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Ghaffar Khan's Alliance with Congress: Implication on his politics as a claimant of Former NWFP

Abdul Sattar^{‡‡}
Dr. Hanif Khalil^{§§}

Abstract: This research article is a study on Ghaffar Khan's affiliation with Congress and its implication on his political fate. It is studied whether the decision of Ghaffar Khan to align with Congress let him down as the Congress could not come up to Ghaffar Khan's aspirations. Khan never expected that Congress could accept such plans like partition plan but it happened. Khan was shocked as it was proved to be a serious blow to his mission and politics. Due to Congress decision Khan could not get his indented goals even in the province where he was much more popular than All India Muslim League and League took NWFP as part of Pakistan through Referendum which Khan and his Party boycotted. So Ghaffar Khan's Alliance with Congress led Ghaffar Khan to an unpleasant logical conclusion as claimants of NWFP.

Historical Background

The advent of 1857 brought new dynamics in Indian politics and social structure. Both Hindus and Muslims fought against the British but aftermaths were severer for the Muslims. There had been a rule of the Muslims for centuries so the advent of the British in Sub-Continent was just a change of masters for the Hindus. The Muslims were at their lowest ebbs and Hindus that were much stronger than the Muslims in many aspects got a lot of opportunities in venues including politics and economy. 'The Muslims happened to be in isolation getting themselves away from the British Government's Reforms and benefits like Industry and education etc. They invited backwardness by isolating themselves (Verma 200:123).

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With the passage of time Indian Nationalism awakened and the Congress was formed in 1885 by an English man Allan Hume. It started with 72 members and continuing increasing the numbers. The dominant bloc in the party was elite Hindus and educated Bengalis. That was the reason that the Muslims never tended to trust it (Brown 2010:57). The Congress was formed in 1885 with the principle of the representation of all groups and communities of India. But in the issues like Hindi-Urdu controversy, the issues of separate electorate for the Muslims, and the Partition of Bengal in 1905, Congress seemed to be a Hindu Party and took anti-Muslim approach. Sir Syed clearly states that whenever the Congress had to choose one party it preferred the Hindus (Abid & Massarrat Abid 2008:139). Though Congress proclaimed to represent all communities of India but it says a lot about the fact the it was basically a Hindu Dominated party that the presence of the Muslims in Annual session of the Congress that took place between 1892 and 1909 only accounted for 6.6 % (Jaffrelot 2002:9). Dr Ambedker categorically states that the Congress was a Hindu Organization. It had to reflect the Hindu mindset since it was Hindu in its composition. He compared Congress with Mahasabha while giving an only difference that Hindu Mahasabha was straight forward whereas Congress was political and polite (Karim 2010:130). Though It had very small Muslim representation but majority of the Muslims preferred not to join it from its very beginning (Chawla 2008:109). The Muslims were advised to keep themselves away from that as to avoid any conflict with the Government. The Hindus were quite forthcoming to join the new political party.

The Congress claimed to be the representative of all groups and communities but it was not very much popular in Muslim majority provinces as it was blamed of the representative of only the Hindus. It was also present in NWFP but it was not so strong and was under the Punjab Congress Committee. The real Congress in NWFP emerged after its alliance with Ghaffar Khan (Shah 2007:73). Before we move further it is important to analyze the role of the Congress in terms of Reforms in the Province. The real question in this chapter is to analyze the alliance of Ghaffar Khan with the Congress and its impact on the future of Ghaffar Khan as a

claimant of the Province. But before we move ahead we should also analyze the role of the Congress towards the Province.

NWFP remained annexed with Punjab. The British preferred to treat it in a special way due to the so-called special reasons. They remained hesitant to give that reforms that could let that be at the level of the other provinces. The British were always resisted by the people of the NWFP. The province was deprived of its fundamental right of Constitutional reforms. That was also felt by the British administration on November 9, 1901; it became a new province which was headed by a commissioner (Shah 2007: 10-11). Though it became a new province but the Constitutional reforms were still far away and the people of the province had to go a long way for their constitutional rights. They had to face serious opposition in this context, especially the opposition of Congress and Hindu Mahasabha in this regards.

There was a serious demand and quest for the Constitutional reforms in the province especially by the political minded people .But the reforms were seriously criticized by the Hindus both in Punjab and NWFP (Shah 2007: 13-14). In 1929 when the All India Muslim League presented a resolution for reforms, the Hindus and Sikhs protested. They were supported and urged by the All India Hindu Mahasabha and All India National Congress. That was quite a serious point that the Congress were not in favor of Constitutional reforms whereas the All India Muslim League championed the cause. The Congress leaders Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Pandit Mad Mohin Malvia, Rama Sawains Ainqr, Hari Singh Ghora opposed the resolution of reforms presented by the league. They called the people of province ineligible for the reforms by citing the Kohat Hindu- Muslim Riots .That was the role of the Congress and the Hindu leaders towards the reforms in the Province. The issue took a communal shape as the Muslims from the province and provinces and all India Muslim League stood for the Constitutional reforms whereas the Hindus and the Congress opposed the reforms. (Shah 2007:14; Javed 1976:38-39 ; Sabir 1986: 898). These sort of communal orientations of the issues could be called as an evolution of the split between the Hindus and the Muslims which would ultimately defined the future of the Sub-continent, NWFP and the two claimants of the province, the Muslim League and Ghaffar Khan.

Ghaffar Khan's Alliance with Congress

Now it comes to the real point when Khan made Alliance with the Congress. Khan's effort was focused on the Province but the dynamics were quite different. It became difficult for them to survive politically without an All India Organization. There were serious happenings and political dynamics that led Ghaffar Khan to find a partner outside of the province. ' He himself accepted this fact that the Pashtuns really required the help from the outside of the province (Shah 1999:35).After Humiliation in Qissa Khawani Massacre his movement *Khudai Khidmatgar* had no option but to confederate with the an organization of All India.

The question of viability and its being natural may be raised or discussed. Now after all things had happened and everything became the part of History it is easy to analyze the impacts of the decision but it is a fact that Ghaffar Khan was left with no option but to find a friend and a companion that could protect them against the Raj. All India Muslim League seemed to be a Natural ally of Ghaffar Khan because of Muslims. Muslim League stood for the rights of the Muslims and the role of religion increased with the passage of time in its politics. On the other hand Ghaffar Khan was also the representative of the Pashtuns that were Muslims. Majority of the population of the province was the Muslims. 'The Movement of Ghaffar Khan primarily did not stand for all the Muslims of sub-continent but there were prominent features of Islam in his movement. He and his people had great fervor of religion (Lynch 2004: 2).

The Pashtuns were known for their love for Islam and it had stronghold in their society. Their struggle and involvement in *Hijrah* Movement and Khilafat Movement spoke a lot for their love for Islam. In this context the League seemed to be their natural ally 'they approached that but was refused (Shah 2007: 28). When the league refused to support them, they could not wait to convince the league. They were in urgent need for support which was given by the Congress. The congress was happy to make Khan its ally as it strengthened their argument that the party was the representative of all groups in the country. So Ghaffar Khan joined the Congress in

order to protect the socio-political rights of the Pashtuns. It is a different question whether the decision had been successful for the Pashtuns and Khan himself or not but he got a companion that he needed at that time. We may question his political calculation in long term perspective but cannot say that he was not in need of a companion outside from the province keeping in view the prevalent political situations.

Difference of Opinion:

A serious difference of opinion erupted in the party on the merger with the Congress. The reasonable detail of the difference of opinion has been elaborated in the previous chapters. Here I would try to analyze the points of difference and their implication in future perspective of the politics of Ghaffar Khan as a claimant of the province.

Some of the educated companions of Ghaffar Khan were against that confederation so Mian Ahmad Shah, Barrister Khan Abdul Akbar and so many other activists separated themselves from Ghaffar Khan (Sabir 1986: 917). His decision of the confederation with the All India Congress was criticized by a group of the Muslims of NWFP. They were of the view that it was the affiliation of *Khudai Khidmatgar* with the Hindus and Dominance of Congress. Furthermore his companions were afraid of losing the unique identify of *Khudai Khidamatgar*. But Khan was of the view that the Pashtuns needed the support from outside the province. By quoting the example of the Holy Prophet's treaty with Jews and Christians he defended his argument (Shah 1999:34-35).

