
THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF MOHAMMAD HASHIM MAIWANDWAL

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Abstract

This article examines Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal's perceptions of the great powers, specifically the United States and the USSR, and his approach to non-alignment, co-existence, world peace, and progressive democracy. Progressive democracy, a central social doctrine of Maiwandwal, reflects his worldview and understanding of international relations with the great powers. The study introduces Maiwandwal, explores his perspectives on the US and USSR, and analyzes his foreign policy toward these powers. The article concludes that Maiwandwal's ideas and policies regarding the great powers ultimately led to his resignation and eventual death.

Keywords: Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal; Great Powers; US; USSR; Afghanistan Foreign Policy

1. Introduction

"Here's my strategy on the Cold War: we win; they lose" (Ronald Reagan). Great Powers are considered an essential and quintessential part of international politics. 'Paul Kennedy' in 'The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers' presents a complete account of different great powers during different times. Hence, from this book, we can conclude that the concept of great power is old in IR. Furthermore, John Mearsheimer, in the book 'The Tragedy of Great Power Politics' argues that "great-power rivalry is not over." A country does not remain a great power permanently. It enters the great power club and falls from it again. The Great Power Game is a grandiose game that involves war, peace, alliance, military and technology buildup, economic buildup, and so forth. *Great power* can be defined as a nation that has exceptional military and economic strength and consequently plays a major, often decisive, role in international affairs. Great power is a distinct member of international society with special privileges granted in return for the responsibility to manage international order. Great powers act as critical managers of International politics. The relationship between Afghanistan and the Great powers is as old as colonialism and imperialism. Afghanistan's geopolitical and geostrategic location has been the main reason that attracted great powers of politics. The history of great powers is best captured by 'Rajiv Dogra' in his profound book 'Durand's Curse,' where he brings the conversation between Rambo and his Afghan interlocutor, "This is Afghanistan... Alexander the Great tried to conquer this country. Then Genghis Khan, then the British. Now Russia. However, the Afghan people fight hard; they never be defeated. The ancient enemy makes prayer about these people.... It says, 'May God deliver us from the cobra, teeth of the tier and the vengeance of the Afghan'".

Afghanistan is called the “graveyard of empires,” which means that the “Great Game” has been played for centuries in Afghanistan. Moreover, because of its geo-strategic location, foreign governments have long used the people of Afghanistan and influenced their domestic and foreign policies as tools for their interest. Cold War between great powers also affected Afghanistan and its policymaking. Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal, a shrewd Prime Minister of Afghanistan, formed the foreign policy of Afghanistan, keeping the great powers in mind. He was aware of the influence of great power politics. He believed that ‘Great Powers’ have a considerable international responsibility to justice to the rights of man and nations. In addition to this, he perceived that ‘Great Powers’ are vested with primary responsibility for maintaining peace under the UN charter. Consequently, this article illustrates Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal’s worldview, his perspective on great powers-US and USSR- and his foreign policy towards the US and USSR when he was the Prime Minister of Afghanistan from 1965 to 1967. Furthermore, this paper argues that Maiwandwal’s opinion and policy towards the great powers were the main reasons for his resignation and death.

1.1 Background

Men with the determination to emancipate their societies from old conventions are born rarely. They change their countries and take them on a path of prosperity and happiness. Although, in the case of Afghanistan, great men with more incredible determination annihilate themselves in the course of emancipating their countries, they die, but their countries remain the same- undeveloped-. One of the progressive and democratic minds of Afghanistan was Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal. He was born in 1919 in a mystic family whose father was an Islamic scholar. After graduating from high school, Mohammad Hashim became a journalist, editing several newspapers. He worked in 'Itifaq Islam', 'Dairat-ul-Mareef' and 'Anees' and during his tenures in these newspapers and magazines, he engendered an interest in ideas such as Democracy, free press and elections. He has written a lot to King Zahir Shah's government for elections, press laws, and parliamentary government. He was appointed as the General Director of Media and Broadcasting and took essential steps to make press and media free and independent. Due to the difference with the Shah Mahmoud Khan, the Prime Minister in the Kingdom of Afghanistan, Maiwandwal, was appointed as an ambassador to the United States.

