

MORALITY AND POLITICAL ETHICS, AN INEVITABLE NECESSITY FOR SOVEREIGNS AND STATES: KHUSHAL KHAN KHATTAK, S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF ROLE OF MORALITY IN POLITICS

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Abstract

Politics and ethics are co-related to each other. As politics and statecraft are the conduct of humans, so the issue of ethical and moral concerns regarding political decisions and discussions automatically becomes important. Political leaders and decision-makers need to be bound by ethical and moral concerns and constraints regarding their political life and decision-making. Political Philosophers like Aristotle and Plato highly regarded Ethics as a key ingredient of Politics. Plato considered Ethics as a branch of Politics. Islam also emphasizes ethics to play a central role in Politics. Muhammad (SAW) was the best example of an ideal political leader with a profound and high standard of ethical and moral values in his personality as well as in his political decision-

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making coupled with the system he introduced in the State of Medina. Khushal Khan Khattak has highly emphasized ethics and morality in Politics. He explains it with the perspective of proposing his ideal ruler as the symbol of ethics and politics. He on one hand establishes certain moral standards and qualities for his ideal sovereign, on the other hand, praises Kings with high moral standards by narrating their stories in his book *Dsataar Nama*. The study is qualitative in nature and content analysis, thematic and discourse analysis of different data has been done according to the need of the topic. The main argument of the study is that in Khushal Khan Khattak, s perspective ethics are inevitable and indispensable in political affairs, conduct of states, governance process, state affairs and concerned with the personality and decisions of rulers. The study is a significant contribution to political thought, academia, think tanks and policy making.

Keywords. Political Ethics, Affability, Modesty, Forgiveness, Justice.

Introduction

Morality in politics can be termed as Political Ethics. And Political ethics is the practice basically of scrutinizing a certain political action and making moral judgments about that. It has two branches the ethics of process and the ethics of policy. The ethics of process is termed as the ethics of office and it tries to focus on the public officials and the methods they use in politics. There is a constant debate over the ethical principles and to which extent they govern as to make politics moral and can be termed as called as political ethics in true sense. It relates to the debate that up to what extent the politicians and the political leaders are permitted to take certain actions which otherwise would be termed as wrong if they transgress from the limits.

The people that hold public office confront two types of ethical issues as one comes from the organizational and the other comes from the representational feature of the public office. As the role of the people involves in the public office have different sets of rules and obligations than the common people in the same way their standards of morality and ethics also are different in scope and understanding from the ordinary common people. Different sets of duties are signed to those in the public office. These duties may require the public officials to use force, tell lies, keep secrets and break promises with others while all of these things are wrong in the private life of the ordinary citizens of the state. And from time immemorial the public officials the Kings, military commanders, and the spies have transgressed the general principles of morality that are followed by common people for the sake of the interest of the state as in many cases the national security and self-defense of the state was at stake. (Parrish, 2007) Machiavelli in his book "The Prince" has talked about it in detail and has given a classic formulation of these ethics. He has explained with great detail that the national interest of the state for the King must always be superior and he must resort

to many things that are considered immoral in the normal life of an individual but they are inevitable for the King to govern his state successfully. (Machiavelli, 1532) Machiavelli regards morality subservient to politics and describes that in order to accomplish state and national interests maintaining moral standards is not necessary. Machiavelli's theory of ends justifies the means summarizes his political thought (Jr., 1999).

Any field or Science that is concerning humanity in one or the other way have its ethical or moral side it (Maryam Shamsaei, 2017). According to Plato politics is the branch of ethics while Aristotle believed that the primary objective of the State is to give its citizens well-being and good life (Alem, 1994). Throughout his book Dialogues, Plato discusses his philosophy of ethics (Annas, 2019). In the Republic of Plato, the main theme of the debate revolves around Justice as a quality and virtue of both an individual and a state (Bury, 1910). It was experimentation to have a higher class of people conducting politics in a just way (Filis, 2012). The Philosopher King of Plato with true knowledge would have special moral responsibilities and special moral constraints for effective leadership (Enomah, 2019).

