

GLOBAL JOURNAL

OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCES: F

Political Science

A Historical Study

The West Asian Planet

Highlights

The Afghanistan Unsettledness

Constitution-Making of Pakistan

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 15

ISSUE 4

VERSION 1.0



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE

VOLUME 15 ISSUE 4 (VER. 1.0)

OPEN ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY

© Global Journal of Human Social Sciences. 2015.

All rights reserved.

This is a special issue published in version 1.0 of "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences." By Global Journals Inc.

All articles are open access articles distributed under "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences"

Reading License, which permits restricted use. Entire contents are copyright by of "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences" unless otherwise noted on specific articles.

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without written permission.

The opinions and statements made in this book are those of the authors concerned. Ultraculture has not verified and neither confirms nor denies any of the foregoing and no warranty or fitness is implied.

Engage with the contents herein at your own risk.

The use of this journal, and the terms and conditions for our providing information, is governed by our Disclaimer, Terms and Conditions and Privacy Policy given on our website <http://globaljournals.us/terms-and-condition/menu-id-1463/>

By referring / using / reading / any type of association / referencing this journal, this signifies and you acknowledge that you have read them and that you accept and will be bound by the terms thereof.

All information, journals, this journal, activities undertaken, materials, services and our website, terms and conditions, privacy policy, and this journal is subject to change anytime without any prior notice.

Incorporation No.: 0423089
License No.: 42125/022010/1186
Registration No.: 430374
Import-Export Code: 1109007027
Employer Identification Number (EIN):
USA Tax ID: 98-0673427

Global Journals Inc.

(A Delaware USA Incorporation with "Good Standing"; **Reg. Number: 0423089**)

*Sponsors: Open Association of Research Society
Open Scientific Standards*

Publisher's Headquarters office

Global Journals Headquarters
301st Edgewater Place Suite, 100 Edgewater Dr.-Pl,
Wakefield MASSACHUSETTS, Pin: 01880,
United States of America

USA Toll Free: +001-888-839-7392

USA Toll Free Fax: +001-888-839-7392

Offset Typesetting

Global Journals Incorporated
2nd, Lansdowne, Lansdowne Rd., Croydon-Surrey,
Pin: CR9 2ER, United Kingdom

Packaging & Continental Dispatching

Global Journals
E-3130 Sudama Nagar, Near Gopur Square,
Indore, M.P., Pin:452009, India

Find a correspondence nodal officer near you

To find nodal officer of your country, please
email us at *local@globaljournals.org*

eContacts

Press Inquiries: *press@globaljournals.org*
Investor Inquiries: *investors@globaljournals.org*
Technical Support: *technology@globaljournals.org*
Media & Releases: *media@globaljournals.org*

Pricing (Including by Air Parcel Charges):

For Authors:

22 USD (B/W) & 50 USD (Color)

Yearly Subscription (Personal & Institutional):

200 USD (B/W) & 250 USD (Color)

INTEGRATED EDITORIAL BOARD
(COMPUTER SCIENCE, ENGINEERING, MEDICAL, MANAGEMENT, NATURAL
SCIENCE, SOCIAL SCIENCE)

John A. Hamilton, "Drew" Jr.,
Ph.D., Professor, Management
Computer Science and Software
Engineering
Director, Information Assurance
Laboratory
Auburn University

Dr. Henry Hexmoor
IEEE senior member since 2004
Ph.D. Computer Science, University at
Buffalo
Department of Computer Science
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Dr. Osman Balci, Professor
Department of Computer Science
Virginia Tech, Virginia University
Ph.D. and M.S. Syracuse University,
Syracuse, New York
M.S. and B.S. Bogazici University,
Istanbul, Turkey

Yogita Bajpai
M.Sc. (Computer Science), FICCT
U.S.A. Email:
yogita@computerresearch.org

Dr. T. David A. Forbes
Associate Professor and Range
Nutritionist
Ph.D. Edinburgh University - Animal
Nutrition
M.S. Aberdeen University - Animal
Nutrition
B.A. University of Dublin- Zoology

