Contribution of Sind in the Khaksar Movement*

L. JISKANI

The people of Sind have always loved independence. The folk songs of Sind contain narration of such heroes who have fought through the ages.[1] Dodo Soomro, Darya Khan, Makhdoom Belawal and General Hosh Mohammad Kambrani have played unforgettable roles in the History of Sind which made them folk heroes, an enrichment to folk-literature of Sind.[2]

When British troops attacked Sind in February, 1843 under the command of Sir Charles Napier, the roaring cry of General Hosh Mohammad Kambrani was last heard in the battle of Dobba "Mer Vesoon Per Sindh Na Desoon" (we shall lay down our lives but will not surrender Sind). Finally Sind was conquered and came under the British control in the same year.[3] The people of Sind, however, continued their fight for freedom.

After the conquest, the struggle for freedom was fought along two distinct lines. One was the direct method through insurrections which took place against the British rule from time to time to mutiny and the famous Hur rebellions. The famous Hur movement launched against the British rule in the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century was led by great revolutionary late Pir Ali Goher Shah Pir Pagaro.[4]

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* This article is based on the interview taken from Mr. Lal Bin Yousif and partly on his published and unpublished memoirs. Mr. Lal Bin Yousif being a veteran social and political worker of undivided India; a journalist, founder and editor of two newspapers. He joined Khaksar movement in early 'thirties and worked with Allama Mashriqi as next to his rank.

The other method which was new to Sind and typical of modern society was the struggle through political organizations. In the nineteenth century these were Syed Ahmad Shaheed movement and War of Independence (Mutiny).

In the twentieth century following the World War I, some important movements came into being viz. Khilafat movement, Ahrar Party, Congress non-co-operation movement, Hijrat movement and Khaksar movement and had a considerable influence in Sind.

The supreme Head of the Khaksar movement is called Ameer. He was Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi born in a well off family of undivided Punjab. He took his M.A. degree in mathematics at nineteen with the highest marks ever attained at the University of Punjab, went to Cambridge and took a triple degree there in Mathematics, Physics and Oriental Languages (being a senior wrangler). He returned to India in 1913 and entered the Education department. He was mostly stationed at Peshawar where he met and listened passionately to Moulvi Mohammad Mohsin Farooqi, Professor of Arabic in Islamia College and one of Jamaluddin Afghani's few disciples in India.[5] After World War I, he did not take part in the Khilafat and Hijrat movement but observed carefully the political situation at home and abroad and wrote an essay 'Tazkirah'.[6]

The contention of this work was that religion is basically a system governing the rise and decline of nations. As such, it "must be as infallible as science in its methods and results."[7] The Quran is the only authentic revelation and Islam the only true religion. Islam therefore must provide the correct law of national prosperity. For Allama Mashriqi Islam becomes the most successful and Universal Principle of nation building, and all religious and moral injunctions become means for serving that end. It becomes, so to speak, the infallible and divine-sociology,"[8]

Allama Mashriqi intended to follow his thesis of Islam to its logical conclusions. He wanted to bring his ideas in practice.

In 1926 Allama Mashriqi attended Khilafat conference which was held at Cairo. He then went to Europe, met Hitler and discussed

affairs with him.[9] Hitler may have given him advise that under the banner of Islam a fighting force may be organized which will pave the way to oust Britishers from the sub-continent. On return from Europe in 1931 Allama Mashriqi organized Khaksar movement. The word Khaksar means "humble". The movement had vague socialist ideas. The spade (*Belchah*) was symbol of movement. It was symbol of dignity of honest labour and the weapon of the poor labour. Non-Muslims were permitted to join it if they acknowledged *tawhid* and *al-akhirah* but appeal was made to Muslims and virtually only Muslims had joined it. But sometimes the movement proclaimed rather "Hindus and Sikhs must know that we are not against them. If we get power, we will work for them too."[10] The avowed purpose of Khaksar movement was revival of true Islamic spirit and its domination. According to Tazkirah, as Islam is the law of national progress and prosperity, then whatever is deterrent or irrelevant to that progress cannot be true Islam. For instance, the traditional and pettifogging ritual, debates on various issues or the concern about the individual salvation. These things then must go. And the Mullas must be overthrown, they and their execrable religion.[11] Allama Mashriqi wanted to break the monopoly of clergymen. The attention of the people was diverted when the movement attacked Moulvies and then began an open collision. The orthodox class denounced Allama Mashriqi and his movement as heretical and kafir."[12] The upper class occupied high rank leadership of the movement rather than the ordinary members except few idealistic intellectuals. But none of the peasantry class or true urban proletariat was taken in the important leaders of the movement. Once Allama Mashriqi claimed "we will never aim at establishing the government of the capitalists by trampling down the workers... The Khaksar movement does not aim at the exaltation of the favoured classes of people but at lifting up the masses."[13]