The nature of the difference was quite clear as they were afraid of losing their separate identity. Of course Ghaffar Khan needed a support from outside the province but his decision had to define his future course of action. Though the congress got popularity after its alliance with Khan (Shah: 2007:73). But the Congress that got popularity in the province due to Ghaffar Khan and rebuked the allegation of the League that it was mere a Hindu party, ultimately defied Ghaffar Khan. Apparently it favored both Congress and Ghaffar Khan but the later political developments and

political decisions of the Congress endorsed the opinion of the companions of Ghaffar Khan that opposed the alliance. The independent recognition of Khan's movement diluted though maintained which ultimately made the Congress the sole decision making power of the province. Point here is not to blame anyone but to analyze how the decision and the points of difference had impacts on the politics of Ghaffar Khan. If we take ourselves to the last stages of partition we could very well say that the companions who opposed Khan were quite valid but on the other hand it is also quite fuddled that Ghaffar Khan could have done nothing other than joining the Congress since the League had refused his offer. So both Ghaffar Khan and his companion were true in their context. The companions were afraid of the Hindu dominated Congress whereas Ghaffar Khan seemed to have no option but to join Congress.

One important fact to indicate about the alliance was that that after living two years in power from 1937 to 1939 the Congress resigned from office. It seriously felt that being in power demoralized and exacerbated it. While being in power and Government it could not practice its natural politics, the politics of agitation and resistance. It had to get to the strategy of negotiation and compromises which was not the temperament of *Khudai Khidmatagr*. So after its resignation it ceased the politics of compromises and got to the politics of demonstration and resistance again (Shah 1999:83). The ministry also dissatisfied the Congress workers as well as the silent majority as it could not fulfill its promises. It also created disturbance among the *Khudai Khidmatgars* (Sufi 2005:79). It is much to say that being in Congress and adopting the way of Congress might bring danger to the very existence and unique identity of *Khudai Khidmatgar* Movement which was argued by the companions of Khan. That difference in styles of politics would also have a lot to say about the future of that alliance.

Congress Ministries

According to Indian Act of 1935 the elections were conducted (Sufi 2005:61). The Congress cum *Khudai Khidmatgar* decided to participate in election. At that time the Muslims League

was nowhere in the province. Even the visit of Jinnah could not mobilize the Muslims and the anti-Congress groups to come at the platform of the league. No one could take simple majority but Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan had been able to make ministry. Here came the role of Congress, the role that Ghaffar Khan earlier mentioned that the Pashtuns needed help from outside the province. Sahibzada could not survive in ministry due to internal feuds of the Muslim leader and anti-Congress and *Khudai Khidmatgar* groups. The Congress parliamentary Board containing Maulana Azad , Rajindra Parshad and Sardar Vallashai Paloxe came to the province and Dr. Khan Sahib became Chief Minister due to their effort (Khan 1990: 206). Maulana Azad played the role to end the government of Sahibzada which he himself accepted in his words ‘The Congress made of parliamentary Board to oversee the Ministries of the Congress. The board included Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajinder Parshad and Azad. The effort of these people brought about the Ministry of Dr. Khan Sahib (Azad 1988:24).

Ghaffar Khan of course was quite popular in the province but in term of electoral politics and struggle against the Raj he needed a support from outside the province which he got in the form of Congress. The replacement Sahibzada Qayyum’s Ministry by Dr. Khan Sahib’s ministry was a clear indication of the phenomenon. The All India Congress itself got involved in the politics of the province and paved the way for the Ministry of Khan Sahib. It was a serious change in power politics of the province. Replacing Sahibzada Qayyum was not a normal thing in the province as he had good relation with the British Government. The Shift could not have been possible without the effort of the leaders of All India Congress. It was the help from the outside the province, and the help from an All India Congress that assured Dr. Khan Sahib’s presence in the office of Chief Minister as a Chief Minister. That was the help that was referred by Ghaffar Khan when he was joining the Congress and opposed by his companions. Ghaffar Khan’s orientation was a sort of reformist and Revolutionary. This sort of struggle does not normally fit into electoral politics but after joining the Congress his movement and struggle got a new orientation which was move towards an electoral politics and resulted into their being Chief Minister. Had Ghaffar Khan remained a mere reformist and revolutionary, had he not joined All

India Congress, his movement and *Khudai Khidmatgar* would not have been so successful. It was the fruit of joining an All India Congress that his brother became Chief Minister twice. Later the political and electoral politics was more enhanced and his role seemed quite prominent in Indian Politics.

I would like to discuss a point in context of the ministry which had implications regarding the future of the alliance of Ghaffar Khan and Congress. The *Khudai Khidmatgar* movement became frustrated due to being in Government as it had to leave it traditional politics, the politics of resistance and revolution. It felt that it exacerbated its situations in terms of its stance and style as it got into the politics of compromises (Shah 1999:83). It had clear implication on the future of the alliance as it indicated the difference in temperament and orientation of both the partners. *Khudai Khidmatgar* being a resistant and revolutionary movement seemed quite different from Congress for which compromises were the part of the game.

World War II

World War II erupted in 1939. It had serious impacts on the politics of India because Britain was directly involved in the war. The war did have its implications on the politics of India. The British needed help of Indians. The All India Congress refused to support British earlier. Later the Congress offered conditional support to Britain according to the Congress Poona offer. The decisions brought about the difference between Ghaffar Khan and the Congress, since Khan seemed not to compromise on Philosophy of Non-violence. He affirmed his commitment with Non-violence and resigned from the Congress working committee (Shah 1999: 83). This perhaps was the first serious difference of opinion between Ghaffar Khan and the Congress that even led to his resignation from the Congress Working Committee. But this could not be taken as a parameter to decide and to comment on the collaboration and Alliance of Ghaffar Khan and Congress, because these sorts of temporarily differences were quite natural that may even erupt within the party, whereas Ghaffar Khan however had his independent organization. So, the difference was quite natural and

solvable which off course was solved and their further collaboration and cooperation continued. Point here to discuss was the issue of difference or the point of difference. Congress claimed to be a believer of Non-violence, so did Ghaffar Khan. Congress followed the Philosophy of Gandhi. But it by offering conditional support to Britain denounced its principle of non-violence which said that it's Rhetoric of Non-violence was just so-called. On the other hand Ghaffar Khan showed strict adherence to Non-violence and did not care his political interests and affiliations. He did not hesitate to resign from the Congress working Committee. It showed different temperaments and orientations. It says that the Congress could not let go any chance of political gain even at the cost of its principles whereas Ghaffar Khan seemed quite strict to his principle even at the cost of political gains. This was a clear difference between idealism and realism. This point of difference could say a lot about the future of their politics. Later at the advent of partition plan the Congress projected its political gain at the cost of the principle of collaboration and affiliation. It did not bother the concern of Ghaffar Khan, at the advent of World War II. The difference of opinion seemed quite natural but the point of difference was quite a big issue. It was an attitude of compromising on principles and strict adherence to the principle. These two attitudes could not go together for long time. It was bound to have a bad end which was prominent in deception of Congress to Ghaffar Khan at the advent of Partition. By this Ghaffar Khan stressed his separate identity and proved it. It also says a lot to those who claim that Ghaffar Khan was a blind follower of Gandhi. By his strict adherence to Non-violence when Congress had compromised on it, he testified that he was not a blind follower of Gandhi. Buy his conduct, he showed that Non-violence basically belonged to Ghaffar Khan not Gandhi and Congress.

There were rapid developments in India and it was heading towards partition. Ghaffar Khan and Congress seemed to be allied and there was no difference between these two. During that time the League was in office as the 60 leaders of Provincial Congress were detained. When the leaders were released, Dr. Khan Sahib moved a No Confidence and made his Ministry (Shah 1992:64-80). That was another success of Congress cum *Khudai Khidmatgar*. It proclaimed that the movement of Ghaffar Khan was in full political

orientation and rocked the league Ministry. It off course was a good gesture for Provincial Congress. It was a good time of the Congress and Ghaffar Khan. One thing is to see here that it was only two years before the partition and partition plan, the provincial Congress smashed the league Ministry but what happened? that in less than two years the scenario was completely changed and astonishing in context of the relationship of Congress and Ghaffar Khan. Who knew that time that the ‘one’ organization would end up on serious conflict and deception and the other part of the so-called ‘one’ organization had to pay a lot in terms of its goals, orientation and future.