Literature Review:

Politics and morality are connected. Political Ethics is a debatable process, yes, it is essentially a moral constraint and checks on the actions and decisions of the Political leaders (Parrish, 2007). Research in science and other fields is performed by humans so the ethical side of it cannot be ignored (Maryam Shamsaei, 2017). The ancient Greek scholars Plato and Aristotle both have greatly emphasized and stressed the pertinent role of Ethics in Politics (Alem, 1994) (Annas, 2019) (Bury, 1910) (Filis, 2012) (Enomah, 2019). Islam Emphasizes the ethics in politics to a significant extent identifying key moral attributes to avoid transgression and presents Holy Prophet Muhammad (saw) as a perfect and ideal leader in this regard (Dr. Haleema Sadia, 2012) (Ghazali, 1972) (Amid Zanjani, 2006) (Rahim, 2013). Khushal Khan Khattak defines and explains his concept of Political Ethics with the perspective of symbolizing his ideal ruler to be an epitome of political ethics and moralities. He puts a huge significance on the moralities for his ideal ruler in conducting the affairs of the state to be part of his personality as well as in his decision making. He identifies key moral standards to be followed in order to conduct political affairs of the state (Naseem, Dsatar Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak, 2007).

Conceptual Framework:

Politics and Morality are the two sides of the same coin. For any political leader to govern a particular state he must have a sound ethical standard. The same applies to the modern representative and other democracies where the politicians and people involved in the governance process must have certain ethical standards. Khushal Khan Khattak in this regard gives a comprehensive model of moral qualities

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that any political leader must possess. He argues on the importance of these qualities based on Humanity and Islam. To authenticate his argument, he narrates the moral stories of various Kings and leaders that managed to take huge moral and political support for their Kingdom based on their sound moral and ethical code of conduct. To avoid corruption, malpractice, transgression, and nepotism ensuring merit, transparency, equality, and equity in political decision-making and other political process making Morality part of Politics are inevitable.

Islam on Relation between Politics and Ethics:

Holy Prophet a great leader and Politician was a symbol of morals and ethics. He challenged all the immoral and unethical concepts of the age of ignorance in Arabia and brought a just and moral order based on fair play, dignity, merit, and sympathy (Dr. Haleema Sadia, 2012). The role of a leader in Islamic ideology is to direct people on a better path to make them virtuous and prevent them from evil doings (Ghazali, 1972). Leaders' wisdom must lead them into self-assessment and not be befooled from the flattery of the people (Amid Zanjani, 2006). Political leaders and politicians must observe Ethics in their politics and governance matters to avoid chauvinism, use of money for political advantage, and hegemony of power (Rahim, 2013).

Khushal Khan Khattak on Morality:

Khushal believed that all good qualities in a person are valuable if they coincide with good morals and a person with many good qualities but devoid of good morals all his good qualities are wasted. In Quran Holy Prophet got the revelation as,

“You should be obliged to me I have beautified you with high morals. You owned and attracted the people with your nice morals.”

If people are stroked with swords, their wounds will heal and they will feel better and will forget their wounds because their pain would end when they are healed but on the other hand if you wound anybody with your tongue it is a wound that is taken by people by heart so it cannot heal. The person that gets the wound will always remember it and from whom he gets it will remember the person too. Even if one uses bad and insulting words against anyone in a joke they are also not forgotten and are remembered.

Stories of Kings with good morals in Khushal, s Writings:

Khushal has narrated some stories about having good morals and their effects in his writing in his famous work "Dsatar nama".

1. Abu Muslim Khurasani:

The person must be treated well even if he is one, s enemy because it looks like a very nice act. Abu Muslim Khurasani is known to be a very brave and famous Swordsman. The Abbasids got the caliphate and the huge kingdom and empire through his services and struggle and there was no parallel fighter and efficient person

to him in his times. He was famous for never saying bad words against anyone even against his opponent. He said that I and he are enemies on the field with swords, why would we fight with mouths"? Even he was so friendly and complaisant to others that he used to embrace even those people that suffered from leprosy and leucodermic. When anyone used to visit him, in respect he would stand for him and never say ill words against anyone even in humor and anybody would say any bad words to him in response he would laugh. He spent his wealth generously and was brave on the battlefield. Due to these good morals, Allah enabled him to raise a big army without spending wealth or huge treasures. He first of all captured Khurasan, Then Iraq, then Baghdad, and thus through these reached a top degree of honor.