From 1955 to 1963, Hashim Maiwandwal worked as an ambassador of the Kingdom of Afghanistan to the United Kingdom, the United States, and Pakistan. Later, he was appointed as the deputy minister in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan. Foreign Minister Sardar Naim called Maiwandwal a shrewd, clever, and intelligent diplomat who understands the changing dynamic of International politics. “During his years in Foreign affairs, he proved himself as somebody who has a deep theoretical and practical understanding of international politics and affairs” (Abdul Ghafar Farahi). From the start of King Zahir Shah's reign until the 'decade of democracy', the King only appointed his relatives as prime ministers. However, after the democratic wave that brought government structure changes, the Prime Minister, not the King, was the head of government. The role of the King had been reduced to nominal, and it was the

first time in history that the King did not play an essential role in government. An elected authority emerged, where the prime minister will only be answerable to Wolesi Jirga (Afghan Parliament). After returning from Pakistan, Hashim was appointed as the Minister of Information and Culture under the transactional government of Dr. Mohammad Yousef in 1964. After a year, due to internal crises and upheavals, Mohammad Yousef resigned from the post of prime minister, and Hashim Maiwandwal took over the prime minister of Afghanistan. He got the votes of confidence from the parliament and formed its government in 1965.

The newly elected prime minister advocated a distinct type of foreign policy. He was aware of a bipolar world, where, on the one hand, the US would want Afghanistan to become a liberal democracy. On the other hand, the USSR would want Afghanistan to follow its socialist model and become an ally of the USSR. Nonetheless, Mohammad Maiwandwal chose a middle way that was non-alignment. He was aware of the great power politics. Hence, his main foreign policy objective was to preserve and protect the Afghan national interest and not become a scapegoat during the Cold War, which will be explored in this paper. Furthermore, he believed in a world order based on equality and peace and has always encouraged the UN to play a constructive role in peacemaking and peacebuilding in the world. Though he had always had his reservations about the role of the UN and great powers, he explicitly criticized both the US and USSR publicly, which later became the main cause of his resignation. Moreover, he was the first elected leader in Afghanistan to appoint women to his council of ministers, and finally, after three years, He gave his resignation. In his book 'Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal, Naseer Ahmad Ahmadi writes that "the major cause of his resignation was its changing foreign policy towards one of the great powers- USSR- ". Moreover, this paper argues that one of the significant reasons Maiwandwal was killed was his worldview and reservations about the role of great powers in Afghanistan.

After he resigned from the second-highest political position, he did not quit politics. He wanted to modernize Afghanistan's domestic and international policies. He formed a political party, the Progressive Democratic Party (Mutaraqi Democratic Hizb), where his party reflects his worldview. Daud Khan, with his coup, overthrew the entire structure of government and announced the new Republic Government. Daud's government arrested Maiwandwal in an attempt at a coup, and the government soon announced that he had committed suicide, but many scholars and politicians deny this claim. They argue that Maiwandwal was killed by Daud Khan and his communist aids in 1973. Naseer Ahmad Ahmadi writes that Maiwandwal was a fluent speaker and orator who could speak English and Arabic. Finally, he has authored many books and articles.

2. Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal Worldview

Maiwandwal has written extensively about his foreign policy, where we can extract his worldview. He has written a prolific article about the foreign policy of Afghanistan that elucidates his worldview and political consciousness.