The Simla Conference

Jinnah and League’s appeal got popularity after the failure of Simla Conference (Sufi 2005:110). Congress had been propagating from the very beginning that it was the representative organization of all groups and communities in India irrespective of religion and caste. The League on the other hand was the claimant of Two Nation Theory and propagating that the Congress was the representative of only the Hindus whereas the Muslim League was the sole and true platform for the Muslims. This orientation became even severe after the Lahore Resolution and Two Nation Theory became even prominent in Indian Politics. The Congress was still the vanguard of Composite Nationalism and the claimant that it was the organization of all groups and communities. The Alliance of Ghaffar Khan with the Congress provided it a strong ground to prove its stance. ‘It claimed that the majority of the Muslims leadership was with the Congress. But many a Muslim leaders (*After the failure of Simla Conference and Congress bias in it*) showed their faith in the league and wrote to Jinnah (Javed 1976: 109).

That did not seem only a conflict between the congress and the league rather it seemed more of a communal issue. The communalism started raising and The people started quitting the Congress and prominent was Abdul Qayyum Khan who left Congress for Muslim League (Sufi 2005 :110).The failure of Simla Conference and the Congress prejudice also instigated Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif to take part in active politics in order to counter

Congress (Shah 1990: 16) It was a serious step in the provincial leadership in terms of the evolution of the politics of Ghaffar Khan. Now the communal feelings seemed more prominent and the Muslims started feeling discomfort with the Congress. It had a lot to say about the upcoming developments in provincial politics and the politics of Ghaffar Khan. The arrival of the Muslim League as a sole representative of the Muslim in the province weakened the Congress cum *Khudai Khidmatgar* of Ghaffar Khan. The separation of the Muslim Leaders and comparatively better popularity of the League in the province was saying a lot about the future of Ghaffar Khan, Muslim League and their claims on the province. It did have its implication in terms of the logical end of the both Ghaffar Khan and the Muslim League which was seemingly due to the failure of Simla Conference and the Hindu Mindset of Congress.

Election 1945 - 1946

India was rapidly heading towards partition. The call for election (1945 – 1946) again came and that was the last election under the British rule. The league stood for Two Nation Theory and voiced for Pakistan. Islam, Two Nation Theory and demand for Pakistan were the key features in the campaign of Muslim League. In NWFP there was a lot of attraction for this slogan. ‘The Congress did not touch the issue of Pakistan in its election campaign; it rather preferred to talk about the socio-economic reforms (Khan 1990: 216 – 217). Whatever the results of the election were the situation and circumstances were getting in favor of the Muslim league. The Congress avoided the issue of Pakistan in the election that clearly defined where the politics of the province was heading. As the Congress avoided the issue of Pakistan, it weakened the position of Congress-cum *Khudai Khidmatgar* of Ghaffar Khan as a claimant of the province. The politics of both Ghaffar Khan and the Muslim League was rapidly heading towards its logical conclusion. Despite of the fact that the league could not win the seats more than the Congress, the provincial Congress stood defensive which was clearly stating that the league as a claimant of the province would stand better in the province in future politics.

The Cabinet Mission Plan

The political situation of India forced the British to think seriously about the Indian situation. The communal question had got its importance and there was a serious disturbance in India in terms of peace and order. They tried to sooth the situation through Simla Conference but failed. After the failure of the Simla Conference the Cabinet Mission could have been an important development in India in order to resolve the issue. 'In order to sooth the situation the Cabinet Mission was sent to India in early 1946 (Brown 2010:84):On May 16, 1947 the proposal was forwarded by the Mission stating as the best solution of the Indian Problem. Ghaffar Khan was the part of Negotiation as he was one of the Representatives from the Congress in negotiations (Ali 1888: 46). Though the Congress and Ghaffar Khan seemed United but the difference of interest was quite prominent. The Congress was looking at things in broader context of India whereas Ghaffar Khan was quite concerned about the future of NWFP. Until now Ghaffar Khan was fighting for the independence of United India and was in quest for the Unity of India but now he seemed much concerned about his province .He was even ready to live with Punjab provided that it would have better treatment with the *Khudai Khidmatgar*. He was not at all ready to live with the Hindus Majority province (Shah 1999:172-173). His stance of not being with the Hindu majority province strengthened the league's stance of Two - Nation Theory. Ghaffar Khan who have had a long companionship and an almost the same goal with the Congress was afraid of joining the group of Hindu Majority Province. He of course was afraid of Hindu Dominance. It also strengthened a stance of league that the Muslims could not co-exist with the Hindus. The Congress seemed much more concerned with the broader context of India, whereas Ghaffar Khan seemed in quest for the better position of the Pashtuns in Indian set up.

Partition Plan

The Cabinet Mission Plan was failed due to Congress. Meanwhile the communal riots took place in India and the League championed the cause of Pakistan. The League in the province had

also started civil Disobedience against the Congress Ministry. The League wanted to show that the majority of the province wanted Pakistan (Shah 2007: 77-78). The situation in India had grown quite chaotic and the situation was getting exacerbated day by day. Lord Mountbatten reached India and presented the partition plan. The plan also proposed a referendum in the NWFP in order to decide its fate (Singh 2009: 550-551). The Congress accepted the partition plan. A referendum would have to define the fate of NWFP with the choice between Pakistan and India. The Pashtun Nationalist preferred to boycott it and the result got in favor of Pakistan (Shah 1999:191).

There were number of writers who highlighted these facts that Khan was not happy on partition and he consider that the deception of Congress. I will quote some of them below in order to strengthen my argument. Gandhi stood in favor of the division of India whereas Khan happened to be unaware of the secret and behind the scene compromise and negotiation of Congress. Khan got in real trouble as he had been fighting for Unite India along with Congress but Congress had now accepted and enforced partition of India (Sufi 2005: 224-226). Congress acknowledged the opinion of partition even before it was comprehended by the British. (Sufi 2005:160). Congress Working Committee's meeting was held on 3rd June. The first point to which was discussed was the future of NWFP. Ghaffar Khan was shocked and was unable to utter a word. He made Congress remind the fact that he had always bolstered Congress. If the Congress isolated him, it would be horrible for his Province. He emphasized that his province would considered that a serious deception. When Congress accepted the plan, he again repeated his concerns and feelings. He left the meeting and said *toba toba*. He called that a death warrant to the Pashtuns. Azad recommended him to join Muslim League (Tendulkar 1967: 424). It shocked Ghaffar Khan as he was confident that the congress would not accept it. Khan was stunned at the attitude of Congress and proposed that it should have been Pakistan or *Pakhtunistan*. The referendum was held which was boycotted by Khan. It got in the favor of Pakistan. He got stunned at the attitude of Congress (Khan, 2000:79-80; Khan, 2003: 11). The Congress justified partition by saying that it was the will of the masses (Tarique 2008:23). It was The height of the Congress's indifference and

selfishness that Congress who always sought United India and Ghaffar Khan stood by it was now saying that it was the will of the people.

Congress happened to be so shrewd and cunning that it did not let Khan know about anything as he mentioned that he knew nothing about things and came to know after going through Azad's book *India wins Freedom* (Sufi 2005:238). By validating the Division of India and its plan Congress did nothing to safeguard the concerns of the Pashtuns (Shah 1999:191). He articulated his disappointments and worries because his companions acknowledged the Scheme of partition. He was speechless as he was extremely painful (Singh 2009:453). The fact is also mentioned by Azad that Khan was completely stunned at the acceptance of partition plan by Congress. He was unable to utter anything for several minutes. He reminded that he always supported Congress and now it isolated him. He also added that its result would be horrible in the province. He said that again and again that his province would consider it an act of perfidy (Azad 1988:210). He had realized that the Congress leaders were no more interested in NWFP. Patel had already said that NWFP had to be written off (Ahmad 2005:26). Ghaffar Khan himself mentioned in his book that Patel had resolved to punish the Pashtuns that was why Mountbatten and Congress had settled it such a way that Congress would accept referendum in NWFP and Mountbatten would accept the partition of Punjab and Bengal. It was at the cost of the heads of the Pashtuns (Khan 1969:663). He further expressed that he was not disappointed at Patel and Rajgopal's attitude. He was in fact got more upset at the attitude of Gandhi and Nehru that even they became of the opinion of Patel and Raj Gopal. Congress leaders claimed that the situations had reached to the point that there was no other option but partition. I asked them who had created such circumstance, In fact Congress Leadership created those circumstances. He clearly stated that the act of Congress was a deception, It was a Treachery to the Pashtuns (Khan 1969:665). It was a sort of extreme deception that off course disappointed Khan in terms of his vision and goals 'Ghaffar Khan wanted to make an independent, representative, sovereign, plural and undivided Indian where the Pashtuns would have freedom, progress and autonomy. He could not hinder the division of India despite of his utmost effort and according to him; his companions failed his mission (Ahmed 2005:26). On June 18, Jinnah and Ghaffar Khan met but it did not

happen to be useful. Khan discussed all matters with his people who were deeply disappointed at the Congress treachery. They opposed the referendum and demanded the autonomous Pashtun State (Shah 1999:35-36).

