

# FARAN

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Out of the Fringes and into the Mainstream

RESEARCH FORUM  
GOVERNMENT ISLAMIA GRADUATE COLLEGE CIVIL LINES,  
LAHORE

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GOVERNMENT ISLAMIA GRADUATE  
COLLEGE, CIVIL LINES,  
LAHORE (PAKISTAN)**



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# EDUCATING CHICAGO'S CHILDREN

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## ABSTRACT:

The Chicago Public Schools (CPS) educate the thousands of children residing within the city limits. With 513 traditional schools, 115 Charter Schools, nine contract schools, and one safe school, CPS educates approximately 340,658 students<sup>1</sup>. As the third-largest educational system in the U.S., CPS is also one of the most complex organizations in the country. In the history of CPS, there have been multiple difficulties that have led to drastic changes in policy and leadership; currently, the lead of the entire system is the Board of Education, consisting of seven members selected by the city major. The board's president and vice president are also appointed by the major and oversee the entire system. This arrangement is unique, and it has led to criticism and discontent among the teaching body and the Chicago Teacher's Union. This paper will give insight into how CPS works and highlight the school where I have worked for the past fifteen years to illustrate how a small school on the south side of Chicago works and survives.

**KEYWORDS:** Education, USA, Policy, Psychology,

## INTRODUCTION

I have been educating the children in Chicago since 1994 and have worked in different schools in the north, southwest, and southeast areas of the city. For three years, I taught in Duluth, Minnesota, in one of the elite catholic schools, and then returned to Chicago. Since 2000, I have dedicated my life to working in black communities and teaching their children. Nothing has been as rewarding as this experience. I am grateful for the love and satisfaction of seeing these youth grow into successful professionals who contribute to their communities. In this paper, I will attempt to describe how the educational system in the United States, the State of Illinois, and the City of Chicago work. The article is based on research, statistics,

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<sup>1</sup> About CPS Stats and Facts <https://www.cps.edu/about/stats-facts/>



and my experience at Daniel Hale Williams Preparatory School of Medicine, a small school in the Heart of Bronzeville, the hub of African American culture in Chicago and my second home for the past 15 years, most of those years under the outstanding leadership of Dr. JullanarNaselli. I am writing this as an educator who believes that all children have a right to a well-rounded education. Education will empower them to succeed and contribute to enhancing their community and society in general.

## UNITED STATES EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

While the U.S. Constitution does not mention education given the power to regulate this matter to the individual states, the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment under the equality clause guarantees this right.<sup>2</sup>This clause has been used to ensure public education for all citizens and residents. This right has been extended to undocumented children. However, each state and local government is primarily responsible for its educational system.

Children in the U.S. go from Kindergarten to 12<sup>th</sup> grade attending grade-level schools. Elementary schools, also known as grammar schools, educate children in the Pre-kindergarten to 5<sup>th</sup> grades. Middle schools cover 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> grade, and High Schools include 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> grade. Once students graduate from 12<sup>th</sup> grade, they move to a two-year college or a four-year University. In general, children enter Pre-Kindergarten at four years old and graduate High School at 18 years old. However, there is a cut-off date; if a child's birthday falls on or before September 3, they will be enrolled in Kindergarten; if their birthday falls after this date, they will have to wait until the following school year to attend Kindergarten. They do have the option of attending Pre-K until the next year. Standardized testing occurs throughout the year, and multiple tests are mandatory for different grade levels to measure progress and ensure that students are on track for graduation. A Grade Point Average (GPA) is calculated for each student. This GPA is the average of all grades combined, and it is used to determine placement in advanced courses and to rank students against their peers. Students with a High GPA receive honors status. They are eligible for scholarships and other incentives<sup>3</sup>. Students graduate at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grades, and a ceremony is held to celebrate their success. Students with the highest GPA will address their peers and parents at the ceremony. It is considered a great honor to be the salutatorian ranking second in the class or a valedictorian ranking first in the graduating class. Once graduating from middle

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<sup>2</sup> United States Constitution. 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment Section 1. <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/amendments-11-27>

<sup>3</sup> Relocate Global magazine. *The US Education System Explained*, Rebecca Marriage, November 2029. <https://www.relocatemagazine.com/articles/education-the-us-education-system-explained-rebecca-marriage>

school, a student can apply to the High school or attend the neighborhood school.

The United States Department of Education is a federal government agency in charge of assisting the U.S. President in executing his education policies for the nation and implementing the laws regarding education. The agency is part of the presidential cabinet and was created by President Andrew Johnson in 1867 as a small office that collected statistics and information about the schools in the nation. Due to the social-political changes and the advancements in space exploration by the Russians and increased funds for teaching science in schools. Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty" created multiple programs to help the poor get a better education. With the influx of Spanish speakers and other minorities, a bilingual education system was started to help these newcomers access education. In October 1979, Congress passed the Department of Education Organization Act by combining multiple agencies.<sup>4</sup> Today the Department of Education, the entire school system all over the country, also provides state funds, but each State is responsible for funding its schools.

### **STATE OF ILLINOIS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM**

The Illinois system consists of districts governed by locally elected school boards and superintendents. The only exception to this rule is the Chicago Public school system, in which there is no elected Superintendent. Instead, the mayor of the city selects a Board of Education. There are over 1070 school districts that handle 4,266 schools and hire 135,701 teachers to educate 2,072,880 students. According to data collected in 2013, funding is derived from general funds provided by the persona income tax, state sales tax, federal aid, public utility tax, and the state lottery. The State of Illinois funds transportation systems for regular, special education, and vocational schools for students residing more than 1.5 miles away from the school or students exposed to dangerous conditions on their way to school.<sup>5</sup> The State of Illinois Constitution states that,

"A fundamental goal of the People of the State is the educational development of all persons to the limits of their capacities. The State shall provide for an efficient system of high-quality public educational institutions and services. Education in public schools through the secondary level shall be free. There may be such other free education as the General Assembly provides by law. The State has the primary responsibility for financing the system of public education."<sup>6</sup>

Most of the funding for education comes from property taxes, and the State only provides about a quarter of the funds to run the K-12 schools through the State.

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<sup>4</sup> U.S. Department of education <https://www2.ed.gov/about/overview/focus/what.html>

<sup>5</sup> Public School Finance Programs of the United States and Canada: Illinois. Donald R. Johnson <https://nces.ed.gov/edfin/pdf/StFinance/Illinois.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> Constitution of the State of Illinois. Article X. Education.

The rest of the funds are raised through local sources.

The following charts compare the State of Illinois to its neighboring states and the entire nation

| Number of schools by type, 2012-2013 |               |         |                   |            |             |         |        |         |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|---------|-------------------|------------|-------------|---------|--------|---------|
| State                                | Total schools | Regular | Special education | Vocational | Alternative | Charter | Magnet | Title I |
| Illinois                             | 4,266         | 3,978   | 140               | 0          | 148         | 58      | 108    | 3,330   |
| Indiana                              | 1,925         | 1,860   | 29                | 27         | 9           | 72      | 32     | 1,497   |
| Iowa                                 | 1,390         | 1,354   | 6                 | 0          | 30          | 3       | †      | 960     |
| Wisconsin                            | 2,238         | 2,125   | 10                | 5          | 98          | 238     | 4      | 1,519   |
| United States                        | 98,454        | 89,031  | 2,034             | 1,403      | 5,986       | 6,079   | 3,151  | 68,140  |

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), "Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey," S.Y. 2012-13 Provisional Version 1a

| Regional comparison, 2012-2013 |         |           |            |           |                        |                       |                     |
|--------------------------------|---------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| State                          | Schools | Districts | Students   | Teachers  | Teacher-to-pupil ratio | Admin.-to-pupil ratio | Per pupil spending* |
| Illinois                       | 4,266   | 1,070     | 2,072,880  | 135,701   | 1:15.3                 | 1:278                 | \$12,288            |
| Indiana                        | 1,925   | 407       | 1,041,369  | 59,863    | 1:17.4                 | 1:330.9               | \$9,566             |
| Iowa                           | 1,390   | 357       | 499,825    | 35,080    | 1:14.2                 | 1:282.9               | \$10,313            |
| Wisconsin                      | 2,238   | 464       | 872,436    | 57,551    | 1:15.2                 | 1:357.7               | \$11,071            |
| United States                  | 98,454  | 18,093    | 49,771,118 | 3,109,101 | 1:16                   | 1:294.1               | \$10,700            |

\*Perpupil spending data reflects information reported for the fiscal year 2013.

Sources: National Center for Education Statistics, "Table 2 - Number of operating public schools and districts, state enrollment, teacher, and pupil-teacher ratio, by state: School year 2012-13"

United States Census Bureau, "Public Education Finances: 2013 (Table 20)"

| Public education enrollment by race/ethnicity, 2012-2013 |      |     |       |       |        |          |       |        |
|--|------|-----|-------|-------|--------|----------|-------|--------|
| State  | Pop. | Am. | Asian | Black | Hawaii | Hispanic | White | Two or |

|               | category     | Indian /Alaska Nat. |           |           | an /Pac. Islander |            |            | more races |
|---------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Illinois      | Number       | 6,017               | 89,903    | 365,764   | 2,041             | 500,426    | 1,046,882  | 61,847     |
|               | Percentage   | 0.29%               | 4.34%     | 17.65%    | 0.1%              | 24.14%     | 50.5%      | 2.98%      |
| Indiana       | Number       | 2,834               | 18,713    | 127,608   | 595               | 100,018    | 746,143    | 45,458     |
|               | Percentage   | 0.27%               | 1.8%      | 12.25%    | 0.06%             | 9.6%       | 71.65%     | 4.37%      |
| Iowa          | Number       | 2,122               | 10,704    | 25,824    | 848               | 46,731     | 398,951    | 14,645     |
|               | Percentage   | 0.42%               | 2.14%     | 5.17%     | 0.17%             | 9.35%      | 79.82%     | 2.93%      |
| Wisconsin     | Number       | 11,040              | 31,034    | 85,158    | 683               | 88,132     | 637,518    | 18,871     |
|               | Percentage   | 1.27%               | 3.56%     | 9.76%     | 0.08%             | 10.1%      | 73.07%     | 2.16%      |
| United States | Number       | 533,098             | 2,363,484 | 7,798,560 | 179,935           | 12,064,310 | 25,366,857 | 1,390,514  |
|               | Percentage** | 1.07%               | 4.76%     | 15.69%    | 0.36%             | 24.28%     | 51.04%     | 2.80%      |

\*Note: This is the percentage of all students in the United States reported to be of this ethnicity. Source: United States Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, "Common Core of Data (CCD), State Nonfiscal Public Elementary/Secondary Education Survey, 2012-2013"

Illinois provides some of the funds for Chicago's public schools, but each city is responsible for funding its schools. The State sets most academic standards, such as a Common Core for Literacy in every subject and Science standards. The State also sets mandates that dictate topics to be taught, such as the Holocaust, Native American History, and African American History; across the State, teachers must follow this mandate and incorporate a unit covering these topics. To be eligible for a High School graduation and diploma, a student must have at least 24 credits; each class they take is the equivalent of one credit. They must have three credits in math, three in science, biology, chemistry, and physics, three in social studies, one must be United States History, and another a civics class; the third is an elective. Every student must pass a U.S. and Illinois State Constitution test. One year of music; can be theory, choir, or instrumental, depending on what is offered at each school. One year of art, two years of foreign language, and two years of ROTC, a program run by the military in which students are trained in the military arts by a member of the army instructor and can advance in rank depending on performance. These students

wear a full army uniform and have other activities exclusive to their class, such as a Military ball, community service activities, and other rank advancement ceremonies. Instead of this, students can choose a Physical Education and health class. The other courses are considered electives, so the student can decide how to complete these credits. In addition to the 24 credits, students must have a financial education course, have passed their driver's examination, and complete two service-learning projects. The State also regulates the qualifications for teachers. To be a highly qualified teacher, the candidate must have a bachelor's degree from an accredited Higher Education institution and pass a content examination. Elementary schools teachers receive a type 24 certification that allows them to teach all subjects in grades K-8. High School teachers must have a minimum of 18 college credit hours in the area they want to teach. A teacher can apply for additional endorsements by showing the extra coursework and passing the content area test.

Due to a shortage of teachers, the State began to offer alternative ways to get certified.<sup>7</sup> The Program "Teach for America" (TFA) is an option that recruits people from all professions and gives incentives for teaching for a minimum of two years at a school located in a poor area. This option is offered nationwide, and Illinois has filled multiple teaching positions.<sup>8</sup> Some of the people involved in this program decide to stay in the teaching profession, but many will leave at the end of the second year. The State is a good option because these candidates will start at the bottom of the pay scale and save some money when replacing a veteran teacher who earns a significantly higher salary. However, the lack of experience and proper preparation can lead to poor job performance that can harm more than help the students. In addition, creating a "revolving door" as TFA teachers complete the two-year contract and leave is harmful to the students who need consistent and experienced educators.

### **CITY OF CHICAGO EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM**

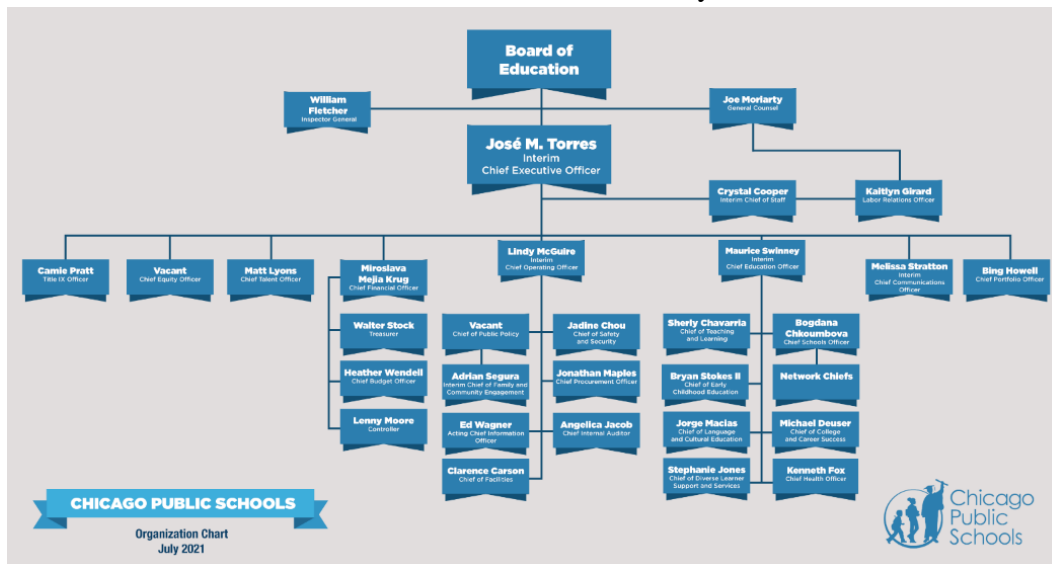
The first public schools opened their doors to students in the early 1830's when Chicago was just a tiny settlement. The Chicago Public Schools (CPS) has been a complex educational organization with multiple policy changes throughout its history. CPS has had enormous growth, with its first school building opening in the early 1830s. Today, it is the third-largest public education system in the USA, educating 340,658 students distributed among 638 schools. According to 2020 statistics, about 79% of all CPS students are regarded as low income, with 3.4% qualified as homeless, and 14% of these students have an individualized

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<sup>7</sup> Illinois State Board of Education. <https://www.isbe.net/Pages/Teachers.aspx>

<sup>8</sup> Teach for America Website <https://www.teachforamerica.org/profile/create>

Educational Plan (IEP) 19.7% are English learners (ELL)<sup>9</sup>. The leadership of CPS is composed of the Chicago Board of Education, the executive leadership, and the network leadership. The Chicago Board of Education is the body that oversees the entire CPS; The Board was founded in 1840, it is composed of seven members appointed by the City Mayor for a four-year term. It establishes policies, standards, goals, and initiatives to improve students' education. The CEO is the Chief Executive Officer of CPS, appointed by the city mayor. However, in July 2021, Illinois governor J.B Pritzker signed legislation that changed how the board is chosen to be elected by the public.<sup>10</sup> This will lead to a better, more knowledgeable leadership since, for the most part, the members appointed by the mayor are not involved in the education field and are more financially oriented.



Chicago Public Schools Organizational chart<sup>11</sup>.

Under the Board of Education are the Executive Leadership Team with the Chief Executive Officer, the Chief Education Officer, and the Chief Operating Officer. Each officer oversees the smooth operation of the entire system, The Network Leadership is divided into 17 networks, and each network provides support to the administrators of each school within the network<sup>12</sup>

The CPS conglomerate offers different school settings; District run schools fall into four categories: Neighborhood schools that serve the children within a geographic area. Attendance to these schools is guaranteed to any child that lives

<sup>9</sup>Illinois Report Card. City of Chicago SD 299 <https://www.illinoisreportcard.com/district.aspx?source=studentcharacteristics&source2=lowincome&Districtid=15016299025>

<sup>10</sup> Chicago Board of Education <https://www.cpsboe.org/about>

<sup>11</sup> CPS Leadership <https://www.cps.edu/about/leadership>

<sup>12</sup> Chicago Public School Tiers. <http://cpstiers.opencityapps.org/about.html>

within the school boundaries. Selective schools have no geographic boundaries students must apply and pass a test to attend these schools, Magnet Schools that select students on a lottery basis. These schools offer specialized areas of concentration such as art, math, foreign language, or science. Finally, Charter Schools do not necessarily follow CPS guidelines and set their enrollment policies<sup>13</sup>. In general, selective enrollment schools are the better performing schools of all. Their entrance examination allows them to choose the best and most talented students in the city. Neighborhood schools tend to be the lower performing schools since any student in the area is guaranteed acceptance. These are also the schools with fewer resources due to their location and the socio-economic issues of the area; most underperforming schools are located on the South Side of Chicago in the poorest areas of the city. Some are experiencing enrollment declines and serve a higher number of students with disabilities.<sup>14</sup>In addition, this area has seen the most prominent number of schools' closings under the premise of buildings being underutilized and students with low scores in standardized tests. Schools are distributed in four areas according to geographical location, and within each region, there are networks. Each network has a chief that supervises the principals within the network and ensures that CPS policies and mandates are executed in every school.

Each school principal hires CPS teachers. Once the vacancy is created, the principal sends the information to the Human Resources Department (HR4U), and the position is advertised on its website. Candidates send their Curriculum Vitae to each school and go through a process of interviewing. Each school decides how to make this selection; some schools might have a team in charge of interviewing candidates and advising the principal on their choice; they might require a "sample lesson" in which the teacher is invited to teach for one day. The principal always has the final decision on who will be hired. The pay scale is determined by the number of years teaching and the education level. A teacher with only a B.A. will be placed on Lane one, one with an M.A will be in Lane 2, and those with a Doctorate will start at Lane 3. Salary increases as a teacher advance through lanes. Within the lanes, there are steps; each step represents a year of teaching, a teacher in lane one can go up to fifteen steps, and each step represents a raise in salary. Starting salaries in Chicago are around \$56,000 and can go up to \$108,242 a year. Under this system, teachers with more education have difficulty finding jobs since schools have limited budgets and hire less costly personnel. Up to 2020, CPS offers a pension plan for its employees, each paycheck the employee contributes to this

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<sup>13</sup>Chalkbeat; essential education reporting in Chicago. *Illinois report card: 94 Chicago Schools earn low performance rating* October 30, 2018, <https://chicago.chalkbeat.org/2018/10/30/21106019/illinois-report-card-94-chicago-schools-earn-low-performance-rating>

<sup>14</sup> Chicago Teachers' Pension Fund. <https://www.ctpf.org/member-resources>

plan, and CPS will add to the amount. An employee must have had 32 years of service to receive a full pension.<sup>15</sup>

### **THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION (CTU)**

The Chicago Teacher's Union is a branch of the American Federation of Teachers and represents the interests of all CPS teachers. Every teacher pays dues to the CTU, and these dues are used to fund legal defense and the officers that operate the Union. Since the great depression, CTU has been known for its militancy and advocacy for students' rights and teachers' working conditions. It has also stood to fight social injustice and inequity issues in the city's most impoverished areas. During the Great Depression, teachers were not being paid for their services; instead, they would receive IOUs, and in many instances, they would not be paid at all. After a demonstration where students and parents joined teachers, the Chicago Teachers Union was organized and advocated for teachers and students in Chicago. During the Civil Rights movement, students walked out to protest overcrowding and racism. In 1968 African American teachers led a series of strikes to protest hiring practices, promotion criteria, and certification policies. At this point, the Union incorporated educational equity into its demands and advocated for social justice. Now CTU includes some of the Charter School teachers and promotes equity for all teachers and students in the city.<sup>16</sup> The last strike occurred in 2019, right before the Corona Virus pandemic closed all schools and paralyzed the nation. Schools reopened for the 2021-22 school year

### **JEAN BAPTISTE DUSABLE HIGH SCHOOL**

The DuSable Campus houses two schools facing integration or possible closing due to low enrollment and lack of resources. Bronzeville Scholastic Institute is an International Baccalaureate school. Daniel Hale Williams Preparatory School of Medicine is a college preparatory school that offers a Medical Program geared toward increasing minority students in the medical field. Both schools opened their doors simultaneously after the closing of the DuSable High School under the Renaissance 2010 initiative. This initiative aimed to break down large schools with more than 1000 students into smaller schools with 500 students or less

The DuSable High School was one of the most remarkable and unique High Schools in the history of CPS. Many famous black artists, politicians, historians, writers, and public servants walked out its doors. Walking down its hallways is a

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<sup>15</sup>HR4U Chicago Public Schools, [https://pcpsep.epm.cps.edu/psc/pcpsep/employee/empl/c/eppcm\\_content\\_mgmt.eppcm\\_pub\\_view\\_er.gbl?eppcm\\_contentid=2208&show\\_summary=n](https://pcpsep.epm.cps.edu/psc/pcpsep/employee/empl/c/eppcm_content_mgmt.eppcm_pub_view_er.gbl?eppcm_contentid=2208&show_summary=n)

<sup>16</sup> Chicago Teachers Union. <https://www.ctulocal1.org/about/history/>



walk down the history of the City of Chicago. Jean Baptiste DuSable high school opened its doors in 1935. It was built to accommodate African American students from Wendell Phillips High School. The arrival of masses of African Americans from the segregated states in the south changed the racial population of the southside of Chicago. Thousands of southerners hoping to find a better life and a job in the factories of the growing city filled the trains. Chicago was a place to live and escape the cruelty of the Jim Crow segregations laws. The possibility of having education for the new generations was also one of the pull factors of the great migrations. Most blacks moved to the southside forming close communities and support networks. The population of Wendell Phillips High school exponentially grew to not accommodating more students. In the words of notable Historian Tim Black, "Phillip was bursting at the seams with successive cohorts of new arrivals from the south"<sup>17</sup> it was out of this need for more classrooms for African Americans that the decision to build another site in the Bronzeville neighborhood was made. Work on the new building started in February of 1931. Still, funds ran out, construction was halted thanks to a public works grants construction was completed, and the school opened its doors on February 4, 1935, under the name of the New Wendell Phillips High School.