The membership of the movement according to W. C. Smith numbered fifty thousand.[14] The organization was confined to menfolk. It was categorized in four classes of members: first ordinary, significantly called *mujahid;* secondly "those who have given up all property and joined for life,[15] known as *pakbaz;* thirdly a small volunteer corps, *janbaz* of men who have spectacularly signed in

blood a pledge to obey to death; and finally, a reserved force, called *muawin*, of men who would under-go three months training and then withdraw, paying an annual supporting fee and pledging themselves to become regular members on command. The smallest organizational unit was the district (Mohallah), under the charge of a petty officer (Salar-i-Mohallah) assisted by a clerk. This was the unit for the drill every evening after sunset prayers. The officers of most of these ranks had each an assistant, one of whose functions was to act as a check on the officers, seeing that orders from above were carried out. In addition to this, there was a highly organized secret service, spying continually and reporting, having officers disciplined, and generally ensuring that authority was maintained from the top down, on occasion, leaders—the more prominent the better—were publicly whipped.[16]

A weekly paper 'Al-Islah' was issued from Lahore. It contained weekly orders from the headquarter of the movement. This paper kept the movement emotionally and intellectually unified to supplement the disciplined organizational unity. It appeared on each Friday. It was written in an attractive fiery style, it was most popular, every week Khaksars being awaited to receive this paper, in eager hands.

The Khaksars had a treasury which they called Baitulmal. Money was collected from the petty bourgeoisie: members willing to see the Islamic community developing a fighting force. The Khaksars wore a brown uniform and underwent, for an hour or more, a thorough military drill and parade. In addition, three-day regional camps were organized from time to time. Apart from military training and drill, they rendered social services being generally useful in an orderly way: acting as ushers in mosques and at every other feasible gathering, giving assistance after earthquakes, digging wells etc., to maintain peace in case of violence.

The attention of the people of Sind was diverted immediately to this call when Allama Mashriqi organized the Khaksar movement in the year 1951. The movement was first introduced in Sind in November, 1932 by Mr. Amir Bux Khuskah (Nawabshah), Mr. Nasir Mohammed Khan Nizamani, an eminent advocate and social worker

of Hyderabad who originally hailed from a village Tando Soomro of Hyderabad District, Mir Noor Hussain Khan Talpur, landlord Tando Bago, Mir Allah Bux Khan Talpur, landlord, and Editor of first Sindhi Newspaper 'Al-Waheed' who later played a vital role in the movement. The other eminent persons who joined this movement and financed it were Mr. G. M. Syed, a veteran political figure of Sind and eminent writer, Mir Jan Mohammad Khan Talpur,[17] landlord Jhole who held the first rank of *Pakbaz* in the movement, and the next rank of *Pakbaz* was also held by a Sindhi Mir Noor Hussain Khan Talpur.[18] It seems clear that movement was organized in Punjab by Allama Mashriqi and it was patronized by Sind and through its contribution it flourished. Mir Jan Mohammed Khan Talpur and Mir Noor Hussain Khan Talpur both being Sindhi leaders were placed in the highest rank of '*Pakbaz*' in the movement as they donated their whole property for the movement. Nobody else deserved this title except these two Sindhi leaders in the history of Khaksar movement throughout the sub-continent. It was Sind and its people who dominated and made it a powerful movement. The other prominent persons who joined it were Moulvi Ahmed Mallah, a renowned Poet and Philosopher (Badin), Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Shahwani, an author on Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, Mr. Madad Ali Khan Talpur (retired Commissioner), Dr. Gul Mohammad Ansari (retired Director, Animal Husbandry), Mr. Bachal Shah, Engineer, Moulvi Hakim Mohammad Siddique Nadvi (Hyderabad), Qazi Mohammed Akbar, a veteran freedom fighter, Dr. Ziauddin Shaikh, Mr. Mohammad Hashim Gazdar, Moulvi Shafi Mohammad Nizamani, Mr. Mohammad Nawaz Khuhro (brother of Mr. M. A. Khuhro), Pir Illahi Bux (former Chief Minister of Sind), Hakim Mohammad Moiz (Nawabshah).