Any ways The Referendum was conducted peacefully. No unpleasant incident happened. And the results of referendum are as below (Sufi 2005: 255; Shah 1999: 90)

Total Vote Caste: 292118

Favor of Pakistan 289244

Favor of India 2874

The referendum was conducted and it got in favor of Pakistan. It was the logical conclusion of both the claimants of NWFP, the Muslim League and Ghaffar Khan in terms of freedom and struggle against the British Raj. Both stood for their rights with their own style aims and orientation. Both were based on Muslim orientation. The League was more of a believer in electoral politics, negotiations and being the part of the system. Ghaffar Khan on the other hand was more of a Revolutionary and was famous for his Anti Imperialism stance and a sort of leftist politics. The League remained unpopular for long time in NWFP. After Lahore Resolution it got its place in the Province. On the other hand Ghaffar Khan started his career as a Pashtun Reformist, and later he took political orientation. He voiced for the rights of the Pashtuns and was famous for his Pashtun polity. He remained a sole representative of the Pashtuns. The league found difficult to get space in the province due to the influence of Ghaffar Khan. But the later developments in the political scenario of India gave new and quite unexpected orientation to Indian politics. The league which remained unpopular in the province seemed quite successful at the time of partition whereas Ghaffar Khan who happened to be a sole representative of the Pashtun for long time could not get better results and fruits at the time of partition.

There were two reasons of it that led these results. In this chapter I discussed as one major cause of this results. I am of the opinion that the Alliance of Ghaffar Khan led him to this logical conclusion which was not quite pleasant for him and his movement. Despite of him being a sole representative of the Pashtuns, the Treachery of Congress led him to the quite passive and stunning end. And referendum happened to be his ultimate failure in context of partition regarding his being a claimant of the province.

He started his politics as a Revolutionary and stood for the rights of the Pashtuns. He continued his struggle till the time he realized that he could no more operate well without an All India Organization. He talked to the league but the response was not so positive. So he met the Congress leaders and was inspired by them. He joined Congress and many of his close companions criticized and got themselves separated from Khan. They were of the opinion that they would lose their separate identity while joining the Congress, whereas Khan found no evil to join the Congress. He termed that important for the Pashtuns. Ghaffar Khan's movement got new orientation after joining the Congress. The relationship saw so many ups and downs which of course was the part of the game. Ghaffar Khan and his movement got so many of political successes as his brother became Chief Minister Twice. His movement became quite vibrant in the province. There came certain times and points of difference between the Congress and Ghaffar Khan. Though the differences were the part of the politics but those differences sometimes indicated the clear orientation of difference which was supposed to bring about a tragic end. The major difference was the difference of principles. Ghaffar Khan was more of a man of Principle and idealist whereas the Congress happened to more of shrewd and realist. The best example could be observed at the advent of the World War II. Ghaffar Khan remained affirmed to Non - violence and even resigned from the Congress. On the contrary the Congress did not bother Non-violence and assured conditional support to Britain in the War. The end of such alliances, the alliance of an Idealist and Realist is often tragic and deceptive that happened with Ghaffar Khan.

Any way it was the end of the alliance of Ghaffar Khan and the Congress. India was moving towards partition and the nature of the alliance was coming to surface. In Cabinet Mission Plan NWFP came with Punjab. Ghaffar Khan seemed ready to join Punjab with the condition of good treatment with the *Khudai Khidmatgars*. He was not ready to join Hindu Majority Province, which was clearly defining the coming movements. At the advent of Cabinet Mission Plan the situation was erupting to the level which was clear that the Congress and Ghaffar Khan would have different courses of action and different ways to move ahead.

Now it comes to the ultimate game, the climax of all what was happening for years. The partition plan came with the final fate of Sub-Continent. The partition plan came up with the idea of division of India. Referendum had to decide the fate of the Province. The Congress and Ghaffar Khan had been struggling for United India and separation was not at all tolerated. Ghaffar Khan could not even expect that as his survival was bound with the Congress. The Congress's decision could make or break Ghaffar Khan. The dynamics of Indian politics were at hype and the ground realities were quite different. The Principle Centered approach said that the Congress should have to be with Ghaffar Khan at all whereas the ground realities and political dynamics demanded all different. The Congress could no longer retain with the slogan of United India as it was not supported by the ground realities. So, the Congress accepted the partition plan which stunned Ghaffar Khan. He strongly protested against the treachery of the Congress. Congress even did not take Khan into confidence while accepting the partition plan including Referendum in the Province. It was a serious deception of the Congress that let Ghaffar Khan alone in power game. The decision of the Congress stamped the success of the League and a relative and a temporarily failure of Ghaffar Khan. Khan along with the Congress struggled for United India. He wanted a respectable place for the Pashtuns in that power sharing. Ghaffar Khan was part of the Congress and the decisions of the Congress have had serious effects on him and his politics. His future was attached with the Congress since he had been struggling with the Congress for the same goal. The Congress by accepting the partition plan said him good bye and let him alone.

The Referendum took place which he boycotted. The referendum got in favor of Pakistan. Ghaffar Khan seemingly could get nothing out of partition place due to the Congress's selfish stance. His province joined Pakistan which he did never want. Now, he had to be in Pakistan. All that happened due to the Congress Treachery that was the logical end of Ghaffar Khan's struggle for freedom. Despite of being the sole representative of the Pashtuns for long time, despite of being sincere in his efforts for the Pashtuns, despite of his sacrifices for the Pashtuns, he could not get the desire result in terms of his province due to serious Treachery of the Congress. He was a major claimant of the province but the deception of Congress let him nowhere. Had the Congress not accepted the partition plan and Referendum, the end and the logical conclusion of Ghaffar Khan as a claimant of the province would have been different.

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State, *Pashtunwali* and the Constitution of *Loya Jirga* in Afghanistan: A Historical Analysis

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Abstract: The institution of *Loya Jirga* has always acted as a political instrument for finding out solutions to issues of great national importance in Afghanistan. For many Afghans, this term is associated with the good old days before the devastating war, when every segment of the population knew its place in society. This institution has moved further and evoked the ideas of participatory democracy and equal rights. Mountstuart Elephantine described the *Loya Jirga* as the internal government of the Pashtun tribes interestingly the terminology employed for the tribal assembly does not suggest that it was specifically a Pashtun institution from the very beginning. Etymological the term “*Jirga*” has Mongolian origins and means circle or gathering.

Loya Jirga has provided the Afghan society a historical, social and political structure, which has always helped Afghans in dealing with the situations of emergency. The Afghan history shows that whenever the Afghan nation was confronted with crucial issues, the *Loya Jirga* played a decisive role.

It is important to note that the foundation of the present day Afghanistan was also laid on the decision of a *Loya Jirga* convened by the iconic Afghan ruler Ahmed Shah Abdali in Kandahar in 1747.

The Interplay of Tribal Hierarchies within Pashtun society:

Substantial accounts of the orientalist and natives writers have been produced on the construction and structure of the tribal society of Afghanistan. The Some authors are of the view that social

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solidarities within the Pashtun society are strongly held by the indigenous tradition of *Pashtunwali*. The recent state of Afghanistan is also a replica of this code of honor which holds interesting patterns for nurturing leadership and sustaining institutions of governances and legislations. Tribalism is one of the leading undercurrents that hold the superstructure of the state and society. Tribal set up has direct impacts on the construction and deconstruction of state systems and institutions. The tribe often has an autonomous structure in itself, and frequently aspires to capturing the state and becoming its center, but tribalism is no threat to the state in the modern world, where these tribes are more often a tool of state control and resist social resistance.

Tribal Confederacies and Emergence of a State from within:

The state of Afghanistan dates back to the establishment of the Durrani Empire under Ahmed Shah Abdali (Adopting the title Durrani) in 1747. Following the demise of Persian rule the Durrani state took the shape of Pashtun tribal confederation since Ahmed Shah who belonged to the Sadozai clan of the popular, an Abdali sub-tribes, was elected to lead a tribal *Jirga* composed of Abdali tribal chiefs. The dominant role of his Pashtun tribesmen in creating his dynasty was to bear several consequences for the future shape of society-state relations.