2. Yaqub Laith:

He was a Carpenter, but later on, became a robber and used to rob huge caravans. He adopted justice and equity in the distribution and when he robbed any caravan he used to give half of the wealth to the robbed owners and distributed the remaining half among his friends. He asked people and got information about Abu Muslim Khurasani and later on adopted all the good qualities he had, of good behavior and moral character. Thus, by adopting these qualities of Kings and sovereigns the poor carpenter captured Khurasan and Iraq and three of his generations ruled the areas and his dynasty lasted longer because with good morals you can attract strangers and own them. The enemies are turned into friends and thus it makes the work easy.

3. King of Balkh:

King of Balkh was a frank person who used to be free in talk with one of his nobles. One day he took the name of that noble wife in an open gossip. Resultantly the noble took it by heart and took it very seriously. In revenge, he instigated the son of the King of Balkh against his father, and the issue reached violence and bloodshed. So, the tongue of the person must be in his control because even with humor and joke it can create enemies for you. (Naseem, 2007)

By narrating the stories of different kings and rulers discussing their moral standards Khushal Khan Khattak tries to explain how the good and bad morals though seem ordinary to some effects the politics especially concerned with the personal conduct and personality of a particular ruler. They directly affect the state affairs and state interests. With sound and good morals the Kings can take significant advantages concerned with the power politics and interests of the state while on the contrary with the abusive and immoral behavior the Kings and rulers can create unnecessary problems for their kingdom and states.

The necessity of having Affability on the part of the King:

It is a very good quality that comes from a person that is noble and genuine internally. A person that has got shame and honor will be benevolent too while on the contrary, a person without shame and honor will lack that quality. As Khushal quotes

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the Holy Prophet (SAW) in that matter as,

"The father of wife is also a father".

Khushal believes that the relations that are established through genealogy and lineage have a little impact and he prefers the relations that are established through marriages. It is necessary that in any kind of relations there are certain specific moral codes and rights of all the connected individuals in a relationship that must be respected and must be observed. Thus, all of these come under affability and all those that lack this quality lack in humanity.

Khushal opines that the neighbors that live side by side with us every time they are a responsibility and all those that are indifferent towards their rights are lacking fortitude. Those cannot be called affable that cannot share their grief and pain.

For the Kings, they must remember all those persons that are of any help to him in any aspect of life. Even they must remember those that in their homes he has drunk water and, in the response, he must reciprocate the goodness a hundred times more than can be called as real benevolence. If in the service of a King or his father service any man dies than in response, he must compensate it by making a capable son out of his sons or if his son is not there then he must look after his widows and must not forget his family in his entire life.

In the same way, if some person demands shelter from him, he must support him with all ways and means at his disposal. He must be the one that has regard for all of his subjects and even if a small boy asks him for help or financial assistance is asked from him from any of his subjects, he must help them at the spot. But, here one thing must be clear that no sharing of any administrative affair in the state must be entertained by him on behalf of any individual or any kind of request. Because anyone demanding a share in the administrative responsibilities is an enemy to the state and not a friend. The administrative positions and responsibilities in a state are not delegated based on a request or reference of someone rather they must be delegated on competence and merit because the former option will ruin the state and its administrative structure. Only with the advice of competent well-wishers and knowledgeable persons the King must take steps in financial and administrative matters in a state. (Naseem, Dsatar Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak, 2007)

Khushal Khan Khattak Moral standards for an Ideal Ruler:

The Ideal ruler of Khushal Khan Khattak is not devoid of moral traits. Khushal Khan Khattak is not in the favor of achieving goals and objectives on the part of the ruler in the state no matter at what cost and expense he can achieve it. Rather a specific and well-detailed moral code of conduct is given in his work Dsatar nama for his ideal ruler of having special moral characteristics to administer and channelize his state obligations in a just way. The essentiality of morality on the part of the ruler is

necessary because without moral standards any ruler cannot successfully govern the state and win the hearts of the people. The ruler how much powerful and resourceful it may be still having to rule over the people and winning their hearts with good moral traits and character will help him in statecraft and politics in a better way. Here some features of morality can be discussed to know the in-depth study of the ideal ruler of Khushal Khan Khan Khattak which he aspired off.