Maiwandwal says that Afghan kings and national leaders have fought against invaders for their national sovereignty and integrity; they fought with others to acquire the lands they have lost; they have also fought to protect their kingdoms. Moreover, he says that due to feudalism and its practices, national unity and harmony have been affected badly. In this period, the colonization of great powers approached Asia and benefited from the disparity, dissection, and dis-unity of Afghans. It was when Russia reached Turkistan; the British reached India, and these great powers were competing against each other to balance the power. The competition between these great powers benefited the local and regional leaders of Afghanistan. These two great powers supported local and regional leaders to increase their influence, resulting in a more significant disparity among the people in the country. Furthermore, Maiwandwal says the British's forward policy caused two wars between the Afghans and the British. In both wars, Afghans defeated the imperialist British, forming their independent governments. However, the British were able to accede some lands of Afghanistan to British India. In addition, due to the British's tyranny and interference, the treaty of Gandomak and Durand was imposed on Afghans, and they took control over the foreign policy of Afghanistan.

On the one hand, Maiwandwal writes, "Our foreign policy was controlled by the British, and on the other hand, the weak government with bad domestic policies cause anguish and dissatisfaction among the people of Afghanistan, which augmented distance between the people and government". The people of Afghanistan, including its local and regional leaders and its armed forces, were asking the government to come out of the influence of the British and establish independent and free relations with all the countries of the world. The national sentiments for freedom and emancipation were growing among the people of Afghanistan that in 1919 Afghans fought with the English and took their independence under the leadership of King Amanullah Khan. After the independence of Afghanistan, Afghanistan's primary foreign policy objectives were, First, to sympathize and support other colonized countries, especially the Indian sub-continent, to attain their freedom and emancipate themselves from the imperialism and colonization of great powers. Secondly, to protect and preserve the national sovereignty and integrity of Afghanistan. Finally, to find friends and allies based on mutual respect and recognition of sovereignty.

After the Second World War, national leaders of the newly independent countries in the wave of decolonization gathered at the 1955 Bandung Conference (the Asian-African Conference). The attendees called for the abstention from using the arrangement of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers. Anti-colonization and anti-imperialist leaders such as Nehru of India, Tito of Yugoslavia, Nasser of Egypt, Sukarno of Indonesia, Daud of Afghanistan, and many other leaders believed that in the wake of the Cold War between US(Liberalism) and USSR(Socialism), the newly emancipated countries instead of joining either of the blocs should join together in support of national determination against all forms of colonialism and imperialism. Consequently, the ideology of Non-aligned was theorized, and the Non-Aligned movement was founded and held its first conference in 1961. The idea of nonaligned was present even before in the Afghan thinking, says Maiwandwal. He says that Afghanistan's neutrality

in WWI and WWII elucidates the Afghan's inclination towards non-alignment. Moreover, Hashim Maiwandwal believed that the decision not to entangle Afghanistan in WWI and WWII between great powers was the best and most rational.

Maiwandwal was a multi-faceted personality. He was vocal against the colonization and imperialism of great powers. He welcomed the new orientation of the third-world countries and advocated the Afghan leadership to espouse the policy of Non-alignment. Maiwandwal believed that in a world dominated by the bipolarity of two superpowers (US and USSR), the national interest of Afghanistan lies in a policy of non-alignment. Like before, he knew that if Afghanistan chose any bloc and created positions of strength or played the game of politics, this would create disharmony, disunity, and disparity in the people of Afghanistan, making the country vulnerable to a foreign invasion. Consequently, he was a staunch advocate of the policy of Non-alignment. Afterwards, he became the Prime Minister of Afghanistan. He practically espoused and implemented the policy of non-alignment. As the architect of Afghanistan's foreign policy during the 'Decade of Democracy', He took significant steps to save the country from 'Great power conflicts'. Furthermore, He believed the policy of non-alignment emanated from the long struggle for freedom against the invasions of great powers in Afghanistan. Moreover, for Maiwandwal, the national interest of Afghanistan does not lay in falling in either bloc of great power but in pursuing a policy of non-alignment that is based on amicable relations with all the states in the world. However, for him, the idea of non-alignment did not signify that Afghanistan should remain passive or even neutral in International politics. In addition, He wanted an amicable relationship among the states of the world. He favoured a world order based on world peace, independence of internal and external policy, disarmament, and the absence of forcing alignment with great power and the USSR. Maiwandwal considered the United Nations to have a central role in world affairs and considered the objectives and principles of the charter of the UN paramount. Furthermore, for him, the United Nations can play an essential role in developing peace among the nations, curtail the influences of great powers in underdeveloped and third world nations, uphold the principle of nonintervention and on interfaces by great powers, and offer a peaceful solution to all international conflicts, providing if UN works best. However, later, when he became the Prime Minister, he developed some observations on the works of the UN due to the Israeli tyranny in Palestine and on the influence of great powers on the working of the United Nations.

