahzad. The loss of Pakhtun identity, Pakhtun culture survival was at higher risks. The basic codes and standards of Pakhtun society were going to be demolished. Societal institutions like political, social, economic, religious, and educational institutions were disturbed. Jirga (assembly of elders for the settlement of disputes among the Pakhtun families or individuals) were fading up. The role of Jirga became weaken because of Taliban influence. The people were banned on social and cultural activities like gatherings in Hujra's after the evening and culture programs i.e. *Tang Takoor* stated a respondent from swat. The standards of trades and economy of Pakhtun society were demolished in such a way that no common person was willing to exercise them at any cost. A key informant sharing his views that the economy of Malakand division and especially of district Swat was hijacked by militants. The economy of Swat is based on fruits and dry fruits, which was disturbed by Militants. There were taxes on the businessmen, shopkeepers, traders, transporters, and peasants, they were also threatened to raise funds for the financial growth of Taliban Organization. Those with unwillingness and opposition were beheaded and were thrown in the streets and bazaars. They also disturbed the religious institution as they opened their own Madrassas and imposed their own law in the area. They also banned female education in Swat

district as well as male education was also disturbed due to insecurity. The boys as well as girls were forced to join Madrassas rather than schools. The scenario in Malakand division was made very insecure for the common people of the area.

## 5.2. Uprising of Taliban and Role of Non-violent Legacy

In non-violent struggle, communication with groups and mass is very important. This communication can be done through different ways and methods. Different social scientists worked on methods of non-violent struggle and for communication, the methods are very effective. Gene Sharp explained it in three categories, i.e. non-violent protest, noncooperation and intervention. All of these forms work as communication for the awareness of mass and groups as well as for pressure on opposition. Protest, awareness is successful always as it is the first step of non-violent struggle (Sharp G. , 2013). In the case of non-violent resistance in KP, the legacy of non-violence organize non-violent protests, corner meeting, political and social gatherings, academic work, and non-violent resistance through art as their tools stated a respondent. From the very starting days of Taliban uprising, the legacy of Non-violence very actively opposed them. The nationalists and secular forces of the province were there when Taliban start their activities and started awareness in the masses. According to a respondent, those KKs who were of old age not active in politics also became so active while opposing Taliban. They started to spread awareness in the masses and were criticized the activities of Taliban/militants very openly. A respondent stated that we (legacy of Non-violence) conveyed our message inside our homes, in our streets, in our villages and we changed the mindset of people against terrorism, we adopted such strategies, and policies, which conveyed our message to the people. The Non-violence legacy struggled in social, political, and literary way to change the mindset of people. This shows the ways through which political parties gave awareness to people. He also added that militants were terrorizing our people, but our prime focus during all those years was to give awareness to our people about the militancy and the objectives of those militants. The legacy of non-violence also organized activities i.e. *Tang Takoor*, *Mushairy*, and other musical and social gatherings in different areas of KP. These activities spread peace, entertainment, and harmony, which helped to stop terrorism in the locale.

The ways strategies which were adopted to counter militancy were; *Awami Jalsas* (public gatherings), formation of *Aman Jirga's*, protest, seminars and corner meetings. These ways were

also used in different non-violent struggles in different areas, cultures and in different time and situations (Brian & Wendy, 2003). The methods and ways through which the legacy of Non-violence opposed the militants in KP are discussed below;

### 5.2.1. Awareness through *Jalsas* (Public Gatherings)

Arranging public gatherings is a non-violent method of resistance through which the non-violent movements give awareness to society and pressurize the opponents (Sharp G. , 2013). The legacy of Non-violence especially ANP organized *Jalsas* throughout the province after the spread of militancy in the region. The party has its organizational structure from village to province and to national level. The workers and leadership of the party organized *Jalsas* throughout the province, from village and union councils to Tehsil and district levels and on province level. As a respondent quoted the words of Mian Iftikhar, which he always used to say in *Jalsas* that our province is like a home, and no room can be spared if the home got on fire. He also added that by saying this, they were spreading awareness in the people of KP about the result of militancy. According to Sardar Hussain Babak, that the KKs cleared it very early that by supporting Mujahideen in Afghanistan will one-day result to militancy in Pakistan and this occurred after 9/11. However, we are still struggling for the peace and dialogues because we know that this is our land and we have to secure it from militancy. Taliban threatened and targeted the legacy of Non-violence very badly. The *Jalsas* organized by nationalist party were not safe at any cost. According to a respondent, more than fifty attacks were carried out on their *Jalsas*. Hundreds of party workers and dozens of prominent leaders such as Bashir Bilour also targeted in these attacks. Taliban also carried out so many attacks on every minister and nationalist leader of KP in these *Jalsas*. However, the people were still supporting them and were joining their gatherings. Most of the people of the province were aware of the fact that the only possible way of getting rid of Taliban is to oppose them through non-violent means. KKs were prominent while backing the Non-violence legacy directly as well as indirectly through other organizations.

Besides this, there were a lot of people who opposed militants through other social and political organizations, they were also the legacy of Non-violence movement but were not affiliated with ANP. In these Organizations *Amn Tehreek*, *Pakhtunkhwa Olasi Tehreek* are prominent. The followers of these organizations are also the legacy of Non-violence movement but they work

through civil societies and organization. These organizations also arranged *Jalsas* in different areas of the province to oppose militancy. These organizations also provided an ethical and political background for the nationalist in the province to resist militancy.

### 5.2.2. *Aman Jirga*

After Taliban started their activities, the people of Malakand division as well as of other districts of the province organized *Aman Jirga*'s. The *Aman Jirga*'s were organized on Villages, Tehsils, and Districts levels. The major role in these Jirga was of K.K.s, aged people of the area and members of Awami national party. The purpose of the *Aman Jirga*/Islaahi Committee was to sustain peace in the area and to show non-violent resistance to militants stated a respondent.

According to a respondent *Aman Jirga* was very active in the dialogues with Taliban in those areas where Taliban have strong hold. The *Aman Jirga* actively solved issues and conflicts of the society. Taliban had imposed their own law and rules in many areas where they have strong hold. The people were forced to admit the decisions of Taliban. The members of the Jirga challenged the decisions made by Taliban so many times, because those decisions were causing conflicts in the society. On the other hand, because of these *Aman Jirga*'s decisions Taliban lost their reputation, which they have made in years for gaining sympathies of mass. It is because Jirga is valuable in Pakhtun society and Taliban have to follow the decisions of *Aman Jirga*'s. Seeing this, Taliban started attacking members of *Aman Jirga*, killed more than hundred members of *Aman Jirga* as the members of the Jirga were making hurdles in their way stated a respondent.

*Aman Jirga* actively worked in areas where Taliban were not strong enough. The activists of *Aman Jirga* gathered people and put penalties against those who were involved in supporting Taliban. These gatherings as well as making of local laws had greater impacts. A public opinion against militants was established and *Aman Jirga* with the support of common people also announced for the social boycott and exile of those who were supporting Taliban stated a respondent. These steps affected a lot in resisting Taliban in those areas where they have not stronghold and were trying to take hold. As the people of Katlang-Mardan, Charsada, and Swabi resisted through these tactics and Taliban didn't take hold in these areas.

*Aman Jirga* also played a vital role in the opposing of Taliban and their narrative. The *Aman Jirga* opposed the Taliban throughout the province. They also resisted the attacks of Taliban and



their extremist activities through protest. The *Aman Jirga* have also has the support of government. The members of the *Aman Jirga's* of different areas of KP made their rules, they also announced for the social boycott of those who were supporting Taliban. Members of different families of the area were supposed to make their own security plan for the area. In which every family has to contribute in different ways and especially for security duty. Through this way the *Aman Jirga*, took the support of common people stated a respondent. They started taking caring of their areas and on many occasions when Taliban tried to take hold of the area, the *Amn Lashkar* resisted them. This was the reason that after Swat district, Taliban didn't take control of other area in the province.

### 5.2.3. Corner Meetings

Arrangement of corner meetings was an effective tool for the guidance and awareness of their party workers as well as other peoples that how to deal the issue of militancy. In these corner meeting they propagated their policy and strategy of Non-violence as well as the importance of Non-violence to the party workers and supporters. These corner meeting were arranged on different level i.e. village, tehsil and district level. *Aman Jirga* and *Amn Lashkars* were also founded in these in these corner meetings. The corner meetings were very important for the strategy of encountering militancy. According to a respondent, the legacy of the Non-violence paid a high price for the resisting of terrorists and their narrative. The respondent also quoted a verse of Pashto poetry;

*Mung Lewano Da Khpali Khaory Da Namoos Pa Khatir,*

*Agha Qarzoona Hum Ada Kral Che Rapori Na Wo.*

**Translation:** For keeping the dignity of our motherland, we have paid the price for which we were not responsible.

This was only the legacy of Non-violence who opposed Taliban through non-violent means. No other party has opposed Taliban and their violence on party and ground basis. We have arranged corner meetings and *Jalsa* in every street and village of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Because of this Taliban attacked us, targeted us throughout the years after their uprising. In the election of 2013, Taliban killed more than hundred leaders, workers, and supporters of ANP stated a respondent.