DuSable was the first school in Chicago built exclusively to serve African American Students. In 1936, the school's name was changed to honor Jean Baptiste Point DuSable, the first black settler of the area. During the 1940s to 1960s, the school had over 4,000 students and became famous for its music program. Walter Dyett, the music director, trained hundreds of talented students who became world-renowned celebrities. People like Nat King Cole, jazz singer Dinah Washington, judge William Cousins, comedian Redd Foxx, Real Estate mogul Dempsey Travis, Harold Washington, the first and only Black mayor of Chicago, and many others more. DuSable High School is known as the cradle of great talent due to great effort and work from the African American community and a dedicated staff. In 1930 the school started a showcase of the student's talent; it came to be known as the "Hi-Jinks," and people from all over the city would come and pay for the entrance to the event. This tradition continued until the 60's even after Captain Dyett retired. A music critic from one of the renowned Chicago newspapers has called DuSable the "most famous high school in the history of jazz"<sup>18</sup> Some of the world's most excellent jazz musicians trained with Captain Dyett. DuSable was also the first High School to open a fully staffed birth control clinic to counter the number of teen pregnancies; thanks to a grant from NASA, the school was the first public

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<sup>17</sup>Timuel D. Black, *Sacred Ground: The Chicago Streets of Timuel Black* (Northwestern Univ. Press, 2019), page 28.

<sup>18</sup>Landmark Designation Report. DuSable High School.

<https://www.chicago.gov/content/dam/city/depts/dcd/Zoning%20Application/ExhibADuSablFinalReport.pdf>

school in Chicago to be connected to the internet. The inner courtyard housed various animals like peacocks, a goat, pigeons, chickens, etc.<sup>19</sup> A greenhouse grew all kinds of edibles on the rooftop, and its gardens grew various plants and trees. Students received an excellent education that capacitated them to succeed and a place to reflect and cope with the violence of the streets and social injustice. The fame of DuSable High School and the talent that is produced is an excellent part of the memories of a time when African Americans' talent was recognized and admired.

In early 1960, the advent of overcrowded living and the rise of government-subsidized housing in Chicago saw increased housing projects. The largest of them was the Robert Taylor Homes, a monstrous conglomerate of buildings planned to house 11,000 inhabitants in 4,415 units that stretched for two miles with a total of 28 buildings 16 stories high. The Taylor Homes was considered the largest housing project in the nation. It was supposed to provide affordable housing, but the sheer size became unmanageable, and the neglect from the city and lack of maintenance deteriorated the buildings. Broken elevators and overcrowded conditions made this an epic fail.<sup>20</sup> Over 27,000 people crammed in the decrepit apartments, the great majority of the inhabitants were unemployed, and the area offered few facilities. There were no food markets, libraries, or shopping centers close by. The Robert Taylor home stood across the street from DuSable High School, and the student population shifted. Gang activity, drug dealing, and violence changed the school. Two students were murdered inside the building due to gang activity, and academic scores dropped drastically.<sup>21</sup>

In 2004 mayor Richard Daley Jr announced the opening of 100 "new" schools to replace the low-performing ones. The program promised better high-performing schools, and the announcements of which schools had been targeted began to be published. Most of the closings were to take place on the south side. The promise of smaller units that could offer smaller class sizes and better facilities predicted better outcomes. By 2010 CPS had created 92 schools, most of them Charter schools; out of these, only 16 showed improvement in standardized testing<sup>22</sup>. Over 70 million dollars were invested in this project, and by 2013, fifty of these new schools had been closed. The ambitious project failed mainly because

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<sup>19</sup>DuSable High School. Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/DuSable\\_High\\_School](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/DuSable_High_School)

<sup>20</sup> Berkeley planning Journal. The Robert Taylor Homes: Failure of Public Housing. Ariel Prince June 03, 2013. <https://berkeleyplanningjournal.com/urbanfringe/2013/06/the-robert-taylor-homes-failure-of-public-housing>

<sup>21</sup> Alt, Paul. "Death and Rebirth in Chicago: The Du Sable High School Urban Ecology Sanctuary." *Architectural Research Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (1999): 321–34. doi:10.1017/S1359135500002220.

<sup>22</sup> The Chicago Reporter, May 22 2015. *Renaissance 2010 launched to create 100 new schools*, <https://www.chicagoreporter.com/renaissance-2010-launched-to-create-100-new-schools/>

a new building with a new name could not change the area's socio-economic issues. Instead of investing in the area's neighborhoods and infrastructure, the focus was placed on test performance, not realizing that the problem was not inside the school but in the impoverished regions. The idea that putting the same group of children in a different school would change anything was just erroneous. If people are starved of resources, jobs, and opportunities for change, nothing else will change. The students still face the crime and violence that desperation and poverty cause, and it is exceedingly difficult to focus on learning when they lack proper housing, adequate meals, and a safe place to live.

Traditionally the Southside has been neglected. The city's poorest areas are in what is known as the "black belt." Most people of color live in these areas, and the chances to escape this institutionalized racism are slim. Under this initiative, the decision to phase out DuSable High School was made. The Robert Taylor Homes had been demolished, and its residents relocated to scattered sites mainly in the suburbs. DuSable lost many students due to violence, low scores, and the opening of multiple charter schools in the vicinity. Parents were searching for better education and a better future for their children, and the promises of excellence and resources attracted them to the Charter schools. The last graduation ceremony took place in 2013. Since then, the Alumni Association has been fighting to recover their school; they have been to multiple board meetings asking to change its name back and reconstitute its facilities. Under Mayor Rahm Emmanuel, the building was designated a historic landmark, and a renovation was underway. However, only the façade of the building was cleaned, and windows were changed; individual air conditioners were placed in the rooms being used, but none of the structure and heating unit was repaired or changed. An old furnace that can't be adequately regulated is still heating the building. The building is sweltering in winter; on many occasions, we had the fire alarm go off due to the faulty furnace.

### **DANIEL HALE WILLIAMS PREPARATORY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE**

Williams Prep was the product of a proposal created by a group of teachers from the old DuSable, named after Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, the first African American Surgeon to perform open-heart surgery successfully. Dr. Williams also created two hospital-based training nursing programs, founded the first interracial hospital and training school, Co-founded the National Medical Association, and was the first African American physician admitted to the American College of Surgeons.<sup>23</sup> DHW opened its doors in September of 2005 with a class of fifty-seven and eighth-graders under the Ironclad leadership of Dr. Dolores Bedar. It was classified as a magnet school that offered a medical track and a regular track. Students could choose to go into the medical academy and take classes and internships to facilitate their

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<sup>23</sup> Jackson State University. <https://www.jsums.edu/gtec/dr-daniel-hale-williams/>

entrance into the medical field. Students in the medical academy work on different certificates: Certified Nursing Assistants, Pharmacist assistants, or Medical Assistants. Partnerships with Lurie Children Hospital and Loyola Hospital allow the students to have internships and attend special events related to their field<sup>24</sup> "Our Vision at Daniel Hale Williams Preparatory School of Medicine is to create an institution that will become a part of the medical careers pipeline addressing the attrition of underrepresented minority medical school student applicants. It is also our vision that with foundations from STEM and Project-Based Learning, that all students will develop lifelong habits of mind such as problem-solving, -increase the matriculation rate of underrepresented minorities in top post-secondary institutions as well as applicants to the medical professions by involving all students in rigorous and engaging instruction. Our goal is to combine forces to provide a high-quality, rigorous, and enriched educational experience for all students attending our school that will prepare them to actualize their full potential. In all classes, we challenge students to explore relevant issues grounded in empathy, equity, and identity, allowing us to personalize content and empower student activism beyond the school. ."25

Dr. Bedar remained as principal for the first two years and then retired, leaving another leader's position open. Under the new administration, multiple erroneous decisions led the school to lose students and lose the selected enrollment status. Various programs were eliminated, such as students with severe and profound disabilities led by Mrs. Cynthia Jones. This program trained students with severe mental and physical disabilities to become more independent; the Spanish program taught Spanish as a second language. The seventh and 8th-grade components were also eliminated against parents' and students' wishes. Even when all these programs were flourishing, the new administrator changed the Spanish dual-language program to Latin. Multiple other changes took place, and students started to leave the school.

Teachers were also unhappy and left. Constant changes like these are detrimental to the students since they lack consistency, and the teacher teams are constantly disrupted. A new administration was elected after months of interim principals and investigations of the previous one. In 2011, Dr. JullanarNaselli was hired as the new leader for the school. Since her tenure started, the school has seen multiple changes and improvements. Her firm and supportive leadership have led to teacher retention and satisfied parents and students. Every year the University of Chicago surveys to measure what is considered as the five essential elements for a thriving learning environment. This survey is sent to parents, students, and teachers.

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<sup>24</sup> Interview with Cynthia Jones veteran Special Education teacher.

<sup>25</sup>Daniel Hale Williams Vision, Mission & goals.

[https://dhwprepped.org/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC\\_ID=316473&type=d](https://dhwprepped.org/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC_ID=316473&type=d)

Every Public School participates, and the results are used to inform on the effectiveness of each school. DHW has consistently scored above average.<sup>26</sup> DHW has continued to lose students due to the opening of multiple charter schools in the surrounding area and a change in the neighborhood's demographics.

To maintain excellence in teaching, the school has adopted a screening system. A team of teachers in collaboration with the principal interview and selects the candidates for any new positions available. The teacher's average salary at the school is \$70,000. Per year, most teachers have a master's degree in their area of expertise<sup>27</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

After 15 years of teaching at Daniel Hale Williams, I have seen the admirable dedication of an entire team of teachers and administrators to underprivileged students that face multiple socio-economic challenges. Every student at our school has lost at least one family member to gun violence or has a close relative or acquaintance incarcerated. Many do not feel safe at home due to street violence or family dynamics. At DHW, we have created a safe environment that nurtures these children and channels their talents towards a better future. We have graduated ten classes, the great majority of our alumni hold a professional degree or are currently pursuing a degree, and many are serving their communities.

Education in the U.S. is not perfect and needs a lot of revisions and changes to provide equity to all students. Chicago Public Schools also needs to revise their funding so that those schools where the neediest students attend can have the same resources as the schools located in the city's affluent areas. In addition, more funds are needed for teacher training in methods to deal with trauma and Social-Emotional Learning so we can ease the traumatic events that our students face and help them overcome all obstacles. I am very grateful to Dr. JullanarNaselli, the principal at our school, and coworker Cynthia Jones for their input and facilitating my access to the school libraries; without them, I could not have completed this article.

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## THE SOCIO-POLITICALDIMENSIONS OF

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<sup>26</sup> 2019 CPS 5essentials survey Daniel Hale Williams Preparatory School of Medicine <https://www.5-essentials.org/cps/5e/2019/s/610380/>

<sup>27</sup> Nationwide Salary Database. <https://openpayrolls.com/>

# CONFUCIANISM: IMPACTS ON LIBERAL WESTERN DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

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## ABSTRACT

This study primarily deals with the ancient Chinese reformer Confucius and Socio-Political contributions along with political effects on the society and their impact on modernizing society. The Egyptian researcher focuses on the “Joint commitments” in Confucianism thought towards the Chinese community. In comparison, a person should perform his duties towards others instead of claiming his rights. That is the moral base of social and political relations in China. The concept of “joint obligations” represents the basic principle of Confucianism. For Confucius and his disciples, the basic Socio-Political relations within the framework of Confucianism are: first: from the king to his subjects, second: from parents to children, third: from husband to wife, fourth: from elder brother to younger brother, and fifth: from friend to friend. There are different opinions about the personality of Confucius as he was a founder of religion as Prophet.

In contrast, some scholars considered him a social reformer and a Philosopher or educationist. Confucius’s teachings and ideas developed in the Chinese society. He tried to teach people good moral values based on social justice, politeness, equality, and respect for elders. He did not emphasize religion because he considered religion as a tool of self-purity. Many people considered him a founder of a new religion in China during the 5<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. However, after many ups and downs, Confucianism faced a decline. It became irrelevant in society after the dispensation of Communism and Islam in China. The paper explores and highlights a brief analysis of the socio-religious and political role of Confucius and Confucianism after the revolution in Europe and Islam.

**KEYWORDS:**China, Confusions, Religion, Society,Confucianism, Reforms, Modernization, Influence, Communism, Sovereignty, Identity, Culture.

## Introduction

The main principles in Mainland China are coming from “Confucianism,” which includes a “religious, political, social and cultural”

dimension. The term of the “principles of Confucius” is here used to characterize a variety of explorations where the quest for “inner peace that leads to Socio-Political reforms and Modernization of the Society for the sake of the upcoming generations by enhancing and strengthening the political education of Confucianism,” whereas echoes a concern for the individual or collective destiny (an shen liming) with its impact on modernizing the Chinese community and teaching the coming generations. In order to understand these phenomena better, our thesis examines an individual story that provides insight into what a Confucian religious experience may be today. This example is then placed within the context of shifting (political, social, religious, and cultural) categories. In contrast, the Chinese citizens are accepting and making a “self-evident” for every person in the Chinese society, but now being questioned by elites and other groups in society. Finally, to give a sense of various explicit projects oriented towards achieving recognition of Confucianism as an official and institutionalized religion, the article analyses three such efforts seeking to institute Confucianism either as a “religion on par with other official religions” as the “state religion with its political effects” or as “civil religion”. For highly understanding, Confucianism has had the greatest social and political impact on modernizing the Chinese community.<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, here it is difficult to cover Confucian personal life to reach out to the stages of his influences on the different periods of China’s generations because not much works have been done on his biography. This Semitic historian, who lived from 85 BC to 145 BC, described the life of Confucius. His childhood was spent in poverty. The 19-year-olds marriage ended in divorce four years later, and she never remarried. He made his career as a philosopher and teacher. He started teaching at home at the age of 22, the number of his students reached hundreds. He made history, philosophy, poetry, and ethics the focus of his educational activities, which contributed to modernizing Mainland China and drawing out the basics of the Socio-Political Modernization by teaching the coming generations of the principles of Confucius and his doctrines.<sup>29</sup>

Confucius has successfully created a modern society in China by providing the (main principles of the ideal relationship between the ruler and its citizens). Confucius has made a minister by the ruler of the state of Lu and was given the responsibility of eliminating crime and contributing to modernizing the Chinese society by his modern thoughts. Afterword’s, Confucius has strengthened the state of China through many reforms. Confucius divided the relationship between the government and its citizens, whereas the ruler should be under the influence of its people. Confucius encouraged managing the social and political relations between every individual in the society, so he has left his post as a minister

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<sup>28</sup> C. k. Yang, *Religion In Chinese Society*, (USA: Stanford University Press,1961), P.P.20-30.

<sup>29</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica Confucianism, W. T. C, (USA: Yale University Press, 2000), P.P.389

in the official government. He continued to propagate his ideas. He wrote many books, such as music, book of etiquette, the art of poetry, book of documents, book of spring and autumn, history of court Lu, and destiny., all of Confucius's teachings are the main recent bases of reform modernizing of the Chinese society.<sup>30</sup>

The Egyptian researcher is attempting to explore the history of the cult at different periods as a part of a larger project on the "revival of Confucianism" in Mainland China. This is followed by a factual description of the (political, social, and cultural) effects by Confucius in the Chinese community until now, and taking place during the so-called "Confucianism dimensions," which provide insight into the complexity of the issue and the variety of situations encountered. The contrast between the authorities and minjian Confucian revivalists, as well as their necessary interactions, ultimately illustrates the complex use and abuse of Confucius in post-Maoist China.<sup>31</sup> This study is mainly dealing with the political thought of Confucius. Confucius believes that "the crises of the nation are due to the ruling authority, and that to establish a just and stable system of government, the only way to do so is to adhere to the rites, etiquette, traditions and virtuous morals."<sup>32</sup> The ideas of Confucius were true knowledge based on (honesty, accuracy, and clarity), as are the main bases for reforming the political community and is the path leading to virtuous morals. Accordingly, according to Confucius, politics is based on morals in the society that led to the Modernization of Chinese society and contributed to Socio-Political teaching for the different generations.

## RESEARCH PROBLEMATIC

Traditional Chinese culture, for which "Confucianism" is the core, has a long history of thousands of years, and it has gradually become an "indispensable component of the Chinese humanistic environment." Confucianism and the current arguments and trends of "reviving Confucianism in the face of American and Western liberal values" may affect the modern Chinese community and institutions. However, "that's not clear to minds of the potential effects of Confucius ideas and its validation to Contemporary China, especially its implications on the young generations, the conflict with the Communism ideology itself, and the deepest contradiction with the "liberal democratic Western values." Therefore, our main concern is the attempt to "test the potential scenarios of the impact of Confucianism on the performance of the modern Chinese society and its people," notifying that "Confucianism" does not reject wealth and even has positive significance for building wealth. Therefore, the Confucian concept of wealth and the method used for wealth building may affect the "ability of the state's behavior

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<sup>30</sup> Peter J. Opitz, Confucius, Silke, (China: People's Press, 2014), 415-441

<sup>31</sup> Wolf gang Kubin, On the Problem of the Self in Confucianism, Silke, (China: People's Press, 2014), 64-65.

<sup>32</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica Confucianism, (USA: Yale University Press, 2000), 393



and decision-making. Therefore, upon our analysis of the main problem behind reviving Confucianism in Mainland China, the Egyptian researcher will refer to some (empirical and qualitative methods to test the results of applying “Confucianism” and its significance for improving the society’s performance and institutions).

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is an “analytical study and based on qualitative data”; therefore, the historical research method has been used with documentary sources of primary and secondary sources, i.e., books, articles, essays and columns of newspapers, etc. The Egyptian researcher will use and adopt the “empirical methodology of measuring the data” by focusing on (two models of measuring) to test the (recent influence of Confucianism on the modern Chinese society), which are:

- A- The first one is a “regional model.”
- B- The other is a “distance model.”

Currently, the widely used model is the “distance model.” The greatest advantage of the “distance model” is that it can use the whole-level data to determine whether the explanatory variables represent the research object itself, eliminating the influence of other factors. Literature is an important component of any research. Therefore different types of scattered literature and work of several historians and intellectuals have been considered important for this research, i.e., History of Religious Ideas, World Faiths, Taoism, History of Chinese Philosophy, The World Religions, The Eastern World’s Philosophy, Chinese Religions Through Chinese Society, Encyclopedia Britannica-Confucianism, Confucius, The Thought of Confucius and the Contemporary World, The Image of Confucius in China, An Interpretation of Confucian Virtues and Their Relevance to China’s Modernization, Confucianism and the Modernization of China, On the Problem of the Self in Confucianism, Confucianism in the Republic of China are most remarkable.- So, upon these facts about the role of Confucius in the Socio-Political Modernization of China, the Egyptian researcher will address and analyze the following main aspects to respond to the main questions resulting from this discussion of “Confucianism,” as the following:

- 1) Analysis of the influence of Confucius periods of life on the Chinese political and social ideas

The true picture of the life of “Confucius” is not available from any one source. It is difficult to answer the question of who Confucius was. The main reason is that as his ideas and thoughts gained popularity, people started talking about his founder. Traditions and anecdotes continued to formulate and sanctify it. His official biography, written hundreds of years later, was adorned with the color of (devotion and love) that embellished the real events and was eventually adopted by

his abusive followers given him the status of a semi-god.<sup>33</sup>

In Chinese tradition, Confucius' entire life is described in different periods, but this does not prove that he was religious. Even though these events are historically considered dubious, they are still an important chapter in his life. Western scholars believe that if he had taken a royal job and held a high position, this should have been mentioned in his advice book, *Analects*. However, this is not the case. On the contrary, we do not find evidence that he compiled a book during his tenure in which he recorded his thoughts and ideas. Which shows that he had confidence in his abilities and performance? Therefore, some critics believe that he resigned in his last life after a modest job in Lou, as he began to be tired of "the corruption and chaos of the covenant." However, Confucius has successfully made some people are his allies.<sup>34</sup>

- The Egyptian researcher can identify the influence of Confucius periods of life on the Chinese political and social ideas, as follows:

- 1- The "Confucius era" is considered the (golden age of China's intellectual creation). When this era was born, political and social chaos was common in China. Small rulers took advantage of the weaknesses of the royal family to occupy territories. In addition, the exploitation of the people continued. Internal turmoil had weakened the country's internal borders to such an extent that each feudal lord could occupy the territory of his choice and establish his rule. These feudal lords were so corrupt that despite their poor handicrafts, the people had a long period of social, political, and intellectual creation. These hundreds of great philosophers are divided into six Meccan thoughts: (Taoism, Confucianism, Mohism, Yin Yang, Dialectician, and legalism).
- 2- In the second century BC, Confucianism was given an "official religion", and this superiority over other schools of thought was recognized just as there is disagreement among scholars about "Taoism", the continuing arguments of "whether Confucius was a religion or merely a matter of philosophy and thought?", so too there are differing views of the authorities on Confucianism. Yes, it is common to call the founder of a religion or philosophy a prophet or a messenger. Possibly, it is wrong to call a philosopher or a reformer a prophet, a messenger, a bearer of revelation, and a book when he does not have his claim, or it is not proved by the time.<sup>35</sup>
- 3- Scholars who consider Confucianism to be a (philosophical system) argue

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<sup>33</sup> Brunhild Staiger, *The Image of Confucius in China*, (USA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 118-119.

<sup>34</sup> Lao Kwok-Kelng, *An Interpretation of Confucian Virtues and Their Relevance to China's Modernization*, (China: People's Press, 2010), 216-217.

<sup>35</sup> Zhang Oizhi, *The Thought of Confucius and the Contemporary World*, (Beijing: Renmin University, 2017), 203-209.

that religion has neither a religious institution nor a system, nor is there any punishment for obeying or rejecting a command. He also said that those who support the idea that it is a religion are often asked if it has prohibitions and denials and any concept of life after Muhammad. When asked if these concepts exist in almost every religion, those who call Confucianism argue that it contains religious elements, such as the worship of the Great, the reverence of heaven, and generality. The existence of rituals and temples are matters that prove it a religion.