Later on the movement was joined by Allama I. I. Kazi, Dr. N. A. Baloch, Mr. Lal Bin Yousif Chandio, a veteran political and social worker of the sub-continent,[19] (he held a post next to Allama Mashriqi in the movement), Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur, Mr. Mohammad Husain Turk, Mr. Hamza Khan Qureshi, Allahdad Khan Shujra (Advocate, Shikarpur), Dr. Sultan Ahmed Junejo (Badin), Mr. Abdul Rahim Memon, Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah, Raees Ghulam Mustafa Khan Bhurgri and many others who were

enlisted in the movement. The cream of the intelligentsia of Sind had thus joined the movement and it grew in size and strength. The movement created considerable influence in Sind and the Punjab. It is the considered opinion of old Khaksars that the movement was deeply rooted in Sind only and its sudden rise to become a powerful movement was due to Sindhi devoted Khaksars behind the myth of the movement.[20]

Mr. Nasir Mohammad Khan Nizamani, an advocate from Hyderabad was most active member of Hyderabad city. He made great efforts to organize the movement particularly in Hyderabad city, its vicinity and Sind in general.

Mr. Nasir Mohammad Khan Nizamani took a jesh (group) of 40 Khaksars from Sind to Quetta where on the night of May 31, 1935 an earthquake rocked Quetta city in which death toll was more than 50,000.[21] The Sindhi Khaksars helped the victims in funeral ceremonies and took care of the injured in hospitals. They rendered services to the victims and remained in Quetta camp till the local administration needed them.

The Khaksars were ordered to assemble at Red Fort Delhi camp in the year 1936, about 40 Khaksars from Sind participated on the occasion. Allama Mashriqi first visited Sind in the year 1937, he was invited by Nasir Mohammad Khan Nizamani. He stayed with him in Khair Shah Jo-Pir and he expressed his great satisfaction over the matters of movement, taking in view the keen interest taken by the people and expressed his special gratitude to the people of Sind. It may be noted here that all the expenses of central camps were borne by Sindhi landlords, wherever the camps were held throughout the sub-continent. Allama Mashriqi gave paramount importance to Sindhi Khaksars as he considered them traditionally most sincere, courageous as well as generous in routine lives and to the movement.

Khaksars were ordered to assemble in Tando Bago at Aduri camp, District Hyderabad in the year 1931 on the invitation of Mir Noor Hussain Khan Talpur. Sind made full representation and all its prominent Khaksars participated on the occasion. About 4000 Khaksars assembled at Aduri camp who came from the different parts

of the sub-continent. In this mammoth gathering they held parades and most important matters were discussed. Soon afterwards Khaksars were ordered to meet at Quetta camp in the year 1939. About 35 Khaksars participated in it. Mr. Lal Bin Yousif was prominent among the Khaksars who made representation from Sind.

In 1939 a Shia-Sunni conflict flared up in Lucknow.[22] After receiving orders, the Belcha armed Khaksars from Sind and Punjab marched on this city, but U. P. Police refused them entry. The Khaksars were first fired upon by the police. About 40 Khaksars from Sind participated at Lucknow in two different groups under the leadership of Mr. Lal Bin Yousif and Mr. Mohammad Hussain Turk respectively. Among the Khaksars from Sind who received serious injuries were Mr. Mohammad Hussain Turk, Mr. Hamza Khan Qureshi, Mr. Aijaz Talpur Khabaran-waro, Nawab Daud Khan (Nasarpur) and Mr. Talib Turk.