Ahmad Shah relied on the military power of his tribal kinsmen to retain and expand the authority of his empire. This dependence meant on the one hand, that the Durrani monarchy was forced to recognize the autonomy of the tribes, in both the socio-political and economic realms. This state patronage not only enabled them to establish political social and economic dominance over non-Pashtun minorities in multi-ethnic Afghanistan, but also placed them in a favorable position vis-à-vis tribal rivals such as the Ghilzai, the other major Pashtun tribal confederacy. Yet conflicts between the Pashtun clans, subscribes and tribes themselves placed curbs on this growing tribal assertiveness. The Durrani tribe itself was divided amongst seven subscribes, well as several sub cleans, competing for internal ascendancy.

There is nevertheless, little disagreement with the deduction that although, there has never been such a thing as an Afghan nation, there certainly is an Afghan state traced through the history.

Although, State is always been an “Alien” to the peripheries, where government presence has remained non-existent.

Global Impacts on Afghanistan:

It has been noted that since the state “is a territorially bounded polity with a centralized government and a monopoly of legitimate force, usually including within its boundaries different social classes and ethnic/cultural groups”, the “existence of territorial frontiers, a central government and a heterogeneous population are enough to define the (Afghan) state” Afghanistan’s geo strategic location and political and economic linkages formed between the Afghan state and regional and extra regional actors, have historically played a major role influencing the relationship between the Afghan state and society and in determining the course of Afghan politics, its strategic location has during various historical periods worked either to strengthen or weaken state legitimacy.

External factors came increasingly into play in directing the future course and character of the Afghan state and state-society relation during the nineteenth century. Internal division and external incursion had led to the disintegration of the Afghan empire while the growth of British power the forward policies of the British and Russian empires and their regional rivalry soon affected internal power balances in Afghanistan

In the past, external actors played a significant role in influencing Afghan internal power dynamics; including alliance building or the widening cleavages between classes, regional, ethnic, tribal linguistic entities and other competing social forces. These linkages between internal and external imperatives will remain equally valid in the current contest where the role of external powers and the divergent political, strategic and economic interests of competing centers of power within Afghanistan will determine the future shape of the Afghan state.

***Loya Jirga* as a Political Instrument**

The reckoned orientalist, Mountstuart Elphinstone described the *Jirga* as the internal government of the pashtun tribes. Interestingly, the terminology employed for the tribal assembly does not suggest that it was a specifically Pashtun institution from

the very beginning the term / *Jirga* is of Mongolian origin and means “Circle” in the contests of hunting and military combat.

In the Persian literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this word was also used in the sense of assembly such as a circle of nobles. On the tribal level, the *Jirga* forms the only available means of decision making and expresses in many ways it is not a permanent institution and is only called to tackle a specific subject which require the immediate attention of the community. There is no hierarchy of speakers and no one openly exerts authority to direct the flow of discussion, which continues until opposition cease and a unanimous opinion, rather than a decision by majority vote, is achieved.

***Loya Jirga* a regular feature of Afghan politics.**

Loya Jirga become a permanent feature of Afghan politics and grew along with the efforts of the Muhammad Zai Kings to establish a central state. In 1915 the *Loya Jirga* took place when Habibullah Khan invited 540 delegates from all parts of the country in order to explain reasons for Afghanistan’s neutrality during First World War. After the incident of Jalianwala Bagh in 1919, Amir Amanullah Khan convened a *Loya Jirga* after the meeting with Indian delegation. He delivers an effective speech against the Britisher the Afghani Ulemas released Fatwa of Jihad against Britisher, and the participants of *Jirga* were agreed to help their Indian Muslim.

On 26 February 1923 Amanullah Khan convened another *Loya Jirga* at Jalalabad which gave approval to the constitution. After a long tour of Europe in 1928 Amanullah Khan called his third *Loya Jirga* at pagans and the *Jirga* approved the new amendment about judiciary, defense national dress and national flags.

Nadir Khan needed to secure his power by wooing the traditional leadership in the *Loya Jirga* of 9 September 1930; he annulled a number of Amanullah Khan’s reforms. At the same time, first step towards institutionalizing the *Loya Jirga* were under taken, with the creation of a parliament consisting of a house of peers (Majilis-I-Ayuan) and a national assembly (Majlis-I-Shura-I-Millia). More than thirty years elapsed before Afghanistan received its first democratic constitution. In September 1964 Zahir Shah

called a *Loya Jirga* the king stipulated that an equal number of delegates (176 each) was to be furnished by the national assembly and representative form the provinces. Who were elected by in direct vote the remaining hundred seats were filled by appointees the king, as well as member of senate. Cabinet, supreme court constitutional committee and the constitutional advisory commission at the end of January 1976 president Daud called *Loya Jirga* under the preside ship of Azizullah Wasti the purpose of the new constitution and to select the president of the state.

Loya Jirga after Saur Revolution

After Saur revolution of 1978, during communist era the idea of instituting a representative *Loya Jirga* became entirely elusive. In 1980 the regime announced that a *Loya Jirga* could only be established once conditions are right for free and secure election to it. On April 23, 1985 the first session of the *Loya Jirga* was held in the Kabul polytechnic on November 29, 1987, in which 1500 delegates' nominated, elected and 400 foreign guests participated. President Dr. Najibullah announced the policy of national reconciliation.

After the Geneva Accord 1989

As a result of the Geneva Accords the Soviet troops returned to their homeland. A *Loya Jirga* was called at this eve in which 732 deputies and 384 invitees participated. President Najibullah addressed the Loay Jirga. Fpollowing points were discussed and consulted in detail .

- a. Status of the ongoing political and military situation in the country.
 - b. The continued alleged interpenetration of Pakistan in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.
 - c. The need for extending the state of emergency in the country.
 - d. Seeking of peaceful ways for the solution of the issues in a around Afghanistan.
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- e. Elevating the position of the republic of Afghanistan in the international community.

On May 26th 1990 under Abdul Rahim Hatif chairmanship-with total of 772 participants, President Najibullah attended all the sessions and took part in the voting also, and the *Jirga* brief on the performance of the government during the period between the previous and present *Loya Jirga*.

LOYA Jirga after the Bonn Agreement

On December 5, 2001 in the presence of the special representative of the secretary General for Afghanistan, Lakhdar Brahimi, the Afghan participant in the UN talks on Afghanistan held in Bonn, Germany, determined to end the tragic conflict in Afghanistan and promote national reconciliation, stability and respect for human rights in their war ravaged country. The participants agreed to the setting of an interim administration to be presided over by a chairman a special independent commission for convening of the Emergency *Loya Jirga*.

A prime function of the interim authority was to establish the special independent commission for the convening of the emergency *Loya Jirga* within one month of the establishment of the authority the special independent commission was a final authority for determining the procedures for and the number of people emergency *Loya Jirga* was scheduled from June 10-16 was than to elect the head of the state for Afghanistan transitional administration.

Constitutional Loya Jirga

The Bonn agreement provided that, once the transitional authority was established by the emergency *Loya Jirga* the main task of the transitional authority would be to convene ‘a constitutional *Loya a Jirga*’ within 18 Months in order a new constitution for Afghanistan *Loya Jirga* Okay institution.

LOYA JIRGA OKAY INSTITUTION

After three weeks of wrangling Afghanistan’s constitutional *Loya Jirga* passed a new constitution that is expected to lead to the

first ever democratic elections in the country the chairman Prof. Sibghatullah Mujaddadi asked the 502 delegates to stand to show their endorsement of the draft constitution that was mired in sharp ethnic and political difference. An overwhelming majority stood up to show their approval of the 162 article draft constitution.

Conclusion:

The historical analysis shows that the *Loya Jirga* proved particularly efficient roles at times of political stability enabling those in power to give their rule the veneer of broad's popular acceptance. This also points to the limitations of the *Loya Jirga* as an instrument for peace in a setting devoid of function state institutions, as is the case Afghanistan today's it has a central and significant influence in the Afghan society.

As the Afghan state institution grew in the course of the 20th century, the *Loya Jirga* became a staple of politics but also much of its original mourning. At the core of its genesis lay the basic tension between state and tribe, between center and periphery the Afghan king attempted to bridge this gap by appealing at well known tribal institution, and tapping its potential for their won purposes. Observing the salient features of Afghan society the traditional Afghan *Loya Jirga* comes in the first row this traditional political institution has been alive since the ancient Aryan period; it provides Afghan society a historical, social and political structure, which has always helped Afghan deal with the situation.