#### 5.2.4. Protests and Seminars

The people associated with non-violent philosophy also arranged protests, press conferences, and seminars for the awareness of people as well as for opposing the militancy. These events organized on district level but mostly in Peshawar, which is the capital of the province. Party workers, civil societies, and specially student activists were active in organizing these events. According to a student activist of, these events contributed a lot in conveying the message to the masses on Non-violence basis. The respondent also told that protest is a non-violent resistance to militants as well as very important to promote encounter narrative in the society. We always express our narrative to the society through non-violent ways and protest is one of them. The protests were on different levels and of different types but all were non-violent.

These activists also arranged seminars on different topics. Awami National Party, Youth and Student organizations, Bacha Khan Trust, Pakhtunkhwa Olasi Tehreek, and *Ann* Tehreek were always active in arranging seminars. According to a respondent, all these seminars were not about terrorism and militancy but also about history, personalities, events that was indirect resistance to terrorism and militancy. Seminars were arranged on different times and events. Such as 2014 was the year of Ghani Khan, well known for Revolutionary, Philosophic poetry as well as artist and sculpturist. These seminars were a tribute to Ghani Khan Poetry, Art and philosophic writing as well as a way to spread the message of his art and poetry.





Figure 4: Childs Protesting against Toy Weapons, source; author

(School children protested against the culture of toy weapons in Swat and the violence inculcated by such methods in the psyche of young, unadulterated minds. According to a respondent Toy weapons need to be replaced with other constructive and thought provoking elements which forces the young minds to think creatively.)

### **5.3. Non-violent Actions through Governmental Policies**

In the election of 2008, ANP emerged victorious in KP. They won provincial as well as national seats and formed a coalition government with PPP in national and provincial assemblies. According to Sardar Babak, ANP faced many problems, when they came to government. Besides all the issues and problems, the main problem was that of militancy and Terrorism for the countering of which the people give vote to nonviolence legacy.

#### **5.3.1. Dialogues during Government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**

During MMA government, Taliban became very strengthened that they had practical government over here stated a respondent. Actually, MMA was the coalition of religious people has a big question mark on its own formation, but certainly, this coalition took us to a great trouble. According to a respondent, the leadership of MMA is ideologically closer to the Taliban as they got vote in the name of Jihad against America. Therefore, Taliban were let move freely around the province as well as in FATA. In MMA time it seems that Fazlullah was the ruler, with his colleagues Muslim Khan, Mehmood and commander Rizwan. So, these are the argument against MMA that at their time, Taliban were ruling actually as they had freehand to do what they want, stated a respondent. During MMA government Taliban were to attack us sometimes but it was the early stage so it had less intensity that time.

The leadership of ANP is the continuity of non-violent movement and seeing their historical roots they started resolving this issue through non-violent way which was dialogue. Mian Iftikhar told that when we came in government, we saw all these things very closely. The first thing we had in our minds was that the best way to eradicate terrorism is the way of dialogue, but at that time both Army and America were against the dialogues. As we were in provincial government and we were interested in dialogue, so they agreed with us, as the federal government had just to deal with FATA. It was very difficult for us to organize dialogue, but we initiated it keeping in view the ideology of Non-violence of Bacha Khan. He further said that we are democratic people so if their demands are acceptable then we must accept it. We got a chance to talk to Army and they agreed with us, for dialogue, and the same did by America. Luckily, I was chosen as the spokesperson of the government. All the responsibilities of dialogues and the policies of government were on my shoulders. Afrasiab Khattak and Bashir Bilour used to accompany me

as senior leaders of the party, along with other leaders of the party. MPAs of the area were also with us during talks and meeting with Taliban and I used to be present everywhere. The respondent also added that when we were in dialogue phase with Taliban, there were suicide attacks around our gatherings.

According to Mian Iftikhar, at the meetings with Taliban, they put their demands to the government. The first demand of the Taliban leadership was of Nizam-e-Adal and the second was regarding their commanders and other friends to be released from jails. The first demand about Shariah Nizam-e-Adal was accepted by the government which was not even accepted by MMA and was very difficult to accept. While the second demand was also accepted by saying whom being releasable for us, will be released and the others should be decided by courts, stated Mukhtiar Kaka.

### **5.3.2. After Dialogues**

The leadership of the nationalist party accepted the demands of Taliban. But after few days of successful dialogues, Sufi Muhammad in his speech at Grassy Ground (Swat) delivered a controversial speech that democracy is infidelity and I do not believe in parliament and democracy. What we have adopted here in Swat, is to be applied by force all over the country. Then Taliban took over Buner and also moved to Mardan district.

Someone had quoted very well, 'that you can push me to a limit, but fear the day when I respond.' This was exposed to the locals that Taliban did not want Shariah/ Nizam-e-Adal but just bloodshed. The Non-violence legacy was left with no option. As Taliban had arms and ammunition, so there was no other way except the call and support of operation in the occupied territories of Malakand division. Soon after the meetings with the officials of armed forces, operation against extremisms and terrorism was declared. The armed forces with their full gallops marched into Malakand division. The Non-violence legacy were aware of the consequences of operation. Their own people have to suffer, but evil of society had to be removed before it gets metastasized. During operation the locals of Malakand division migrated to other districts and were tagged IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons). They left their lands, their houses, their assets. For 3-4 months, the operation was concluded. The armed forces outnumbered the militants, defeated them at every position and the occupied territories were



cleared from the militants. After the successful completion of the operation, the locals of Malakand division were allowed to go back to their homeland, to live their lives happily.

### **5.3.3. Through Changes in Curriculum**

The ANP led provincial government also brought changes in the syllabus of government schools of KP. According to Sardar Babak, after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment ANP took steps to modify the syllabus of schools, which was prepared by the Zia regime. We made changes in the syllabus and made it in an Islamic way that, Jihad is a religious duty but it is the collective duty of state and individually jihad is not the Islamic way. We also introduced our heroes to the people who talked about the love, sincerity. We introduced those Quranic verses and chapters which have the message of love, humanity and we said as the Holy Prophet has said that the killing of a single person is the killing of all humanity.

He further added that we decided that basic education should be in mother tongue, for all the linguistic groups of our province. We promoted Hindko language and we gave a sense of respect to all the languages, we struggled in the revival of Cinemas, the musical traditions of marriages, we gave a new life to the nation through our cultural means after it was hit dead by terrorism. We took steps in every field to defeat militancy through education, culture, information and literature and we participated in all the aspects.

### **5.3.4. Sacrifices for the Peace**

The militants continued to target political and community leadership. The political leaders of the Malakand division and especially of Swat were threatened and targeted day by day. Afrasiab Khattak told that in fact we were punished for, because, we fought our case efficiently, we kept our nation informed from all the activities of terrorism. We went and witnessed every act of terrorism and we assured to the people that we are with people against this terrorism.

The militants had arms, but we, being political workers did not have such things, so around 850 workers of our party workers were martyred and we are still sacrificing.

He added that there was a propaganda against us that was of corruption and nepotism. The evil of corruption was there before and after the inception of Pakistan, but we were criticized for, to hide our progressive work. Even today there is corruption but why we face it, the reason behind it

was, that we came in power after a long time and the second thing was our organizational structure, and then some special powers because of terrorism cornered us and brought their own people of their own, so we were not let to work properly.

But we follow the policy of Abdul Wali khan, that if someone throw us from parliament, then we can't help it, but no one can stop us from politics, so we are in politics today, and we are proud of all what we have done especially regarding terrorism. Neither today we want terrorism nor in future and we will contribute against terrorism if God wills.

The targeting of Malala Yousafzai in Swat was also due to her association with the Non-violence legacy. As she owns the Non-violence ideology of Bacha Khan and wrote against Taliban. Ministers and MPA's of Awami National Party government were also targeted i.e. Bashir Bilour, AlamZeb Khalil, Dr. Shamsheer, Son of Mian Iftikhar, Family of Afzal Khan lala and Dr. Waqar and so many others were targeted by militants.