Dr. Wenying Feng
Professor, Department of Computing &
Information Systems
Department of Mathematics
Trent University, Peterborough,
ON Canada K9J 7B8

Dr. Thomas Wischgoll
Computer Science and Engineering,
Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio
B.S., M.S., Ph.D.
(University of Kaiserslautern)

Dr. Abdurrahman Arslanyilmaz
Computer Science & Information Systems
Department
Youngstown State University
Ph.D., Texas A&M University
University of Missouri, Columbia
Gazi University, Turkey

Dr. Xiaohong He
Professor of International Business
University of Quinnipiac
BS, Jilin Institute of Technology; MA, MS,
PhD,. (University of Texas-Dallas)

Burcin Becerik-Gerber
University of Southern California
Ph.D. in Civil Engineering
DDes from Harvard University
M.S. from University of California, Berkeley
& Istanbul University

Dr. Bart Lambrecht

Director of Research in Accounting and Finance
Professor of Finance
Lancaster University Management School
BA (Antwerp); MPhil, MA, PhD
(Cambridge)

Dr. Carlos García Pont

Associate Professor of Marketing
IESE Business School, University of Navarra
Doctor of Philosophy (Management),
Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)
Master in Business Administration, IESE,
University of Navarra
Degree in Industrial Engineering,
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Dr. Fotini Labropulu

Mathematics - Luther College
University of Regina
Ph.D., M.Sc. in Mathematics
B.A. (Honors) in Mathematics
University of Windsor

Dr. Lynn Lim

Reader in Business and Marketing
Roehampton University, London
BCom, PGDip, MBA (Distinction), PhD,
FHEA

Dr. Mihaly Mezei

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
Department of Structural and Chemical
Biology, Mount Sinai School of Medical
Center
Ph.D., Eötvös Loránd University
Postdoctoral Training,
New York University

Dr. Söhnke M. Bartram

Department of Accounting and Finance
Lancaster University Management School
Ph.D. (WHU Koblenz)
MBA/BBA (University of Saarbrücken)

Dr. Miguel Angel Ariño

Professor of Decision Sciences
IESE Business School
Barcelona, Spain (Universidad de Navarra)
CEIBS (China Europe International Business School).
Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen
Ph.D. in Mathematics
University of Barcelona
BA in Mathematics (Licenciatura)
University of Barcelona

Philip G. Moscoso

Technology and Operations Management
IESE Business School, University of Navarra
Ph.D in Industrial Engineering and Management, ETH Zurich
M.Sc. in Chemical Engineering, ETH Zurich

Dr. Sanjay Dixit, M.D.

Director, EP Laboratories, Philadelphia VA
Medical Center
Cardiovascular Medicine - Cardiac
Arrhythmia
Univ of Penn School of Medicine

Dr. Han-Xiang Deng

MD., Ph.D
Associate Professor and Research
Department Division of Neuromuscular
Medicine
Department of Neurology and Clinical
Neuroscience
Northwestern University
Feinberg School of Medicine

Dr. Pina C. Sanelli

Associate Professor of Public Health
Weill Cornell Medical College
Associate Attending Radiologist
NewYork-Presbyterian Hospital
MRI, MRA, CT, and CTA
Neuroradiology and Diagnostic
Radiology
M.D., State University of New York at
Buffalo, School of Medicine and
Biomedical Sciences

Dr. Roberto Sanchez

Associate Professor
Department of Structural and Chemical
Biology
Mount Sinai School of Medicine
Ph.D., The Rockefeller University

Dr. Wen-Yih Sun

Professor of Earth and Atmospheric
SciencesPurdue University Director
National Center for Typhoon and
Flooding Research, Taiwan
University Chair Professor
Department of Atmospheric Sciences,
National Central University, Chung-Li,
TaiwanUniversity Chair Professor
Institute of Environmental Engineering,
National Chiao Tung University, Hsin-
chu, Taiwan.Ph.D., MS The University of
Chicago, Geophysical Sciences
BS National Taiwan University,
Atmospheric Sciences
Associate Professor of Radiology