- 4- That there are religious elements in it, such as the (worship of the great, the reverence of the heavens, the general rituals, and the existence of temples), which are all matters that prove its religion, but it is said that the temples of Confucianism are, But these are just monuments. They are not temples like other religions. Despite all these arguments, it can be said that the Chinese people consider Confucianism to be a belief that can be either endorsed or denied. According to him, it is a code of conduct that covers political, social, moral, and spiritual matters. There is no denying that Confucius taught ethics, which led to the establishment of political and social relations and the way of life. Ruled on principles. In this sense, even if there is no religion in the traditional sense, there are so many elements of religion in it that it is not possible to ignore them altogether.<sup>36</sup>

The Chinese reformer “Confucius” believed that “power is subject to the consent of the people,” and thus, “Confucius” was the first thinker who advocated the “theory of people’s sovereignty. He says that: “The state is governed by the one who obtains the consent of the people, and the government loses the one who loses this satisfaction because the measure of the legitimacy of power is the people’s satisfaction with their destiny. Confucius as well used to repeat in his writings that: “The sky is seen, but the eyes see it of the people, and the sky hears, but it is heard by the ears of the people,” adhering to his old saying: “The voice of the people is the voice of God.”

- 5- Confucius also studied the existence of government and believed that good government must achieve three goals, which are the following:
  - A- Taking care of production and fulfilling the people’s need for food and other necessities.
  - B- Taking care of the army to protect the country from the dangers of foreign invasion.
  - C- Taking care of people’s morals and advancing religious worship.<sup>37</sup>

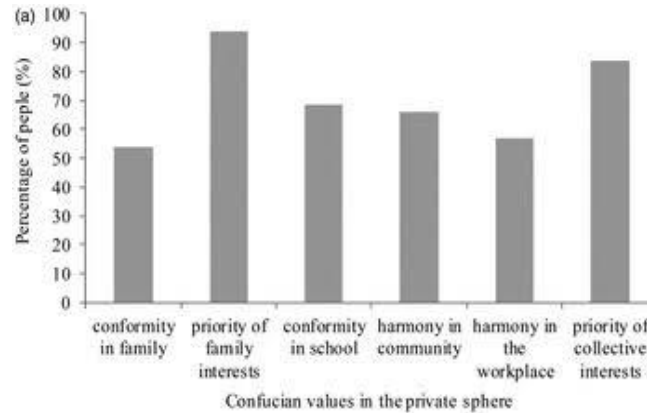
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<sup>36</sup> Rolf Trauzettel, On the problem of the Universal Applicability of Confucianism, Silke, Stanford University, USA, .43.

<sup>37</sup> Sun Chang Jiang, Chinese Society, Chinese Confucianism and the Modernization of Cina, (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2013), 83-101.

6- Confucius also called for the necessity of distributing wealth equitably and not concentrating it in a few hands, which led the poor individuals to migrate to the cities and leave agriculture in the countryside. The following chart tries to identify the powerful nature of the “Confucius Values in the Political Sphere of China,” as follows:

- Chart No. (1): Confucius Values in the Political Sphere of China



- Source: YidaiZha. (December 12, 2016). Do Confucian Values Deter Chinese Citizens’ Support for Democracy?, Cambridge University Press, UK.

This the Confucian area in results was no Confucian the support a transition, negatively

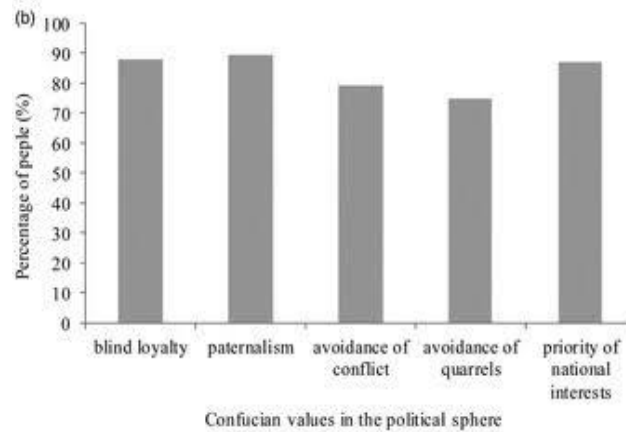


chart examines “impacts of values on each China.” The show that “there evidence that values inhibit Chinese public’s for democracy in democratic but they are connected to

liberal democratic values,” which are fundamental to the resilience and consolidation of a fledgling democracy. However, “liberal democratic values are prone to increase with the generational shift.”

7- Confucius appealed to presidents and rulers to stay away from spending and extravagance. Therefore wasteful privileges must be eliminated, such as the rulers and officials increasing their salaries and financial privileges without law, because this burdens the people with taxes that they cannot bear.<sup>38</sup>

So, according to our understanding of the influence of Confucius’s political and social ideas, the Egyptian researcher considered that Confucius is the

<sup>38</sup> Yang C. K, Religion in Chinese Society, (China: Xinhua University, 1967), .86.

most influential philosopher in Chinese history. The teachings of Confucius remained a strong and unique impact on Chinese society throughout the second century BC until the twentieth century AD. Confucianism emphasizes the need to develop moral character and expand responsibility. The Chinese government has made Confucian teachings the official philosophy of the state. Indeed, millions of people in China and nearby countries, such as Japan, Korea, and Vietnam, venerate Confucius in the same way that people revere the founders of philosophies and religions.

### **CONFUCIANISM AND SOCIO-POLITICAL REFORMS IN CHINA**

Confucianism believed in the importance of social and political reforms, taught everyone to live within certain limits. Confucius believes in treating people well and holds the individual responsible for his actions. He believes in destiny and preaches that we should do things to keep ourselves alive in society. He calls the sky nature and clarifies that nature wants to use you. He says to rely on your ancestors, respect their literature, and treat them with love. He taught compassion, justice, and simplicity in society and said to treat people well as you want for yourself. In addition, if you want to be successful, help others to be successful.<sup>39</sup>

He thought that one should be aware of the behavior of the ancestors. He rejects anger. Goodness and cheerfulness are part of his teaching. Being humble in his mind is a stepping-stone to success. As he says, it is not a pity that I have not been understood, but it is a pity that I have not been able to understand others correctly. On one occasion, if we do not understand life, how can we know death? How can we understand our duties towards men when we do not understand our responsibilities towards the living? Confucius was anti-tolerant and pro-struggle. He taught society moderation and insisted that religious observances were necessary for self-control.<sup>40</sup>

- The ideas of Confucius to reform the Chinese society politically and socially are represented in:

- 1) Confucius believed that his society could survive if it observed sincerity in individual and public behavior, and the entrance to a disciplined social life was the honorable master. In addition, he is expected to think for himself, guided by specific rules of behavior, and Confucius put many of these rules in the form of sayings.
- 2) Confucius believed that when men are rulers, their moral model will inspire the ruled to lead a good life. He showed that the virtuous behavior of rulers has

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<sup>39</sup> Hans Stumpf, *Confucius and Confucianism on their History and Status: Their Present, Theoretical and Practical implications*, (USA: Stanford University Press, 1999), P.P.65-70.

<sup>40</sup> Krieger Rolf Trauzettel, *Confucianism and the Modernization of China*, (Germany: Munich University Press, 1991), 376-378.

a more significant influence on governance than the set of laws and punishments.

- 3) Confucius provided political and social thoughts in reforming and modernizing local cultures in China and the world with his ideas and contributions in his books, including *The Greater Teaching Book – Songs – The Creed of the Middle*
- 4) In the first book, “*Greater Teaching Book*,” Confucius presented the causes of wars and attributed them to the corruption of government, considering that the positive laws on which the system of government is based cannot – no matter how many and varied – replace the natural social system that the family is supposed to prepare. Family reform prepares the country for its social system. The establishment of a righteous rule will facilitate it, and by the state maintaining calm on its land and its adherence to justice throughout it, peace will prevail throughout the world.<sup>41</sup>
- 5) In the *Book of “Songs*,” Confucius records a dialogue about society and governance, and at the beginning of the dialogue defines the mission of any government and highlights its role in achieving three issues that people have:
  - A) Their sufficiency of food
  - B) Their adequacy of military equipment
  - C) Confidence in the rulers
- 6) Confucius holds that war equipment and then food can be abandoned in case of extreme necessity, but if individuals do not have confidence in their rulers, the state will not survive.
- 7) In the book of “*The Doctrine of the Middle*,” Confucius presents the practice of governance, as he sees that the conduct of government affairs requires that it be entrusted to righteous people. There is no way to do that unless the ruler is righteous, and Confucius believes that if morals are corrupted, the whole people will be corrupted.<sup>42</sup>

Thus, it could be understood that Confucius’ political philosophy derived its material and mainstay from morals. Ethics was his lofty goal and desired goal. Because he witnessed for himself the chaos and turmoil of Chinese society resulting from the weakness of the moral motive, following the rule of feudal lords and the spread of wars among them, and he saw Confucius There is no way to eliminate this chaos except by reforming the family system in Chinese society, because of his belief that the basis of a healthy society is the organized individual in the organized

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<sup>41</sup> Fu Shufang, *A Brief Account of the Positive Factors in Confucius Thinking*, (Shandong: Shandong Library 山东省图书, 2016), 177-178.

<sup>42</sup> King-Yuh Chang, *Confucianism in the Republic of China and its Role in Main on China’s Reforms*, (Qinghai: Qinghai Library 青海省图书, 2015), 229-241.

family. Confucius considered politics as part of morals, and it is based on self-discipline and purification, but this is not done only in his view, but with knowledge and education, that leads to the reformation of the society.

### **CONFUCIANISM AND THE POLITICAL IDENTITY IN MODERN CHINA**

The Confucian spirit will change the features of communism identity in the state of China, making it far from the Russian communism that collapsed because Confucianism has a “spiritual control over the Chinese people”.<sup>43</sup> So, the Egyptian researcher can identify some features of Confucianism on the Chinese political and social identity, which are:

1. Confucius thought “the ruler should be self-controlled and present him to the people in an exemplary manner to protect and maintain the state’s identity”. The ruler should take care of the people and prove to be a lover of the people. Confucius confirmed that the “government cannot be ruled by law alone and because the people try to avoid punishment in this policy and do not feel ashamed”. Therefore, the government must be formed based on the goodness of the “standard of reform based on good manners to maintain identity”.
2. Confucius pointed out that “the weak institutions of the state in his time may affect the nation’s political and social identity,” held the rulers responsibly and made it clear that if the rulers were incompetent, the subjects would not follow them. People will like and imitate the right conduct of the ruler. He thinks that the moral character of the ruler is like the wind while the subordinates are like grass. When the wind blows, the grass bends. The political ideology includes that the king should have attributes and appoint people of opinion, knowledge, and grace as advisers and follow their advice. The ruler should show an ideal role. Do not be arrogant and bring about reforms for the betterment of the people, as exemplified by the ancient Chinese kings “Yao and Xun,” who were great but not arrogant and were always ready to listen to the people.<sup>44</sup>
3. Although Confucius is not the founder of any religion, he has been seen “correcting the religious and social flaws in the society’s identity.” People called him a religious figure and the founder of the religion. In addition, his teachings spread throughout China, because in 195 BC, when a Han king came to his tomb and offered sacrifices for his soul, Confucius's value and prestige took four moons and his devotion took the form of a “national

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<sup>43</sup> Hans Van De Ven, *Confucianism and Communism*, (Paris: Lion University Press, 2012), 374-390

<sup>44</sup> Tu Wei Ming, *A Confucian Perspective on the Rise of industrial East Asia*, (Sichuan: Sichuan Library 四川省图书馆, 2012), 33-34.

religion as an identity of the modern China throughout its coming generations”. Confucius’s philosophy became the national religion and belief within modern China.

4. Accompanied by a few of his followers, Confucius spent the last ten years in the aristocracy and the royal court, expressing his views. He went to the northern parts of Chi, where he barely survived. However, he was not alarmed by the situation, and his enthusiasm did not diminish. After completing his north mission, “Confucius went with his followers to the south of China and affected its identity by his explanations and ideas”.<sup>45</sup>.
5. According to Chinese traditions, Confucian ideas and advice were “well-received in some places as a part of its identity,” especially when Confucius presented his suggestions on government policy to the people. He also claimed that if his political views and suggestions were followed, extraordinary social change could occur in three years. However, who did not listen to him? After constant tourism and meetings with feudal lords and nobles, he became frustrated and returned to his homeland when no results came out. Over the next five years, he began teaching people five classic religious books. Here, “Confucius produced many disciples and followers, so, the coming generations and governments in China have affected by Confucianism.”
6. Some of “Confucius’s followers held high government positions, some set up schools to spread Confucian ideas that influence the People’s lives and state’s national identity”. Confucius died in 9 BC at the age of 9 years. He passed away as a failed and unsuccessful gunman and philosopher. It is the life story of a great philosopher, religious leader, and political weapon in Southeast Asia.
7. Although the upper class did not listen to Confucius, he continued his mission. With his dedication and hard work, he made many people his allies. Confucius “emphasized the importance and necessity of education to his students to maintain his ideas in the Chinese community”. He was called “Aqa”, because of his intelligence and diligence. Although he considered himself a failure, notifying the “Confucius success lies in the fact that there are still many his followers, a chain of love and devotion to him, and people consider him the great man of China. Wise, reformers and religious leaders understand that formed the recent modern identity of Mainland China”.<sup>46</sup>.

Upon the mentioned analysis of the role of Confucius to affect China’s identity by

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<sup>45</sup> R. Israeli, *China’s Muslims*, Sutherland Clark & Hardy (eds), (London, Oxford University Press, 1988), .408-424.

<sup>46</sup>GoschaChristopheris, *What is Confucianism?: A short introduction to the Chinese ethical system*, Department of History, (Montreal: University of Quebec, Canada, March 9, 2017), .23-30.



his thoughts, the Egyptian researcher has analyzed that Confucius was fond of seeking to achieve the utopia he called for, which is an ideal city to form the identity of the state itself. Still, it differs from Aristotle's virtuous city, as the city of Confucius is ideal within the limits of a reality that can be achieved and applied. In contrast, the city of Aristotle tends to be an imaginary ideal far from the level of minor human application. Both philosophers are contemporary.

## **CONFUCIANISM AND EDUCATION IN MODERN CONTEMPORARY CHINA**

The original teachings of Confucius are not available. Still, a collection of theories and political ideas attributed to him has been studied from many angles in Modern China and within the Chinese universities. Many Western thinkers have written about it and tried to educate a brief introduction of Confucius's beliefs and ideas. The Egyptian researcher has identified the major sources of information about the Socio-Political thoughts of Confucius, as follows:

- 1) Confucius's philosophy was not limited to the moral aspect only, but also "transcended it to the political aspect. His philosophy was based on a set of principles and teachings, the aim of which was to reform the individual and society". The ruler has a gift from heaven with the governments, but this gift is only for those with virtuous morals.<sup>47</sup>
- 2) Confucius also established a "set of qualities that make the ruler a good ruler", among which we mention that the ruler should have (morals, respects individuals, treat them kindly, advance them and their state, and achieve prosperity for them). He also emphasized that the "trust of the subjects in the ruler is the basis of governance."
- 3) Confucius also laid out a path for the ruler to gain the subjects' trust by displaying virtue and good morals. Confucius divided governments into (two categories), which are:
  - A) Good government guarantees the happiness of the people.
  - B) Corrupted government: due to the bad faith of the ruler and the lack of his political qualifications.<sup>48</sup>
- 4) Confucius is the fair exploitation of wealth within society and respecting and protecting property rights. These political teachings

<sup>47</sup> Wang, Ruichang, *Philosophical Studies in Contemporary Culture The Renaissance of Confucianism in Contemporary China*, (Nanjing: Nanjing Library 南京圖書館, China, 2011), .90-115.

<sup>48</sup> Yang, Fenggang, "Religion in the Global East: Challenges and Opportunities for the Social Scientific Study of Religion", *Religions Studies*, No. (9), (Beijing: People's Press, China, 2018), .43-47.

are political theorizing that can build a strong and cohesive society. These ideas have had a great impact on many civilizations and thinkers and contributed to the development of many societies.

- 5) Confucianism has called to avoid “favoritism in mediation or favoritism.” The morals of the ruler appear in, according to Confucius social and political reforms, representing in:
  - A- Respecting individuals who deserve to be respected.
  - B- Being courteous to those with whom he is related and fulfilling his obligations towards them.
  - C- Treating his ministers and employees kindly.
  - D- His concern for the public good while encouraging and promoting the beneficial arts.
  - E- Kindness to the nationals of other countries residing in his country.
  - F- Achieving prosperity for the princes of the empire and the common people<sup>49</sup>.
- 6) Confucianism respects the “inherited customs and traditions.” They are very conservative, sanctify knowledge and honesty, and respect soft treatment without submission or begging for tyranny.
- 7) Confucian society is based on respect for individual property with the need to draw up a “reform program that leads to the development of the spirit of love between the rich and the poor.” They acknowledge the differences between classes, which is evident when performing religious rites, on official holidays, and when offerings are made. They have an open caste system, as anyone can move from his class to any other social class if he has the capabilities that qualify him to do so.
- 8) According to Confucius's teachings, Man is only a result of the intermarriage of the heavenly powers with the earthly powers, the “reincarnation of the heavenly spirits in the essences of society.” Hence, man must enjoy everything within the limits of upright human morals<sup>50</sup>.

So, according to Confucius’s previously mentioned teachings and ideas, the

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<sup>49</sup>Lijiao, The Return of Ceremonies Honouring Confucius in Mainland China, China Perspectives, (Heilongjiang: Heilongjiang Library 黑龙江省图书馆, China, December 1, 2012), .15-26.

<sup>50</sup>Jiaohua, The Confucian Revival in China as an Educative Project, China Perspectives, (Guangxi: Library of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region 广西壮族自治区图书馆, China, December 3, 2010), .24-29.

Egyptian researcher has analyzed that Confucianism overcame and triumphed over “communism and socialism” in the two centuries before it. It also fused Buddhism with the Chinese Confucian mold and produced a “special Chinese Buddhism distinct from the original Indian Buddhism.” Confucian beliefs are still “present in the faith of most contemporary Chinese, despite the political ideology of Communism.”

### **CONFUCIANISM AND CHINA’S POLITICAL AND SOCIAL COHESION**

Confucius described the need for a social and balanced family and solidarity in society by explaining the (relationship between social and political ideas) in the Chinese community. The husband should respect the wife and be loyal to the husband. The father should have compassion for the son, and the son should be obedient to the father. Thus, “Confucius has applied these principles to other relationships, even to friends, and in the broadest sense, to rulers and subjects.” These duties are called the “main relations of Confucius”.<sup>51</sup> Now it is to be discussed and analyzed the extent that Confucianism has affected China’s political and social cohesion, as the following:

### **CONFUCIANISM RELIGIOUS CODE AND THE POLITICAL IDENTITY IN THE CHINESE SOCIETY**

Confucius emphasizes honesty and good manners in religious doctrines, not stating a single religious doctrine. Nevertheless, he also disagreed with many of the things he called superstitions. He remained silent about the existence of spirits and invisible forces. He only said that it was better to understand the purpose of life on earth and not to waste one’s energies on idle fantasies.<sup>52</sup> Considering that Confucius did not claim to be serving the soul unless he knew how to serve humanity.

### **CONFUCIANISM AND THE POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY OF CHINA**

Obedience to the universe and this confidence encouraged Confucius to realize a purpose, and on that basis, he outlined a way to reconcile with the universe. He set out a way of life for rulers and emperors. It was said that a ruler rules the universe under his sovereignty. If he is not qualified to do so, this sovereignty is transferred to others. He should focus on the principles of the universe. Confucius

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<sup>51</sup> Pang, Qin, *State-Society Relations and Confucian Revivalism in Contemporary China*, (China: Renmin University Press, Beijing, 2019), .59-63.

<sup>52</sup>Holbig Heike, “Remaking the CCP’s Ideology: Determinants, Progress, and Limits”, *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol. (38), No. (7), (China, Fujian Library 福建省图书馆, 2015), .80-89.

acknowledged the payment of the rites but valued the person's internal conduct as superior to the outward appearance.<sup>53</sup> The Egyptian researcher finds that Confucianism has strongly criticized the performed rituals with great pomp and ceremony. According to Confucius himself, the purpose and sincerity of a person is the “soul of a ritual.”

A comprehensive collection of Confucian teachings, commandments, exhortations, and attributed holy books, and a large collection. This great collection covers a long period from the second century BC to the twentieth century AD. The royal families of China gave the people who became acquainted with the important book of Confucius and its commentaries and their scholars' high positions. A royal university was established in the 5th century BC (3 BC to 5 AD) to popularize the teachings of Confucius. The popularity of this university can be gauged from the fact that the number of students was thirty thousand.<sup>54</sup> The number of Confucius' sacred religious books is not known. In the “Han period,” there were nine of them, including (five classic books) mentioned earlier and (four other philosophical books). The names of these four books are as follows:

1. Lun Yu
2. Mencius
3. Hsiao Ching
4. ErhYa

These books shed light on various aspects of Confucianism, including its (philosophy, ethics, social relations, and multiple elements of interpersonal relationships). The most important of these four books is “Ming Zu.” Confucianism numbered thirteen, including (five traditional classics, four later books, and four later holy books).

Their names are as follows:

1. Chung Yung
2. Ta Hsuuh
2. I Li
4. Chou Li

These books describe the “general aspects of the teachings and philosophy of Confucius.” In some places, modern interpretations of them have been recorded, and they have been given precedence over the teachings of Confucius by comparing them with other teachings of the time, especially Taoism. Buddhism had gained popularity in China. Buddhist teachings, philosophical ideas,

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<sup>53</sup>Laliberté André, “Managing Religious Diversity in China”, *Studies in Religion*, Issue (2), No. (45), (China: Gansu Library 甘肃省图书馆, 2016), .115-200.

<sup>54</sup>Sébastien Billioud, Confucianism, “cultural tradition” and official discourses in China at the start of the new century, (France: Paris University, September 1, 2010), .22-39.

and ideologies were also criticized. In the “Stone Age” (4-5 AD), the philosophers of Confucius Azm re-arranged five classical and four later books/.<sup>55</sup> The following four books were rewritten and given the “following modern forms of Confucius and names.” The names of the first and fourth books are the same, while the rest were changed according to the subject, like the following:

1. Lun Yu
2. Chung Yung
3. Ta Hsueh
4. Meng Tzu

The historical validity of these thirteen books of Confucianism is doubtful, and the idea that he compiled all the books is not acceptable to modern scholars. However, traditionally the followers of Confucianism are considered sacred. Doubts about Confucius books are further claiming to strengthen the fact that the first five classic books of Confucianism were burned during the reign of the “Chen dynasty” (7-8 BC). Because it was not practically possible to rewrite and revise these books, some scholars consider them to be counterfeit books, reflecting the philosophers' views of the time.<sup>56</sup>

Thus, it is concluded that “Confucianism is still representing in the social systems of China’s modern cities.” It also spread in Korea and Japan, and it is one of the “main foundations that constitute ethics in most of the countries of East and Southeast Asia in the medieval and modern eras.” Confucianism was appreciated by some Western philosophers, such as the philosopher “Leibniz” (1646-1716 AD) and “Peter Noel,” who published the “Confucian Classics book” in 1711 AD. Confucian books were also translated into the European languages. In contrast, we can highly understand that the Confucian’s doctrines and ideas are a “main source for political and social cohesion in modern China and the other Asian regions, besides some other world nations. The prominent implications of Confucianism on the guidance of future generations of modern China. Confucianism was born out of a time when political and social dissatisfaction was common. Feudalism was a period of self-interest. Therefore, the Egyptian researcher has analyzed the main implications of Confucianism on the coming generations of China, like the following:

1. He continued to spread his teachings and ideas. He made the ancient (classical) books allegedly compiled by the master of the common ajna for the guidance of future generations. There are many oral traditions in Thaan.