### 5.3.5. Case Study 2

#### **Mian Iftikhar Hussain**

Mian Iftikhar is the central sectary general of Awami national party, ex-minister of information and spokesperson during Awami National Party. He belongs to Nowsherra district of KP. According to Mian Iftikhar his affiliation with the non-violent movement is from very early ages of his life. I am amongst those lucky people who studied in schools made by Bacha Khan. That school was, kind of Independent school, the way Islamic Madrassas are, which was inaugurated by Husain Ahmad Madani (a prominent Islamic scholar, belonged to Deobandi school of thought). My form masters Chinaar Gul Ustaad, and Ahmad Ustaad, were Khudai Khidmatgar. And the one who taught me Quraan, named Hafiz Jii, was also Khudai Khidmatgar. So I have learned, both, Quraan and School, from KKs. They used to teach with a national spirit, so unconsciously I groomed in the School of Bacha Khan, under the KKs. I have seen the KKs very closely and especially when Bacha Khan came from Afghanistan, and at that time while the KKM was going one, all the old Khudai Khidmatgars were united. Ghazi Khan Kaka, of my village, is a prominent name, who was a well-spoken, handsome, well dressed, and to the people, he was known for good character, and due to his reputation, people were impressed. Fazl e Karim Kaka was amongst us another Khudai Khidmatgar. Later on we knew that he was a writer

as well, he had written a fiction, which was brought from London by someone, as none of us had that on record. He was amongst the learned KKs, because he was educated and had God gifted wisdom. Both of them, were, of my village, one of them was of aggressive nature and the other one was loving nature, both of them used to be together, like the two poles/wires of electricity which combinedly generate electricity. Both of them had his own qualities of goodness and aggressiveness like one's Father or brother does, but their anger was for the sack of rearing, both had an enthusiasm, both were jailed. Similarly, Qeemat Shah of our village was an educated Khudai Khidmatgar. He used to read/study English newspaper. A newspaper used to be sent by Zadi Khan Kaka especially for him, who had the news agency then. His style was very good as he was modern and educated one with new modern ideas. The names mentioned above, like Chinaar gul ustaad, was a degree holder knowledgeable Islami Scholar and Imam of the Mosque in Mamreq square, and people used to ask him about their issues Islamic issues. Ahmad Ustaad, on the scholarly bases was not a certified scholar, means, he was not graduated of Madrassa, but he was known for his piousness. He used to be us, and people were kind of, never make him incensed. As we have very less time, for the interview, so, in short, people used to cast vote for us, because of our campaigning: Ahmad kaka, because KKs were pious people.

Mian Iftikhar was very active during the government of ANP. He was also the spokesperson of the KP government during dialogues with Taliban. As the agreement was then abandoned by Taliban. Therefore, Mian Iftikhar actively worked for the elimination of militancy from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa during government as well as after the government. Taliban also killed his only son Rashid Hussain because of Mian Iftikhar active politics and work for the elimination of Militancy from KP. Beside from this, he is also struggling for the rights of small provinces and autonomy.



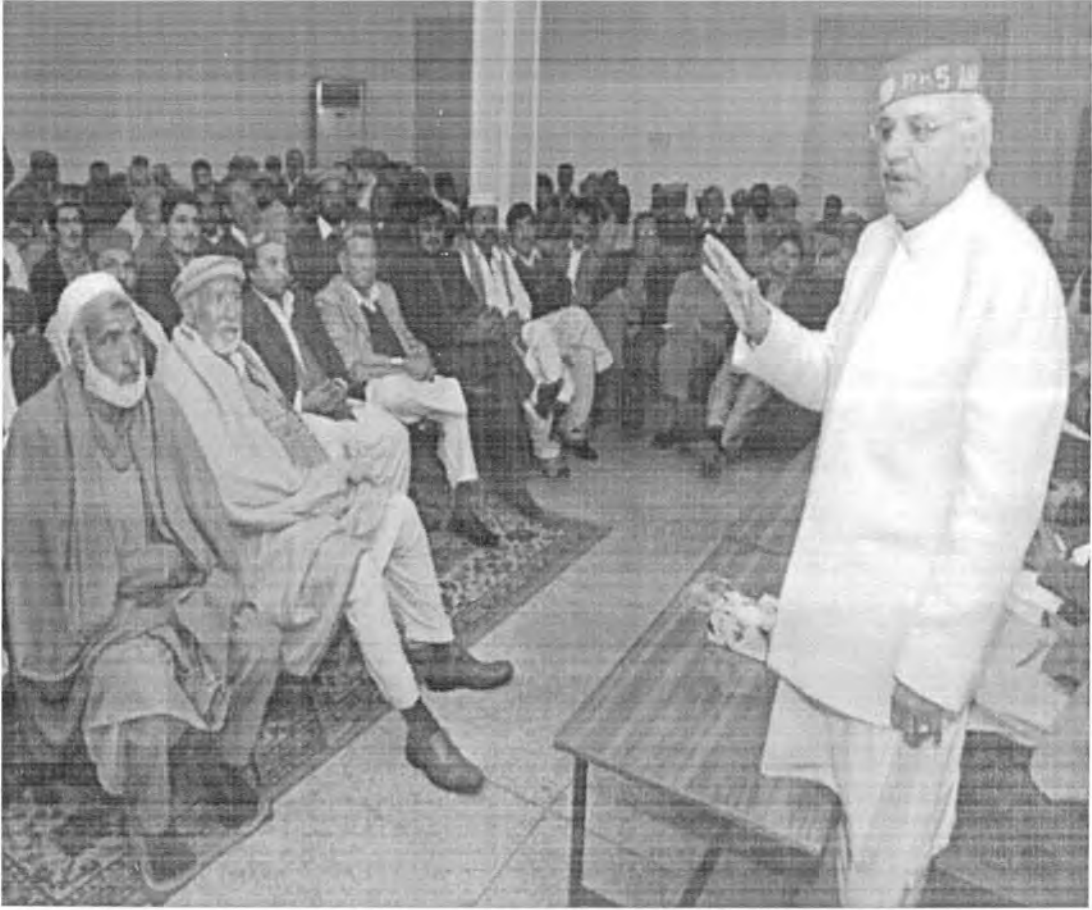


Figure 5: Mian Iftikhar Hussain speaking to a corner meeting, source; author.

(Corner meeting addressed by ANP leader Mian Iftikhar Hussain where he discussed the issues of insecurity, deteriorating Law and order situation and threats of Taliban extremism. According to Mian Iftikhar such meetings were arranged through the length and breadth of KP to inform common people about the prevailing situations and counter measures taken by provincial government, of which non-violence is of essence.)

## 6. NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE THROUGH ART

In this chapter, the relationship of Non-violence legacy with art, and the role of art in combating terrorism will be discussed. The prime focus of this chapter is to know how the artists were inspired by Non-violence philosophy, how they adopted the idea of Non-violence as their faith, how the artists presently are propagating their narrative, and how they are resisting extremism in KP. This chapter is divided in two major parts, in first part, the researcher will discuss the role of poets and literary people, second part comprising of musicians and singers.

### 6.1. Pashto Literature Before Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek

The relationship of Non-violence philosophy and Pashto literature is as old as the history of Non-violence movement of Bacha Khan in Pakhtun society, stated Noor-ul-Amin Yousafzai. Before KKM, Pashto literature and poetry was based on romanticism, Sufism, and mostly the poets wrote poetry to show they are superior to other poets. Sufism in itself is a non-violent way of life. However, the Sufi poets have not discussed the social problems of the Pakhtun society and did not give solutions of these social problems through non-violent means. As Noor-ul-Amin Yousafzai quoted the poetry of Rahman Baba,

*Pa sabab da zalimano hakimano,*

*Kor ao gor ao Pekhawar dre wanra yo de.*

Translation: Because of the cruel rulers, Home, Graveyard, and Peshawar are the same.

The Sufi poets seldom have criticized the rulers of their times. However, they did not give a clear direction to get rid of those rulers but mostly focused on ethics and morals of the society.

According to Zaland Mohmand, another poet of this era was Khushal Khan Khattak. He wrote on Pakhtun Nationalism and unity of Pakhtuns. Besides this aspect, his poetry also contains romanticism. Respondent also added that Khushal Khattak was a warrior and the leader of his tribe that is why his poetry depicts armed struggle to protect his nation. This is very much evident from his poetry as at one stage he writes,



*Da Afghani pa Nang mi otarrala thoora,*

*Nangyalay da Zamani Khushal Khattak yam.*

(Translation: I stood up with my sword in the honour of Afghan (nation), I am the daring Khushal Khattak of this era).

Poets like Khushal Khan Khattak, Rahman Baba, Abdul Hameed Baba didn't focus on the issues and problems of society nor there was an organizational structure of literary people to work on mass level. It was the leadership of KKM and especially Bacha Khan, who turned the focus of Pashto poets and writers to social problems and social issues stated a respondent.