Afghan society is one of the interesting cases for all curious and investigative cultural anthropologists of the world. Afghan history has great events particularly the making of government and the announcements of wars of independence have been determined and happened because of *Loya Jirga*. Even their empires in the sub continent were establish maintained and replaced through the *Jirga*, either the *Loya Jirga* or smaller once compounded of the tribe of the king and other allied tribes.

Beside local *Jirgas* in which the people traditionally participate also the *Loya Jirga* (grand assembly) is the supreme representative institution reflecting popular will of the Afghan people. A *Loya Jirga* is another form of popular representative body, which has always played a vital role in the history of

Afghanistan the decisions of *Loya Jirga* have had significant impact on the internal and external policies of Afghanistan both at time of peace and war.

For parliament to be sovereign depends on fair and free election. It is electoral system should prove channels through which election show be held at regular intervals. In future Afghanistan, a parliamentary system a government which commands the confidence if the people of democracy will suit the social and political environment of the Afghan society which will ensure political economic and social pluralism and popular participation. An elected parliament will represent the majority and will also draw all inspiration and strength from it to sum up, the *Jirga* and *Loya Jirga* system together will the national parliament will continue to be representative bodies which deserve special treatment and attention to balding political and legal institution of Afghanistan.

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The Process of Conflict Resolution and the Role of Sufi saints: A Study of Pashtun Culture

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Abstract: The role of Sufism for the promotion of harmony, tranquility, justice, love, and esteem of the humanity could not be ignored. It had always propagated love irrespective to the creed, caste & religion of the people. The annals show that most of the people had changed their ancestral religions due to the affection of Sufis. On the other hand, disparity, unjust decisions, discrimination, crisis of identity & greediness of wealth surely leads to anarchy & rebellion in the region, as we currently face in the assorted parts of the country. As most the human cultures are stemmed in spirituality, therefore the people strive to settle their matters within cultural frameworks regulated by some sorts of core values derived from the religion of society. Similarly Pashtun culture also tackles conflicts on these grounds. Whenever a conflict intensifies, and is not resolved through traditional values, the affected parties finally approach to Sufis through which they frequently resolve the conflict on permanent basis. This paper is going to unfold the monastic approach to Sufism. It strives to investigate the social role of Sufis, their contribution and participation in the social life. It also uncovers the links between Pashtun culture and Sufism.

Brief introduction to Tasauf/Sufism:

Most of the researchers are of the view that, Sufism has been derived from the Arabic word “Souf” which means “wool” and Sufi is the one who wears woolen dress. Reading of the Surah Aluzamil from the Holly Quran also reinforces the woolen dress as a symbol of the people who follow the path of the Holly Prophet, Muhammad (P.B.U.H).

“Kashful Mahjoob”, the very primary source of *Tasa’uf* written by Ali Bin Usman Hujwiri has unfolded the concept of Sufi in a vivid fashion.

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“Some assert that the Sufi is so called because he wears a woolen garment (Jama-I- Sauf); Others that he is so called because he is in the first rank (Saff-I-awal); Others say it is because the Sufis claim to belong to the Ashab-I- Suffa with whom may God be well-pleased ! Others, again, declare that the name is derived from Safa (purity). These explanations of the true meaning of Sufism are far from satisfying the requirements of the etymology, although each of them is supported by many subtle arguments. Safa (purity is) universally praised, and its opposite is Kadar. The Apostle- on whom be peace! Said: “The safw (pure part, i.e. the best) of this world is gone, and only its kadar (impurity) remains.” Therefore, since the people of this persuasion have purged their morals and conduct, and have sought to free themselves from natural taints, on that account they are called Sufis” (1)

Similarly tracing word *Tasa'uf* in Greek language extends its history to pre-Islamic period yet for the first time it used in the poetry of the AmeerMaawiyeh for one of his subordinates. He said (2)“*قد كنت تشبه صوفيا له كتب- من الفرائض او آيات القرآن*” Translation: you resemble such a Sufi who obeys the orders of Quran & Sunnah. On the basis of which we refer this word used in the seventh century for the first time.

Tasauf had been comprehensively defined by Junayd(may Allah be pleased be with him) that, “Sufism is founded on eight qualities exemplified in eight Apostles: the generosity of Abraham, who sacrificed his son; the acquiescence of Ishmael, who submitted to the command of God and gave up his dear life; the patience of Job [HazratAyoub] (may Allah be pleased be with him), who patiently endured the affliction of worms and the jealousy of the Merciful; the symbolism of Zacharias [HazratZakaria] (may Allah be pleased with him) to whom God said, Thou shalt not speak unto men for three days save by signs and again to the same effect, when he called upon his lord with a secret invocation; the stranghood of John [HazratYahya] (may Allah be pleased be with him), who was a stranger in his own country and an alien to his own kin amongst whom he lived; the pilgrim hood of Jesus [Hadhrat Essa (A.S)] (may Allah be pleased be with him), who was so detached therein from worldly things that he kept only a cup and a comb- the cup he threw away when he saw a men drinking water in the palms of his

hands and the comb likewise when he saw another man using his fingers instead of a toothpick; the wearing of wool by Moses [Hadrath Essa (A.S)] (may Allah be pleased be with him), whose garment was woolen; and the poverty of hadrat Muhammad (P.B.U.H), to whom God Almighty sent the key of all the treasures that are upon the face of the earth, saying: lay no trouble on thyself, but procure every luxury by means of these treasures; and he answered: O lord, I desire them not; keep me one day full-fed and one day hungry. These are very excellent principles of conduct.” (3)

In the Abbasid period when translations of the Greek Platonic and Neo-platonic philosophy were carried out into Arabic language, eventually, the complicated Sufic theory of *Wahdat Ul Wajood* influenced the then Sufic thoughts. Zul Noon Misri (d.245 A.H./ 859 A.D.) is the first ever Sufi who propagated *Wahdat Ul Wajood*. The reckoned sufi Hadrath Junayd Baghdadi, Bayazid Bustami, Abu Bakar Shabli also belong to the same period & of the same thoughts. Their teachings also propagate *Wahdat Ul Wajood* while the most popular Sufi who sacrificed himself for the sake of *Wahdat Ul Wajood*, was Hussain bin Mansoor Halaj (b.244 A.H./ 858 A.D.). Anyhow, Sheikh Muhiuddin Ibn Arabi (b.560 A.H./ 1165 A.D.) boosted *Wahdat Ul Wajood* to its zenith.

Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi deviated from the traditional theory developed in Sufis through centuries and introduced *Wahdat Ul Shahood*.

Anyhow, both Sufic traditions and notions are philosophical and talk about the existence of Allah Almighty. On the basis of these theories Sufism is divided into two main streams the “*Wahdat Ul Wajood*” & the “*Wahdat Ul Shahood*” respectively.

The Advents of *Tasa'uf* in Balochistan:

As the geographical expansion of Muslim states had been carried out by Muslim rulers while the spiritual borders had been extended by Sufis. They provided strong spiritual foundations by their practices. It is therefore truly said that Sufis had played vital role in the preaching of Islam. Non-Muslims accepted Islam wholeheartedly after having observed the practical lives of Sufis.

“However, it is important to mention here that social contract of Pakistan and its cultural foundations blended with the

large heartedness of Sufism are dexterously flexible and deftly persuasive to accommodate the dissenting thoughts and opposing beliefs. In fact majority in Pakistan is imbibed by Islamic teachings as inspired by the Sufi Saints, who are loved, cherished and followed as symbols of Islamic philosophy having an appeal for tolerance and respect for religious beliefs of other communities.” (4)

Anyhow, the roots of Sufism in Balochistan could be traced to 300 A.H. Bait Nika is the first local Sufi who influenced the masses as well as literature of his mother tongue, Pashto.

Sufis of other regions had also travelled to Balochistan. Some of them opted to dwell in Balochistan permanently while others left their disciples or sent disciples to guide the people spiritually. By the way, they contributed to Balochistan for centuries.

Although, local Sufis of Balochistan rendered invaluable services yet Sufis migrated from other parts of the globe, particularly Syed families were instrumental to strengthen its foundations. Except Mian Abdul Hakeem alias Nana sab, they remained very much influential in Pashtun society. They served in the fields of Sufism, religion, politics, business, and many other social activities.