Modesty:

It is said that,

“Modesty is the skin of Belief”

Khushal gives due importance to this quality for an ideal ruler as it is said that a man who is void of shame is void of Deen and Dunia. It means the one that has got no shame has no value in this world and the world hereafter. The example of Modesty is like skin in a body when it is absent in a body the body cannot exist. In the same way, all the other qualities of the person like honesty, boldness, trust, generosity, and chastity all depend upon the Modesty or Haya. Even on the battlefield, the person that is shameful and modest cannot run from the battlefield even if he is injured or killed while the shameless runs from the battlefield without feeling any guilt or repentance.

According to Khushal the fear and shame are interrelated to each other, A man who is ashamed of God fears him also while on the contrary that is not ashamed does not fear him. Shame has many aspects, in which three can be explained here,

1. To be ashamed of God
2. To be ashamed of angels
3. To be ashamed of People

To be ashamed of God:

It is a feeling that God the almighty Allah is present everywhere and sees everything even under the earth. In the whole universe anything is done anywhere he has full control over it and is under his full sight. So, Allah is omnipresent and omniscient.

To be ashamed of Angels:

Everything a man does in life is seen and recorded by the two angels sitting on his shoulders. And all the angels that are spread from the earth to the Arsh are seeing all the deeds of the person. So, a great shamefulfulness must be observed and all the deeds and practices must be avoided that could please the devil.

To be ashamed of People:

It requires insight and wisdom on the part of the man. Different aspects can be related to this feature. For example, not obeying parents and have a deaf ear to their advice, and not avenging their murder. The person that cannot take revenge for the murder of his father is a bastard.

Forgiveness:

It is in other terms called “karam” which means forgiving the sinner. In Quran, there is a huge emphasis on this quality for a human being. A Quranic verse says: "Do not lose hope of Allah, s mercy”.

Khushal Khan Khattak believes that the kings are the shadows of Allah, s mercy on the earth. So, any person that is devoid of such a quality he cannot be truly called a king. Any person according to Khushal does not forgive because of the two reasons that one is a long hopefulness that he will live long in this world and the second one is the World, s greed. So, in the first case, the person is foolish because no one is eternal in this world. Every person has to die one day and all those material things will be of no use to him. In this case, he gives the example of the great kings the Pharaoh and Haaman that who were so powerful but now they are no longer in this world.

For a King, he must always be grateful and forgive people. If he has got an upper hand over his enemy and has defeated him on the battlefield then in this case instead of taking revenge, he must directly forgive him because forgiveness is much better than taking revenge.

Narrating the story of the great king sultan Sanjar Khuhsal khan Khattak in Dsatar Nama says that Sultan Sanjar arrested a king. In that case, all the people were thinking that he would be killed. In spite, Sultan Sanjar arranged a function of victory and invited his enemy also. He let the enemy eat the feast and then sent him a tray full of precious stones. The King praised him in very beautiful words that instead of killing me he gave me such an honor and respect that invited me to a feast and give me a gift of precious stones. The king is a very nobleman. In the end, he gave him his whole country and bade him a great farewell. Sultan Sanjar was warned by the nobles that why u did that act. He can take benefit out of it and can rebel again. Sultan replied that I want to show people that how I forgive my enemies and also if he rebelled again, we will fight again and even if he came to my hands ten times, I will do the same behavior with him in response. That sultan then was a slave of the Sultan Sanjar till his death because of his noble and forgiveness act.

Khuhsal Khan Khattak attributes the quality of forgiveness and graciousness to two things one is the instinct of the person and the second is having the quality of good companions around the King. When there will be wise people, scholars, and learned people around him he will be influenced by them and the quality of forgiveness will enrich him. On the other hand, if he is in the company of mean, misers, ignorant and foolish people he will get a negative influence from them.

Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) possessed excellent qualities of love, patience, and forgiveness (Khan, 2017). After conquering the city of Makkah forgive all the

infidels and even those that fought against him on the battlefields and attempted to murder him and murdered his companions. The true example of ideal compassionate and forgiving leadership can be found in his character (Fatturohman, 2014).