### **6.1.1. Pashto Literature after the Emergence of KKM**

The rise KKM brought a paradigm shift in Pashto literature. It was KKM, which gave a platform to the poets for discussing social issues, unity, and organization of Pakhtun society through their writings. According to a respondent being sensitive, poets, and writers could/understand the society very deeply, and their approach towards issues is different from other people. That is why Bacha Khan gave much importance to Pashto literature, poets, and literary people. As the aim of the movement was to educate and bring awareness among Pakhtuns, Bacha Khan was aware of the fact that to educate his fellows and to preserve the culture, it is very important to promote literature. Therefore, Bacha Khan made it necessary for KKM to write their daily diary, which will help in the documentation of their personal history as well as it will promote Pashto literature. For the achievement of his goals, Bacha Khan started a monthly journal in Pashto language named "The Pakhtun" in 1928 (Jan, 1993). The Pakhtun Journal was social as well as a political magazine, which was published from Utmanzai. Bacha Khan was its first editor and Atta Ullah was its publisher. 'The Pakhtun' magazine was printed from Amritsar in the starting days (Amir, 1985). According to Noor-ul-Amin Yousafzai; the purpose of the journal was to highlight the problems of Pakhtun society, to discuss the contemporary issues, as well as to promote and develop Pashto language and literature in order to enable Pakhtuns to meet the futuristic demands of scientific and literary enquiry. The respondent also added that In Pakhtun magazine there were articles about education, economy, politics, and literature. The topics discussed in this journal were in Pashto language. This journal used to cover a wide range of

issues and different aspects of Pakhtun society like education, economy, politics, current affairs, and art like poetry, literature, and music.

The foundation of Pakhtun Journal left a significant impact on Pashto literature, stated Dr. Wahid Ullah. By comparing Pashto literature before and after KKM, one can easily understand that Pashto literature went through a paradigm shift during that era. Literary activities of Bacha Khan opened the way for talented people to come forward. It also played a vital role in the organization and unity of the writers and artist. They discussed problems of society and shared ideas with each other, and it helped a lot to improve and promote Pashto literature. As well as The Pakhtun Journal conveyed the message of KKM in a better way. According to Aziz Manirwal, 'The Pakhtun' journal was an excellent source of conveying message of KKM to the society in a better way. The writings of different poets conveyed the message to masses through this magazine. As Aziz Manirwal quoted poetry of Ghani Khan;

*Jang la de Mansoor rawan, Toup ao na tapang lari,*

*Na da toro praq lary, Na da zgharo shrang lari.*

Translation: Mansoor (referring to Bacha Khan) is going to war without any cannon and mortar, neither he possess any shining sword nor any piercing shield.

This shows the non-violent nature of the struggle of Bacha Khan. Aziz further said that the poets associated with KKM like Shaad Muhammad Megay, Fazle Mehmud Makhfi, Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar and numerous others poets of this movement played a vigorous role in resisting the colonial powers .

The poetry of the above mentioned poets also impacted the young poets of that time who also contributed a lot to the movement. This was the second peer group of poets associated with this movement. Wali Muhmmad Tufan, Qalandar Momand, Ghani Khan and Ajmal Khattak and other poets and literary people of that time carried further the legacy of non-violence said Mushatq Yousafzai.

Another generation of poets associated with this non-violent ideology was that of Rehmat Shah Sayil, Saif ur Rehman Saleem and Saleem Raaz. These people were influential in propagating the legacy during the violent times of Cold War and the era till present said Aziz Manerwal.

Zaland Mohmand quoted that if we study Pashto poetry today, there will be a line of Nationalism and about social problems of society in every poem. From which we can easily understand the impact of KKM on Pashto poetry. As he gave example by quoting a line of Pashto poetry;

*Saleema sam de ka Ghazal shari tha,*

*Lag paki zikar da khpal qaam kawa.*

Translation:

O Saleem! Put your Ghazal in accordance to the doctrines (Pakhtunwali), That is to remember your nation in it.

By this, the poet means that while writing poetry it is necessary to write about the problems and issues of Pakhtun society. It has become the principle of Pashto poetry to discuss social evils and social problems simply. Poets focused on Non-violence philosophy throughout their lives. They adopted and promoted Non-violence philosophy as a philosophy of individual life as well as on society level.

## **6.2. Non-violent Resistance through Pashto Literature**

After 9/11 the security situation in KP deteriorated when the America declared war on terror. The result of War on Terror was the rise of extremism in the region, leading to emergence of extremists in many areas. Taliban started killing the innocent people especially those who opposed their stance. The ideas and narrative of Non-violence legacy were hindering their way and acted as barrier to the violent ways used by extremists to achieve their goals. The legacy of Non-violence resists extremists/extremism from very early days. As the KKM and its legacy was very critical even in Russia-Afghan war. They openly criticized the project of Afghan Jihad as well as the indulgence of Pakistani state in Afghan Jihad. As Mukhtiar Yousafzai stated the words of Bacha Khan that “The seeds of Mujahideen which you people are sowing will transform into a forest one day, and be aware, and fire in the forests cannot be controlled”. In the early eighties when those extremists were titled as Mujahideen, at that time KKM opposed them. Bacha Khan and Abdul Wali Khan did press conferences and other many efforts to warn

Pakhtuns about the bad consequences of War. But no one was ready to accept their version at that time. That is why after 9/11, when those Taliban got hold of many areas in KP, they started target killing of the legacy of Non-violence philosophy. The poets and literary people struggled to end that war through message of peace and non-violence in their poetry and literary works.

The literary people opposed and condemned these violent activities through their writings. The Pashto literature written during last decade is mainly focused the themes of hate against war. As a respondent quoted poetry words that;

*Ay da jumat ao da mandar muhafizano waory,*

*Bamona ma jorawai, Tankona ma jorawai,*

*Da jang na sa joregy, janguna ma jorawai.*

Translation: Beware the leaders of mosques and temples, don't make bombs and tanks, war is useless don't make wars.

*Ma darta tol umar da gulono khaar wayali de,*

*Kala me perzo shi pa hamono Pekhawara.*

Translation: I have always called you the city of flowers, O Peshawar how come I tolerate that you are bombed.

Aziz Manerwal while quoting the poetry of Dr. Sahib Shah Sabir also pointed out the same theme of resistance against war.

*Pa chaman k ko gulona kh azghi mri,*

*Kho zma da kor khaist zma sparli mri.*

*Da me nura badbakhti na da nu sa da,*

*Pa pradi jang k zma da kor zmari mre.*

Translation: If it is flower or thorn which is destroyed, these all are the beauty of my house. This is my extreme bad luck that in proxy war of other people my own children have been killed.

He further quotes the same poet.

Da sro lambo da ghargharo da zora na de khabar.

Da sok che Jang ghwari da jang da zora na de khabar.

Translation: They are not aware of the destruction of fire, those who want war are not aware of its bad consequences.

Various books of poetry and prose were published during the last decade depicting the themes of dislike of war. The titles of these books also show the approach and of poets towards violence. The prominent books published during last couple of years include *Pa Jang de oor olagi* (Say no to War) and *Da Parharona Ba Gandal Ghwari* (The injuries need to be cured) by Akbar Siyal, *Da Barudo Pa Lugo ke* (In explosives smoke) by Khan Muhammad Tanha and *Naa* (No) by Amjad Shehzad (Dawn, 2012).

Poets and writers tried to promote counter narrative to militancy. They struggled for the awareness of the general masses to stop supporting the militants, for which they were threatened and attacked, and this was not just up to them, but their families suffered too. For their survival, most of the poets took political asylum in other countries, but their struggle to oppose extremism continued. Even when army started operation in Malakand division, and the people of Malakand division became IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) in other districts of the province. The artists of Malakand division were very active in that situation, stated Abaseen Yousafzai. They arranged *Mushairy* (poetry session), music programs and so many other activities for the awareness of people. The ways through which they promote their narrative are discussed below:

### 6.2.1. Role of *Adabi Tolany* (Literary Societies)

The people associated with Pashto literature have their own organizational structures. A respondent stated that organizations are at different level such as village level, tehsil level and district level. The names of the organizations are different, such as, *Pashto Adabi Tolana* (Pashto Literary Organization), *Amn Adabi Tolana* (Peace Literary Organization), *Malakand Adabi Tolana* (Malakand Literary Organization), and *Qaam Qalam Adabi Tolana* (Nation with Pen Literary Organization). The organizations have a proper working body with different ranks or



statuses, i.e. *Sadar* (president), *Sekatar* (sectary), *Naib Sadar* (vice president), *Khazanchi* (finance sectary) and so on, and they are supposed to perform their jobs for the survival and growth of the organization. They also raise funds from cabinet members and rarely from other people in which they arrange different events such as poetry session, book launching ceremony, meetings, publishing books and other activities.