Moreover, when Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal became the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, he pursued an independent foreign policy compatible with Afghanistan's self-interest. He acknowledged that the only way to develop and modernize Afghanistan is to refrain from playing a part in great power politics. He did not want the past disasters to repeat themselves while being part of either bloc. He inherited a poor, politically, and economically underdeveloped Afghanistan. Thus, she cannot afford to involve herself in the cold war of great powers. Before Maiwandwal, Daud Khan was the Prime Minister, and his foreign policy was inclined towards the USSR. Incessantly, Afghanistan was throwing itself to the Socialist Bloc. However, after Maiwandwal became the Prime Minister, he followed a policy of non-alignment and embarked on

distancing himself from the USSR. Simultaneously, he tried to establish relations with Western and Arab countries, which led to his resignation and death. For him, having an independent foreign policy was quintessential for the development of Afghanistan. Was Maiwandwal a universalist, idealist, and pragmatist? He and his followers would not call him idealist or universalist. He called himself a "Progressive Democrat". His perspective about nonalignment and great power politics can be grasped in his social and political doctrine of "Progressive democracy" and his two famous speeches at the United Nations in the Fifth Emergency Special Session of 1967 and at the Funeral of Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1996 in New Delhi.

2.1 Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal's speech at the United Nations

The Prime Minister of Afghanistan delivered a speech at the UN's Fifth Emergency Special Session, which was held on the issue of Israel's invasion and aggression on Palestinian land and people. Maiwandwal started his speech by saying, "Ever since the aggression of Israel against the Arab countries, this Organization has been on trial before humanity. At the outset of the consideration of the recent aggression of Israel, I should like to take this opportunity to pay a sincerest tribute to the distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, for his untiring efforts in the cause of peace in general and the effective discharge of his onerous responsibilities in an impartial manner.". Furthermore, Maiwandwal added that "We have come here to express our deep concern about the dangers and catastrophes that have arisen as a consequence of Israeli aggression in the Near East. At this time, with the cease-fire being finally observed, the troops of Israel are occupying considerable portions of the territories of the three neighbouring Arab countries and subjecting the civilian population in the captured areas to reckless and tyrannical atrocities. If, in this crucial moment, the United Nations yields to the aggressor and fails to eliminate the consequences of the aggression, the world's faith in the Organization will be shaken, while the Israeli extremists will consider such a failure of the world body as an immense reward for their acts of aggression."

In this special session, Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal condemned the Israeli invasion and urged the UN to mediate to solve the matter. He called the Israeli government an aggressor and added that Israel does not want peace. It wants to oppress the Arab people. Moreover, he took over the issue of high-powered propaganda in the Western world. He also criticized the United Nations Security Council by saying, "Had the Security Council succeeded in carrying out its responsibility per the Charter of the United Nations, I am sure that it would not have been necessary to convene this emergency special session of the General Assembly. It is my fervent hope and prayer that, in the face of this great act, in the horror of this naked aggression and mounting blackmail, the Assembly will succeed in carrying out its responsibilities per justice, honour, and fair play and in keeping with the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations". Furthermore, He also called upon the big powers to rise above their narrow political consideration and realize their true responsibility to work for justice and the rights of man and nations. His speech urged significant powers that are privileged members of the UN to prove their awareness of

their responsibility, abide by their commitments to peace and security in the world, and condemn aggression.