The most famous Sufi mentors of Balochistan include the pirs of four popular Sufic orders, i.e. *Saharwardia*, *Qadria*, *Chistia* and *Naqshbandia*.

The Sufis of Saharwardia Order:

The prominent sheikhs of Saharwardia are Shah Hussain Afghan, Sheikh Kata Matayzai alias Kalat Baba, Sheikh Usman alias LalShahbazQalandar

The Sufis of Qadria Order:

The eminent sheikhs of Qadria in Balochistan are Mian Muhammad Kamil, Sultan Bahoo and Syed ShadiBukhari.

The Sufis of Naqshbandia Order:

The well-known Sufi sheikhs of Naqshbandia in Balochistan Mian Abdul Hakeem alias Nana Sab, Mullah UsmanGarandai, Khanai Baba, and Umar Jan Chashmawi.

The Sufis of Chistia Order in Balochistan:

The distinguished Sufi Sheikhs of this order include: GhulamFarid and SakhiSarwar.

It is pertinent to be noted that the above cited sheikhs are the prominent sheikhs of the said orders not all. Apart from them, their hundreds of thousands Khulafa and disciples, also guided the people in Balochistan.

The Interface of Pashtun Culture and Sufism:

The language, customs & rites, literature, art, assorted characteristics, religious thoughts & beliefs, social aspects, and life style of a nation is known as the culture of that nation.

Culture is one of the basic identities of a nation and if a nation losses its culture, it loses its identity as well. Thousands of the Pashtun families in India and other parts of the globe after losing their culture are now part of the dominant cultures.

Pashtun's culture may be divided into more sub cultures or cultural zones; religious, national, and ethical values. All types of religious beliefs, myths, religious customs and way of worshipping etc are part of their religious values. Whereas language, literature, Art, and music, etc. are included into their national values which portrait their collective mindset. The moral and ethical values are inspired both from religious and tribal values like *NanawatiI* (Sanctuary) is such a tradition which morally compels the offender to realize his/her offense and submit before the victim's family, no matter how much powerful the offender is?. This is what directed both by religion and Pashtun culture. In addition, *Badal* (revenge) is such a tradition in Pashtun's culture which keeps the feud continued. Whether right or wrong Pashtun has to get *Badal* from their opponent.

The Codes and Norms of *Pashtunwali*:

It is important to note that in the tribal and traditional societies of Pashtun, a person is supposed to live and practice the code and norms the Pashtun tradition also called, *Pashtunwali*. It is an unwritten code of the life style of Pashtuns and may be termed as the unwritten constitution of Pashtuns.

As defined in previous lines, *Pashtunwali* is an unwritten constitution of Pashtuns composed of their characteristics, rituals and customs. *Pashtunwali* includes: *Ghairat/ Nung* (Gallantry), put (Honor), *Torah* (Act of heroism) *Melmastia* (Hospitality), *Paighoor* (Taunting), *Badal* (Revenge), *Darah* (Extempore attack on opponents), *Barmathah* (Abduction for recovery of loss), *Cheghah* (Loud voice to show the presence of enemy), *Badragah* (Surety), *Ashar* (Volunteer efforts), *Jirga* (Council), *Marakah* (Group of reconcilers), *Panah*(Asylum), *Tezah* (Temporary suspension of war), *Nanawati* (Collective formal request for forgiveness), *Syali* (equality), *Yurghamal* (Seizure), *Baspana* (Cooperation with poor), *Namus* (Honor, Protection of female & wealth). Whereas, application of the said values is known as *Nurkh* implemented.

Although *Pashtunwali* is collection of the cultural values and code of life of Pashtuns and is rooted in the pre-historic period yet it had been misused by the nominal tribal leaders. The annals show that many Pashtun freedom fighters had been punished through the nominal *Jirgas* formed by the then British government in the name of *Pashtunwali*. “Due to certain internal and external influences *Pashtunwali* underwent changes and in most cases its purity and originality has been distorted. Decline in the values of *Pashtunwali* later on resulted into serious social, political and economic problems in the society.” (5)

Fortunately, *Pashtunwali* is still popular in whole Pashtuns and is respected throughout *Pashtunkhwa*. It is why that as far as the role of nominal tribal leaders is concerned who misuse *Pashtunwali* is bound to *Jirgas* only, whereas the remaining elements of *Pashtunwali* keeps connected whole Pashtun community and is demanded from every Pashtun.

Some of the elements of *Pashtunwali* are very much destructive. e.g. *Badal* (Revenge) which is connected to *Nung/ Ghirat*, and is mostly persuaded by *Paighoor* (Taunting) . Due to *Badal*, tribal feuds continue for centuries. As J.W. Spain referred that “Translation: The very first and important factor of *Pashtunwali* is *Badal*. Whether real or suspicious the revenge of a brutality is imposed on the offender as well as his family members.... Once conflict commences, it continues for unlimited time and space. Hence, Most of the unreasonable target killings in

Karachi, London or Singapore are rooted back in the generations of Khyber valley.” (6)

No doubt, until a conflict resolves, whole world remains battle zone for the rivals. Question arises that if *Pashtunwali* is collection of such glorious codes then why does a conflict not resolve at primary level? Why do people approach to the courts? Why does it take much time? Why do not people trust it?

Actually, all Pashtuns, where ever they are, lead their lives as tribal men,? The psyche of a tribal Pashtun is profoundly rooted in his culture. He believes in his norms and religious customs. So, usually conflicts occur when cultural values are ignored and it intensifies until cultural values are ignored. But, interestingly they forgive huge losses including killings, if cultural values like *Nanawati* are carried out. More interestingly, they demand no future surety and the offender is forgiven on the spot.

As for as the question regarding delay, or trust is concerned. It usually takes place when in an area the nominal tribal leaders use *Pashtunwali* as a power or political tool against opponents.

Conflict resolution:

Wikipedia defines conflict resolution as: “Conflict resolution, otherwise known as Reconciliation, is conceptualized as the methods and processes involved in facilitating the peaceful ending of conflict and retribution.” (7)

As the process of conflict resolution vary in cultures. Similarly, in a Pashtun culture, conflict is resolved through a proper channel, divided into two steps, the conflict management and the conflict resolution.

However, it depends upon the intensity of a conflict. Most of the disputes of killings or honor comparatively take more time.

Discussion:

As stated above that *Tasa'uf* reached Balochistan in 300 A.H., its influence on Pashtun and Baloch cultures is evident. Both cultures not only provided space to Sufism but also provided a powerful role to it. It is why that Sufis were the only characters who had always played positive and unbiased role in the society. They

were/ are known as the messengers of love, brotherhood, and justice. For the reason, their personality had never been objected.

They had been respected on every forum constituted for resolution of conflicts such as Jirga^{§§§}, *Nanawati*^{****} or *Marakah*^{†††}. Even the very initial progress for resolution of a conflict is made through Sufis who in individual capacity involve and try to make the rivals agree for resolution of a conflict.

In Balochistan (Pashtun belt), Most of the complex conflicts are resolved through: the tribal elders of the area, the Sufis, or both the tribal leaders and the Sufis. But all of them keep the cultural values in view. Because if at any stage these values are ignored or deviated, the conflict concerned, could not be resolved permanently and may raise again in the future. Hence, the spiritual leaders resolve a conflict in the frame work of culture, Islamic teachings and human rights.

However, Influence of Sufic personalities is not bound to any borders. Similarly, Sufis of Balochistan are well established not only in Balochistan but also in neighboring countries, particularly the Pashtun dominant areas of Afghanistan. Within Balochistan, they play their role to resolve conflicts of Pashtuns, Balochs, Punjabis and other people.

During this study, the writer came to know that not only public, tribal leaders or disputants approach to Sufis or seek guidance in conflict resolution but the judges also approach them for having known the Islamic aspects of some of the cases. It is why, that most of the Sufi sheikhs are also scholars of high caliber in Islamic jurisprudence.

The popular Sufis dwell in Pashtun regions of Balochistan include: Mian Abdul Hakim alias Nana Sab, Khanai Baba, Kadi Agha, Pir Zain-Ud-din Agha, Bacha Agha, Dost Agha, and Lalak Agha. It is pertinent to mention that those sheikhs who are no more in this world, their successors perform their jobs now.

Unfortunately, not only the public but also educated people think of the Sufis services as imams^{††††} or ascetics only. They never

**** Collective formal request to seek forgiveness

††† Group of reconcilers

†††† The one who leads congregation

paid attention to their social services particularly in maintaining peace, brotherhood, equality and affection in the society.