### 6.2.2. *Mushaira* (Poetry Sessions)

The artists of KP and FATA regularly arranged *Mushairy* (Poetry sessions) in different areas and at different levels, i.e. from village to province level which are mainly on weekly, monthly and annual basis. According to a respondent, *Mushaira* has always played a significant role in the growth of Pashto literature as well as in Pashtun society. This is an opportunity and foundation for the poets to reformate their poetry and ideas, as well as it has a major contribution in the awareness of masses. These poetry sessions were arranged with different titles such as in name of peace, Non-violence, and in the remembrance of different events such as ‘*Da Babari da Shaheedano pa yaad ki*’ (In the remembrance of Martyrs of Babari), ‘*da 12 May da Shaheedano pa yaad ki*’ (In the remembrance of the Martyrs of 12<sup>th</sup> May), *Da Takkar da Shaheedano pa Yaad ki* (In the remembrance of the Martyrs Takkar village) and also in the remembrance of personalities such as Ajmal Khattak, Ghani Khan, Qalandar Mohmand etc. In these *Mushaira*’s the poets present their poetry according to the purpose of event, through which the poets aware the masses of the society. As discussed earlier that before Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, Pashto literature was limited to Sufism and Romanticism. Therefore, after the influence of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, the history of Pashto poetry and literature went through a paradigm shift. That continuity is still alive, the Pashto poets and writers still focus on peace, Non-violence, unity, and change in their poetry. Through *Mushaira*, the poets share their ideas with the public and masses, and to aware them. As Aziz Manirwal shared his poetry in a *Mushaira* in Shamansoor village of Swabi, that is;

*Jang Qatil De Insanan Wajali Kegi,*

*Da Cha Wrar Da Cha Janan Wajali Kegi.*

Translation: War is the murderer of human beings, it kills someone’s brother, and someone’s beloved. Amjad Shahzad also added his poetry that:

*Da laas bangri di pa dusmaal otara shrang onakri,*

*Da khaar qaazi da taranum khilaf fitwa warkari.*

*Amjad ba mar shi kho sandara marg la na warkawi,*

*Dagha Fankaar la Khudai loya haosala warkary.*

Translation: (Fix tightly the bracelets of your hour hands so that it should not produce any resonance, the cleric has issued a decree against the melody. Amjad will die but will not let the song to die, God has given a lot of courage to this artist).

He further adds some lines of poetry;

*Zama da qaam bachi la har sary wasla warkary,*

*Yo Bacha Khan warla da Amn Falsafa warkary.*

Translation:

Everyone has given gun to the youth of my nation,

Only Bacha Khan provided them the philosophy of Peace (Non-violence).

In these lines, the poet has explained the role of Bacha Khan as compared to other leaders and philosophers. Bacha Khan was the only man who gives us the philosophy of Non-violence through which we can solve the issues and problems of the society.

### **6.2.3. Publishing of Books**

*Mushaira* gave direct message to the masses but publishing of books also have an important role in the promotion of non-violent narrative in Pashtun society stated a respondent. The people related with Pashto literature publish their books for the awareness of masses. Literary organizations also published books from their own financial resources but mostly they published books for those poets and writers who do not have much income to publish their books. According to Mushtaq Yousafzai, most of the poets were discouraged by the interests and attitudes of the masses. The respondent also stated that we always have financial crisis because after publishing book, it takes too much time to recover the expenditures. Therefore, we are

unable to continue our work in good way. Still the literary people work for promoting their cause. The books are stalled in bookshops all over the province. We have dedicated our lives for our cause, stated a bookshop owner. These books help to promote Pashto literature as well as to aware the mass especially those who are related with Pashto literature.

As the upper and middle class of Pashtun society have interest in Urdu and English literature. To cope with this and to promote the narrative of nonviolence, the followers of non-violence especially intellectuals, writers, and poets have published their works in Urdu and English newspapers and magazines.

#### **6.2.4. Publishing of Magazines**

Weekly and monthly magazines are among the steps put forward by these literary organizations, which are made available in bookshops and stalls all over the province. The magazines mainly comprising of sections of Pashto poetry, Pashto literature, social problems of the society, and views of various Pashtun analysts for the reforms of these social problem stated a respondent. These magazines also made the Pashtun youth aware of what happening to their nation and the dead policies which were going to destroy their survival. The examples of such type of magazines are *Pasoon*, *Pakhtun* and *Leekwal* which are quite famous in KP. According to Dr. Israr from Mardan, these magazines mainly achieved their goals for which they were put forward, the main goals among them was the narrative of Non-violence for encountering militancy. From another perspective, there is a soft corner among the various media channels for the militants group as these militants' targets them, but the case is not with Pashtun literary organization. They always opposed these militants and extremists what so ever the case was and due to this opposition they have suffered a lot and sacrificed their life and the lives of their families.

As discussed before that, Bacha Khan first founded Pakhtun magazine in 1927. The main objective of this magazine was to aware the people about their problems and to promote Pashto literature in order to enable Pakhtuns to meet the futuristic demands of scientific and literary enquiry told a respondent. It was banned by British as well as Pakistani state so many times. However, Bacha Khan and his legacy always work for the betterment of the society, and the magazine is still contributing in the awareness of people and for the betterment of Pakhtun



society. *Leekwal* and *Pasoon* are also working from a long time for the nourishment of pashtun society. The writers permanently write for these magazines.

#### 6.2.5. Through Social Media

Social media also have a major role in the promotion of Pashto Art and Literature. There are blogs on internet as well pages on other social media i.e. on Facebook, Twitter and other social sites. Most of the magazines are also kept online that those who did not find time for buying and studying in hardcopy can have online access to it. Especially those who are outside the country could have access to them stated a respondent. These contributions of social media at local and international level, provides a platform for the interested ones and followers of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement from around the globe to share their views and analysis on various ongoing issues stated a respondent. With interest shown by the youth and intellectuals the video recordings of *Mushairy* and other programs are also uploaded and made available.

According to a respondent, social media is the best option to mobilize and to bring closer the oppressed people from various region facing war on terrorism. To share their views with each other on the militancy, terrorism, and ongoing war on terror.

After 9/11, the legacy of Non-violence has united people all around the world and had organized different events and protests through social media. *Imaraato Adabi Tolana* (Literary Society UAE) is an example of social media, they work hard for organizing people in UAE and the only contact with those people is only through social media stated a respondent. Most of the active members of this literary society are those people who had left the country only because of militancy. *Imaraato Adabi Tolana* regularly organize events like *Mushaira*, debates, seminars, and music programs through which they work for the promotion and betterment of Pashto literature as well as do its best for the awareness of people. The source for watching programs of *Imaraato Adabi Tolana* is social media.

Like *Imaraato Adabi Tolana* there are so many other societies in Europe and other Gulf countries who work for Pashto literature and awareness of peoples. They interact with people through social media to promote their message of nonviolence and peace.

### 6.2.6. Case Study 3

#### Mushtaq Yousafzai

Mushtaq Yousafzai, a renowned poet and writer belongs to Mardan district of KP. He did his master in Pashto literature from University of Peshawar. He was born in a well-known family of KKM in 1958, and this is why he remained affiliated with the Non-violence legacy and struggled for the peace in Pakhtun society. For many years he remained in government service. He is now working as a researcher in Bacha Khan Research Centre Peshawar. Mushtaq Yousafzai also edited the biography of Bacha Khan named "*Zama Jond ao Jido.Jihd*" (My life and struggle) to Pashto dialect of Peshawar valley. He is also working in Pakhtun magazine as an editor and board member of that magazine. Mushtaq Yousafzai is known for his poetry all over the province and especially in Peshawar valley. He has a very quick response through his poetry about the events occurring in Pakhtun society. According to Mushtaq Yousafzai, the most difficult task for being an artist or social and political activist is the translation of the events to the people according to his ideology. He also added that the current terrorism and militancy is a great game between Imperial Powers. We are not countering Taliban but Imperial Powers, he added. It is very difficult to encounter Imperials Power through our art. He has also resigned from his government job for the purpose to continue his non-violent struggle and to promote non-violence philosophy through his artistic characteristics.





Figure 6: Mushtaq Yousafzai in his office at Bacha Khan Markaz, source; author

(Pashto writer, poet, and chief editor of journal “Pashto Magazine” Mushtaq Yousafzai in his office. He arranges poetry *mushaira* and other literary seminars and gatherings.)