Moreover, the PM of Afghanistan asked the UN to compel Israel to end its aggression and turn over the Arab lands to their rightful owners. He further adds, "The central issue before us is this: can a country invade and occupy the territory of another country and then dictate its terms? This constitutes a historic challenge to the entire international community". Maiwandwal has accused the United States and the United Kingdom of assisting Israel in this aggression. He adds that Israel would never have dared to attack the Arab countries without the assistance and support of certain Western states, primarily the United States. He also pointed out that the US and UK have censured the aggression of Israel. Not only that, but the PM of Afghanistan also condemned the Vietnam war that the United States started. He believed that the Vietnam War had increased international tension and presented a threat to world peace and that the US should stop the war.

Moreover, He condemned all the aggressive policies of imperialism. He encouraged all of the world's states to express resolute support for the policy of peace and peaceful co-existence for the cessation of the current wars of aggression, and small states should contribute to the making of world peace. Finally, he asked the UNGA to demand that Israel should immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its forces from the territory of those States to positions behind the armistice demarcation lines, as stipulated in the General Armistice Agreements, and should respect the status of the demilitarized zones, as prescribed in the Armistice Agreements.

In conclusion, Mohammad Hashim Maiwand expressed his hope that if the United Nations and great powers do their job rightfully, then world peace in general and peace in the Middle East, in particular, will be established.

2.2 Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal's Speech at the Funeral of Lal Bahadur Shastri

Maiwandwal's progressive worldview and ideology can be delineated from his speech at the funeral of Shashtri. PM of Afghanistan conveyed the condolences of the King to the people, president, and Prime Minister of India. He prolifically said, "Keeping the alive spirit of Tashkent will be the best Tribute to Shashtri". He added that Shashtri was coming to Afghanistan after the conference of Tashkent. However, due to the sudden death, he could not come and said, "We are sorrowful that we could not welcome Lal Bahadur Shashtri, the late Prime Minister of India, this morning in Afghanistan". Mohammad Hashim stressed that Afghanistan and India are the greatest champions of the policy of Non-alignment, and both countries have endeavoured for regional and world peace. He stressed the principle of peaceful co-existence and urged all the world nations to follow the principle of non-inference.

Furthermore, all the world leaders were impressed by Maiwandwal's speech because it hinted at the policy of non-alignment and free thinking in the foreign policy of Afghanistan. Mohammad Najem Arya writes in his book "Mohammad Hashim Maiwand" that Shahrat Nangyal said, "Maiwandwal refused to meet Alexia

Kosygin, who was the Premier of the Soviet Union". Wolasmal, in his book, says that "Maiwandwal's these two speeches were the real cause of his resignation and death".

3. The Doctrine of Progressive Democracy

Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal was not only a political practitioner but also he was a high-volume political thinker. He theorized his thinking in the context of the Cold War against the two competing ideologies -liberalism and socialism- and named it 'Progressive Democracy'. The doctrine of Progressive Democracy was a critique of Liberal Democracy, whose leader was the United States, and Socialism, whose leader was the USSR. Hence, this social doctrine is a critique of great powers. In the book "Rushd Democracy Liberal wa Takia bar Democracy Motarqi" by Professor Ihsan Rostamal, *Progressive Democracy* is defined as "It is the philosophy of political and social life that organizes the relations between the people and government in the framework of the law. According to this thought, the government does not belong to any particular individual or group of individuals but belongs to all classes of society, and the leaders and representatives are elected through elections. Its main values are equality, liberty, and social justice". Furthermore, it explains Democracy from the perspective of progress. It illustrates a path for the progress of society.