Dr. Michael R. Rudnick

M.D., FACP
Associate Professor of Medicine
Chief, Renal Electrolyte and
Hypertension Division (PMC)
Penn Medicine, University of
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian Medical Center,
Philadelphia
Nephrology and Internal Medicine
Certified by the American Board of
Internal Medicine

Dr. Bassey Benjamin Esu

B.Sc. Marketing; MBA Marketing; Ph.D
Marketing
Lecturer, Department of Marketing,
University of Calabar
Tourism Consultant, Cross River State
Tourism Development Department
Co-ordinator , Sustainable Tourism
Initiative, Calabar, Nigeria

Dr. Aziz M. Barbar, Ph.D.

IEEE Senior Member
Chairperson, Department of Computer
Science
AUST - American University of Science &
Technology
Alfred Naccash Avenue – Ashrafieh

PRESIDENT EDITOR (HON.)

Dr. George Perry, (Neuroscientist)

Dean and Professor, College of Sciences

Denham Harman Research Award (American Aging Association)

ISI Highly Cited Researcher, Iberoamerican Molecular Biology Organization

AAAS Fellow, Correspondent Member of Spanish Royal Academy of Sciences

University of Texas at San Antonio

Postdoctoral Fellow (Department of Cell Biology)

Baylor College of Medicine

Houston, Texas, United States

CHIEF AUTHOR (HON.)

Dr. R.K. Dixit

M.Sc., Ph.D., FICCT

Chief Author, India

Email: authorind@computerresearch.org

DEAN & EDITOR-IN-CHIEF (HON.)

Vivek Dubey(HON.)

MS (Industrial Engineering),

MS (Mechanical Engineering)

University of Wisconsin, FICCT

Editor-in-Chief, USA

editorusa@computerresearch.org

Sangita Dixit

M.Sc., FICCT

Dean & Chancellor (Asia Pacific)

deanind@computerresearch.org

Suyash Dixit

(B.E., Computer Science Engineering), FICCTT

President, Web Administration and

Development , CEO at IOSRD

COO at GAOR & OSS

Er. Suyog Dixit

(M. Tech), BE (HONS. in CSE), FICCT

SAP Certified Consultant

CEO at IOSRD, GAOR & OSS

Technical Dean, Global Journals Inc. (US)

Website: www.suyogdixit.com

Email: suyog@suyogdixit.com

Pritesh Rajvaidya

(MS) Computer Science Department

California State University

BE (Computer Science), FICCT

Technical Dean, USA

Email: pritesh@computerresearch.org

Luis Galárraga

J!Research Project Leader

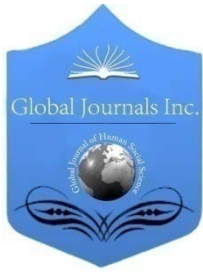
Saarbrücken, Germany

CONTENTS OF THE ISSUE

- i. Copyright Notice
- ii. Editorial Board Members
- iii. Chief Author and Dean
- iv. Contents of the Issue

1. Rising China: Not at War With Us. *1-10*
2. The Cold War in the West Asian Planet: A Historical Study of the Afghanistan Unsettledness. *11-19*
3. The Dynamic Role of “Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani” in the Constitution-Making of Pakistan (1972-1975). *21-34*

- v. Fellows and Auxiliary Memberships
- vi. Process of Submission of Research Paper
- vii. Preferred Author Guidelines
- viii. Index



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE

Volume 15 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2015

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)

Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Rising China: Not at War With Us

By Muhammad Nazim Rahim & Adeela Ashraf

International Islamic University Islamabad Pakistan, Pakistan

Abstract- The rise of China is indeed no less than a miracle as the state has shown splendid economic growth in the period of few decades. This rise has managed to attract the world wide attention. While many in the contemporary world look at China as an opportunity, the Western school of thought has portrayed it as nothing but “a threat” to the United States in particular. Despite already having her allies in the region and a network of military bases other than the increasing economic relations with East Asian states, United States has adopted measures to contain China. China’s behavior, on the other hand, shows that the state is more inclined towards the economic interdependence thereby creating a harmonious environment which will ensure world peace and stability. Her regional policy shows that China not only wants to develop sound economic relations with all but also desires to sort out differences through dialogue and consensus. China has by far avoided making alliances at both the regional and international level. Furthermore, China’s growing economic relations with United States in particular point towards her peaceful rise.