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<sup>55</sup> Yoshiko Ashiwa & David L. Wank (eds), *Making Religion, Making the politics of the State and Religion in Modern China*, (USA: Stanford, Stanford Press, 2012), .294.

<sup>56</sup> Dominik Mierzejewski & Kowalski Bartosz, “Global Political Transitions China’s Selective Identities”, Part of the *Global Political Transitions* book series (GLPOTR), (USA: Kennedy University, Harvard, 2019), .157-220.

The words of the ancient thinkers of Confucius's philosophy revived some of the basic concepts that were the lifeblood of this philosophy.<sup>57</sup>

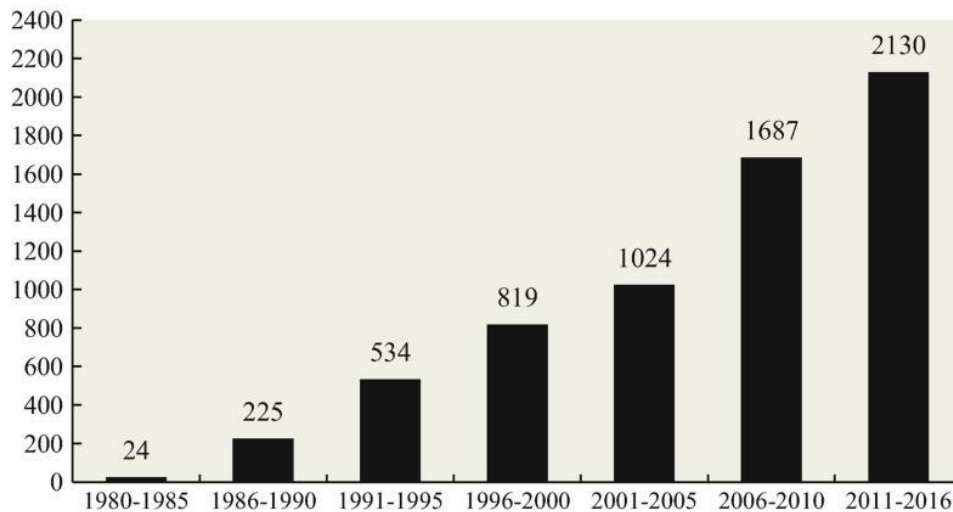
2. Moral education is central in the “Confucian educational system,” while education occupies a secondary position in other fields.
3. Confucian thought is considered the “first systematic thought” in the history of Chinese culture for the generations of China, and it is an attempt to revive the ancient Chinese proverbs concerning the traditional principles of Confucius.
4. Chinese Confucianism traditional culture “flows like the waters of a river flowing for thousands of years,” but it did not flood the riverbank established by Confucius.<sup>58</sup>
5. The new generations in China have learned some principles of Confucius, regarding treating others politely, especially parents, brothers, and sisters, which are the “moral principles, education and politics” of Confucianism, which formed a “complete system established by Confucius, and these ideals became the goal sought by the Chinese generations after every new generation.” The following chart will show us the “percentage of awareness among the Chinese new generations of academics towards the significance of reviving Confucianism” and the old Chinese traditions of Confucius among the young generations and academics, as follows:

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<sup>57</sup> Ji Zhe, Religion, modernity and temporality: A sociology of contemporary Chan Buddhism and Confucius, (China: Guizhou Library 贵州省图书馆, December 2016), .48.

<sup>58</sup> Jiang Qing, “The practical implications of reviving Confucianism in Mainland China”, Journal of Zhengzhou Institute of Aeronautical Industry Management [Social Sciences Edition],(China: Zhengzhou Institute, 2015), 165-172.

Chart, No. (2): The number of Chinese academic articles with “Confucianism” (ruxue) in titles from 1980 to 2016 in (the Chinese National Knowledge Infrastructure) “CNKI Database” Source: Official China’s report: “The number of academic articles with “Confucianism,” Chinese National Knowledge Infrastructure “CNKI,” Beijing, 2017.



The chart mentioned above shows us the “awareness of reviving Confucianism and the Confucian traditions among the young Chinese generations and its academics throughout their writings about the Confucianism,” the final results show us that the Chinese intellectuals have begun to “link Confucianism with China’s social and political realities in recent years,” and viewed Confucianism (or certain of its elements) as remedies for social and political anomalies unleashed by China’s modernization process. Confucian discourses during the recent periods have largely gone beyond academic interpretations of “Confucianism” at large, which was the common pattern during the 1980s and 1990s. Some discourses argue for (rehabilitation of the Confucian social order and even contain strong political appeal).

6. But, the recent dilemma of China is that after years of the era of reform and opening-up, China’s young people prefer Western culture, and few of them read the “Confucius Dialogues. So, the Chinese authorities and government now are prompted to hold celebrations to commemorate Confucius birth from his hometown to all over the world with the aim of “highlighting the diversity of traditional Chinese culture and restoring spiritual faith.”
7. Chinese recent Confucianism is being modern Chinese response from China as the world’s most populous nation against the “Western culture’s invasion” of traditional local cultures in the process of globalization and the response to the spiritual crisis faced the Chinese nation, and it’s a “China’s

affirmation of its cultural identity, in favor of its coming generations and the young people within China.”<sup>59</sup>

Unlike Mao Zedong, with his cultural revolution, which destroyed and marginalized those legacies, since the eighties of the last century, China is returning to itself by reviving the ideas and thoughts of Confucius, drawing his spirit from its inspiration, who has been set aside for a long time” The researcher can as well explain this need for Modern China now goes back to Confucius’s teachings, not for worship and sanctification, but for his help in “drawing up its human features, morals and values, and its path among nations that may help the coming generations and the young people to restore their roots and old traditions for their battle in the future.

### **CONFUCIANISM AND THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MODERNIZATION OF CHINA**

Chinese political society also went through various (ups and downs), and when the rule of the “Chen dynasty” came to an end, so did the ancient classical Confucianism. Here, the Egyptian researcher is attempting to draw up the main contributions of the Socio-Political Modernization of Mainland China by focusing on:

1. In a short period, we have noticed that the “political measures severely damaged Confucianism and led to its decline.”During this period, the Great Wall of China was built, new political upheavals arose, and political tensions played a “key role in eradicating Confucianism.”<sup>60</sup>
2. On the contrary, Confucianism was largely suppressed. One of the thoughts of these people was that the people were only members of the state, and they had no feelings of their own. Such wrong and ruthless thinking led to the degradation of society. These people “aren’t only inflicted atrocities on the supporters of Confucianism, but also wiped them out.” Thousands were buried alive, books were burned, and all were wiped out. These events occur about 231 BC.
3. Similarly, after the fall of the “Chen dynasty,” Confucianism was revived during the “Han dynasty.” Despite imperial patronage, we find that “Confucianism was threatened by its anti-Taoist ideologues and preachers.”
4. Due to the “decline of the Han dynasty” in the second century AD and the military's takeover of the government, it resulted in “the success of Confucianism to be ceased and accepted in Chinese society for centuries,”

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<sup>59</sup> Chen Lai (陈来) &Gudaizongjiaoyulunli (古代宗教与伦), [Ancient religion and ethics of Confucius], (Beijing: Shenghuodushuxinzhi, 2017), .66-76.

<sup>60</sup> Hu Shi (胡適). ZhongguoZhexue Shi Dagang (中國哲學史大綱) [A General Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy of Confucius], (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, China, 2013), .32-38.



due to political turmoil, although the different attempts to be pushed into the background.<sup>61</sup>

5. Afterward, the “Sui dynasty” once again tried to revive it in its period around 618-590 AD, but it did not gain that popularity, and it did not get that height. The “Sui family” also patronized Buddhism. After the “Sui dynasty,” when the “Tang dynasty” came to power, it patronized “Taoism” and claimed to belong to the “ancient Laozubani dynasty.”
6. As Buddhism grew in popularity and new ideas emerged among the people, Confucianism became the belief of only aristocrats and scholars, and its value among the masses began to wane, and “Taoism also introduced Confucianism.” Despite the traditional opposition to the full propaganda and fabrications spread, its unique status remained.<sup>62</sup>
7. Many students at the royal academy and the teaching of classic books of Confucianism have kept the candle from going out even though it was (flickering, dimming, but not extinguished). Even in the twentieth century, the so-called “modern century.”
8. Confucianism survived as a “new era began in changing economic conditions in Modern China.” From the time of the “Stone Dynasty until 960 AD”, when China entered the democratic era, the influence of Confucianism in China remained to some extent on Chinese society.
9. Under the influence of Buddhism, many natural elements and hidden mysteries and sciences were also introduced, as with Confucianism.
10. In addition, “Confucianism was exposed to the influences of Christianity and Islam.” The influences of these two divine religions also affected Chinese social foundations, but their impressions were not very profound. Similarly, “modern Confucianism” spread from China to Japan and Korea.<sup>63</sup>
11. Even today, “pro-Confucian philosophers have not acknowledged the effects of Western civilization and cultural development.” They have embraced the social and religious traditions that have sprung up in their homeland.

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<sup>61</sup>Zhu Weizheng (朱维铮), “Lunyujiejicuoshuo” (論語說) [Jottings on the Compilation of the Analects of Confucius], Kongzianjiu, No. (1), (China: Hainan Library 海南省图书馆, 2000), 40–52.

<sup>62</sup> Yan Buke (閻步克), Yueshiyushiguan: Chuantongzhengzhijiwenhua yuzhengzhizhidulunji (乐师与史官 :传统政) [Music Director and Official Scribe: Essays on traditional Confucian political culture and administrative regulations], (Beijing: Shenghuodushuxinzhisanlianshudian, China, 2009), .54-57.

<sup>63</sup> Song Ming, Confucianism in Contemporary, (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, China, March 19, 2020), .36.

12. If we consider that, it is clear that the “supporters of Confucianism” have adopted it as an active philosophy and belief and adopted the method of adhering to the ancient traditions and values of the people, which led to its survival.
13. Founded the “reform movement to keep China safe from Western influences while adapting to modern requirements.” Confucius has been a reformer and modern thinker and the author of five classic works. He found the founder of a religion in his way. He proposed the establishment of a Chinese shrine to the then-Chinese king. Nevertheless, he did not respond. Then, he asked the Chinese parliament to “introduce Confucianism as the official religion.” However, failing to do so, he launched a 100-day reform movement.
14. After the “Meiji Revolution,” Japan took an economic and political turn, and after the constitutional monarchy, the city of reforms reached China. So did the King's government. While Dr. Yatsen was struggling against this government, both constitutional and revolutionary groups appeared to favor “China's political and economic development and modern system.”<sup>64</sup>
15. In 1911, there was a great campaign against Confucianism in China. Moreover, people influenced by modern education staged demonstrations on May 4, 1911, demanding the “abolition of the philosophy and doctrine of Confucianism, ” which negates the new demands of modernity, scholarship, and democratic thinking. In addition, his philosophy was rejected by the family.
16. Confucianism called it “the root of dictatorship and the epitome of all anomalies.” He called it the greatest obstacle to the modern Chinese state and its development. He called it the skeleton of a thousand-year-old dead man. Confucius is said to have died, and his teachings have been distorted.
17. Despite this vigorous movement, Confucius roots could not be eradicated from within the masses. It is present among the masses in one way or another, and there are still thousands of followers of Confucianism.<sup>65</sup>

The Egyptian researcher here looks at the experience of Confucius of modernizing China, as he didn't claim a prophecy. However, he was elevated to the ranks of deities in some periods. He is a humanist before anything else. In his famous dialogues, the first word is “learn.” A commandment is seen in present-day China as a savior from error. The most important thing you must learn is to “be

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<sup>64</sup>Michael J. Hunter, *Confucius beyond the Analects*, Studies in the History of Chinese, Text No. (7), (Leiden: Brill, Netherlands, 2019), 322- 337.

<sup>65</sup> Philip J. Ivanhoe, *Confucian Reflections: Ancient Wisdom for Modern Times*, (New York: Routledge, USA, 2019), 55-78.

human.” This is not a gift that we inherit or that we are born, and it is from the dough of our nature, but rather a ladder that we rise and experience in the company of others and with at least one other person. According to the “Western pattern,” there is no humanity in the singular, according to the “Western pattern,” but rather it comes to us from an (act of meeting, carving, and experiencing) with the other.

### CONFUCIANISM AND THE REVOLUTION OF SHARING IN CHINA

The greatest pressure on Confucianism was “directed at communism.” From 1925 to 1949, supporters of any ideology in China, especially the “Mao Zedong Revolution,” were “strongly opposed to Confucianism.”<sup>66</sup> In this perspective, the main contributions of Confucianism in expanding the principles of “sharing” in Mainland China could be elucidated as follows:

1. The Western scholar “Luftwaffe” described it as a reactionary, not a philosophy, and Confucianism as a reactionary and utilitarian class. We find that “Mao Zedong” and his comrades laid the foundation for a cultural revolution to kill anyone. Consultation can lead to the “formation of new cultural values.”<sup>67</sup>
2. On May 7, 1958, at the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, we can find that “Mao Zedong” praised the Chinese “King Chen” for “rejecting the ethical and ideological conventions of Confucianism.” He said that he was a resourceful, understanding person who preferred the situation. He liked Shah Chan's actions in running the books of Confucianism and burying the clerics alive. Mao Zedong said that Shah Chan had buried 420 scholars alive. We have buried 42,000 scholars alive. We have crushed the reactionaries. Have we defeated some of the enemies of the revolution? Not cleaned (Mao Zedong) discussed the issue with junior officials of the Democratic Party and said: “Our people call us 'Cho Shi Ho.' It is not true. We are a hundred times more than that.
3. The period of the “Chinese Cultural Revolution,” from 1925 to 1927, was marked by (sharp criticism of Confucianism) and the emergence of new trends that continue today. Those against communism in Confucianism should be eliminated, and society should be built because of those who support it.
4. However, Confucius' view of women is completely rejected because (Confucius did not recognize the women's independent status). However, Confucianism is very popular among them because it is a “capitalist

<sup>66</sup> John Makeham, *Transmitters and Creators: Chinese Commentators and Commentaries on the “Analects”*, (Cambridge: Harvard East Asian Center, USA, 2013), 47-98.

<sup>67</sup> Charles A. Rarick, “Confucius on Management: Understanding Chinese Cultural Values and Managerial Practices”, *Journal of International Management Studies*, Vol. (2), No. (2), (Purdue University, Calumet, USA, January 10, 2012), 73-89.

system,” so both “Confucius and Manchester” did not oppose “private property.”

5. The teachings of Confucianism, the distribution of wealth, moral values , andAfter the communist revolution and the popularization of Marx and Lenin's ideas, a “very hostile atmosphere was created in China against Confucianism.” Although some people are still convinced of the usefulness of these views, these beliefs do not work per se. Those who believe in the (philosophy of communion, religion, or belief are of no importance).<sup>68</sup>
6. Confucius based his fine moral judgment not on the ideals that tampered with China and the whole East, but on the (good knowledge of dealing with reality, taming it, understanding it, absorbing it, and dealing with it freely from prior decisions). This is one of the secrets of “modern China,” and the dynamic thought may be behind the strange innovation that has baffled theorists, such as “socialism with Chinese characteristics.”More than ten times in his historic speech, the president mentioned the term.
7. Confucianism can be described in (market socialism, openness Marxism). You can mix whatever you want with what you want, as long as it leads you to something better and higher than (intellectual vitality does not come from a vacuum).<sup>69</sup>
8. The main target of Confucius is reaching out to the “harmonious socialist society” as the main goal that must be reached in Modern China.
9. Harmony, according to Confucius, is (not only between humans but also between man and nature in the first place. Nature’s wrath can be devastating).
10. According to Confucius, " intelligence is finding solutions by borrowing from abroad when necessary.” Still, the final formula is extracted from the (reconciliation of this borrower with the inheritance, with beliefs that China has lived through for thousands of years and discovered that it would not reach salvation by divorce with it), but rather by the harmony of its past with the times.<sup>70</sup>

So, according to our understanding of the mentioned above points, the Egyptian researcher has concluded that Confucius based his moral judgment, not on the ideals that tampered with China and the whole East, but on the “good

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<sup>68</sup>Puqun Li, “Confucianism in China: An Introduction”, *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. (47), Issue (3), (Shandong: Shandong University, China, October 16, 2020), 267- 270.

<sup>69</sup> Ming Wenxiao, *Why Traditional Chinese Philosophy Still Matters: The Relevance of Ancient Wisdom for the Global Age*, Edited: Ming Dong Gu, (Shanghai: University of Shanghai, China, 2018), 236-239.

<sup>70</sup>Gongsun Long Zi &ChongshiyuChongyi 《公孫龍子: 重釋與重譯》, Liu Limin 劉利民 (edited ), (Chengdu: Sichuan DaxueChubanshe, China, 2015), 298.

knowledge of dealing with reality, taming it, understanding it, absorbing it, and dealing with it freely from prior decisions.” This can be abbreviated with the modern Chinese statement of “socialism with Chinese characteristics.” Many times, the president “Xi Jinping” in his popular and political speeches and discourses mentioned the term. Confucius is located in the “idea of sharing,” which includes (market socialism, openness Marxism, and you can mix whatever you want with what you want, as long as it leads you to something better and higher). According to “Confucius,” the revolution of sharing also indicates a “harmonious socialist society” as a goal that must be reached in the modern Chinese community.

### **THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONFUCIANISM AND COMMUNISM AND ITS IMPACT**

Four decades ago, it was an act of suicide in Beijing to say a good word about Confucius. Confucius was then the “reactionary enemy,” against whom the Chinese were encouraged to struggle. A portrait of the former Chinese leadership of “Mao Zedong” himself was also placed on the cover of a revolutionary newspaper, which announced that his “tomb in Kofu” had been desecrated.<sup>71</sup> Here, the Egyptian researcher is attempting to analyze the recent relationship between (Confucius and Communism) in Modern China, additionally its influence on the Liberal Democracy as an (acceptable source of ideas and principles throughout the modern Chinese society), by focusing on the following aspects:

1. As times have changed, the (Communist Party of China recently approved a movie about Confucius) starring the well-known Chinese actor “Chou Yun-fat.” The film depicts Confucius as a veteran military leader, a teacher of progressive and human values, with a weakness for female beauty. And this is analytical evidence of the most significant initial changes in China’s political future.<sup>72</sup>
2. Under the “Cultural Revolution” during the period of the 60th, Confucius was often considered a (symbol used to attack political enemies). Today, (Confucius is performing a more legitimate political function, as he can help provide a new moral foundation for China’s political system).
3. Some scholars are arguing, “Communism has lost its ability to inspire the Chinese community compared to the Confucianism”, and it is increasingly

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<sup>71</sup> Wang Lei, “Confucius and Chinese Philosophical Impact on Modern Korea and Japan”, *Social Sciences Journal*, Vol. (8), No. (6), (China: Yunnan Library 云南省图书馆, (Japan: University Students, September 2019), 299-302.

<sup>72</sup> A. Bell Daniel & Chaibong Hahm, *Confucianism for the Modern World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, UK, 2013), 34.42.

recognized that its alternative must be based, at least in part, on Chinese traditions. Confucianism is the obvious choice because (Confucianism represents the modern dominant political practice in China).

4. Although the Communist Party of China has not yet called itself the Chinese Confucian Party, but (the Chinese Community Party has come close to officially adopting Confucianism in Contemporary Modern China).
5. The ideas of Confucius were so obviously existed during the “2008 Olympics in China”, whereas they featured the ideas of Confucius. They quoted passages from the “Book of Products” at the opening ceremony while avoiding any reference to China’s experience with communism.<sup>73</sup>
6. Recently, Cadres of the newly established Communist Party of China “CPC” in Shanghai School are proud to visitors that the school is designed in the form of a “Confucian world office.”
7. The Chinese government is promoting Confucianism in a (symbolic way through the branches of the Confucius Institutes, cultural centers that teach the Chinese language) modeled on the whole world.
8. Honestly, there is resistance to this trend of “revival of Confucianism in modern China,” especially with older cadres of the Communist Party of China still influenced by “Mao’s hatred of the Confucian tradition,” condemning efforts to promote ideologies outside the rigid Marxist framework.
9. On the other hand, we can analytically observe that (younger cadres in the Communist Party of China who are almost within the forties and fifties tend to support reviving Confucianism), and time is on their side. The following chart is trying to identify the influence of Confucianism on the performance of works in the Chinese areas and provinces, as a collective academic work, includes the following Chinese universities and institutions, which are:
  - A- Management and Economics, Tianjin University, Tianjin, China
  - B- School of Foreign Language and Literature, Tianjin University, Tianjin, China
  - C- Department of Finance, School of Economics, Tianjin
  - D- University of Finance and Economics Pearl River College, Tianjin, China
  - E- Peddie School, Hightstown, NJ, United States

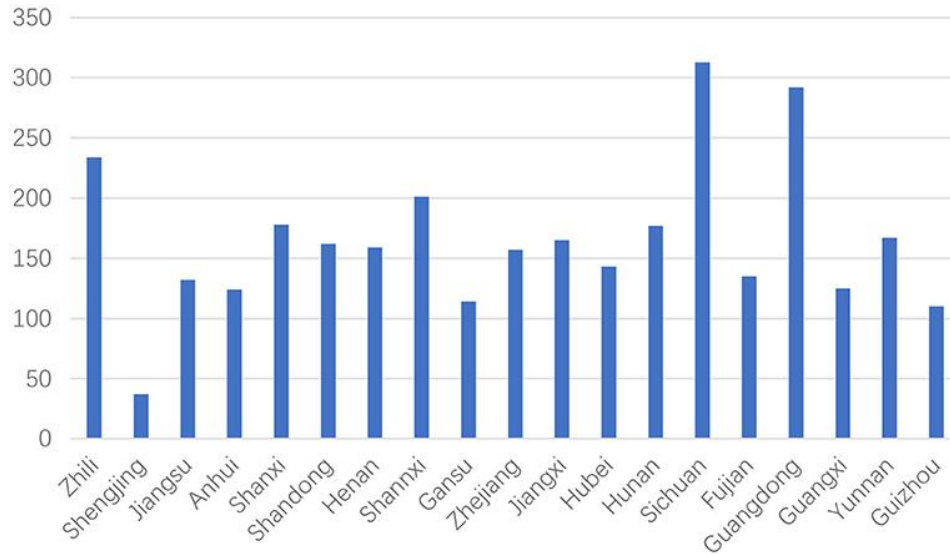
The following chart examines the impact of Confucianism on work performance, taking Chinese listed companies from 2000 to 2018 as the research

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<sup>73</sup> Lee Jonghwan, “Confucianism as Cultural Constraint: A Comparison of Confucian Values of Chinese, Japanese and Korean thought”, *International Education Journal*, Vol. (3), No. (5), (Korea: Seoul University, 2012), .35

object in different Chinese areas and provinces in the modern Chinese society, and its results show that:

- Chart No. (3): The impact of Confucianism on the work and firms performance of each Chinese province from “2000 to 2018.”