Maiwandwal has theorized this school of thought, keeping in mind that the great powers' thoughts (liberalism and socialism) cannot bring development to Afghanistan. Furthermore, inclining towards one bloc will attract the antagonism of the other bloc. Consequently, he came up with his theory of Progressive Democracy. On the one hand, this doctrine takes on liberalism and criticizes liberal Democracy as a thought that lacks the value of social justice. In liberalism, the idea of liberty is paramount, and less attention is given to the idea of social equality. In chasing liberty, social justice and social equality are given in the liberal Democracy. On the other hand, the Progressive Democracy of Maiwandwal harshly criticizes socialism. It argues that socialism to bring social justice has lost liberty. According to this thought, socialism, to establish a just society, loses interest in social liberty, civic liberty, and political liberty, and one-party rule and dictatorship become the norm of government that ultimately curbs innovation, free-thinking, technology, and development. Furthermore, the doctrine of Maiwandwal-Progressive Democracy argues that both liberalism and socialism have portrayed the individual and society wrongly. Consequently, he came up with a theory of liberty, equality, and social justice. Progressive Democracy is moderate thinking that neither inclines towards liberalism nor socialism. It paves the way for political, social, and economic liberty. In addition, there are five pillars of progressive Democracy, which are conviction, nationalism, democracy, social justice, and election(republic).

4. Orientation of Afghanistan towards the Great Powers before Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal

4.1 Relation of Afghanistan with Russia (USSR)

In this paper, we evaluate the relations of Afghanistan with Russia from the period of King Mohammad Nadir Shah, who is the father of King Zahir Shah. After Nadir Shah created his government, Russia was the

first country that congratulated his government and conveyed an important message to the King: "Russia is interested in deep economic, political and cultural relations with the kingdom of Afghanistan". Even though it was not a formal recognition of the King by Russians, it started mutual relations. Afterwards, many treaties were signed between the countries. After the death of Nadir Shah, his 18-year-old son Zahir Shah became the King of Afghanistan. Due to his young age, his Uncles-Shah Mahmoud Khan and Hashim Khan- took over the power as prime ministers, and Zahir Shah remained a nominal king. During the reign of Shah Mahmoud Khan and Hashim Khan, relations between Russia and Afghanistan were not impressive and at times, it has become worse. For instance, when Afghanistan announced impartiality in WWII and denied the request of Russia and Brits to send away Germans, Italians, and Japanese from Afghanistan, it invoked the wrath and anger of Russia over Afghanistan, and the relationship between Afghanistan and the Russians was at its worst in 1941.

After WWII, due to the Cold War and the geopolitical significance of Afghanistan, the relations between the USSR and Afghanistan steadily improved. However, Prime Minister Shah Mahmoud Khan did not want proximity with the USSR because it did not want to take sides. After 1945, relations between the two countries improved. The first reason was that the USSR increased its military and economic aid to Afghanistan because of the Cold War. The second reason was that the USSR supported Afghan's claim over the Durand Line and Pakhtoonistan -British India was divided between India and Pakistan in 1947, and due to the Durand Line and Pakhtoonistan, the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan became terrible, and USSR took advantage over this and supported Afghans-. Finally, the third reason was the USA's inclination towards Pakistan. Many economic and military treaties were signed between these countries. Nonetheless, relations between the USSR and Afghanistan reached their zenith during Daud Khan's term. USSR and Afghanistan's relations improved substantially after 1953 when Daud Khan was appointed as the Prime Minister by King Zahir Shah. Two reasons led to Afghanistan's inclination towards the Soviet bloc. Firstly, the country needed economic and military aid that the US already refuted. Secondly, after the partition of India and Pakistan over the issue of Pakhtoonisan and Durand, the US supported Pakistan's standpoint, and the USSR supported Afghanistan's stand. In addition, many pacts and treaties of friendship and military aid were signed between the two countries. USSR invested a lot of money in the development of Afghanistan and gave scholarships to Afghan students. In 1961, the relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan deteriorated. As a result, the Durand line(Border) was closed. USSR helped Afghanistan make its second five-year plan by offering USD 450 million to Daud Khan. In short, during the reign of Daud Khan, Afghanistan fell towards the USSR and took distance from the US.