When the Unionist Government of Sir Sikander Hayat imposed ban on Khaksar movement in order to please Imperial rulers, the Khaksars were ordered to assemble in Lahore on March 19, 1940 to protest against this ban. The Punjab Police opened fire in which about 50[23] innocent Khaksars were killed.

On hearing the news about the brutal killing of Khaksars and immediate arrest of Allama Mashriqi in Lahore, the pall of gloom cast over the Khaksars of Sind and they came to seek permission from their Commander Hakim Mohammad Akram Khan Jalees, a Pathan from Hazara. As we all know that a strict discipline prevailed among Khaksars and none could defy it. He told them that no body can march on Lahore unless we get such orders from high command. The restlessness prevailved among the Khaksars of Sind. Later on Khaksars came to know that they were deceived by their commander Hakim Mohammad Akram Khan who had an understanding with British Government. Hakim Akram Khan started to talk against Allama Mashriqi that he did not know how to tackle the situation and that is why he had ruined the movement. Moulvi Khair Mohammad Nizamani was Deputy Commander Sind who understood the situation and tried to obtain an order from high command regarding the march on Multan. Meanwhile Hakim Mohammad

Akram disappeared suddenly and did not come back. Moulvi Khair Mohammad by using his own powers proposed and ordered the Khaksars of Sind to assemble at Multan to protest against the killing of Khaksars and imprisonment of their Ameer Allama Mashriqi.

Mr. Lal Bin Yousif led a group of Khaksars from Hyderabad and marched on Multan city. Khaksars displayed street demonstrations and convened protest meetings at Multan and gained the sympathies of the people of Multan, but they were beaten severely inside the mosques by the Punjab police. The result of this clash was clear and Khaksars from Sind were injured and their leader Mr. Lal Bin Yousif was seriously injured and he was confined in jail for 9 months.

While the hide and seek was being played between the Khaksars of Sind and Punjab police at Multan, a fresh group of 30 Khaksars from Sind marched to Multan on May 27, 1940 under the command of Moulvi Khair Mohammad Nizamani. Hafiz Rukunuddin was the Deputy Commander of the group. They took train from Hyderabad and proceeded to Multan. When train stopped at Khanewal station, Hafiz Rukunuddin and Hakim Haji Ali Akbar Toorani purchased food from railway station and served it to the Khaksars. Immediately police attacked on the compartment and disconnected it from the remaining train and took it away at the distance of one furlong. It was high time for the leader to encourage them and increase the morale of Khaksars. Immediately Moulvi Khair Mohammad Nizamani delivered a speech in the presence of police:

"Brave Khaksars, we have left our homes with a burning desire to take revenge from Unionist Government who has destroyed the unity of Islamic movement. We are ready to shed the last drop of blood for the sake of Islam ..... we know that our enemy is in the overwhelming majority but we the believers of Islam will dominate them....."

Police made sudden attack on the compartment in which Hafiz Rukunuddin, a first Sindhi Khaksar, was killed by Punjab Police. This incident took place on June 1, 1940 at Khanewal Railway station. He was buried in Khanewal graveyard. A piece of paper

was found from the pocket of Hafiz Rukunuddin Shaheed with the following writing:[24]

"In bloom of my youth at 24, I adore my life. I laid down my life for just cause of Islam. I gave up my job, property, love of parents and even my own life for the glory of Islam. My assassination will remain a challenge and a course of action for you."

The remaining 29 Khaksars were arrested, among which Moulvi Khair Mohammad Nizamani was awarded 2 years imprisonment.

