

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

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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 that 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 its 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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