4.2 Relation of Afghanistan with the United States

The relations between the USA and Afghanistan since 1919 were not impressive, and till the end of WWII, the USA refrained from establishing deep relations in Afghanistan. However, during the Cold War, due to Afghanistan's geopolitical significance, the USA started to approach the country. However, the USA often refused to help Afghanistan in different matters. In 1953 President Nixon visited Afghanistan and urged

the leaders to reach a consensus to compromise on the issue of Pakhtoonisan and Durand line and explicitly supported the stance of Pakistan. The 1954 US military and economic aid to Pakistan made Afghan leaders worried about the disrupting balance of power in the region. When Daud Khan became the Prime Minister, he requested the US government several times to support Afghanistan in building its economy and military. Nevertheless, the USA's stance was clear that unless Afghanistan and Pakistan do not solve their Durand and Pakhtoonisan issues, it will not support Afghanistan. Therefore, the USSR's influence in Afghanistan grew, and the US maintained its distance.

4.3 Orientation of Afghanistan towards the Great Powers during Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal

In 1965, Maiwandwal became the PM of Afghanistan. He got the opportunity to put all his ideas into practice. Hence, as the prominent architect of the foreign policy of Afghanistan, he formed the policy that best served the country. Daud Khan's foreign policy, which was inclined towards the USSR bloc, was renounced, and the new course of foreign policy, which was based on the notion of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, was adopted. Maiwandwal was not comfortable with the policy of inclining towards the socialist bloc because it was not in Afghanistan's national interest. Hence, he made efforts to diversify Afghanistan's relations worldwide. He pursued an independent foreign policy compatible with Afghanistan's self-interest and endeavoured to establish an amicable relationship with all the world states, including the US and USSR.

Moreover, the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan were also improving. The new government under Mohamad Hashim Maiwandwal seemed to be a pragmatist. The Sino-Soviet split of the 1950s and 1960s weakened the position of the USSR on the issue of Pakhtoonisan and Durand. USSR wanted to curb China's influence in Pakistan. Hence, it approached Pakistan amicably, resulting in the distance between Afghanistan and the USSR. During this period, socialist military and economic aid were reduced in the country; partly, Afghanistan was trying to diversify its relations with other states, and partly USSR was focused on the Vietnam War.

In the 'decade of democracy', many freedoms and liberties were given to Afghan society. Different political parties emerged, including leftist and rightist parties advocating for socialism and liberalism. In 1965, 'The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan' was formed by Babrak Karmal and Nurmohammad Taraki, who advocated for Socialism and Marxism-Leninism. This party, due to differences, was divided into the National United Party (Khalq) and Watan Party (Parcham). As Maiwandwal was following the principle of non-alignment, it maintained a distance from the USSR to curtail its influences on the Afghan foreign policy. USSR started to support these parties, and it continued till the invasion of Afghanistan. The relations between the government of Maiwandwal and the USSR deteriorated when He condemned the USSR's interfaces in Czechoslovakia and later on refused to meet Alexia Kosygin, who was the Premier of the Soviet Union, at Shastri's funeral.

Maiwandwal visited different Arab and Western countries for amicable relations. He wanted to have regular and stable relations with the United States of America. There was a prospect for a good relationship between the two countries because of significant changes in the government of Afghanistan- the Decade of Democracy-. Hence, to bring amendment and amelioration in the Afghan-US relations, PM Maiwandwal 1967 visited the United States. He was received by US President Lyndon B. Johnson, where Johnson had insisted upon the strong mutual tradition of freedom and independence both countries possess that would pave the way for greater relations between the US and Afghanistan. Maiwandwal expressed the desire to establish a deep relationship with the United States and said, "Although a considerable geographic distance separates our two countries, our common belief and devotion to liberty and respect for the inherent dignity of man has bridged this distance." Furthermore, he reminded POTUS that Afghanistan follows a policy of active non-alignment and is determined to exercise its free judgment in international affairs. He insisted upon the policy of peaceful co-existence, rights of nations and people, and universal peace. The main foreign policy objective of Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal was to save Afghanistan from the great powers' politics and bring modernization and development to the country by following the active policy of non-alignment.