After the Lahore incident a ban was imposed on Khaksar movement. After the conquest of Sind in 1843, the followers of Pir Pagaro called 'Hurs' were continuously active in Sind since 1890 against British rule in Sind as already mentioned in the beginning of this article. The British rulers since then had a vigilant eye over the Pir Pagaro dynasty. In 1942 guerrilla activities increased in some parts of Sind under the command of Pir Subghatullah Shah Pagaro–II. After the dramatic arrest of Pir Pagaro, immediately the Hur followers of Pir Pagaro came out with open collision in protest against the British rule. Thousands of Hurs were put behind the bars. For the first time concentration camps were introduced in the history of the sub-continent in which sick, old, women and children of Hurs were put. The fire erupted throughout Sind. Immediately martial law was imposed in the four Districts of Sind, viz. Khairpur, Sanghar, Hyderabad and part of Tharparkar. Trains were stopped to ply during night hours. This was the time when guerrilla activities were at its height in Sind. One day the guerrillas came to know that British Military officers, Police officers and civil officers were expected to be travelling in Khybermail. On the fixed time the concerned Khybermail was derailed near Udero Lal (a Railway station near Hyderabad) by the guerrillas in which death toll was high. About three hundred persons were killed and Khybermail was completely destroyed.

On hearing this news Mr. Lal Bin Yousif immediately rushed to the scene with 80 Khaksars. The others who participated in relief work were Congress workers and sweepers of Hyderabad city. The famous political and social worker of Sind Dr. Chamandas,

President Congress, Hyderabad District was incharge of relief operation. The victims who received serious injuries were immediately taken to hospitals at Nawabshah and Hyderabad respectively. Next day Mr. Hafiz Qureshi, an eminent political and Social worker reached on the scene with one hundred more Khaksars. The victims who were killed in the accident were buried at the Shah Maki graveyard. Captain Mirchandani who was the Deputy Commissioner of Hyderabad at that time was so pleased to see the relief work done by the Khaksars that he immediately issued orders to release the following Khaksar leaders from Hyderabad, Mr. Abdul Karim, Mohammad Bashir Gazdar, Mr. Mubarak Ali Gul, Mr. Jalaluddin, Mr. Ghulam Ali and Moulvi Mohammad Siddique Nadvi. All those Khaksars were arrested under the Defence Rules of India. The protest meetings were held throughout Sind in which British Government was condemned. A protest meeting was convened at Hyderabad in which Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur condemned the Imperial rulers, their highhandedness and atrocities committed on Hurs. Allama Mashriqi in a press statement sympathised with the Hurs and warned British Government to desist from repressive policies used against the people of the sub-continent. Muslim League being most powerful party of Muslims in the undivided India did not comment over the genuine struggle of Hurs against Imperial rule.

In 1947 Hindu-Muslim riots flared up in the Bihar province of India. Immediately Allama Mashriqi rushed to Patna, the capital of Bihar and ordered the Khaksars to assemble at Patna-camp in order to help in relief work. The distinguished Khaksar leader Mr. Lal Bin Yousif was appointed in a rank next to Allama Mashriqi (Salar-e-Khas—Hind) in the year 1946. On May 1, 1947 he took 36 Khaksars from Sind to march on Patna. Mr. Lal Bin Yousif was posted at Kathiyar on the border of Nepal. 8000 Khaksars were assembled in Bihar and they helped in relief work. On June 6, 1947 Mr. Lal Bin Yousif received a news from Patna that Khaksars have been killed in a firing. He immediately rushed to Patna where he participated in the funeral ceremonies of Khaksars and engaged himself in relief work. He returned to Sind after partition was announced.

Finally on June 3, 1947 Allama Mashriqi made appeal to 3 lakh Khaksars to assemble at Delhi camp. Instead of 3 lakhs only 70,000

Khaksars assembled at Delhi-camp. 600 Khaksars from Sind had also participated on the same day where Allama Mashriqi announced the end of Khaksar movement. Those who were arrested at Delhi camp were Mr. Ahmed Khan Langah (Larkana) and a distinguished Khaksar leader and journalist Mir Allah Bakhsh Khan Talpur. Mir Sahib was born in 1887 in a Talpur family who ruled Sind. He took his B.A. Degree from Junagarh State College. He was offered a post of Mukhtiarkar but he refused the offer and entered the profession of journalism. He held high posts in the Indian National Congress. He was staunch supporter and worker of Khilafat movement. He worked as editor, Daily 'Al-Waheed' the well-known Sindhi newspaper. Daily 'Al-Waheed' played a vital role in Sind for the cause of Khilafat movement. He entered the Khaksar movement in 1933. He was founder and editor of monthly '*Khaksar Sipahi*' a journal in Sindhi language which conveyed the message of Khaksar movement even in the farthest areas of rural Sind. He remained with Khaksar movement all his life. At the age of 60 he was arrested at Dehli camp in June, 1947 and was put in prison.