- Source: Lisong Wang & Yongjie Zhang & Li Wang & Jingkai Fu. (August 21, 2020). Confucianism and Firm Performance in the Chinese provinces “2000-2018”, Tianjin University, Tianjin, China.

This chart mentioned above examines the “impact of Confucianism on the work and firms performance of each Chinese province from 2000 to 2018”. The Egyptian researcher has obtained the following conclusions have been obtained, as follows:

- (A) Confucianism provides “legitimacy for the province’s profit-seeking behavior” and therefore helps to improve its work performance.
- (B) Confucianism can effectively “improve the efficiency of supervision mechanisms but weakens the marginal contribution of incentive mechanisms to financial performance.”

This chart provided us with “empirical evidence on the influence of Confucianism on the work performance of each area and province of Mainland China,” broadening the understanding of the role of informal institutions in financial privileges and enriching theory on “culture and finance,” as a proven tool of knowledge of the importance of Confucius’s political and social cohesion and identity in the modern socio-political environment of China.

10. Confucianism can easily revive in modern China, especially once focusing on the “expansion of the membership numbers of the Communist Party.” In

contrast, with almost 100 million members, the CPC is a large and diverse organization.<sup>74</sup>

11. The Communist Party of China is recently tending to be (more interested in meritocracy, now encouraging high-ranking students to join it). The increased interest in educated cadres in Modern China is likely to “create more sympathy for Confucius’ values.”
12. However, the “revival of Confucius is not just a government-sponsored process.” On the contrary, the government finds itself dealing with developments outside its control. There has been a “revival of interest in Confucius among academics” and in the field, which in China represents within the “civil society” in other countries.
13. Recently, thousands of educational experiences throughout China encouraged the (teaching of the classics of Confucius to children because giving the student better training in the humanities outweighs his integrity).
14. Perhaps, calling for “reviving Confucianism” is one of the most controversial issues, because of its “extreme sensitivity,” which makes it difficult to discuss it publicly in China, is that Confucian thinkers put forward (proposals for constitutional reforms, which aimed at humanizing the Chinese political system).<sup>75</sup>
15. However, the problem does not concern the Chinese government alone, as this approach can strengthen the struggle to convince the people of Western countries that “Confucianism can offer a progressive and humane path to political reform in China.”
16. Why do Westerners often worry about the revival of Confucius?, One of the reasons for this may be a “kind of self-love.” We find that “Chinese liberals and Marxists” engaged in a “comprehensive critique of their heritage” and looked to the West for inspiration for most of the twentieth century. Perhaps it was a source of pride for Westerners themselves looking, by the pride of superiority of claiming, “they just want to be like us.”

We are currently observing that “Westerners sympathize less with Chinese pride in their Confucian traditions,” especially when thinking about social and political reform. However, this problem can be addressed through more understanding and broadening the horizon.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Report: [The Predicament of Modern Confucianism] “Xiandai Ruxue de kunjing”, first edition, Zhongguoshibao, “Renjianfukan”, (China: People’s Press, Beijing, August 29, 2005), 159-164.

<sup>75</sup> Joseph A. Adler, *Confucianism in China Today*, Pearson Living Religions Forum of New York, (USA: Kenyon College, April 14, 2015), 14-63.

<sup>76</sup> Chen Hongxing, “Reproduction, Familiarity, Love and Humaneness: How Confucius Revealed Humaneness”, *Frontiers of Philosophy in China*, Vol. (5), No. (4), (China: Library of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region 新疆自治区图书馆, December 2014), 57.



17. Another reason for Western concern may be the belief that:  
 “The revival of Confucianism is linked to Islamic fundamentalism and anti-Western tendencies. A revival of parochial and intolerant Christian fundamentalism might also come to mind.
18. However, the revival of Confucianism in China is not incompatible with social liberalism (except for extreme individualistic lifestyles, in which the good life is sought outside social relations). Confucianism is proposing an alternative to Western political means, which may be the main concern.
19. Confucian reformers generally want more (freedom of expression) in modern China.
20. However, what they call into question is democracy in the Western sense, based on “competitive elections as a mechanism for selecting the rulers of the most powerful countries,” completely different from the meaning of “Confucianism” in Mainland China.
21. One obvious problem with the ‘one person’ and ‘one vote’ principle in the Western pattern is that equality ends at the (boundaries of the political groups). In contrast, those outside the group are neglected. The center of attention for elected political leaders becomes presupposed, which is the service of the electorate.
22. According to the Chinese criticism, evening to the Chinese criticism, even well-functioning democratic countries tend to “care about the interests of citizens and neglect those of foreigners,” according to the Chinese complaint. But political leaders, especially in big countries, like China, make decisions that affect the rest of the world (such as global warming), and so, they need to take the interest of the rest of the world into account.<sup>77</sup>
23. The values of Confucianism have developed in practice over the past decade by observing that (Confucian intellectuals have put forward policy proposals aimed at combining “Western” democratic ideas with “Confucian” ideas of meritocracy).
24. Rather than the idea of “subordinating Confucian values and institutions to democracy as a self-evident mantra,” the current proposals of “Confucianism” include a (division of labor whereby democracy takes precedence in some areas, while merit takes precedence in others).
25. In practice, modern interpretations of Confucianism mean (more freedom of expression and association and more representation of workers and peasants) as a sort of democratic performance.
26. But, what about things like foreign policy and environmental protection?

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<sup>77</sup> L. F. Chen, *The Confucian way: A new and systematic study of the four books*, S.-S. Liu (Translations), (London: Rutledge, UK, 1986), .136-189.

What the government does in such areas affects the non-voters, and these need some form of representation. Hence, Confucian thinkers put forward (proposals for a governmental merit board) whose members are chosen through mechanisms, such as (free and fair competitive examinations).<sup>78</sup>.

27. The task of this “new alternative Confucianism to the Western liberal values” represents the (interests of non-voters, who are neglected by democratically chosen decision-makers).
28. One obvious objection to these Western tests is that (the West cannot measure the virtues that Confucius cared about, such as: flexibility, humility, compassion, and jealousy) for the common good that should ideally characterize political decision-makers in the modern world. Indeed, the tests will not measure these values optimally. Still, the question is: are the representatives chosen by these Western tests likely to be farsighted than those chosen through the elections.<sup>79</sup>?

So, upon our analysis of the relationship between Confucianism and Communism and their contradiction with the Western values, the Egyptian researcher is attempting to analyze this contrary relationship between them by focusing on the modern era of China and the Chinese attempts to encourage the young generations in China to neglect the Western values, by focusing on teaching them to read “The Dialogues of Confucius.” So, the Chinese leaders in the Communist Party are expressing respect for Confucius among the masses and their youth sectors in the face of “Westernization movements” throughout Mainland China.

## CONCLUSION

Our study deals with the political thought of Confucius and aims to shed light on the importance of Confucius’s political thought in modern Chinese society, its characteristics, and its distinction. So, the Egyptian researcher has concluded the following results of spilling over the Confucianism throughout modern China and its coming generations and the world by achieving the next targets:

1. The principles of Confucius have become very popular within Modern China because his ideas are based on the “virtuous morals and that true knowledge based on honesty, accuracy, and clarity” as the main bases for reforming the political community and is the path leading to (virtuous morals). Accordingly, politics, according to Confucius, is based on morals.

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<sup>78</sup> L. F. Chen, *The Confucian way: A new and systematic study of the four books*, S.-S. Liu (Translations), (London: Routledge, UK, 1986), 136-189.

<sup>79</sup> Wing-tsit Chan, *A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy*, (USA: Princeton NJ: Princeton University, April 2012), 252-275.

2. The debate mentioned above is concluded with this reality of Confucianism that it is very clear that (Confucius was a great intellectual and social reformer). He was not a founder of any religion. It is also clear that he did not bring any major revolution in his life, nor did he succeed in bringing about a revolution in the society of China in ancient times.
3. But, long-term after his death, we can notify that (Confucius's socio-political thinking has greatly influenced China's Socio-economic, religious and political modern life in China). He was considered the greatest man in China, and his books began to be read in Chinese institutions. This conservatism, love of social values, ancestors' greatness, and moral qualities were accepted in Chinese society.
4. But, in the modern time (Confucianism has almost succeeded in affecting the modern socio-political thoughts of socialism and capitalism), due to its shining principles of morals and values that have influenced modern Chinese society as Sinkiang and many other areas.
5. For his prominent implications, modern Chinese authorities have (opened many Confucius Institutes everywhere in the world as a non-profit educational institution established with Chinese and foreign cooperation), and the main tasks of modern Confucius Institutes are:
  - A- Focusing on adapting to the needs of the peoples of all countries in learning the Chinese language, enhancing the knowledge of the peoples of all countries of the world of the Chinese language and culture.
  - B- Consolidating the relations of cooperation and educational, cultural exchange between China and all world countries.
  - C- Developing friendly relations between China and foreign countries, stimulating multiculturalism's development in the world, and building a world of love and harmony.
6. Many directors and presidents of foreign universities see that "Confucius Institutes everywhere is working as a bridge of communication between China and other countries around the world. It encourages the spirit of patriotism among the Chinese people". It helps Modern China to promote the people of the world to understand the Chinese language and culture, as well as the many requests for those who want to learn the Chinese language.
7. China has finally found the magic combination that Chinese President "Xi Jinping", described as :

Implementing socialism with Chinese characteristics, adhering to the integration of the basic principles of Marxism with Chinese concrete reality and excellent traditional culture, observing and keeping pace with the developments of

the times, and continuing to develop Marxism in contemporary China for the twenty-first century. China's Communist Party is no longer strict ideologues as we used to; leaders of the Communist Party have become more flexible and open, derived from their ancient traditions and from the nature of the Mandarin language, which does not find in its entire dictionary the word "absolute". So, the Egyptian researcher is finally describing the whole process of dealing with the principles of Confucius in Modern China by focusing on "China's flexibility of accepting the old traditions of Confucius and promoting them to support Modern China everywhere in the world; Confucius Institutes is the most prominent example in this regard, Confucianism in becoming around us in relative and transformative aspects. Simply, the essence of reviving Confucianism in the Chinese roots is that: "Chinese don't use the meanings and ideas of Confucianism as an "indicate an affirmation or a denial" definitively, but rather leave any answer in the box of many possible possibilities."

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# **TRUMP'S FOREIGN POLICY: TRIUMPH OR MISFIRE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This article will highlight the foreign policies of Donald John Trump and will submit a deep analysis of his policies. The precise summary of this discussion is to demonstrate the victory of Trump in the 2016 election, his foreign policies, the success or failure of policies, and his downfall in the 2020 election. Donald J. Trump is a renowned name in the American business industry and the most controversial president of the United States. His victory in the 2016 election indicated his strong stance on nationalism. As a president, he presented many acceptable and opposing policies. His foreign policies were mostly based on making the United States a sole controller, threat promoter, and mediator. He had also rolled back many policies of former president Barack Obama. He had threatened to pull out the United States from many international contacts and organizations.

**KEYWORDS:** Foreign Policy, USA, Donald Trump, Democracy.

Many policies of Trump were under criticism when the 2020 election was conducted. The win of the 2016 election and failure of the 2020 election were based on his inter-territorial and international policies. He criticized the decisions of former presidents George Bush and Barack Obama. His failure depended on his ruling style because he had adopted an authoritarian manner. His policies were based on business rivalry methodology instead of diplomacy terms. He showed a non-serious attitude to handle many disastrous issues and used harsh language to explain his steps' rightness. He criticized not only international personalities but also used disputed language against the reputed personnel of his country.

Donald J. Trump is a business magnet of America and opted to run for the presidency. He stepped in the election campaigns on 16 June 2015. He submitted his services for the Republican Party in July 2016. He has many victories against his rivals during 2016. His popularity graph goes on, and on 8 November 2016, he was elected as the chair of US president. Trump took the oath of the presidency on 20<sup>th</sup> January 2017. This was the moment when people of the US were looking for a

change. The campaigns of Trump were very majestic, and these played a charismatic role in his 2016 elections victory. He gained the nation's trust by announcing, "America will rise again".

One of his speeches at Charlotte was a marvellous piece attracting the nation. This speech played an important role in his success in the 2016 presidential elections. In his speech, he highlighted many issues and his policies for resolving these problems. Trump also targeted his opponents and former presidents for their deformed and harmful policies. He started the speech with condolence on an incident in Louisiana. He urged the people to act as a united nation and indicated that his main policy promotes nationalism in the United States. Trump on nationalism: "We are one country, one people, and we will have together one great future."<sup>1</sup> In his address, he motioned some of his important policies that were nationalism, trade issues solutions, creation of job opportunities, the future role of the US in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan, rolling back on former presidents policies, fast and fair justice delivery, controlling the poverty, strengthening of national security. These were some specific policies that changed the minds of people towards him. He also targeted his opponent Hillary Clinton in harsh language. He compared Hillary Clinton with German Chancellor Angela Merkel based on her administration of the US. He said that: "Aren't you tired of the same old lies and the same old broken promises? And Hillary Clinton has proven to be one of the greatest liars of all time."<sup>23</sup>

Trump's victory address of November 2016 was the same as the previous winners. He first thanked Hillary Clinton for congratulating and appreciated her hard work in his speech. Then he thanked the people for the inauguration of change in the country. He highlighted, "The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer."<sup>45</sup> He offered the opposition party to work together for the country's future. He encouraged those people in the administration who were neglected before and talked about using the abilities of these neglected people. Trump also admired the work and support of his fellow workers and his family for the election campaign. He explained that he would bring economic prosperity to the state. He also mentioned that now the world would realize that America can do much better and rise again. He said that: "I want to tell the world community that while we will always put America's interests first, we will deal fairly with everyone. All people and all other nations. We will seek common ground, not

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<sup>1</sup> Aaron Blake, Donald Trump's best speech of the 2016 campaign, annotated, Washington Post, August 19, 2016

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup> CNN Staff, Here's the full text of Donald Trump's victory speech, CNN, November 9, 2016

hostility, partnership, not conflict.”<sup>12</sup>

At the end of his speech, he assured people that they would say that we have worked efficiently and everyone has worked professionally after his tenure. He also pointed out that now is the time to work, and you will be proud of your president. Donald Trump's victory was announced in November 2016, but he took the seat of President on 20 January 2017. He was the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States. Some facts were surprising about him as a president that almost all the previous Presidents had served the American military before taking part in the election. However, Trump was the first presidency winner who had never served for any elected office or military personnel.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, in a short statement, it can be said that he had made history in a sense. Trump gave some inter-territorial policies and mentioned that this strengthened nationalism, focusing on national security, economic growth, and justice for everyone. His foreign policies were also patterned on internal policies. His foreign policies were to decrease the role of the United States on the international scene, force the dependent states to function on their own, threatening international organizations to realize US power, warning North Korea, Iran, China, and ISIS rolling back the former president's policies, new Afghan policy, and cooperation with Russia.

These policies were at the time of presidency term inauguration, and many news policies were added with time. The additional foreign policies were rolling back of ties with Cuba, withdrawal from many international contracts, support Israel for communication in the Middle East, a trade war with China, tariffs on specific countries, talk with Taliban, and steps to stabilize relations with North Korea. Donald Trump started the implementation of his foreign policies by signing the withdrawal draft of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). On 23 January 2017, he issued his first executive orders of TPP withdrawal. TPP was a trade deal for supporting and penetrating Asian markets. The Prime Minister of China, Lee Hsien Loong, stated that:

“If America-China relations become very difficult, our position becomes tougher because then we will be coerced to choose between being friends with America and friends with China, and that's a real worry.”<sup>56</sup>The American policy observers took the Chinese Prime Minister's statement seriously and analyzed that withdrawal of TPP will hurt the rebalancing of Asia, and these countries will move towards China. In an article, an observer mentioned that: “A risk is growing that

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<sup>2</sup> CNN Staff, Here's the full text of Donald Trump's victory speech, CNN, November 9, 2016

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-35318432> Retrieved at 11:23pm 1st June 2021

<sup>6</sup> Reuters Staff, U.S. pull-out from Pacific trade deal hurts confidence, Singapore PM tells BBC, Reuters, March 1, 2017

countries frustrated with an unresponsive Western-led international order will consider alternative institutions.”<sup>1</sup>

On 27<sup>th</sup> January 2017, President Trump signed his second executive order of travel ban. He mentioned that he would control Islamic radicalism, so he initiated this step. The Trump administration declared six Muslim majority countries would face a travel ban for 90 days. The travel ban was described as no nationality holder, and refugees will be allowed to enter the US. The Democratic and Republican views were different in this order. A news agency organized polling on views and responded that: “Democrats were more than three times as likely as Republicans to say that the “U.S. should continue to take in immigrants and refugees,” and Republicans were more than three times as likely as Democrats to agree, “banning people from Muslim countries is necessary to prevent terrorism.”<sup>2</sup> On 31<sup>st</sup> January 2021, some African Muslim states were added to the travel ban list. On February 3<sup>rd</sup>, a federal judge stopped implementing the travel ban order. The federal judge gave a ruling that: “The Executive Order adversely affects the States’ residents in areas of employment, education, business, family relations and freedom to travel,” “In addition, the States themselves are harmed by the damage that implementation of the Executive Order has inflicted upon the operations and missions of their public universities and other institutions of higher learning... These harms are significant and ongoing.”<sup>3</sup>

On March 6, Trump revised his first order, excluded Iraq and Sudan from the list, and added three states: Chad, North Korea, and Venezuela.<sup>4</sup> He put an indefinite ban on Syria and allowed Syrian refugees to enter the US with a valid visa they already own. On 15 March, the US District Judge passed an order to restrict the ban implementation temporarily. On 19 March, a federal judge extended the restriction. On 28 June, Trump again revised the order and set new conditions that allow US citizen close relatives to enter. On 17 October, a Hawaii federal judge again restricted presidential order from implementation. On 4<sup>th</sup> December 2017, Supreme Court permitted a newer version of the travel ban with relaxed conditions. On 26 June 2018, the United States Supreme Court upheld the presidential order. The voting for ruling finished on 4 and 5 votes. The Supreme Court judge stated that: “Mr Trump had ample statutory authority to make national security judgments in the realm of immigration. And the chief justice rejected a constitutional challenge

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<sup>1</sup> Timothy R. Heath, Strategic Consequences of U.S. Withdrawal from TPP, RAND, March 27, 2017

<sup>2</sup> Chris Kahn, Exclusive: A third of Americans think Trump's travel ban will make them safer, Reuters, February 1, 2017

<sup>3</sup> Devlin Barrett and Dan Frosch, Federal Judge Temporarily Halts Trump Order on Immigration, Refugees, The Wall Street Journal, February 4, 2017

<sup>4</sup> Josh Gerstein, Jeremy C.F. Lin And Lily Mihalik, These countries are on Trump’s new travel ban list, POLITICO, 25th September 2017



to Mr Trump's third executive order on the matter, issued in September as a proclamation."<sup>1</sup> On 7<sup>th</sup> April 2017, Trump ordered missiles on the Al-Shayrat Air Base of Syria. This initiative was taken after Syrian President Bashar Assad struck chemical weapons on Syrian civilians. Trump legalized the attacks to explain his foreign policy of national security. He said: "It is in the vital national security interest of the United States to prevent and deter the spread and use of deadly chemical weapons,"<sup>2</sup>

On May 18, 2017, Trump fulfilled his North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) renegotiation. He suggested the tariff policy instead of free trade because he had planned to create more job opportunities. The economic boost was also related to his NAFTA renegotiation plan. The cooperating countries of NAFTA were Mexico and Canada, and they were ready to negotiate on NAFTA. Their will to agree with Trump's suggestion was because they threatened to leave the agreement. Trump showed stiff behaviour on settlement of tariff because during his presidential campaigns he had said that: "Worst trade deal ever"<sup>3</sup> Trump visited Saudi Arabia on 20 May 2017. He addressed 50 Muslim states and delivered a speech. During his election campaign, he talked about Islamic radicalism, but he spoke differently in his address. In his speech, he said to the Muslim countries to fight against terrorism and the US. He also appreciated the Muslim state's role in controlling terrorism and promised not to make any statement regarding Middle Eastern countries' humanitarian misuse. He stated that:

"That means honestly confronting the crisis of Islamist extremism and the Islamist terror groups it inspires, "And it means standing together against the murder of innocent Muslims, the oppression of women, the persecution of Jews, and the slaughter of Christians."<sup>4</sup> On 25 May 2017, he addressed NATO and criticized the financial role of allies. He mentioned that allies were not cooperating financially, and most of the financial burden was on the United States. He pointed out that financial sharing is important in making NATO strong. He mainly focused on Article 5 of NATO that explained 2% financial sharing in the NATO defence budget. He said: "If NATO countries made their complete contributions, then NATO would be even stronger than it is today, especially from the threat of terrorism."<sup>5</sup> Then he addressed to G7 Summit on 26 May 2017 in Italy. He only

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<sup>1</sup> Josh Gerstein, Jeremy C.F. Lin And Lily Mihalik, These countries are on Trump's new travel ban list, Politico, 25th September 2017

<sup>2</sup> Jim Garamone, Trump Orders Missile Attack in Retaliation for Syrian Chemical Strikes, US Department of Defense, April 6, 2017

<sup>3</sup> Jennifer Jacobs and Andrew Mayeda, Trump Rules Out Swift NAFTA Exit in Favor of Renegotiation, April 27, 2017

<sup>4</sup> J. Weston Phippen, 'Drive Them Out': Trump Addresses Muslim Leaders on Terrorism, The Atlantic, May 21, 2017

<sup>5</sup> Jeremy Diamond, Trump scolds NATO allies over defense spending, 25th May, 2017

criticized Germany for being a major exporter of cars to America in his presiding summit. He also condemned the international climate change agreement because he thought it pushed America back in generating more exports. The German Chancellor Angela condemned the address of Trump and said: "Mr Trump's criticism of Germany's trade surplus was "inappropriate."<sup>1</sup>