### 6.3. Pashto Music and Non-violence

Pashto music has also played a vital role in propagating the non-violence philosophy in Pakhtun society. Historically the indigenous Pashto music has gone through certain changes in different eras. The paradigm shifts, which occurred in Pashto literature, have been discussed in the following lines.

#### 6.3.1. Pashto Music before Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek

Music is the part of culture, but before KKM, music in Pakhtun society was not so much sensitive about society. The only purpose of Pashto music was entertainment stated a respondent. The singers mostly sung for people pleasure and entertainment. The singers always sung what poets write. The Pashto poetry before KKM was mostly about Sufism, romanticism and bravery. Therefore, the poetry selection by singers was also not such type as it was after KKM stated a respondent. The people of Pakhtun society were spending money and the people used to arrange music programs on marriage and other ceremonies. The *Khans*, *Nawabs* and other rich people of society also used to do firing and spend money only to show their dominancy over others.

On the other hand, the religious community was also against the cultural music such as *Rabab* and *Tang Takoor* (music program) in *Hujra*. The religious community always tried their best to stop such activities. To listen music was favorite for them, but being a musician (Ghani khan quote)

#### 6.3.2. Pashto Music and Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek

Bacha Khan was of the opinion that if a nation lost their culture they will lose their identity. Music is part of culture and had a great impact on human lives and psychology stated a respondent. KKM changed the perception of people towards stereotypes made by religious authorities through illiterate peoples of society as well as by colonizers. According to Key Informant Pordal Khan Kaka, Beating of drums was a constituent part of KKs gatherings. It has two purposes; one was the gathering of the people and other was preservation of culture as music and drum beating was basic part of Pakhtun Culture.

KKM made great services to Pakhtun music. Pashto music got maturity during and after the emergency of KKM. According to Zaland Momand; in present times, when a Pashto music

album is released, there will be at least one Ghazal, which will be focused on Pakhtun nation and its problems, and it is because of KKM. Khiyal Muhammad, Ahmad Khan, Sardar Ali Takkar, Gulzar Alam, and Haroon Bacha are the famous singers of Pakhtun society who give the tribute to KKM which able them to sung in the way by which they can serve their nation as well as humanity.

The music also became a way to conveying the message of KKM to the people. When poets started to write revolutionary poems, the singers of Pakhtun society also started singing that poetry, and in this way, the Pashto music went through a drastic change. They sang songs about unity, awareness, freedom, peace, and change in Pakhtun society. That type of songs and poems left positive impacts on Pakhtun society.

#### **6.4. Non-violent Resistance through Music**

In the previous years, especially after 9/11, the situation for singers and musician became very bad. Taliban had threatened and closed most of the c.ds and cassette shops, and some of them were blown up by bombs. Most of the times singers and musicians were also threatened by these militants. Creating Art is consider as a sin in KP and other Pashtun areas, stated Rashid Khan, a young Pashto singer from Swabi district. After 9/11, the militants became very strong in KP especially in Malakand division. They continuously threatened artist, according to Zafar Iqrar, a well-known Pashto singer, that once they were recording shooting for his new songs in September 2005, they did their preparation and went to upper Swat district for shooting. When they reached Swat, the locals told them that they could not record video for songs. The militants had already banned such sort of activities in Swat. The responding told that they had spent so much money for this recording and due to threat; they were not able to record video for the songs in Swat. This was not the only case that just happened in those days. The militants have banned all such activities even at street level stated a respondent.

Most of the artist like Gulzar Alam migrated to other cities but still they were not safe. While some other migrated to European countries and take political asylum there, such as well-known singer Haroon Bacha from Swabi and Sardar Ali Takkar from Mardan districts had been shifted to Europe and America respectively. (Mashal, 2013). According to a Rabbabist (Rabab artist), Shah Rome from Swat, that the militants had also access to high-level technology. The

announcements and warnings were always on F.M Radio. The name of the person Militants were going to Target have to be announce a day before on FM Radio. Taliban used these techniques to spread terror in society stated a respondent. During the last eight years after 9/11, militants had blown more than hundred c.ds and dvd's shops. Moreover, Taliban targeted numerous singers especially female singers in different areas of the KP and FATA. Many of singers and musicians abandoned creating art, and to survive in this harsh situation many of them adopted other professions. Even some of them adopted religious life like *Tableegh* (preaching of Islam). Direct threat was aside but the closing of production companies was the major issue faced by artists stated a respondent. The production companies had always given financial support to singer and musicians, were closed by militants. According to a musician Waqar Atal, that still there is no single production company in Peshawar who can sponsor artists to record their albums. The production companies invested money on the recording of songs, and after the release of albums they were normally paid 50% of the income or earnings of the albums. But due to their closure the artists weren't able to record their new songs.

The legacy of non-violence is very much clear and aware about the impacts of promoting art. The respondent also added that the promotion of art is among the various strategies through which militancy and religious extremism can be resist. Through art peace and harmony could be brought in lives of masses. According to Mian Iftikhar, promoting art is very much important, through which a nation could reserve their culture. That is why KKM as well as their legacy always supported artists. Many of the singers became famous only because of their commitment with KKM, as they always promoted the ideas of KKM. Those singers always sung the songs written by poets affiliated and committed with KKM. Sardar Ali Takkar and Gulzar Alam are the examples. As they both have always promoted the poetry of Ghani Khan and other poets who were promoting the message of KKM in their poetry. According to Fazal Wahab Dard, A well-known musician and singer in Mardan that poets are the sensitive people of the society. They can observe the issues in a right way as compared to other peoples. The singers sung the songs, ghazals and poems written by poets. Therefore, music is a better way to promote the idea of peace in the masses. So the musicians always do their best to promote the message of KKM in the society and same is the case with the legacy of Non-violence. According to Mian Iftikhar, who was Ex-Minister for Culture and Tourism KP, that they have tried their best to support musicians and singers during their government in KP. During his ministry, the department of

Culture and Tourism had made organization of singers, musicians, and other artists who were committed to the promotion of culture and art. The ministry also provided many grants to these artistic organizations, through which most of artists made their own small business, which can generate income for the support of their family. In that's way they were able to promote their art.

Still there are people who promote art, and not only creating art but also resisting militancy through art. According to well-known Pashto singer Gulzar Alam, the problems cannot be solved by violence but only through Non-violence. The militants are terrorizing us and trying to achieve their goals and objectives through violence, but we have the philosophy of Non-violence through which we are resisting their violence. It was Mian Iftikhar, who opened the Nishtar Hall for culture representation and events, which was banned by MMA (Mutahidda Majlis Amal) government after threats from militants, stated Rashid Khan. Nishtar Hall is the only place in Peshawar, which is always being used to represent and promote culture, through the organizations of events or activities like *Aman Jirga*, *Mushairy*, Music Mela's, Stage Dramas, and so many more cultural and religious activities. Mushtaq Yousafzai also stated that Nishtar Hall was and will always remain as a source of income for artists. After reopening of the Nishtar Hall, the Non-violence legacy organized so many events there in which the artists represent their arts and were praised and supported by the masses in general. According to Nizar Yousafzai reopening of Nishtar Hall provided back the lost part of entertainment to the people of the province which was taken by Taliban after 9/11. The legacy of Non-violence organized many music events in the name of peace, art as resistance, in the memory of Ghani Khan and other poets on monthly basis. These organised events, provided the platform of opportunities to new singers and musicians such as Asfandiar Mohmand, Rashid Khan and so many more. Those singer and musicians always tried their best to convey the message of peace, Non-violence, compromise through art of music.

Music itself is a way of resistance, but the message given to the masses through poetry sung by singers is also very important. This is why the Pashto music generates a counter narrative to extremism through singing the poetry of those people associated with non-violence philosophy. Folk as well as classic music is full of the message of peace, Non-violence, prosperity and development, stated Zafar Iqrar. We always faced difficulties, threats and other problems while promoting such ideas through music. However, we are sincere with our land and our people and



we are doing all this only for the sake of peace and prosperity in our land. Zaland Momand also shared some poetry with us which was best for promoting idea of peace and Non-violence. Such as,

*Hind'waan da ghwa'wo ghwakhi nh khory.*

*Musalmanan da khpalon ronro ghwakhi khoreena.*

Translation: Hindus don't eat the flesh of cows, Muslims are eating the flesh of their own brothers.

If we elaborate this line, it has a great idea of Non-violence, and in Pashtun society the people always use it to convince someone who have a soft corner for extremists and extremism. And through this way singers and musicians are doing much of efforts for the awareness of the masses. Here are some other songs with translation from which one can understand the role of art in resisting militancy and promoting narrative to encounter the extremist narrative.