Mr. Lal Bin Yousif, a veteran political and social worker and distinguished Khaksar comes from a respectable Chandio Baloch family. He was born in 1920 at Hyderabad Sind. After receiving his education he entered in politics at the age of twenty. He joined Khaksar movement in early 'thirties. He attended all the Khaksar camps held at different places in the sub-continent. He was strong supporter of Khaksar movement. Taking in view his honesty and hard work, Allama Mashriqi appointed him Deputy Ameer (Salar-e-Khas-Hind), the highest post next to Allama Mashriqi in the movement. He was founder and editor of daily "*Chingari*" (1940) and daily "*Toofan*" (1947) both in Sindhi language in which he carried the message of Khaksars and day to day problems of Sind. Both the newspapers gained popularity throughout Sind. He contributed regularly in the "Al-Islah" Lahore, a weekly newspaper of Khaksar movement founded by Allama Mashriqi. Mr. Lal Bin Yousif possessed extraordinary qualities, a man of calibre who remained about four decades on the political arena of Sind. He stood firmly to fight for right of the masses and social change was his main object. He was attracted by Khaksar movement because it was the

only movement of the time which believed in social change.

The turmoil of first quarter of the twentieth century was a very hard time for the people of the sub-continent—a period of chaos, upheavals, confusion and unrest which resulted in well organized mass struggle emerging in different movements on modern lines. The people of Sind showed their keen interest and joined Khilafat, Ahrar party, Congress, Muslim League and Khaksar movement in order to win freedom. Basically the Khaksar movement was a religious movement and much emphasis was given to true Islamic practices and its spirit. Allama Mashriqi made a distinction between the true religion and fanatical religion as misinterpreted by the Mullas. He gave progressive ideas and interpreted Islam as 'nation building'.[25] These thought provoking ideas attracted the whole sub-continent and especially the people of Sind who have always believed in liberal and progressive politics.

The participants from Sind in the Khaksar movement can be categorized in two parts. Firstly, those well to do aristocrat class of orthodox Muslims who wanted to see the Islamic community in India developing to such an extent that it should be in a prominent position. In fact this orthodox class supported Khaksar movement for the glory of Islam. It would appear that the main attraction for the upper and lower classes in the Khaksar movement was the nature of the para-military organization, its discipline and its outward symbols of uniform, spade and physical training, labour and honesty which reminded them of the early Muslims of the Khilafat period who also relied on their own physical labour.

They were fired with enthusiasm to serve the cause of Islam and to secure social justice for the Muslim masses.

Secondly, the majority of people who entered the Khaksar movement was from the peasantry, underpaid labour and unemployed workers from rural and urban areas. Their motives in joining the Khaksar movement were to launch a mass movement not only against British rulers but to better their own condition, get rid of illiteracy, ignorance and exploitation. They firmly believed that Khaksar movement with a progressive vision will

improve their socio-economic conditions, and will find better and equal opportunities of jobs for unemployed and overall uplift of the downtrodden masses.

During the emergence of Khaksar movement there were many other movements already well established working on the different patterns but none of them was similar to the Khaksar movement. People gave prominence to this newly emerged movement because they possessed a para-military organization which made it quite distinct and was a great attraction for the poorest class. Revolutionary intellectuals were promised that the movement would work and bring social change through force ultimately. A progressive class of intellectuals was attracted by the Khaksars as the movement had a mixture of socialist, fascist ideas and the attractions that these movements offered.