In response to German Chancellor Remarks, the White House official clarified the statement of Trump as: "Trump frequently told his aides that he wanted to see Germany export fewer cars to the US and instead manufacture more at auto plants in America."<sup>2</sup> He signed for pulling back America from Paris Climate Change Agreement on 1 June 2017. One hundred ninety-seven countries signed this agreement, which described that protecting the environment is necessary. It also ensured the analysis of climate change. However, following his own words, Trump implemented the withdrawal policy because he explained that it had dropped our economy. He said that: "Climate change is a hoax"<sup>3</sup> Qatar faced isolation from neighboring countries UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain. These countries alleged Qatar of having relations with terrorist groups. Even Qatar had a high index of GDP. In the hour of need, Trump stepped into the matter as a mediator and followed his mediation policy. Trump said: "A lot of countries were funding terrorism, and we're stopping it. It's getting stopped and fast."<sup>4</sup> In the response, Qatari Amir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad said: "We do not, and we will not tolerate people who fund terrorism. We've been cooperating with the United States of America to stop funding terrorism around the region."<sup>5</sup> As demonstrated in his foreign policy that the former president's policy regarding Cuba was not good. Barack Obama tried to normalize relations with Cuba but Trump opposed it. Therefore, on 16<sup>th</sup> June 2017, he renounced the foreign policy for Cuba and implemented more strict restrictions. He suggested restrictions on tourism, limiting the financial help, decreasing the imports and reducing the embassy staff in Cuba. The White House said:

"Ensure compliance with U.S. law, hold the Cuban government accountable for alleged human rights abuses, further the interests of the U.S. and the Cuban people, and "empower the Cuban people to develop greater economic and political liberty."<sup>6</sup> The Cuban government replied that: "It would only be a retread of the

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<sup>1</sup> Anne-Sylvaine Chassany and George Parker, Trump in G7 clashes over trade and climate, Financial Times, May 26 2017

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Melissa Denchak, Paris Climate Agreement: Everything You Need to Know, NRDC, February 19, 2021

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.voanews.com/middle-east/trump-applauds-qatars-efforts-stop-funding-terrorism> Retrieved at 05:14pm 3rd June 2021

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> Phil McCausland, Cuba Blasts Trump's Policy Speech as 'Hostile Rhetoric' That 'Reverts' Progress, NBC News, June 18, 2017

past, and that the Trump administration is not in a position to lecture.<sup>1</sup> On 7<sup>th</sup> July 2017, at G20 Summit, the American and Russian president met, and they had a conversation. As Trump explained his foreign policy regarding Russia, he will establish cooperation. After the conversation, Putin told the media: “I had a very long conversation with the US president. We had a lot of issues to discuss, including Ukraine, Syria, and other problems, also some bilateral issues.”<sup>2</sup> The US Secretary of State also clarified that: “They had discussed Syria and its future, and shared “commonalities on what outcome should be”, although they had different ideas on how to get there.”<sup>3</sup>

On the same day, Trump addressed Warsaw, and in his speech, he appreciated the bravery of Poland people. He also admired the view of Poland on sovereignty and role in NATO. He appreciated the role of Poland in pushing back the communist trends. Trump highlighted the value of Poland traditions, customs, and civilization. He joined the cause of both countries for sovereignty and struggle. He said: “Our citizens did not win freedom together, did not survive horrors together, and did not face down evil together, only to lose our freedom to a lack of pride and confidence in our values. We did not, and we will not. We will never back down.”<sup>4</sup> On 8<sup>th</sup> August 2017, a war of words started between US President Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un. It was started when United Nations put sanctions on North Korea on behalf of the US. On April 7<sup>th</sup> North Korea tested a ballistic missile that could target the land of America. North Korea stated that: “Now carefully examining the operational plan for making an enveloping fire at the areas around Guam with medium-to-long-range strategic ballistic rocket Hwasong-12.”<sup>5</sup> In the response, the US president also used harsh words and said: “Fire and fury like the world has never seen, North Korea best not make any more threats to the United States.”<sup>6</sup>

Trump proposed a new foreign policy for the Afghan issue on 21<sup>st</sup> August 2017. His foreign policy extended his words rolling back former president policy. He rejected the withdrawal strategy. He also suggested that NATO played a more efficient role in Afghanistan. He declared that we would not build the nation but kill the terrorist. He urged the Afghan government to resolve its security issues and said that: “Our commitment is not unlimited, and our support is not a blank check;

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40527359> Retrieved at 01:39pm 4th June 2021

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> Marc A. Thiessen, Trump’s Warsaw speech wasn’t an outrage. It was a clear statement of American values, American Enterprise Institute, July 7, 2017

<sup>5</sup> Vipin Narang and Ankit Panda, War Of The Words: North Korea, Trump, And Strategic Stability, War On The Rocks, August 10, 2017

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.dw.com/en/donald-trump-kim-jong-un-war-of-words-timeline/a-40020613> Retrieved at 04:12pm 4th June 2021

the government of Afghanistan must carry their share of the military, political and economic burden.”<sup>1</sup> He also warned and criticized Pakistan and announced: “Often provides “haven to agents of chaos, violence, and terror,”<sup>2</sup>

He added: “We have been paying Pakistan billions and billions of dollars at the same time they are housing the very terrorists that we are fighting. But that will have to change, and that will change immediately.”<sup>3</sup> On 5<sup>th</sup> September 2017, Trump issued an order to abort the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). It was the permit Supported by Barack Obama for the protection of immigrants. But Trump followed his policy of economic prosperity. This initiative hanged a sword of deportation on the students and families. Jeff Session, in this order, supported and said: “It also denied jobs to hundreds of thousands of Americans by allowing those same illegal aliens to take those jobs.”<sup>4</sup> Barack Obama, in his statement, criticized the Trump administration's step of aborting DACA. He said: “It’s a political decision and a moral question. Whatever concerns or complaints Americans may have about immigration in general, we shouldn’t threaten the future of this group of young people who are here through no fault of their own, who pose no threat, which is not taking away anything from the rest of us.”<sup>5</sup>

During a speech on 19<sup>th</sup> September 2017, Trump targeted North Korea for missile testing, violence, the threat to the United States, and the rogue regime. He also raised the concern about the UN-led Iran Nuclear Deal. He urged the world states for analyzing Iran's Nuclear Program and the solution of terrorists. He invited China and Russia to cooperate on these issues. He said regarding North Korea, “If forced to defend itself or its allies, we will have no choice but to destroy North Korea.”<sup>6</sup> On the 13<sup>th</sup> October 2017 session, Trump suggested revising the Iran deal. He pointed out Iran was not following the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action to Congress (JCPOA). He said Iran was breaching the plan. He did not want to abort the deal, but he insisted on adding some sanctions. The UN ambassador, Nikki Haley, also declared that: “The nuclear deal is a very flawed and limited agreement. ‘Iran has been caught in multiple violations over the past year and a half.’”<sup>7</sup>

Trump paid a long visit to Asian countries from 3<sup>rd</sup>- 12<sup>th</sup> November 2017. The focus was North Korea. On 3<sup>rd</sup> November, he paid a Pacific Command visit and checked the threatening spots. On November 5<sup>th</sup>, he travelled to Japan, and

<sup>1</sup> Aaron Mehta and Tara Copp, Trump Afghanistan strategy calls for more troops, regional pressure, *Military Times*, August 21, 2017

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Redden, Trump Ends DACA, *Inside Higher ED*, September 6, 2017

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> Jonathan Lemire And Darlene Superville, In stark UN speech, Trump threatens to “destroy” North Korea, *AP News*, September 20, 2017

<sup>7</sup> Renee Westra, The Iran Nuclear deal—facts, issues, stakeholders, and Australian policy: a quick guide, *Parliament of Australia*, 13 October 2017

there he first met Japanese leadership. Then he met Japanese business leaders for bilateral and multilateral trade. On November 7<sup>th</sup>, he reached the Republic of North Korea and paid a historical visit. It was after 25 years that any American leader was visiting Korea. He proposed North Korea, China, and Russia end the weapon race and live in peace. On 8<sup>th</sup> November, he flew to China, and his discussion point was North Korea. He also discussed the trade.

On 10<sup>th</sup> November, he stopped in Vietnam and attended the Asian Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) meeting. In this meeting, Trump and Chinese President Xi Jinping addressed global trade. He also discussed the security, trade, North Korea issues with Vietnam leadership. On November 12<sup>th</sup>, he went to the Philippines and discussed economic and development strategies. Lastly, he addressed to 5<sup>th</sup> Association of Southeast Asian Nations summit and explained the trade benefits and methodologies. He also talked about North Korea, and finally, he discussed the human rights condition in the Philippines. He said that:

“The two sides underscored that human rights and the dignity of human life are essential and agreed to continue mainstreaming the human rights agenda in their national programs.”<sup>1</sup> On December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017, Trump made a controversial decision of accepting disputed territory as part of Israel. Jerusalem was the disputed territory between Palestine and Israel. The UN had also summoned that territory as an unresolved disputed territory. Nevertheless, Trump followed his foreign policy of Israel support and ownership of Israel for Jerusalem. He also announced the opening of an embassy in Jerusalem. He said that: “Today we finally acknowledge the obvious: that Jerusalem is Israel’s capital, this is nothing more or less than a recognition of reality. It is also the right thing to do.”<sup>2</sup>

In February 2018, a secret document of the American foreign office was revealed that holds the information on starting the trade competition with China and Russia. The trade war between China and the US began on 1<sup>st</sup> March 2018, when Trump ordered tariffs on Chinese imports and excluded European states. On March 18<sup>th</sup>, the US President accepted the North Korean President’s invitation to talks. Both presidents decided to meet in Singapore, but it was cancelled. The United States of America and China started the war of tariff increment. However, at the G20 meeting, both presidents agreed to stop the rivalry within 90 days. On 13<sup>th</sup> April 2018, Trump once again ordered an attack on Syria. He claimed that Syrian leadership used chemical weapons against unarmed civilians.

In May 2018, Trump also summoned troops to tighten the security of the border for decreasing the number of asylum seekers. On 8<sup>th</sup> May 2018, Trump

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<sup>1</sup> [https://ballotpedia.org/Donald\\_Trump%E2%80%99s\\_trip\\_to\\_Asia,\\_November\\_2017](https://ballotpedia.org/Donald_Trump%E2%80%99s_trip_to_Asia,_November_2017) Retrieved at 10:38pm 4th June 2021

<sup>2</sup> Philip Elliott And Elizabeth Dias, Why President Trump's Jerusalem Decision Could Derail Middle East Peace Talks, TIME, December 6, 2017

declared the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) withdrawal. He mentioned that now there will be two sanctions on Iran. Iran cannot import aircraft and export oil products. On May 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018, Trump officially moved the embassy to Jerusalem. This surprised his Arab allies and cleared the US stance in the dispute solution. On 12<sup>th</sup> June 2018, Trump and Kim Jong-un met in Singapore. It was a very important meeting for the United States and North Korea. Both gave a joint statement: "Join their efforts to build a lasting and stable peace regime on the Korean Peninsula."<sup>1</sup> On June 19<sup>th</sup>, the US withdraw from the membership of the Human Rights Council of the UN. The American officials stated that it is a biased organization with a different attitude toward Israel. On 16<sup>th</sup> July, Trump and Putin discussed vital issues. The Syria war, the Russian and Ukraine issue, and the Nuclear Treaty. On 30<sup>th</sup> September 2018, North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) renegotiations were finalized and implemented.

In October 2018, a shocking incident took place. Journalist Jamal Khashoggi was found dead in the Saudi consulate in Turkey. Saudi Prince Salman was suspected of this incident. Trump supported Saudi Prince even after this allegation. But he received strong condemnation for supporting Prince Salman. In December 2018, Trump announced that troops from Syria would be completely withdrawn.

Nevertheless, half of the troops will remain in Afghanistan. This decision by Trump also faced criticism from his administration. On 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2019, Trump stepped into Venezuela's political matter and supported the opposition rule. He later imposed more sanctions on Venezuela. In May 2019, the tariff war between China and the US started again, but Trump put it on hold after some increment.

On 20 June, Trump ordered to target Iran for shooting down United States drones. However, at the very last moment, he took back his decision. This was his threatening policy. Trump visited North Korea on 30 January and talked about the stabilization of relations. In July 2019, Trump proposed an asylum rule that decided that asylum seekers would remain at their place. He also forced Mexico for setting up border security. On 8 September, Trump cancelled the talks with the Taliban, which was shocking for the officials of the US. Trump said that the recent attack of militants on security forces in Afghanistan was the reason that has forced him. Trump stated: "Unfortunately, to build false leverage, they admitted to an attack in Kabul that killed one of our great soldiers and 11 other people. I immediately cancelled the meeting and called off peace negotiations."<sup>2</sup>

Some congressional representatives argued that the attacks and casualties are daily routines. It is surprising that due to one attack, the peace talk was cancelled. Turkish President Tayyip Erdogan reminded Trump of his withdrawal

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<sup>1</sup> Teng, Sharon, 2018 Trump-Kim Summit, Singapore Infopedia, May 2019

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.dawn.com/news/1504182> Retrieved at 03:56 am 5th June 2021

policy from Syria. On 6 October 2019, the US troops left the land of Northern Syria, and Turkey took control. On 11 October, the US increased its cooperation with Saudi Arabia to protect the oil from militants. On October 26, 2019, Trump announced the killing of Baghdadi and his successor. On 3 January 2020, a US drone killed an Iranian commander Qasem Soleimani in Baghdad. America claimed that the Iranian commander was involved in the attack against the US. In response, Iran struck two missiles on Baghdad, and in response, the US imposed more sanctions on Iran.

On January 28, 2020, Trump implemented his foreign policy of mediator and presented a Middle East Peace Deal. This deal was associated with the acceptance of Israel in Jerusalem, no refugee plan without Israel, economic help for Israel in developing their state, and Palestine organizations will be under Israel's control. Many Arab countries rejected this deal. Trump presented it as: "The deal of the century"<sup>1</sup> On 29 February 2020, Trump and the Taliban agreed on a peace agreement. The conditions of the agreement were that the United States would withdraw troops from Afghanistan; the Taliban would not welcome terrorism, elections in Afghanistan, and collation troops for Afghanistan. These were the conditions that initiated the agreement, and both parties agreed to implement it. The Taliban agreed that: "Afghan soil will not be used against the security of the United States and its allies and the United States agrees to the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan."<sup>2</sup>

Corona Virus, also known as Covid-19, hit the world, and on 13 March 2020, Trump announced National Emergency in the United States. He increased the financial help and announced to increase in the testing process. Besides this, he targeted China for spreading Coronavirus. The G7 summit hosting of the United States was also blurred. The session of the UN was held virtually, and Trump again bashed China for spreading this. On 6 July 2020, US President Donald Trump announced the withdrawal of America from the World Health Organization (WHO). He criticized WHO for being biased in the case of Chinese spread analysis and not efficiently controlling Corona Virus's situation. He also declared to halt the financial help for WHO. He said: "Chinese officials "ignored" their reporting obligations to the WHO and pressured the organization to mislead the public about an outbreak that has now killed more than 130,000 Americans."<sup>3</sup>

On 29 July 2020, the United States declared to reduce troops in Germany, and one-third of troops were withdrawn. This was Trump's foreign policy to

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<sup>1</sup> <https://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2020/the-failed-deals-of-the-century/index.html> Retrieved at 06:37 pm 5th June 2021

<sup>2</sup> Grant Farr, The Afghan Peace Agreement and Its Problems, E-International Relations, April 6 2020

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Lee, It's official, US withdraws from World Health Organization, Associated Press Washington, The Christian Science Monitor, July 8, 2020

threaten Russia, and he pressurized Germany to aid NATO. In September 2020, Trump played the role of mediator between Arab and Israel. He made UAE sign the 'Abraham Accord' with Israel for peace. He also announced that many Arab countries were showing interest in cooperation with Israel. Some analyzed this deal as a threat to Palestine's cause, and some observed that Israel deserved Jerusalem. Along with UAE and Bahrain, Morocco came along to sign the peace deal with Israel. Egypt and Jordan were two Muslim countries that have accepted Israel a long time ago. An observer said that:

"These normalization deals with Israel, signed one after another, represent a sharp change in the stance of both countries. While receiving praise from some, many consider the moves a "betrayal" to the Palestinian cause, making headlines for weeks."<sup>1</sup> While Trump said: "After decades of division and conflict, we mark the dawn of a new Middle East."<sup>2</sup> On September 30<sup>th</sup>, 2020, the Trump administration restricted the number to 15 thousand refugees entering the United States. They called this an assurance step for the safety and wellbeing of Americans from the Corona Virus pandemic. The US Presidential election was held on 3 November 2020, and Trump faced defeat. This defeat shocked them because he failed instead of taking the highest percentage of votes. In the history of the United States, this happened for the first time when the candidate with that percentage failed in presidential elections. There were many reasons behind his failure, and some of these were his bad foreign policies, harsh language, and mismanagement during the critical phase of the pandemic.

An expert noted that: "Will we recall Trump's strange obsessions—his conviction that windmills cause cancer and modern toilets don't flush well—and also his toxic lies about more consequential matters, such as the deadly pandemic that he compared to about of the seasonal flu?"<sup>3</sup> The expert also added Trump saying that: "We're going to work together, we are going to make America great again—and, "I'll add, greater than ever before." History will be brutally clear on this: "he did not."<sup>4</sup>

The above discussion summarized the foreign policies of Donald J. Trump during his presidential term. It indicates his role as authoritarian, mediator, controller, and pressurizer. During his tenure, he made many decisions for the US, but most of the policies failed. The failed policies were withdrawal from international agreements and organizations, threat strategy, Biased Israel support, trade war, targeting Islamic states, new Middle East Deal, the refugee issue, tariff

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<sup>1</sup>ŞeymaNazlıGürbüz, Experts: Normalization with Israel targets not just Palestinians but Turkey, Iran as well, Daily Sabah, September 27, 2020

<sup>2</sup> TOI Staff, Trump says Saudi Arabia among 7-9 countries expected to make peace with Israel, TOI, 16 September 2020

<sup>3</sup> Susan B. Glasser, Obituary for a Failed Presidency, The New Yorker, January 19, 2021

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.



war, sanction on different countries, and deformed attitude towards critical pandemic. He was a businessperson, not a politician, so; he proposed the strategies for running the government in terms of business rivalry. His policy for peace talks with the Taliban was a good initiative to stabilize the neighboring countries.

Trump resistance on some specific countries: China, North Korea, Russia, Cuba, and Iran. He also used an authoritarian ruling style and tried to surpass many legal decisions with his executive power. On one occasion at the G 20 summit, he met Putin and welcomed him for cooperation but on another occasion, he criticized the Russian role in Ukraine. He met with Kim Jong-nu and talked for stabilization. However, he pointed out North Korea's alarming moves in any other country. Lastly, most of his foreign policies faced criticism and failure.

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# **BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION 1917: A STUDY OF THE IMPERIALISTIC LEGACIES IN MAKING SOVIET STATE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

State authoritarianism in the Soviet Union was conceived and studied as a unique phenomenon labelled with the communist doctrine. While locating and making conceptions regarding this particular and prevalent trend on the side of Politburo and Kremlin, a range of general perceptions deals with it as an essential and eccentric policy adopted by soviet bureaucracy to make it exclusionary. Therefore, that design of extending the socialist doctrines to meet the ultimate objective, i.e. Communism, that precedent was not only adopted; rather, it graduated with socialist transformation in more dynamic character. However, this study aims to trace the huge precedents regarding soviet authoritarianism, which led to its monolithic formations with the inception of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917, followed by the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922. In this attempt, the monolithic traditions of imperial Russia presented as an assistant-prelude to the later socialist developments in post-revolution Russia.

**KEYWORDS:** Tsar. Communisms, Socialism, Authoritarianism, Monolithic, State structure.

## **RUSSIAN HISTORY AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**

The construction of a comprehensive understanding of the long-term background of the Russian Revolution requires a study of Russian history. There has always been a controversy between Russian and non-Russian (western) scholars about whether the Macro changes in Russian History were due to external factors or the internal factors that influenced the Russian socio-political changes. Those changes influenced both on Macro level of urban society and micro-layers

of rural and agricultural communities.<sup>1</sup> However, non-Russian historians emphasise the external factors that shape the course of Russian history.<sup>2</sup> However, as always is the case with revolution, internal factors are always given priority over external factors. Otherwise, the analysis of the process may come under the strong spell of conspiracy theories. Hence, it would be more appropriate to analyze the causes of the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution from a long-term historical perspective.

## RUSSIAN IMPERIAL HISTORY

The recorded history of Russia dates back to 850 A.D. At that time, Slavic Tribes inhabited Russia. The hypothesis of this research paper is very much owed to the long span history of Russian imperial design. Because almost sure it can be stated that Russia is the only country in the world recorded history with most imperial static formations. Russian empire is the only empire on the surface of world history, which revived her four times. There had been four empire structures on the soil of Russia in consecutive order.

1. Kievan Empire.c.850-1240.<sup>3</sup>
2. Muscovite Empire.c.1400-1605.<sup>4</sup>
3. Great Romanov Empire.c.1613 - 1917.<sup>5</sup>
4. Union of Soviet Socialist Republic.c.1922-1991.<sup>6</sup>

From 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century Russian Tsars, Ivan IV, Peter the Great and Nicholas I derived autocratic power, which resembled oriental despotism. Russian autocracy did not have the character of western monarchy of the contemporary period.<sup>7</sup> The medieval Russian was just like a semi-Asiatic-despotic government. Perhaps geographical location had made her strange from the West and brought it closer to central Asian-socio-political culture. However, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Peter the Great and Catherine had tried their utmost to westernize their empire. Peter introduced many reforms in his country under the influence of European tradition. In 1703, he established the city of Petersburg on genuine western parameters. His policies facilitated the interaction or amalgamation of western culture with Russian. Thus, the Greater Russian Empire was established on new socio-political lines imported from the West.

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<sup>1</sup> David Mackenzie, *History of Soviet Union* (California, 1991), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>3</sup> Philip Longworth, *Russia's Empires: The Rise and Fall of the Russian Empires from Prehistory to Putin* (London, 2005), 1.2.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>7</sup> David Mackenzie, *History of Soviet Union* (California, 1991), 11.