The singers and musicians promote their music through different ways. Some are discussed below:

#### **6.4.1. Live Performance**

The musicians and singers organize live programs for entertainment of people. Mostly they perform in cultural events, marriages and gatherings of Yaran (bunch of friends). In these events, they promote Pashto music as well as the message of peace and harmony in the society. Live performances also help artist for their income stated a respondent. However, in many cases the musicians avoid taking money from the audience or organizers. According to a respondent, our prime motive is to promote Pashto music and to aware our people through music by the selection of poetry. We have a good opportunity to aware the Pakhtun society through music. We always support the student organization for organizing musical events, cultural nights and we did not abandon the students when they invite us. As we know, that this is the only way through which we that we can aware our youth about the issues our society is facing. The students also take much interest while organizing such events.

#### **6.4.2. Recording Albums (C.Ds and Tape Recorder Cassettes)**

The Pashto singers also record songs in albums as well as special song for special events. These albums are made available at CDs and DVDs shops. Before 9/11, there were productions companies in Peshawar, who always supported artists to record their albums. The artists were no more worries about the financial costs at that time. However, after threatening and targeting by Taliban, these production companies abandoned investing money on the recordings, which was a big loss for the art community stated a respondent. Nevertheless, the artist continues their struggle and recorded songs and albums on their behalf. These albums were always spread through market and by uploading to social media.

#### **6.4.3. Promotion of Culture**

The legacy of Non-violence had tried its best at every stage for the preservation and promotion of culture. Re-opening of Nishtar Hall and the foundation of Jibran Adeel Cultural academy was the steps for the promotion of culture. Throughout the province there were no single academy for the preservation and promotion of culture. Haji Adeel (Central leader of Awami National Party) founded Jibran Adeel Acadmey with the support of Culture and Tourism Department of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In the academy artists hunt for the different genres of art, i.e. musical instruments, making cultural handicrafts as well as organize events for the promotion of Pakhtun culture. Jibran Adeel Academy is a platform for the artist to preserve and promote culture and we didn't have such platform before, stated a respondent.

During the government of Awami National Party, the Department of Culture and Tourism also organized music and cultural mela's in different districts. The purpose of these programs was the preservation of culture as well as to intact people with healthy activities. The militants threatened and bomb blasted them so many times for stopping those activities, but the government was committed with its cause. As a respondent stated that, such activities for culture promotion were not only for entertainment but to give a message of peace to the Pakhtun society. Through these activities we were engaging Pashtun Youth in social and cultural activities. That they may not be made fools by militants to join them. In these Mela's the legacy of Non-violence were spreading awareness through culture promotion. Stage Dramas were organized in these Mela's, through which the idea of peace and Non-violence were promoted.

#### **6.4.4. Propagation of Music through Social Media**

Social media also have a great contribution in promoting Pashto art especially music. There are different blogs, sites, pages on Facebook, twitter and other social media, which promote the Pashto music all over the globe. People related with Non-violence legacy from all over the world contribute to Pashto music through social media. Social media has very important role in the promotion of Pashto music and especially the message of peace and Non-violence stated a respondent. Artists settled in Europe and Gulf countries are also in contact with Pakhtun society through social media. The people listen and watch them through social media. According to a respondent, Haroon Bacha is an example for spreading the message of Non-violence through social media. He is settled in Chezh Republic for so many years, as militants threatened him so many times. Haroon Bacha, Sardar Ali Takkar, and many singers record songs there, and then share it with people through social media. Beside from Haroon Bacha there are also dozens of Pakhtun artists who create art and share it with Pakhtun society through social media. The peoples living in Europe, Gulf and other countries also listen the artist of Pakhtun society through social media.

#### **6.4.5. Case Study 4**

##### **Zafar Iqrar:**

Zafar Iqrar, A young and one of the renowned artist and singer of Non-violence and nationalist songs, attributes his conscious as inheritance received from Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. Basically he belongs to Jamrud tehsil of Khyber Agency, but presently he is settled in Peshawar because of threats from Militants. Zafar Iqrar started his carrier in 2002. Brothers of Zafar Iqrar are also serving through art. One of his brother is Tabla artist while the second one Waqar Atal is well known Rabbabist. Zafar Iqrar has released more than fifteen albums in which he had sung folk songs, ghazals and poems. He started singing because of inspiration from his uncle Sahib Gul, a well-known musician and composer in Pakhtun society. He relates two main causes for his affiliation with Khudai Khidmatgar and its legacy. The first one is that, it was Khudai Khidmatgar Movement which aware the Pakhtuns to pay respects to their folk artists. Before Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, the artists of Pakhtun society were called as occupational class of the society. Khudai Khidmatgar Movement gave them ranks in the organizational structure. Khudai Khidmatgar Movement changed the perception of people about artists of Pakhtun



society. Moreover, the second one is that it is the legacy of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement struggling for peace in our Pakhtun society. Zafar Iqrar attributes his famousness to his poetry selection and the Non-violence legacy that always support him. The selection of poetry for singing is very tough task. According to Zafar Iqrar, the artists are more sensitive and emotional about their language, culture and land as compare to other people of society. One had to be very careful while selecting poetry for singing. I always select poetry of those poets who had written or writes about peace, Non-violence and unity of Pakhtuns, stated Zafar Iqrar.

Zafar Iqrar has also founded a studio named “*Hunar Studio*”, the word *Hunar* is a Pashto word which mean Art. The studio is very famous for the production of new artists in the society. Younger brother of Zafar Iqrar teaches Rabab in the studio and his elder brother teaches Tabla to the students. A huge number of students have joined the studio for learning of different musical instruments of their interest. According to Zafar Iqrar, the decision of founding a studio was very difficult because in Peshawar activities like that are full of risk. However, he made this decision only for the betterment and promotion of Pashto music. The studio is an opportunity for the Pakhtun Youth to create and learn art.



Figure 7 Zafar Iqrar Recording Song in his studio, Source (author)

(Pashto singer Zafar Iqrar recording song in his studio for his upcoming album “*Taqdeer*”).

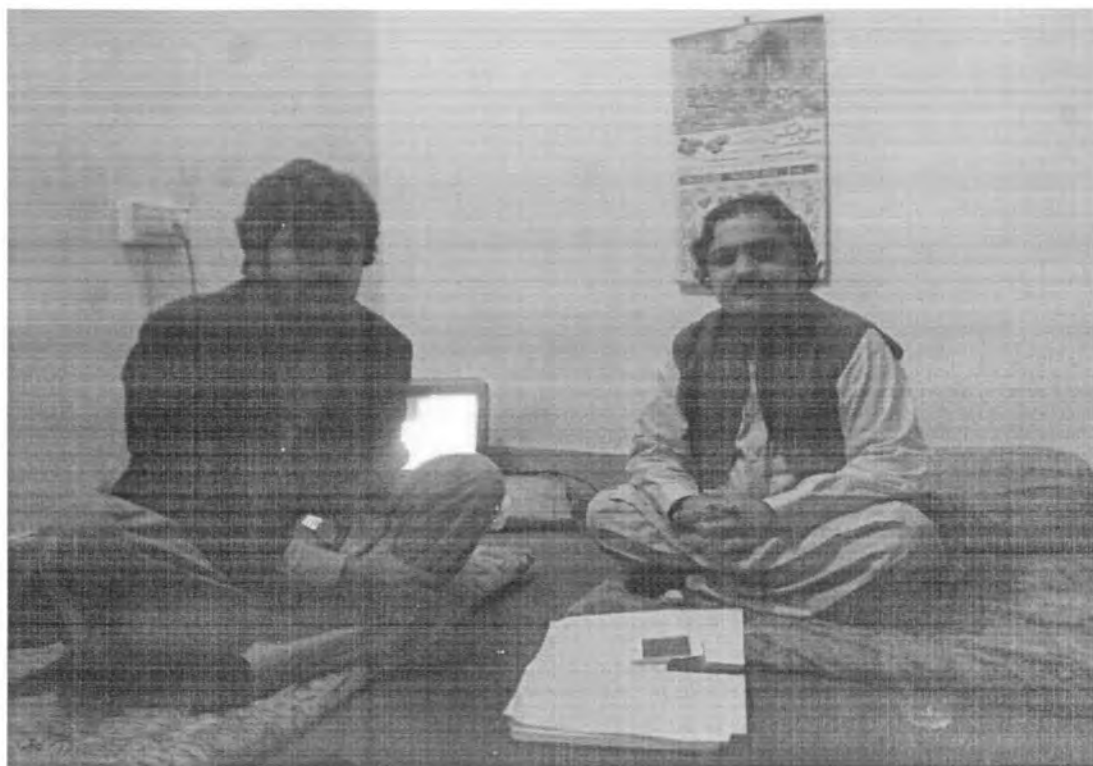


Figure 8: Researcher (left) with Zafar Iqar (Right), source; author

(Interviewer with famous Pashto singer Zafar Iqar. Zafar Iqar is famous for his nationalist and revolutionary songs. Although he is threatened by Taliban, yet he did not budge and continued his activities in promoting the message of non-violence through music.)