In this connection, the writer opted the role of a Sufi Sheikh Syed Nukhbatullah Alias Kadi Agha. Before sharing his services his brief introduction is as under:

Syed Nukhbatullah Agha alias Kadi Agha's father's name is Abdul Makbir Jan Agha born in 1946 in Killi Abdul Rahman Zai, Tehsil Gulistan, District Killa Abdullah. His family migrated from Abdul Rahman Zai to Kuchlak Samalai when he was just four years old and then after three or four years they migrated to Chaman where he studied Islamic Jurisprudence, Syntax and grammar of Arabic language besides Persian from his elder brother Syed Zain Ul Abideen and other scholars. He also studied in Kandahar. In 1965 he got admission in Akora Khatkhat madrasa and pursued his studies for six years from Maulana Abdul Huq, Maulana Abdul Haleem and Mufti Fareed Ahmad. He completed Islamic courses in 1971 and was awarded degree from Wifaq Ul Madaris in the same year. He came back to Quetta. His father purchased a piece of land on Akhtar Muhammad road Quetta and constructed a house and a mosque, where students would seek religious education. After he returned from Peshawar his father passed away in the same year hence he was handed over the charge of the mosque on Akhtar Muhammad road while his elder brother shifted to Chaman to take care the Khanqah^{§§§§} of his father. The mosque of Akhtar Muhammad road was in a deep place generally called "kadah" in Pashto. For the reason he was also called Kadi Agha or the Agha belong to kadi.

Kadi Agha was a prominent scholar, Sufi & respected personality in the area. Therefore, he always guided masses of the vicinity spiritually besides daily routine activities. He would wholeheartedly participate in social activities.

Kadi Agha played pivotal role in conflict resolution from Lasbella to Kandahar and Zoab generally while particularly in Quetta district.

His elder son Muhammad Ibrahim Agha told the writer in an interview conducted regarding the social services of Kadi Agha with special reference to the conflict resolution in Pashtun belt, that "he (Kadi Agha) resolved numerous conflicts which include

§§§§ Sufi lodge where disciples seek spiritual guidance from their mentor

conflicts from lower to very high level. He resolved disputes of revenue, business, family matters, killings and feuds. For instance; Kadi Agha resolved a conflict of Badi^{*****} in district Killa Abdullah which continued for many years and many people from both sides had been killed in the said dispute. Finally, disputants approached to Kadi Agha for resolution of the dispute. He had permanently resolved the said dispute. By the way a feud which continued for decades ended and peaceful environment had been restored. During clash the economy, business, family to family relations, peace and education were badly affected.

It is worth mentioning that the said dispute was decided according to the spirit of Islam and also kept Pashtun culture in view. The rituals of Pashtun culture were properly carried out. It is why the said dispute was resolved permanently.” There is a proverb in Pashto that killing dispute is renewed after a century whether the opponents get revenge or not until it is resolved in the light of the principles of *Pashtunwali*.

Muhammad Ibrahim Agha added that “apart from this, Kadi Agha resolved a conflict of a very poor man who had gotten interest based money from a landlord. The friends and relatives collected the actual amount but the landlord was not ready to accept the said amount. Hence, the people approached to Kadi Agha to make the landlord agree to accept the actual amount (Interest free amount) given to the poor and waive off the interest. Kadi Agha accompanied them and went to the residence of the landlord. After meeting the landlord he recited few verses of the holy Quran and Hadith of the Holy prophet (PBUH). Reminded him of the qualities of a gallant Pashtun and informed him about the destruction of poor family and unmatched punishment in the hereafter. Finally he made the landlord agree to accept the amount without interest rate. By the way, a dispute which might have led to a feud between the two families or tribes avoided with the efforts of Kadi Agha.” It indicates not only his sincerity, intellect, acquaintance with Pashtun culture and psyche of the people but also their respect in the society equally.

Muhammad Ibrahim Agha further disclosed that “anyhow, one of such conflicts which took place between the two Pashtun families which could turn into the tribal feud or a conflict of two

***** Killing dispute

tribes but after continuous struggles of Kadi Agha, the conflict was settled peacefully without any further loss of life.” As he himself participated in the whole process and assisted his father Kadi Agha he shared details with the writer and replied the questions asked time to time during the interview. The summary of which is as under:

He said that “about fifteen years ago, a person had been killed in a quarrel due to which a conflict started between the two families. Situation was intensified because the tribe of the said landlord was already indulged in another tribal feud. They were already bound to limited area and did not move freely. They decided to end the newly erupted feud which was expected to be resolved. Moreover, the conflict was at primary level between the two families which could turn into conflict of two tribes in future. Anyhow, Kadi Agha was requested to play his role as arbitrator between them. Kadi Agha accepted their request and wanted to know the facts about the case. He fixed a meeting with landlord who shared his views as given below:

The landlord said that one day he told his guards to receive his guests from Railway Station. When they left for the station, on the way they met a tractor driver whose tractor was on the way and did not let them pass. Although they requested him to let them pass but in vain. During quarrel the driver tried to attack on them. Henceforth my driver came forward to guard me and opened fire due to which the tractor driver died on spot, disclosed my driver.

He added that when guards reached home, one of them told me that he had fought with a person of the surrounding tribe but did not tell about the injuries or death of any body.

He said that he scorned him and told “Do not you know, we are already engaged in another feud, you are going to commit another blooper!”

Landlord continued his statement that after a while I received a call from the affected family regarding the said calamity and alleged my nephew (sister's son) for this killing.

On the other hand, the opponents lodged an FIR against the nominated person whereas the said person did not appear before the court and was declared as proclaimed offender.

Ibrahim Agha further said that although the situation was tense and it was feared that opponents may attack any time on any of the family person of the offender. Anyhow, Kadi Agha was not disappointed and sincerely continued his efforts. He met with the heirs of the victim's family. The murdered sons were not mature hence he met brother of the murdered and got information about the incident.

The brother of the murdered revised the statement told by the landlord and alleged the nephew rather guard of the landlord. He stressed that until the nominated killer is not arrested no progress will be made on the issue. Although the landlord rejected his demand regarding the nominated person yet due to the efforts of Kadi Agha it was fulfilled. Kadi Agha stressed on the offenders family to compensate the demands of the victims family as much as it is possible.

After the arrest of the offender, the case was pursued and he was sentenced life time imprisonment. The offender was shifted to jail where he had spent 4 years. After that he fled from jail.

As the process of the resolution of the conflict was in progress, the victim's family demanded PKRs 2.5 million as *Diyet*^{†††††}, handing over of the killer to victim's family along with *kafan*^{†††††} and the Kalashnikov used in the incident. All demands would have been fulfilled but handing over the offender because they might have killed in the presence of the arbitrators and relatives of the offender. Still the offender has to admit all the conditions of the victims' family. However, in such cases although victims' family has full authority to do so yet it rarely happens & it is beyond *Pashtunwali* and Pashtun culture that when *Nanawati* is carried out, the offender is usually forgiven.

Anyhow, Kadi Agha made the offender's family agree to fulfill the said demands and carry out the ritual of *Nanawati*.

By the way, thousands of people were requested to participate in the process of *Nanawati* which were brought to the victim's family. Kadi Agha and other tribal leaders led *Nanawati*. The amount of *Diyet* and offender along with *kafan* and Kalashnikov was handed over to the victim's family. The participants of *Nanawati* did not set until permission was granted to them by the victim's family.”

††††† The amount paid in the killings as compensation.

††††† The white cloth in which dead body of a Muslim is buried

Ibrahim Agha said: “Meanwhile, one of the tribal leaders said in distress addressing us that they (the victim's family and his tribe) decided to forgive the killer and return the *Diyet* amount and Kalashnikov and forgive the offender.” It is the formal request made to the people who participated in *Nanawati* from the offender's side. Actually, the main purpose of *Nanawati* is to forgive the offender and end the continued feud.

Conclusion:

This study concludes that, in the leading unrest in the traditional and even urban societies, the nature of complex kind of conflicts have become daily news of the towns. In this connection the traditional mechanisms have been playing vital role in the conflict management and resolution. The role of the contemporary Sufis in the region has been blissful in this connection.

The tradition has nurtured a process of conflict resolution that has almost no substitute. The formal and legal system of the state has less credibility in the traditional society of Pashtuns, therefore the amalgamation of the traditional, religious and modern codes and norms are blend to form a process that ends the conflict once for all.

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