Religious influence was also one of the major historical factors that helped the Muscovite empire adopt an authoritarian shape when Ottoman Turks occupied Constantinople in 1453. This major event fostered the subsequent concept of Russian's Moscow as the Third Rome. The new spiritual status of Moscow imparted the centrality of orthodox Christendom with over centralized ingredients of static authorities. This centralization of Russian political, economic, and social institutions under the auspices of the Orthodox Church had resulted in more restricted rigid and centrally dominated Russian spheres of life. This was a major transformative phase in Russian history as it laid the basis for the monolithic nature of the medieval style. Byzantine cultural and political traditions further reinforced this monolithic nature.<sup>1</sup>

This formation remained intact in its most rigid form until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Russian state under Tsar shattered this Orthodox Church's central status and created all centralization towards Tsarist authority. This transformation was identified with the secularization of the Russian State. Authoritarian control shifted from Orthodox Church to the Tsarist hands. This transformation has been acknowledged so that so many problems were produced through this transformation because to this period policy of westernization carried out by Peter the Great had implanted a contradictory gap among Russians. So many structural flaws were imbibed through this policy of westernization. According to the westernization project, nobility and upper strata of urban society were focused. All reforms, with their impact, remained within a closed circle. The Russian state with more autocratic character gets further distinction from its masses. In the Tsarist era, the Russian Empire was the only state globally, which officially proclaimed itself as an autocracy.<sup>2</sup> At that time, the Russian empire had a great resemblance with the traditional authoritarian states of medieval Asia. It was a typical example of conventional authoritarianism. Theoretically and practically, all powers were vested in the person of Tsar. Center oriented policies deprived Tsarist Static to accomplish the requirement of over stretched boundaries of Russia. Tsar himself lived remote from the people; his will could not be questioned, and his policies were mainly concerned with the high politics rather than grass root level. Therefore, this authoritarian attitude widened the gulf between Tsar's central structure and the

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.,19.

<sup>2</sup>Autocracy is a system of government in which absolute power over a state is concentrated in the hands of one person, whose decisions are subject to neither external legal restraints nor regularized mechanisms of popular control. In earlier times, the term autocrat was coined as a favorable description of a ruler, having some connection to the concept of "lack of conflicts of interests" as well as an indication of grandeur and power. This use of the term continued into modern times, as the Russian Emperor was styled "Autocrat of all the Russias" as late as the early 20th century. In the 19th century, Eastern and Central Europe were under autocratic monarchies within the territories of which lived diverse peoples. Dared P.Hammer, *USSR: The Politics of Oligarchy* (London, 1986),15.16.

Masses spheres. The only contact between peasant and government was possible through two government officials. One was the Tax collector, and the second was the Army recruiter.<sup>1</sup> The third influential change occurred in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century during the reign of Paul I when Prussian style discipline was tried to impose in the Russian state. At that time, the Soviet monarchy was erected upon serfdom and autocracy. Rulers and their appointed Ministers reasserted their authority over nobility and serfdom. Then Alexander I (1801-1825) restricted further serfdom, but he avoided fundamental political and social fabric changes. This autocratic setup confronted the severe challenges of popular revolts during Tsar Alexander I, but the regime struck to the dictatorial dispensation. A fragmented empire with over centralized autocratic static did not seem to comprehend reconciliation.<sup>2</sup>

### 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY DEVELOPMENT

All the development of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Russian provides an intelligible background to comprehend the course of the red revolution of 1917. The comprehension of these developments will be intrusive to construct an analytical assessment of this episode. Russian defeat in the Crimean war was perhaps the most significant event, which revealed incompatibility of that traditional Russian structure based on serfdom with highly developed and developing Western European continent.<sup>3</sup> Massive industrialization designs urged the Russian Tsarist monarchy to realize the need for urgent reform in serfdom. The first significant feature of this era was the emancipation of serfs. The emancipation Act of 1861 granted private peasant serfs their freedom from serfdom. However, this emancipation did not end their exploitation. The emancipation act primarily affected the serfs of nobility, and their majority disapproved of the reform. Landlords deprived peasants of the best fertile land, so peasants were forced to rent landlords on hard and inappropriate terms. Their old lords once again recovered their former power over their old slave (Serf) with the full support of Tsar Alexander's government. Despite its limitation and shortcomings, the emancipation Act changed and helped transform the Russian empire from a feudal country to a comparatively modern one. This reform opened

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.,16.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.,16.

<sup>3</sup> The Crimean War was a military conflict fought from October 1853 to February 1856 in which Russia lost to an alliance of France, the Ottoman Empire, the United Kingdom and Sardinia. The immediate cause of the war involved the rights of Christian minorities in Palestine, which was part of the Ottoman Empire. The French promoted the rights of Roman Catholics, and Russia promoted those of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Longer-term causes involved the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the expansion of the Russian Empire in the preceding Russo-Turkish Wars, and the British and French preference to preserve the Ottoman Empire to maintain the balance of power in the Concert of Europe. It has widely been noted that the causes, in one case involving an argument over a key, had never revealed a "greater confusion of purpose" but led to a war that stood out for its "notoriously incompetent international butchery." Paul Kerr, *The Crimean War*, McMillan, 2000, 17.

a new chapter in the history of Russia as it levelled initial grounds for capitalism by enhancing industrialization.

### **ADVENT OF CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA**

Industrialization arrived in Russia in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Development in the field of mining, manufacturing and railway tracks construction started. But all this progress was owed much to the foreign intervention in the form of capital investment. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, capitalism had reached its peak in Russia capital developed into imperialism with numerous disastrous and distinctive features. The representative of Tsarists oligarchy and feudal landowners ruled the country. Russia became the hub of oppressive colonial, feudalistic and capitalistic influences. Most of this capital investment came from government sources or foreign sources. Russian industry was concentrated in a few hands. The highly concentrated industry was facilitated by the development efforts of banks and multi stock companies. Western imported and influenced industrialization had brought all the harmful features, which a capitalist mechanism imbibed. All such harmful effects put a horrendous impact on already exploited workers severely.

In Russia, the process of industrialization and emancipation of serfdom started almost simultaneously with minor intervals of time. Because of the semi reciprocity, an appropriate number of peasants made their way towards the industrialized area to set out for a prosperous future. This mobilization had increased the number of industrial workers, but their dream did not materialize, as they had to become the victim of the harmful side of industrialization with low wages and low quality of life and poor accommodation.<sup>1</sup>The industrial process was concentrated in the little hand. It was either under the auspices of state-run institutions or in the hands of a tiny capitalist class with a broad share of foreign capital investment. Most of the banks were under the control of the European bank. The foreign bank conducted more than 40% of capital of investment. All the characteristics of Russia's industrialisation transition resulted in the sheer exploitation of workers. Workers could not escape this exploitation, and massive scale of exploitation became prevalent in Russia lower strata. This phenomenon made the picture more hostile at the very end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In many ways, Russian workers' labour conditions were as fragile as those of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century English working class. England. Proletariats were aware of their exploitation and soon started thinking about getting their rights and even how to get rid of this exploitative system. The second phase of brutal exploitation was started at the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the western world was plunged into economic crises as capitalism had always faced problems after certain saturation or any other particular reasons, so it happened in Russian also the influx of western invested

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<sup>1</sup>Geoffery Stern, *The Atlas of Communism* (New York, 1990), 40.41.

capital started to diminish sharply.<sup>1</sup> This crisis resulted in widespread poverty among the masses as their income wages became low, and their purchasing power was also on the lowest ebb. All this aggravated the crises, and the middle class fell victim to this critical economic crisis. There were a few medium industries in Russian; almost all such industries closed due to shortage of investment etc. This situation resulted in another more repressive financial crisis because only the largest enterprises could survive the financial crisis.<sup>2</sup>

During this period, big industries converted into capital monopolies. All these few monopolies were under the strict control of the Tsarist state or foreign capitalist hands. Taking advantage of the crisis, foreign banks bought the shares of Russian indigenous industries and banks and became the owners of these enterprises. This act made the situation further hostile and increased the dependence of Russian capitalists on western capitalism. During all this crisis period the number of workers started to decline. More than half of factory workers were discharged during three years. Unemployment increased, and the condition of labour worsened up to a hyperactive level. Society became financially messy and hastened the need for the political awakening of Russia's working class.

This socio-economic restlessness could prove dangerous for the static authority. Instead of dealing with this restlessness by compensation, Tsarist authorities dealt with all this with brutal measures. This oppression set the workers to think about the causes of their hard conditions. They began to understand that the worst enemy of their prosperity and the most responsible authority of all this was the autocratic government. Revolutionary social democrats had taken the vanguard of all this restlessness. Their newspaper *Iskra* played a very influential role in awakening the people. It made them understand their exploitation carried out by the Tsarist government with joint efforts of foreign capital powers. This newspaper exposed the irresponsibility and crimes of Tsarist autocracies rule. A cursory look at Russian History suggests the presence of a very centralized authority.<sup>3</sup> The post-Crimean war era witnessed great changes in Russian society amid the inspirational impact of revolutionary Europe; there sprouted liberal and radical movements. Another factor, which further led towards these changes was Russian march towards industrialization. With the passage of time these liberal and revolutionary movements began to challenge the Tsarist autocracy.

This opposition movement against regime was represented by two major groups the liberals and the radicals. In this regards, Liberals attempted to reform and improve the state and society through peaceful means. On the other hand, the later adopted the violent course by responding to the repression and

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<sup>1</sup>A.M.Pankratova, *A History of Soviet Union* (Moscow, 1948), 15-19.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 19.20

<sup>3</sup> David Mackenzie, *History of Soviet Union* (California, 1991), 53

authoritarianism of the Tsarist regime through acts of violence. They even planned to overthrow the Tsarist regime. They also tried to win over the sympathy of the peasantry. Despite these efforts, the radicals failed to mobilize the masses on a large scale. In 1860, a vigorous campaign was carried out to persuade and stimulate the peasants to rise against the feudal lords and autocratic government. However, the peasantry failed to activate itself enough and largely remained indifferent to the movement.<sup>1</sup> During the 1860s, all movements and programs of revolts against the Tsarist state were unsuccessful because of various factors, i.e. lack of cohesion, organizational deficiencies, disunity within their ranks and even the lack of powerful ideology. They could not get the necessary public support to pose a serious challenge to the Tsarist regime, nor could they mobilize peasantry into any revolt venture.

Among these movements, which sprang amid the cataclysmic changes in Russian society, the most conspicuous one was Nihilism.<sup>2</sup> Nihilism was extremely hostile about the autocratic system of government. Nihilism in the following years produced the tendency of using terror as a political tool. This ideology much inspired Russian radicals, and its usage became more frequent towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the absence of any organized and very popular movement against the authoritative government, the most articulate opposition to the autocratic regime came from the *intelligentsia*. The word *intelligentsia* was in popular parlance in Russia denoted a very intelligent person who was an enemy of the Tsarist state. *Intelligentsia* belonged to the disgruntled section of the nobility with liberal and socialist tendencies. People with moderate political views became increasingly vocal about the need to revamp the Russian political system completely. In their opinion, it was not possible without dismantling autocracy. The scheme of liberalization further evoked severe responses from both leftists and rightists. On the other hand, the latter were totally against the autocracy and the parliamentary form of government because they considered it a protector of the interests of bourgeoisie democrats and property owners.<sup>3</sup>

The socio-political situation became much intense towards the end of the

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<sup>1</sup>Konstantine Tarnvsky, *Illustrated History of USSR* (Moscow, 1982), 53-54

<sup>2</sup> The Russian nihilist movement was a philosophical, cultural, and revolutionary movement in the Russian Empire during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which was the precursor to broader forms of the philosophy of nihilism. In Russia Nihilism came to represent the movement's negation of pre-existing ideals. Even as it was yet unnamed, the movement arose from a generation of young radicals disillusioned with the social reformers of the past, and from a growing divide between the *intelligentsia* of the genteel and non-genteel social classes. Encyclopedia Britannica. The philosophy of nihilism then began to be associated erroneously with the regicide of Alexander II (1881) and the political terror that was employed by those active at the time in clandestine organizations opposed to absolutism.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 16



19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1881, Alexander II was murdered.<sup>1</sup> This assassination had very disastrous consequences for Russian society. All political movements and organizations were ruthlessly suppressed. Alexander II was succeeded by Alexander III, who ruled with proclamation with faith in the power and right of autocracy. The state repression that followed the Tsarist assassination resulted in the cleansing of Revolutionary populism. This further intensified the ideological vacuum, increasingly realized by a different section of Russian society. Peasant and Industrial workers were worried about the uncertainty of the situation; they longed for a new ideology. Radical youth of 1880 were in dire need of new Radical Ideology, which could satisfy their revolutionary urges. They found their required Ideology in Marxism. Intellectuals inspired by Marxism now became convinced that the Success of their ideology could not be achieved unless it indoctrinated into the industrial working class and peasantry because the radical movement of the 1860s and the '70s was failed only due to the lack of support from these elements. The social-democratic movement thus emerged as a genuine Marxist party in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The social-democratic program called for a socialist revolution, the overthrow of the Tsarist monarchy, eradication of capitalism dictatorship of proletariat and creation of a democratic republic with the constitution, guaranteeing the people's sovereignty.

Social democrats held their Congress in London in 1903. The social democratic party faced a split over party centralized control membership procedure in this Congress. One group within the party supported the idea that the party should be expanded to enter its ranks. This group favoured a loose organization of the working class. On the other hand, another group led by Lenin vehemently opposed this idea. Lenin contended that those dedicated to party cause and have some organisation experience had the right to be a member of the party. Thus, the Social democratic party was split into two groups. The majority section that supported Lenin began to call it Bolsheviks, and the other group led by Martyr was labelled as Mensheviks (minority).<sup>2</sup>

Mensheviks adopted their new strategy of evolutionary struggle against

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<sup>1</sup> After the last assassination attempt in February 1880, Count Loris-Melikov was appointed the head of the Supreme Executive Commission and given extraordinary powers to fight the revolutionaries. Loris-Melikov's proposals called for some form of parliamentary body, and the Emperor seemed to agree; these plans were never realized. On 13 March 1881, Alexander was assassinated in Saint Petersburg. As he was known to do every Sunday for many years, the emperor went to the Mikhailovsky Manege for the military roll call. He travelled both to and from the Manège in a closed carriage accompanied by five Cossacks and Frank Joseph Jackowski, a Polish noble, with a sixth Cossack sitting on the coachman's left. Two sleighs carrying, among others, the chief of police and the chief of the emperor's guards followed the emperor's carriage. The route, as always, was via the Catherine Canal and over the Pevchesky Bridge. Radzinsky, Edvard, Alexander II: The Last Great Czar, (Free press 2005), 413.

<sup>2</sup> Basil Dmytry, USSR: A *Concise History* (New York, 1990), 28.29.

the Tsarist government and favoured the replacements of czarist government by bourgeois democratic dispensation. Menshevik considered this step as transitional necessary to a real socialist government. The Bolsheviks adopted a different and revolutionary plan of Action; they have staunch enemies of the bourgeoisie and wanted to establish a proletariat dictatorial government after overthrowing the monarchy. Last Russian Tsar Nicholas II became emperor in 1894. He was also begun to rule Russia with absolute powers. He demanded that ruthless measures suppress the revolutionary movement. Caucasus, Armenia and other colonies were filled with liberation sentiments but became victims of Russian imperial subjugation. People of Central Asia were also subjected to ruthless exploitation by the Russian empire. The internal police fiasco and external expression created a stagnant mess for the Tsarist regime. Opposition from curbing of home opposition and maintenance of imperialism at outside resulted into an overstretched central government which was about to be shattered as further. The historic culmination was about to complete soon.<sup>1</sup>

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Russian liberals acquired a press and acquired a more cohesive political program. They revealed the voice for democratizing the polity, but the regime refused to permit such democratic freedom. The liberals were gaining enough ground for their credibility. The decade of 1905-1914 witnessed a sharp rise in political activity in Russian. The weakness of the autocratic regime became evident in the ban on all political parties. The workers strikes became more frequent, a disturbance occurred by the stagnation of agriculture, impoverishment of the peasantry, and all such became the features of Russian society in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first monumental shock to the Tsarists regime at that period was the defeat in the war with Japan in 1904. The defeat inflicted upon Russian a series of crises. The government had to relax, but this political relaxation aimed at reconciliation was not enough to calm down the hot atmosphere.

On January 22, 1905, a peaceful procession of thousands of workers was fired by tsarist authorities. This event is known as *Bloody Sunday*.<sup>2</sup> *Bloody Sunday* had an electrifying effect all over Russia against the atrocities of the autocratic government. Peasant rose in many parts of Russia. The ensuing chaos soon reached in the empire's colonies Poland, Finland, Ukraine, Caucasus region, and Central Asian states also agitated against the local Russian governing Authorities. To deal with this mounting nationwide pressure government resorted to reconciliation and issues. In October 1905, the soviet workers' deputies were established; these Soviets were under the leadership of Menshevik policy. These

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<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey Stern, *The Atlas of Communism*, 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Bloody Sunday* refers to several violent incidents and confrontations in history. In Russia, it refers to the shooting of unarmed civilians by tsarist soldiers in St Petersburg in January 1905. This caused the deaths of many people and triggered the outbreak of the 1905 Revolution.

soviets gained popularity among the masses and demanded a constitutional assembly with a democratic setup. Soon, a network of these soviets all over the empire. Under Mensheviks' demands, Tsar Nicholas II issued a manifesto that granted people freedom of speech and other political incentives.

It was a period of the constitutional experiment. The most important development of this period was the initiatives on the part of Tsarist regime towards the transformation of the absolute Tsarist Monarchy into a constitutional system. However, these constitutional arrangements could not satisfy the desire of the Russian Public. The reform measures only proved to be halfhearted. For instance, the Duma was dominated by constitutional democrats. This party gradually became a representative body of the professional middle class confined largely to urban areas and had no roots among the Peasant and working class. On the eve of 1914 had been undergoing a transition with numerous inequities and was dominated by nobility which enjoyed a stake in the legislative Assembly.<sup>1</sup> The Revolution of 1905 of constitutional reform had failed, but it came to be seen as a great rehearsal for the October revolution of 1917. The Sociopolitical condition of Russia was deteriorating, and the financial situation was continuously declining.

The First World War outbreak had interrupted the political, economic, and Social Transformation of the Russian Empire. By 1914 Russia was gripped with so much industrial unrest and socio-political dissatisfaction that it seemed that autocracy might not survive this catastrophic war. The inability of Russian allied forces to provide resources to Russia forced Russia to rely heavily on its power and inadequately developed resources to continue the fight. This self-dependency precipitated the domestic crisis. It had disastrous effects on agricultural and industrial production, communication and transportation network breakdown, severe food shortage, and other routine commodities were enough reasons to enhance hostility. The entire social and economic fibre of Russian Society was on the brink of collapse. While Tsar himself was on the war front at home Tsarina under the supervision of Rasputin, dissipated the governmental procedure. When Tsar returned Petrograd, revolutionaries stopped him and was forced to abdicate the throne in this grim situation. The imperial family was arrested, and thus the three hundred years of Romanov rule came to an end with the following persecution of family. The tsarist regime failed to supply Leadership in a rapidly declining empire. The crisis of leadership created a central vacuum that revolutionaries eventually filled.

### **FAILURE OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT**

Moderates founded the provisional setup was founded in March 1917 by Moderates; this government declared freedom of speech and various reforms.

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<sup>1</sup> Konstantin Tarnvsky, *Illustrated History of USSR*(Moscow,1982), 65.66.

When the time came for implementing these reforms, this government failed as it lacked the subsisting will and a definite ideology to go for accomplishing these ideals. This provisional government represented landed nobility, the Industrial high class, and a very confined section of the educated middle class. This provisional government favoured liberal Bourgeoisie democracy by protecting the privileged class as it was an urban Middle class leaning party, so it lacked appropriate understanding about the condition of proletariat and peasantry. Lenin return to Russia and his presentation of the April thesis proved to be the turning point. In April thesis, he demanded the immediate end of the war, the dictatorship of the proletariat, nationalization of lands. Long before that, he believed that a prolonged period of capitalist development was essential as a transitional phase towards a socialist State. But under new modern capitalist imperialism, he propounded a new concept that the proletariat could instigate the bourgeois-democratic revolution and move directly to the socialist revolution. He returned from Switzerland and prepared the Bolsheviks in Petrograd to claim that all political powers should be vested in the Soviets.

In June, the provisional government propelled an action against German fronts. It was a blunder set by the provisional government. The Russian Soldiers were reluctant to advance and retreated in disarray. It was a golden opportunity for Bolsheviks to exploit and manipulate the political situation in their favour. Bolshevik party was a smaller party as compared to Menshevik and Social revolutionaries. However, it was much better in its organization. Bolsheviks were gaining support amongst peasants and proletariat even in the Military. They had developed their clout. In July-August, the Bolshevik party abruptly changed its strategy and prepared for a Militant uprising against the provisional government. In September, Lenin decided to seize power from the provisional government. The Petrograd soviet formed a Military Revolutionary committee (MRC) headed by Trotsky at the beginning of October. 25 October was the planned day by MRC to overthrow the provisional government headed by Alexander Kerensky. This was an almost bloodless revolution. Soon after the revolution, a 33 council of people's commissions was elected under the leadership of Lenin, which was the governmental body destined to rule over Russia for the next few years. There was remarkably little resistance against the Bolsheviks, and Bolsheviks gradually managed to get control of almost all Soviets.

The revolutionary course of events from February to October 1917 culminated into the gigantic event of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but what was its nature in the true sense? Was this course inevitable due to determined historical suppression, or was it unexpected? The answer to this question may be found in two major approaches that explicate the true nature of this revolution. One group of Sovietologists emphasis the approaching collapse of Tsarist Autocracy, and Russian ground was saturated with multi-faceted suppression. Social, political, and

economic events and issues that created a climate in Russia were conducive enough to overthrow the Tsarist regime and bring about a new order.<sup>1</sup> They believed that the underlying causes of the Russian Revolution are rooted deeply in Russia's history. For centuries, autocratic and repressive czarist regimes ruled the country, and most of the population lived under severe economic and social conditions. During the 19th century and early 20th century, various movements aimed at overthrowing the oppressive government were staged by students, workers, and peasants. They agreed that multiple causes with deep historical roots led to the inevitable catastrophe in Russia. Tsarist Centralized structure could not solve the country's basic social-political and financial problems. Poverty, oppression, rigid dictatorship, Lack of Human rights, and the impoverishment of the masses were the historical features that brought about this collapse. However, there is another opinion that the revolution of 1917 was not an inevitable outcome of historical factors. This opinion negated the pivotal historical determinant forces working to bring about the revolution.<sup>2</sup> Instead, they are of the view that the revolutionary situation was not of that level to cause revolution; they claim that workers and peasants remained largely isolated from revolutionary agenda and movement and revolutionaries movement was largely confined only to Urban areas. For the first time, Russia was passing through Industrial progress with prospects of near future prosperity. There were few signs of Empire in crisis. The peasantry was dispirited but loyal to the tsar. The middle class was very small, and above all, though the government was incompetent in policy-making but strong in its powers of repression. The exponents of this view contend that Empire collapsed due to the immediate reason of World War I.