5. Conclusion

The speech of Maiwandwal at the United Nations special session upset the King of Afghanistan. When he returned to Afghanistan, the Monarchy was not happy with its PM. The speech that Maiwandwal gave and the idea that he presented at the UN differed from the traditional politics, stance, and policy of King Zahir Shah. Maiwandwal's thinking and worldview shocked the US, Russia, the King, and their supporters. Moreover, Maiwandwal's attempt to make Afghanistan's foreign policy free of the USSR's influence caused wrath and anger in Moscow as well. Consequently, a united front composed of the Sultanate and liberal and leftist parties started to oppose Prime Minister Maiwandwal. The Russian embassy in Kabul had become the headquarters of the opposing front. After facing opposition from all the fronts and groups, Hashim Maiwandwal did not alter his course of action. He was steady and ready for all the consequences. Thus, the King was searching for alibis and pretexts to put pressure on him to resign. Furthermore, after Maiwandwal fell sick, he was admitted to a local hospital in Kabul, and at the request of the King and Queen, he was sent to the US for treatment. In the US, General Abdul Wali, the King's cousin, went to see the PM and conveyed the message of his majesty. He told Maiwandwal, " King Zahir Shah does not want you to return to Afghanistan due to the worsening political situation against you. King has said that we will appoint you as an ambassador". Hashim Maiwand rejected the offer and returned to Afghanistan. After Returning to Afghanistan after three years of successful tenure, he was forced to resign in 1967.

Maiwandwal continued his struggle for Democracy, equality, and social justice after being forced to quit. He struggled for his people, wrote articles, and delivered many speeches against the government and the interference of great powers (USSR). Moreover, he did not leave his stance for a nonaligned foreign policy. His perception regarding great power politics became firmer. In 1973, in a bloodless coup d'état,

Mohammad Daud, with an Army general assisted by the Parcham faction of the PDPA party, changed the regime, and Daud installed himself as the president of the republic. Hashim Maiwandwal was considered the biggest threat to the regime and Daud Khan's government. Consequently, the government, intelligence, and army were searching for excuses to execute Maiwandwal. USSR and Daud were scared of Maiwandwal's towering personality and growing influence. Hence, they planned a conspiracy against him and ultimately killed him in prison. Though, Daud's pro-Soviet government announced that Maiwandwal had committed suicide. Many scholars and historians have refuted this claim. Mohammad Najim Arya, in the book

'Shaheed Maiwand Hashim Maiwandwal' has written that the Daud's regime killed Maiwandwal. Moreover, famous historian Sadiq Farhang writes that "Daud Khan annihilated all his rivals". Abdul Hameed Mubarez, who was the deputy minister of cultural affairs, had said, "After Daud's coup, when Maiwandwal returned to the country, he was a big threat to Daud's government and the leftist parties; hence, they captured Maiwandwal and killed him in prison". In short, Maiwandwal was killed because he was to become the biggest threat to Daud's government, USSR's interests, and influence in Afghanistan.

In conclusion, Maiwandwal ideas regarding great powers can be illustrated from his worldview, his famous speeches at the UN, at Shastri's funeral, and his doctrine of 'Progressive Democracy.' He was aware and had tremendous knowledge about the impact of the Great Power Game on Afghanistan. Hence, he was a staunch advocate of the policy of 'Non-alignment.' Furthermore, Maiwandwal believed that Great powers- the US and USSR- have great international responsibilities and they should act according to the charter of the UN to bring world harmony, world stability, and world peace. After he was appointed as the Prime Minister, he implemented all his ideas and guided the country's foreign policy towards non-alignment. Maiwandwal led Afghanistan toward a more cosmopolitan society and a constitutional monarchy. He also improved relations with Pakistan, and the Pashtunistan issue was sidelined until the mid-1970s. His attempt to make Afghanistan's foreign policy free of interference from the great powers firstly forced him to resign from PM's position, and Secondly, he was killed by the pro-Soviet government of Mohammad Daud Khan.

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