Silence:

Khushal Khan Khattak believes that silence is a great quality and virtue for kings and rulers. A King must be wise or he would stay silent. Silence can safeguard a King from many calamities. A lot of problems are created by speaking. False promises, unsuitable anger, wrong determination is made with mouth. Moreover, for Kings and Rulers it is necessary to keep secrets as any breach of an important secret can become dangerous to his state. A King must hide secrets even from his closest relatives and friends, except those he considers having complete confidence upon their loyalty and wisdom. Elaborating on the importance of Silence Khushal Khan Khattak elaborates that Aristotle was a minister of Alexander the Great with whom he governed and administered the state upon mutual consultation. Having a man of knowledge and caliber of Aristotle still Alexander the Great never disclosed his secrets to him nor disclosed his intentions or future moves (Naseem, Dsatar Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak, 2007).

Truthfulness:

Truthfulness is essential for everybody but especially for Kings as they are followed by a lot of people with huge expectations. If the rulers tell lies even if they are in humor, they lose credibility and the trust of the people. For Kings it is very necessary that they are to be trusted by their subjects and for which they must have the moral credibility of saying truth and abide by their promises (Naseem, Dsatar Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak, 2007). Plato on the other hand in his book Republic gives a different account of the truth for his ideal ruler in the state. He endorses the rulers to lie to their citizens if it benefits the state overall. For the sake of the state considerable amount of lies and deception can be undertaken (Simpson, 2007) (Anne Wiles, 2009).

Sense of Honor:

Khushal Khan Khattak makes it essential for his ideal ruler and King to have a sense of honor in three cases

1. Sense of honor with respect to Religion
2. Sense of honor with respect to citizens and Writ of state
3. Sense of Honor with respect to King families and Palace

In the first case Khushal Khan Khatak believes that in a state there must be complete obedience to the decisions of the Qazis and judges. He believed that a King must maintain rule of law in his state. Any person that violates the verdict or decision made by Qazis he must be severely punished and a King must have a sense of honor dealing with such cases and no toleration must be showed even at the cost of one, s life

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in such cases. In the same way if someone presents religion in a wrong way and effect the true spirit of religion must be dealt with severe punishment. In the second case the King must have a sense of honor in protecting the properties of its citizens. The King must ensure lasting peace in his kingdom so the business class, citizens, workers and poor people move freely in the state and conduct their businesses with ease. Thieves or rebellious people disturbing the peace of the state and harm citizens wealth and properties along with challenging the writ of the state must be punished accordingly. In the third case the sense of honor of the wives and females connected to the palace of the Kings must be maintained (Naseem, Dsatar Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak, 2007).

Consultation:

Consulting well-wishers in state affairs is a moral quality Khushal Khan Khattak attaches with his ideal ruler. Khushal Khan Khattak argues that even Muhammad (SAW) who was a prophet and possessed extra ordinary leadership qualities still consulted his companions on different matters. In the same way he believes that his ideal ruler must consult capable people with good intentions for state welfare. So, for a king to have effective state administration free from incompetence and mal-administration he must have capable ministers and advisors. On the contrary there will be problems in administration and transfer of power when the King solely decides state affairs or in the absence of able ministers (Naseem, Dsatar Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak, 2007).

Determination:

Determination is inevitable for Kings and rulers as when they intend to do something they must do it at all costs and in the same way if they promise something they must fulfill it without breaking it. A King that breaks promises and fails in doing what he says he loses his integrity, moral value and respect. If a King say something he must fulfill it and that is why it is essential that a King must be careful in speaking and must not utter such words or promises which he cannot fulfill in the end than (Naseem, Dsatar Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak, 2007).

Justice:

This moral quality is the most essential for any ruler or a King ruling in any part of the world. The development, prosperity, and harmony of the state and its subjects depend greatly on the justice on the part of the King. Khushal considers an infidel better than a Muslim king if he is cruel and unjust in his affairs of the state.

That is why a Persian verse says,

“Learn the justice and equity and not the cruelty and oppression, are needed for the protection of a country. If an infidel observes justice and equity, he is better than a Muslim king.”

Holy Prophet (PBUH) praised Nausherwan as a just ruler though he was an

infidel. There is also a famous saying of the Holy prophet:

"The justice of an hour is better than the (voluntary) worship of sixty years wherein the nights are spent in standing and days in fasts" (Naseem, Dsatar Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak, 2007).