## 7. Conclusion

The role of Non-violence philosophy has the tradition of *unarmed* struggle against oppressions of state, and violence and terrorism of non-state actors in KP. KP has remained the field where this philosophy of Non-violence was preached, practiced and demonstrated not only in the time of peace but also in the time of crises— in a sense a testing time for this philosophy. These crises times were: April 23, 1930 of Qissa Khwani; May 28, 1930 of Takkar, and August 14, 1947 of Babara when all around massacres and bloodshed were the order of the day— however, scene of KP was free from such massacres as Bacha Khan and the KKM workers abstained from the violence. Not only in the history of colonial and post-colonial state of British India and current Pakistan; but also in the present context of 9/11 when many speculated that non-violence philosophy will sooner than later be turned redundant and defunct since terrorism is calling the shots in the area.

Contrary to these, speculation of making non-violence philosophy an ‘ideal of the past’ in this age of violence that has been dawned on Pakistan in general and KP in particular. ANP and all those who have remained supporters, sympathizers and workers of the KKM, and people in general, once again pledged to ‘present the past’ (instead of abandoning, this philosophy was adopted with a renewed strength), a panacea for violence in the wake of 9/11. Since then, for this philosophy, every day has been the testing day. However, at the end it called it a day when en-mass opinion turned against violence. Had this philosophy been left, civil war was not away from the imagination of the people and equally its realization on the ground.

However, combating terrorism in the wake of 9/11 through this philosophy, it was not just only about connecting past to the present or vice versa but its application has been done through multi-pronged strategies perhaps due to the threatening nature of terrorism that has been very different from the violence of the past when it encountered KKM. This ontological shift required more innovative and dedicated response and strategy.

Putting the image of the Pakhtun in its due frame through creating indigenous and alternative discourses have been remained the constituent part of this philosophy and its practitioner while combating colonialism and terrorism. Bacha Khan criticized the colonial discourse that depicted Pakhtun as ‘violent’. By his own deeds and through sacrifices of KKM, Bacha Khan

accomplished this task of acknowledging by world that Pakhtun are non-violent people. Similarly, when Parvez Mushraff started articulating this notion all Pakhtun are Taliban, ANP protested in very serious way that state is deconstructing the non-violent image of the Pakhtun to justify its killing, to receive funds from America and to dishonor the history of the Pakhtun that is based on the philosophy of non-violence. ANP contested elections on the issue of *Amn* in 2008 and 2013. Consequently it popularized the *Amn* discourse in the area and openly campaigned that whoever does violence is the enemy of the people, therefore, there is no distinction between good Taliban and bad Taliban. Not only creating such *Amn* and anti-violence discourses by ANP and promoting non-violence, ANP also made critical advances about the rewriting of history with the aim to inculcate a true and peace message to the coming generation. One example would be sufficed to quote. Out of the primary schools' books states: 'we want peace; hum *Amn* chahaty hy; Mung pa khapley khawra *Amn* ghwaru.' What all these messages indicates that the region is not alien to the legacy of the philosophy of non-violence and peace.

Culture revivalism was another strategy through which this non-violence philosophy was articulated and promoted in the area. Though it is a fact that culture is omni-present and it does not break to be revived but here culture revivalism means that certain aspects of the Pakhtun culture were deliberately suppressor twisted by the rulers and the militants to suit their ulterior interest. Pakisatn for the security reason named their missiles in the name of the Pakhtun heroes indirectly ridiculing their goods deeds and sacrifices; religious parties were supported against nationalist parties which is one among many of the cultural representation of the Pakhtun; and, propagating popularizing Wahabi Islam in the area, all these dented the cultural aspects of the Pakhtun life. Similarly, poetry, music and musicians lost respect and lives because state was not forth-coming for their security and society was against its culture was massively Islamized and radicalized because of foreign non-Pakhtun intruders. All this has to be undone to initially create once again space for non-violent philosophy and then; combat terrorism through non violence. Poetry and music got courage once they felt that the ANP government is supportive and public opinion is favorable. Philosophy of non-violence and condemnation of violence dominated the themes of the poetry and music programs. People started realizing the importance of non-violence philosophy. CDs, cassettes and other businesses related to the singing and music aspects of the Pakhtun culture got impetus and once it took off, it was used against terrorism. In a sense,

re-secularizing of culture started that was radicalized by militants as well as by the rulers of the past.

Therefore, it is argued that the legacy of non-violence in the region of Pakthun is still vibrant. This vibrancy and potential of legacy of non-violent demonstrated its strength and power when it overpowered violence in the past and in the present whatever the nature and magnitude it had. This statement and pledge, that still holds the Pakhtun national psyche that was made by one Pakhtun to Gandhi: 'we can leave Bacha Khan but cannot leave non-violence philosophy', Bacha Khan is no more there but legacy of non-violence philosophy of Bacha Khan and KKM is still there.



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## APPENDIX I

### Acronym and Abbreviations

KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
KKM	Khudai Khidmatgar Movement
KKs	Khudai Khidmatgars
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area
NAP	National Awami Party
ANP	Awami Party National
NDP	National Democratic Front
PDM	Pakistan Democratic Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
USA	United States of America
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
MPA	Member of Provincial Assembly
MMA	Mutahida Majlis e Amal
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons

## APPENDIX II

### Glossary

<i>Aman Jirga</i>	Peace Counseling Organization
<i>Pashto Adabi Tolana</i>	Pashto Literary Organization
<i>Amn Adabi Tolana</i>	Peace Literary Organization
<i>Malakand Adabi Tolana</i>	Malakand Literary Organization
<i>Qaam Qalam Adabi Tolana</i>	Nation with Pen Literary Organization
<i>Sadar</i>	President
<i>Taqdeer</i>	Destiny
<i>Sekatar</i>	Sectary
<i>Naih Sadar</i>	Vice President
<i>Khazanchi</i>	Finance Sectary
<i>Imaraato Adabi Tolana</i>	Imaraato Literary Organization
<i>Shariah Nizam-e-Adal</i>	Shariah System of Justice
<i>Babara</i>	A famous village of Charsada
<i>Mujahideen</i>	Rebellions in the name of Jihad
<i>Amn Islahi committee</i>	Reformative Organization for Peace (Solve issues of society)
<i>Tang Takoor</i>	Pashto name for Musical gathering
<i>Sardaryab</i>	A village in charsada which is situated on main GT Road at both side of Kabul River which was also the Office and Training Camp of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement
<i>Islaahi committees</i>	Reformative Committees



<i>Hujra</i>	Known as Men House use for gathering of men and specially for guest
<i>Rogha</i>	Reconciliation
<i>Charkha</i>	Spinning Wheel (use for making traditional cloth)
<i>Dh Makhostan Dodai</i>	Dinner
<i>Milmastia</i>	Hospitality
<i>Chapppli Kabaab</i>	A dish made of beef and shaped like bread but small in size
<i>Shalwar Kameez</i>	Traditional Dress
<i>Eid</i>	Holy Festival of Muslims
<i>Leekwal</i>	Writer
<i>Pasoon</i>	
<i>Chel</i>	A special type of cloth which is use by women for covering face and body outside their homes
<i>Chappal</i>	Kind of shoes
<i>Kolalan</i>	Name of occupational caste of Pakhtun society who made Clays and other Pottery
<i>Khel</i>	Clan
<i>Parwoney</i>	Cloth use as scarf in Pakhtun society
<i>Pakhtun Zalmi</i>	Pakhtun Youth
<i>Anjuman Islaah ul Afghana</i>	Reformative Organization for Afghans
<i>Tandoor</i>	Cylindrical Clay use in Baking
<i>Madrassa</i>	Specific Type of Religious School for study of Islam
<i>Paratha</i>	A read use in breakfast in mostly areas of South Asia
<i>Tableeghi</i>	Islamic Religious Preacher (Known Deobandi in Islam)
<i>Deobandi</i>	A school of thought in Islam

<i>Pakhtunwali</i>	Pakhtuns way of life or Pakhtun code of conduct call as Un-written constitution of Pakhtuns
<i>Mushairy</i>	Poetry Summons
<i>Gherati</i>	Honorable
<i>Bazaar</i>	Market
<i>Raksha</i>	A small type of vegan made from motorcycle