Khaksar movement was the most powerful which dominated all other contemporary movements of its time. Allama Mashriqi prepared an alert fighting force to take control of the situations at any time, but later on he could not lead the movement towards its goal because of the hostile attitude of other rival movements of his time. Some reactionaries occupied the high rank of the movement which gave reactionary slogans to the masses. Fate of the movement remained in the hands of reactionaries who led the movement nowhere against the wishes of Allama Mashriqi. People were interested to improve their economic conditions, but movement could not give any economic programme, that is why movement failed and came to an end. However, Allama Mashriqi, a great revolutionary of his time, can be remembered as long as history is concerned, who organized such a most powerful movement which dominated over all other existing movements of its time and as a result of the movement was victimized due to rivalry before achieving its goal.

The Khaksar movement was popular in Sind since its emergence in 1931. The people of Sind worked actively and dominated the movement involving their man-power. Talented personalities led the movement in most difficult times on right path. They spent best portion of their lives and spent money freely and the movement

flourished. Mir Jan Mohammad Khan Talpur and Mir Noor Hussain Khan Talpur were distinguished members in the movement who both supported the movement financially. Mr. Allah Bakhsh Khan Talpur, Mr. Nasir Mohammad Khan Nizamani, Adocate and Mr. Lal Bin Yousif were on the forefront of the movement and devoted their lives for the uplift of movement. Ultimately the cause of the failure of the movement lay with the leader of the movement who could not give a definite and clear programme for the future of the movement which foundered because of a lack of an economic and political programme. All one can say, that it was the people of Sind who gave their blood and made the Khaksar movement a glorious chapter of people's struggle in the history of the sub-continent in pursuit of freedom.

Footnotes

1. Niaz Humayouni, "Dharti-ja-Geet", Takbleek Publication, Hassan Ali Mansion, Miani Road, Hyderabad Sind, 1977, p. 62.
2. Ibid., p. 62.
3. H. T. Lambrick, Sir Charles Napier and Sind, Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1952, p. 165.
4. Dr. Hamida Khuhro, 'A Nineteenth Century Guerrilla War', an article published in 'Grassroots', Vol. II, No. I, Spring 1978, Research Journal, Pakistan Studies Centre, University of Sind, Jamshoro, p. 47.
5. Al-Islah, 23-11-1934.
6. Kraemer, Islam in India Today, Muslim World, Vol. XXI, No. 2 (April, 1931), p. 169.
7. Ibid., p. 169.
8. Ibid., p. 170.
9. W.C. Smith, Modern Islam in India, A social analysis, Ripon Printing Press, Bull Road, Lahore, 1943, p. 289.
10. W.C. Smith, op. cit., p. 285.
11. Mashriqi : قول فیصل, quoted in translation in Subhan, p. 12.
12. W.C. Smith, op. cit., p. 292.

13. Mashriqi : قولِ فیصل (July–August, 1941), op. cit., p. 15.
14. W.C. Smith, op. cit., p. 286.
15. Chakarvarty, Mystery of the Khaksars, Asia, Vol. XXXIX, No. 8 (August, 1939), p. 435.
16. W.C. Smith, op. cit., p. 287.
17. According to Mr. Lal Bin Yousif, the interviewee, the highest ranks of membership were offered in the movement to those who donated their whole property to movement during life time and even after death.
18. Op. cit., Mr. Lal Bin Yousif, the interviewee.
19. Op. cit., Mr. Lal Bin Yousif, the interviewee.
20. Op. cit., Mr. Lal Bin Yousif, the interviewee.
21. Reader's Digest (1966). Almanac, published by Reader Digest Association Inc., Pleasantville, New York, 1965, p. 550.
22. Op. cit., p. 293.
23. Abdullah Malik, پنجاب کی سیاسی تحریکیں, Kausar Publishers, Lahore, 1973, p. 300.
24. Mr. Lal Bin Yousif, op. cit., A booklet captioned "Rukunuddin" in Sindhi, printed by Karamchand Nebhraj Dewani, Chandon Printing Press, Market Road, Hyderabad Sind, pp. 1-30.

Note : The Khanewal incident is the free translation from the above mentioned booklet by the present author.

25. Kraemer, Islam in India Today, op. cit., p. 170.