To assess the real nature of the factors that brought the collapse of the Tsarist Empire, acknowledgment of Historical determinism is important, making this revolution inevitable. First World War may be considered an immediate reason, but revolutions inspired by ideology are not the outcome of catastrophic events like war. Their true origin may be traced in the historical structural factors which are well entrenched in the socio-political dynamics of society. The Russian Empire collapsed only to reincarnate itself into a new empire: U.S.S.R.

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<sup>1</sup> David Mackenzie, *History of Soviet Union* (California, 1991), 142.143.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.145.

**BOOK REVIEWS:**

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| Book                | <b>Waziristan: Datta Khel, Unravelling the history of a frontier outpost, (1897-2017).</b> |
| Author              | Sajid Muzaffar Chaudhry  |
| Language            | English  |
| ISBN                | 9789385854385  |
| Year of Publication | 2021   |
| Pages               | 270  |
| Publisher           | University of Peshawar Director Area Study Center  |
| Reviewed by         | Muhammad Ahmad   |

This book is primarily about the thematic presentation of the personal account based on empirical data. The book's author is in service Army Officer and served as a soldier and administrator in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Waziristan. This book is indeed a labour of love as its text is constructed with brilliant profundity. In this way, this book provides valuable information and insights into the fascinating history of the FATA and Waziristan and the land and people of North Waziristan while elaborating on the contemporary developments of the era of war on terror, specifically in Datta Khel. It elaborates the struggle, hardships and loss of human lives faced by the Pakistan Army during its battle to root out terrorism and establish the state's writ in the area.

From a historical perspective, NWFP has throughout been a land of historical contestations. It has been a heartland of the Great Games for great empires in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It contains secrets of imperial struggle to gain control over mainland Asia. Nobel laureate Rudyard Kipling also wrote about the British Indian North West Frontier more than a century ago, capturing its everlasting romance. At British India's partition in August 1947, this frontier became the North Western Frontier of the newly independent Pakistan. The mystique associated with this area continued for a long time till the era of Talibanization in 2001 and the subsequent war on terror. Brigadier Sajid Muzaffar Chaudhry is a graduate of Command and Staff College Quetta and National Defense University, Islamabad. He holds an M-Phil degree in nuclear and strategic studies from a national defence university, a master's degree in strategic studies and a master's degree in art and science of warfare. He is proficient in Punjabi, Urdu, English and Persian. Coming from a distinguished military family, the author joined the Pakistan Army in 1990 and has seen active military service spanning

over 28 years. He has served extensively in the erstwhile tribal areas of Pakistan and has a special interest in Pakistan Army's operations related to the war against terror. He has worked extensively on terrorist narratives and formulation of counter-narratives, post-conflict rehabilitation and perception management. This is a firsthand account of the town of Datta Khel in the former North Waziristan district that became the much-feared epicentre of terrorism. The book under review also contains scores of pictures. Those pictures provide a deep insight into the history, culture and customs of Datta Khel. It also gives a graphic account of the untold stories of the fight against terrorism.

After detailing the significance most profoundly, the book's writer described the Datta Khel Camp upkeep project in 2017, where he served as a Pakistan Army commander for a year. After getting the first experience of this project, the author took four years to write the book. According to the writer, this is a work of love and passion. It could be safely asserted that this is the only available book on Datta Khel, which is dedicated to the armed forces. Waziristan and its people remain of interest because they never gave in to the British, the Russians, and the US in the post nine eleven scenarios. It is important to mention that after a long period, it is the achievement of the Pakistan Army to introduce the rule of law. In this particular theme, this book starts from the British rule and gives the account of World War I, the wars Afghanistan fought and from Independence to Talibanisation. The last two chapters are regrouping militants and rehabilitation of the displaced people. The book is of immense academic importance. It connects the dots that help in understanding why such things happen. The last chapter is the most important one as it gives us food for thought. We need to find a way to get dividends of this transformation so that the people of the area. Land rights are also important.

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| Book                | <b>Islam in Pakistan: A History</b> |
| Author              | Qasim Zaman                         |
| Language            | English                             |
| ISBN                | 9789385854385                       |
| Year of Publication | 2017                                |
| Pages               | 294                                 |
| Publisher           | New York: Oxford University Press   |
| Reviewed by         | Adnan Tariq                         |

This book is a marvelous academic venture of immense read. Qasim Zaman has indeed produced a work that has been in wait since the publishing of Aziz Ahmad's "Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan" in the early sixties. Aziz's work had fulfilled the academia's requirement of having a compact introduction of the Islamic pathos just passed through the prism of colonial modernity in south Asia. After more than half a century, contemporary scholarship of south Asian Islam has been looking for a new addition to the respective knowledge body. Qasim Zaman had catered to this demand in a meritorious manner. Starting from the emergence of a new state and society out of the colonial fold, the author detailed the different traits of Islamic societal expressions: Sufism, Traditionalist scholars, the Ulama, Islamism, and Islamic modernism.

In previous decades, quite a few works of worth have been produced on the above-mentioned different facets of Islam but lack a compact introduction that extends a comprehensive study. This book had fulfilled this particular requirement. The book's main thrust is on the interaction among all such facets of Islam in the society of Pakistan with the state created in the name of Islam. This is not an intellectual history, as the author made it clear. Rather it is an all comprehensive assessment of the political and other contexts in which particular strands of Islam in Pakistan moved with all of the peculiarities. The main dealing of the book is not about lived or normative Islam. Rather it posits a serious study of the initiatives and discourses on the larger Islamic epistemological perspective in which it operates in the form of varying facets of Islam in Pakistan.

One of the unsettling effects of colonialism was to spark a new sense of intellectual and religious vitality in traditionalist circles to best serve the cause of Muslim society in the wake of the colonial onslaught. Thus, it ensued a self-conscious continuity, linked with Islam's formative and normative history. The response was in the shape of the Deobandis school, patterned on the model of the English schooling system. This effort sought to present the possibilities of traditionalist-alternative in the colonial situations in which Muslims of north India



found themselves, with ultimate extension to the other areas of British India. Standing in marked contrast to the Deobandis, Barelvis were the second in this mode of response with broad base catering for their circle in the Muslim society of north India. The main concern was to preserve the Sufi lineage of the traditionalist. According to Qasim Zaman, Barelvis were the most traditionalist of the Sunni orientations which emerged in colonial India. Their emergence was more of a revival of the rivalry regarding doctrinal differences.

In comparison, Ahl-i-hadith were perceived as the least traditionalist in Sunni orientations. Shi'a of British India also took the path of the same similar feature on which Deobandis and Barelvis had instituted their reforms. Here, Qasim Zaman seems to challenge a previously held notion that colonial powers were exploitative. Still, they were not suppressive as they had let all such reforms movement to establish their Madressa and let them publish as many books as they wanted.

He differs from it on a slight note. He stated that while leaving space for Islamic laws in the private sphere, English common law had reshaped the core of the Muslim legal system by appointing their judges. However, in this colonial framework, Muslim traditionalists had gained as many benefits as possible from the different carriers of colonial modernity and technological advancement. Mobility providence by railways system to the Pirs and Murids was a phenomenon in this colonial framework. Qasim Zaman found the earlier genre of modernists hardly different from their contemporary traditionalist Ulama. By quoting examples of prominent modernists, i.e. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, he stated that he was as trained as any contemporary traditionalist scholars. He elaborated by quoting other examples of the intellectual culture of the nineteenth century in north India by putting a thrust on the argument that the early genre of those modernist scholars was well acquainted with the traditionalist culture. According to Qasim Zaman, early modernists and traditionalists Ulama were not well receptive to the call of the political scene due to reasons. Still, with the advent of the twentieth century, this trend started to witness transformations owing to the emergence of the vigilant Muslim press. Pan Islamic call was the main call that articulated this political awakening. Khilafat and Reshmi Rumal Movement both were the main hallmarks of this awakening. Later on, the entry of Iqbal in the political scene and Jinnah's role in passing various Muslim bills amplified this transformation in a far more definite way.

Defining specific versions of Islam was the arena of contestations in colonial India among the Muslim modernist and Muslim Ulama. All schools of sects were conflicting stands on these fluctuating ideas. According to Qasim Zaman, a modernist unlike Ulama had no sectarian identity and was very critical of the different Ulama took about Muslim politics in British India. Yet, their particular ideas about Islam generated an uncomfortable relationship with Ulama. However,

Zaman maintained that this internecine relationship had not precluded both of them to concert joint efforts in the Khilafat movement and on canvassing for the larger cause of the Pakistan movement.

Then it starts with a problem of the grandiose modernist rhetoric in which the newly incepted nation-state was afforded with medieval connotations. While taking modernist political ethos, the writer assessed an overview of the major political episode of the early phase of Pakistan. Those modernist quarters in the country often found allaying the authoritarian path taken by the state of Pakistan. Then the Islamic sensibilities were also wielded in those modernist discourses of state-in-making. Such as the passing of the Objectives Resolutions. Thus these kinds of contradictions and ambiguities were dealt with in this argument. The debate of the proposed constitutional frameworks was taking place with all such ambiguous parlances. This was so in the situation wherein the post-Jinnah phase, Pakistani state and society witnessed a gulf between elite polity and masses. Islamic modernists spoke with different opinionative approaches, which seldom got any consensus. Each voice professed the plurality of Islamic democratic principles but seldom agreed with their brethren school. According to the author, all this fuss was to continue until the military regime of Ayub Khan. With his coming in power, another leap advent was seen in the realm of state role as a proactive agent while defining political and religious spheres on separate lines. A self-proclaimed modernist, Ayub Khan patronized his own interpreted versions of many possible business sharia laws. His delving deeply into constitution-making and controlled democracy suggested this confidence that the state is the ultimate proactive mover and shaker. However, all of his initiatives had to see a retreat in front of Ulema when his close aid Fazlur Rahman tried to evolve a new historically informed interpretation of the foundational text of the early formative period of Islam. In the face of public outcry in his book, Fazlur Rahman's resignation manifested how a state had met with failure while trying to define the relationship between divinity and the constitutional business of statehood. Following was the trajectory in the same linear direction where the state continued to find it in a more and more compromised position. From Ahmadis being declared non-Muslims to the Hudood ordinance's promulgation, modernists had witnessed nothing but the legislative settlements to secure their stakes. The advent of Zia and the Soviet entry into Afghanistan had yielded a huge success on Islamists. The Post-Nine-eleven situation in Pakistan had indeed sharpened the demand for new jargon. Javed Ahmad Ghamidi has come up with his thoughts directly contrasting to his early mentor Maulana Maududi. This shows that it was the call when an Islamist scholar was able to call the shots and not the mere deviations as depicted on Fazlur Rahman and Ghamidi.

Modernists have always been critical of the approaches adopted by Ulamas

at various points of Pakistani history. Vice versa was the position Ulama had taken concerning modernists. Regarding the matters of constitution-making, legislative affairs, and other socio-political subjects, Ulama always extended their full involvement and did not let these affairs pass easily to the hand of the concerned bodies of the state. In this perspective, Qasim Zaman detailed the role and contribution of the traditional Ulama like Shabir Ahmad Usmani, Hanif Nadvi, Muhammad Jaffar Shah Phulwari, Ihtasham-Ul-HaqThanvi, Mufti Muhammad Shafi, and Taqi Usmani. The modernists were aspiring to draw a new codification of Fiqh in the part of the traditionalist. Those traditionalists were remained unsparing while criticizing the unqualified Mujtahids on different matters of orthodox Islamic laws. The same entanglement is seen in the Hudood Ordinance, where Ulama was hostile to any state-led initiative to modify it. To bring change in any particular religious and legal matter of Islamic codes was not merely receptive as per will. Rather traditionalist Ulama was manifesting more cautious reservations regarding the discernment of the legal complexities of Islam for which they had devised a stiff policy, politics, and attitude.

Another area of this study is about the understanding of the place of Sufism in the religious sphere of Pakistan. By studying Sufism's intellectual and religious-political dimension and different approaches to it by varying Islamists and modernists, the writer commented that Sufism in modern-day Pakistan had lost its erstwhile place as it had possessed in the colonial period. Another dimension of this particular study tells us that different traditionalist ulama who were opposed or critical of many of Sufi orders have been inspired by many of its teachings in some way or the other. Thus, Sufism is still playing its role in those circles that are opposed to Sufi orders. The writer evaluated the different critical approaches adopted by ulama on Sufism. As scholar like Maulana Mawdudi of jam' at and Hanif Nadvi of Salafai persuasion were critical of many of the Sufi practices

The book's main thrust is to map the changes brought in the landscape of Pakistan since the colonial period to the modern day. Starting from the major transformation during colonial dispensations, this study evolves into the successes and pertinent contours of that transformation in the post-1947 period. In this period, Islamist, the new state represents the imperative to proclaim the sovereignty of Allah. Thus, to fulfil this requirement, all those doctrinal orientations continued to form and shape Islamic identities and discourse.

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| Book   | <b>Book Digest: Special Issue on <i>Jameel Ahamd Adeel</i></b> |
| Author | Mazhar Salim Majhoka   |

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|---------------------|---------------------|
| Language            | Urdu                |
| ISBN                |                     |
| Year of Publication | July 2021           |
| Pages               | 28                  |
| Publisher           | Book Digest, Lahore |
| Reviewed by         | Adnan Tariq         |

Jameel Ahmad Adil is a widely published scholar on Urdu literature, Critique and intellectual history of the Muslim Subcontinent. He has written more than two dozen books and hundred plus research articles on his credit. He is a noteworthy contribution to modern Urdu literature and a widely acknowledged scholar of high repute, both in India and Pakistan. Book Digest Lahore has compiled its July 2021 issue to honour him for celebrating his services to the literati and paying tribute to him. Various writers of worthy repute have penned down their opinions, assessments, and detailed introduction of all of his works in this issue. This issue intends to state that, in the modern phase of Urdu literature, men of noteworthy stature are there to produce works of highly critical appreciation. Jamil Ahmad Adil indeed fulfils this criterion. His intellectual sojourn comprises almost all the major genres of Urdu literati activity. Some of his works could be considered part of world literature in stylistics and meanings.

The modern phase of Urdu literati is passing through postmodernism. Since the inception of this discourse in Urdu literature, many acclaimed names have come up with their writings in different genres of literature. Thus, we see the fashioning of experimenting different genres of poetry, short stories, novels etc. apart from the debate that whether postmodernism has influenced indigenous literature with positive notes or not, it is a fact that Urdu literature got some new avenues explored. Jamil Ahmad Adil fits in this equation as he is from the traditional paradigm of Pakistani literary discourse but has intelligent participation in the postmodern genre of writings. His writing style is imbued both in modern and postmodern discursive practices. One of the major and manifested problems of modern human beings is their widely emerged sense of alienation. This phenomenon is due to the industrialist revolution passing through postmodern phases. This phenomenon is not new, but modern extensions have imparted it with a far more prevalent occupation. This sense of individual and collective alienation is the central theme of Jamil Ahmad Adil's short stories and other genres. Muhammad Khalid Akhtar befittingly appraised Jamil Ahmad Adil for exploring these particular aspects in his writings. He described the short stories of Jamil Ahmad Adil as the predicament of the individual man. Asghar Nadim Syed also mentions this particular social alienation found in his short stories. This part of his writing made him one of the leading names in the Urdu literati scene. His literati services are deemed highly

appreciated both in the Indian and Pakistan Urdu world. Many research works have also been done on his literary contribution. He is equally appreciated for his poetry. His poetry is also about the state of modern man. Person like Mumtaz Mufti is under the immense impression of his poetry. In one of his articles, Mumtaz Mufti declared his poetry as an expression of universal truth.

This issue of book digest is an appreciative effort to pay homage to Jamil Ahmad Adil for his wonderful literary services. This issue comprised eight articles on the personality and character of Jamil Ahmad Adil by those men of letters who have had close acquaintance with Jamil Ahmad Adil for a long time. Thus, it could understand their assessments would be of quite a serious level. Qazi Ikram Bashir interviewed Jamil Ahmad Adil, engaging all the aspects of literary life. This issue also includes 17 critical articles on the works of Jamil Ahmad Adil. Dr Tehsin Firaqi is quite appreciative of his rationalist approach to criticism. Many prominent names of noteworthy stature in Urdu literature wrote about his contribution to Urdu literature.

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| Book                | <b>An Uncommon Road: How Canadian Sikhs Struggled Out of the Fringes and into the Mainstream</b> |
| Author              | Gian Singh Sandhu  |
| Language            | English  |
| ISBN                | 978-1-987900-16-3  |
| Year of Publication | 2018   |
| Pages               | 337  |
| Publisher           | ECHO Storytelling  |
| Reviewed by         | Akhtar Husain Sandhu   |

The book entitled *An Uncommon Road: How Canadian Sikhs Struggled out of the Fringes and Into the Mainstream* by Gian Singh Sandhu offers a variety of subjects in ten chapters and a glossary and bibliography. The author has decorated his writing with logic and rationale while talking of historical, political, religious and social subjects. It is neither an autobiography, political history, religious history, family history, travelogue, cultural and social accounts of Punjab and Canada nor study of Sikh diaspora but all because it is a blend of all the subjects including history, politics, regional and international politics, sociobiology, anthropology, culture and theology and so on that is why this involves a reader in the matter once someone starts. The academic language and civility in the tone beautify the text and the meanings. The mention of blood, massacre, discrimination, violation of rights, injustice and other inhuman incidents sometimes require harsh and furious diction, emotional stance and verbiage. Still, I admire the author's decency, civility, and docility while talking of the painful experiences and bitter moments. Nothing hard and poignant could be more than the massacre of Darbar Sahib and Delhi, but the author writes all these bloodletting moments and news with smooth and pacific waves of tears. The notable point is that the author concludes every move, learns from the conclusion and plans a new direction for the future. Usually, religionists or traditionalists feel hard to bring any revolutionary change, but this book testifies to his mind's prudent and zealous adaption regarding specific situations.

The book entitled *An Uncommon Road: How Canadian Sikhs Struggled Out of the Fringes and Into the Mainstream* was written by Gian Singh Sandhu, an eminent businessman, activist, pacifist and scholar from British Columbia, Canada. The life of Gian Singh Sandhu, the experiences as a new arrival in Canada, search for a job, retention of integrity and honour, adoption of western-style life and again restoring himself to the Punjabi culture and Sikh norms, service to the panth and other religious communities living around, blunt reaction, daring stance and fair deal in life, nonviolence as exhibited by Guru Nanak Dev, rise

to leadership, painstaking nature and legalism and moralism despite experiencing discrimination, sufferings, neurosis and dissension verify that I am writing for aman who is a true follower of Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Gobind Singh. The book entitled *An Uncommon Road: How Canadian Sikhs Struggled out of the Fringes and Into the Mainstream* by Gian Singh Sandhu offers a variety of subjects in ten chapters and a glossary and bibliography. The author has decorated his writing with logic and rationale while talking of historical, political, religious and social subjects. It is neither an autobiography, political history, religious history, family history, travelogue, cultural and social accounts of Punjab and Canada nor study of Sikh diaspora but all because it is a blend of all the subjects including history, politics, regional and international politics, sociobiology, anthropology, culture and theology and so on that is why this involves a reader in the matter once someone starts. The tone's academic language and civility beautify the text and the meanings. The mention of blood, massacre, discrimination, violation of rights, injustice and other inhuman incidents sometimes require harsh and furious diction, emotional stance and verbosity, but I admire the author on the decency, civility and docility he adopts while talking of the painful experiences and bitter moments. Nothing hard and poignant could be more than the massacre of Darbar Sahib and Delhi, but the author writes all these bloodletting moments and news with smooth and pacific waves of tears. The notable point is that the author concludes every move, learns from the conclusion and plans a new direction for the future. Usually, religionists or traditionalists feel hard to bring any revolutionary change, but this book testifies to his mind's prudent and zealous adaption regarding the specific situation.

Life without struggle is just like death. Struggle makes death a life. Struggle produces ever-shining success. The struggle is a tree, seasons and weathers like sufferings and success is the fruit. Comforts infuse idleness while struggle rejuvenates the desire to serve humanity. Humanity lives far away from religious borders while borders debar others to step in despite desirous to taste a life across the boundary. Life takes humans belonging to divergent religions and regions to a point where they do not value the borders around them. They come from diverse cultures, regions, and religions and own new territories and borders far away from their walls. They disguise and pose to be the new society, culture, laws and social beliefs, but they are helpless in bringing the same change in their inner soles. They seem to be changed, but the motherland's call of conscience and fragrance stand in the way of this utter change. They return to the home of their original region, religion, and culture without any social stress that once had dominated. Gian Singh Sandhu, a true son of the soil, leaves his motherland, owns western-styled living, but the bells of the adherence to the land, religion and culture rang in his ears, reminding him of the original assets pertaining to the motherland, Punjab. The restless soul could realize that the soul could be revitalized with the fragrance of the

soil, the origin. Soon he became amritdhari Sikh discarding the clean-shavenface. Canada was very different from Punjab, but 'struggle' worked there in the same way. As enunciated in the essay 'Natural Aristocracy', talent and virtue still advise humankind that these two qualities are the key to success. At the outset of Canadian life, the failure kindles a light and leads him to a bright future. Sandhu was a successful businessman, loving husband, soothing friend, sweet father, the daring leader of the Sikh community and staunch follower of Sikhism. In 1971, he shaved his beard, a permanent religious symbol. A sensitive mind can feel the time spent in the barbershop though the writer has not disclosed it in any part of the book. Still, it must be very hard for him to share the scary moments and the time when his daughter Kamaljit came across moving from school to home and could not recognize her father until he spoke. He embraced his daughter, and tears sprang in their eyes, but he did not let them touch his cheeks.

This was not a fatherly hug but a sorry hug on his surrender to the phenomenon of assimilation. At this moment, in front of his school-going daughter, Gian Singh Sandhu seems a weak character because he was sorry for the surrender of his real identity; he lost to the extent that he became a stranger for his daughter for a few moments. Identity is the basic thing, and if some one loses, it hurts him a lot. The author has fabricated genuine justification behind it, but no justification could work, so this journey and agony were confined to his conscience. A decade after, as his public talk on the Sikh faith in a Gurdwara ended, John Bass made him realize that he should not have advised what he did not act upon. This was another moment that encouraged the author to restore his identity. He did not need to shed a tear because the return to originality is a moment to be proud. He had got the lost gift.

The book witnesses that Gian Singh has a deep gain of life and possesses a vibrant personality. He has been an advocate of human rights in secular India and Canada or elsewhere in the world. To him, cruelty, barbarity and killing of innocents and disrespect of any religion cannot be accepted either in the name of religion or laws. Martin Luther King, Jr. rightly maintained that unjust law is not law at all. Defying unjust laws is the moral duty of all, as obeying the just laws is our duty. When wearing Turban, possessing Kirpan and a distinguished look of a Sikh created the problem in Canada, Gian Singh Sandhu seems prominent on the front to justify the religious status. His daughter appeared in the court to place arguments before favouring religious freedom.

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