Holy Prophet (PBUH) as a leader established a system of justice in Medina state and declared the support of the weak and lower class in the state. The ideal was based on the principle that everyone is accountable to Allah and society (Prof. Dr. Muhammad Ahmed Qadri, 2016). In the state of Medina, a huge weightage was given to the system of Justice and the Charter of Medina was a great example of social justice (Rehman). Prophet of Islam emphasized and promulgated Judicial justice for a Muslim state (Shakeel Ahmed Qureshi). Justice is the core principle of preserving the dignity of human beings (An Islamic perspective on Human Development). Social Justice too, is one of the most important pillars of Islam that has been repeatedly stressed upon in the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah (BHAT).

There is also another famous saying that,

"A country can remain safe with infidelity but it cannot remain safe with cruelty."

The King is a vicegerent of Allah on earth upon the subjects and creation of Allah. The ruler that rules over the subjects in a just way and according to the commandments of Allah is the true vicegerent of Allah and if he is cruel, he is a deputy of the "Devil". (Satan)

In the case of Justice, if for example a ruler is a Muslim and he is not just and someone tells him as just there is a chance of converting to infidelity but on the other hand for a just ruler whether he is a non-Muslim one can call him a just ruler. As Holy Prophet (PBUH) was proud of Nausherwan saying that I was born in the period of a just ruler.

For a King to be just he must not consider himself above his subjects. He must like all those things for himself which he likes for others. A needy, poor, and weak person must be treated equally with justice as a powerful man or near kin is treated by a King in a state. For a King to be a just ruler he must not be selfish, egoistic, self-opinioned, and haughty. Rather he must be humble and kind to his subjects and will be always ready at their disposal whenever they need that (Naseem, Dsatar Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak, 2007).

Fear and Hope:

According to Khushal Khan Khattak, the personality of the King must be a combination of fear and hope in the hearts of his subjects. If a person in the kingdom of the particular King has committed a great sin, he still expects forgiveness from him. On the other hand, the fear and the terror of the King must be to such an extent in the minds of the people that in the court in front of the King they must only dare to ask

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questions in front of him with respect. The thieves, robbers, and other people with miss deeds in the Kingdom must be treated with an iron hand and if someone supports them, they must be considered even worse than those that commit the crime.

Khushal Khan Khattak lays down certain circumstances due to which the fear of the King is diminished and the people became bold and impudent to do whatever they want in the state.

1. If the King dwells and sits in the common people too much the people became accustomed to him and his awe and terror are diminished in the eyes of his subjects so a King must avoid that.

2. Talking too much about every issue with everybody makes his fear diminished.

3. Forgiving and letting go of the evil and wicked man in the state on the request and recommendations of the people makes his fear lessened.

4. Having a keen insight about the state, s income and expenditure is also very necessary on the part of the King. If he is careless in this regard then the state money must be squandered by thieves and bad people in the state and his fear in the hearts and minds of his subjects must be diminished.

Conclusion:

Politics is the practice and conduct of Human Beings. Human beings need morality and ethics in their personal and political lives and thus morality has a dominant role to play in politics. From Plato to Aristotle and other idealist thinkers all of them have to some or major extent championed the cause of moral and ethical values in political affairs. Islam has also emphasized the concept as it's the complete code of life that touches every aspect of life including politics. Khushal Khan Khattak was very clear in his approach towards morality in political affairs and thus has outlined certain key moral standards and qualities for his ideal ruler that make him an ideal legitimate sovereign. His clear and categorical approach in this regard explains the concept in a better way that ethics and politics cannot be separated from each other. Rather ethics and moral standards are the primary pre-requisites for an ideal sovereign. Khushal identifies ethical perimeters for his ideal sovereign and justifies ethics from a social, cultural, and religious perspective comprehensively. "Dsatar Nama" the book of Khushal Khan Khattak and "The Prince" book of Nicolo Machiavelli both guides their respective sovereigns on statecraft but with different perspectives regarding morality. Nicolo Machiavelli and Khushal Khan Khattak are antithesis of each other political views as Machiavelli disregards moralities and moral standards in decision making and state interests while Khushal greatly emphasizes on moral standards for his ideal ruler that represents his state. Khushal is more rational and logical in his political thought as moralities are primary standards in all kind of

social, political, cultural and religious societies. No sovereign or state can govern ideally or efficiently for a long time disregarding moral standard



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