Keywords: china rise; power; modernization; economic liberalization. asia-pacific.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 200102



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



© 2015. Muhammad Nazim Rahim & Adeela Ashraf. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/>), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Rising China: Not at War With Us

Muhammad Nazim Rahim ^α & Adeela Ashraf ^ο

Abstract- The rise of China is indeed no less than a miracle as the state has shown splendid economic growth in the period of few decades. This rise has managed to attract the world wide attention. While many in the contemporary world look at China as an opportunity, the Western school of thought has portrayed it as nothing but “a threat” to the United States in particular. Despite already having her allies in the region and a network of military bases other than the increasing economic relations with East Asian states, United States has adopted measures to contain China. China’s behavior, on the other hand, shows that the state is more inclined towards the economic interdependence thereby creating a harmonious environment which will ensure world peace and stability. Her regional policy shows that China not only wants to develop sound economic relations with all but also desires to sort out differences through dialogue and consensus. China has by far avoided making alliances at both the regional and international level. Furthermore, China’s growing economic relations with United States in particular point towards her peaceful rise. The state is rational enough not to jeopardize the impressive economic gains she has made by challenging U.S or any other major power. Lastly in order to understand this rise, other than calculating her material power, it is important to consider leader’s behavior and how China looks at her growing power. China’s behavior and goals show that China is committed to her peaceful rise and does not intend to endanger her security or that of the world by pursuing hostile policy towards United States.

Keywords: china rise; power; modernization; economic liberalization. asia-pacific.

I. INTRODUCTION

China’s economic rise is often described as a miracle by economists. Irrespective of social turmoil and economic sluggishness that China experienced prior to 1949, the state eventually managed to somehow stabilize its economy under the leadership of Mao Zedong. While the reforms for structural transformation were launched in early 1950’s for the sake of modernization and industrialization, China’s economic success story begins from 1978-79 when Den Xiaoping launched an energetic era of economic reforms. His economic reforms like Household Responsibility System and Enterprise Responsibility System contributed a lot towards the economic growth of the state. Since then, the Chinese economy has improved and strengthened under the dedicated and intelligent leadership. Consequently, China has emerged as a global economic power. Today as the world’s second largest economy, largest manufacturer and the largest exporter and holder of foreign exchange

Author α: Ph. D Scholar in the Department of Politics & International Relations at International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan.
e-mail: mnazimrahim@gmail.com

Author ο: Studied “Masters in International Relations at National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad, Pakistan.

reserves; China cannot be ignored.¹ Moreover, owing to her giant economy, there is no doubt left regarding China’s great power status.

In economic realm, China has exhibited impressive willingness towards economic liberalization by opening herself up. China has presented a unique model of success to the world by undergoing structural changes. While Soviet Union failed to overcome its economic crisis because of its inability to adapt, China adopted the Soviet model of central planning when required and replaced it with economic openness and liberalization when needed. Her decision to join World Trade Organization and integration into global economy proves this point well.

This impressive economic development has been accompanied by growing suspicions by the U.S. The China’s economic rise is indeed one of the most highly and hotly debated topics in the contemporary politics where different analysts have drawn various possible future scenarios. While the staunch realists believe that China’s rise will imbalance the status quo thereby creating trouble in the region and at the international level, the liberalists think the other way round. For them, the rise of China as a super power will not only stabilize the world more, it will also create further economic interdependence which will benefit all the actors included. In the light of such divergent opinions, it is therefore important to carefully analyze the rising China’s power, her behavior towards the regional states and the existing great power i.e United States, and the credibility of the American suspicions regarding her rise.

II. UNDERSTANDING CHINA’S POWER

The reason why the discussion of a relative power of a state in comparison to another is often difficult is probably because of the complexity of the nature of the word “power”. Power, which occupies central position in world politics, has been defined in a number of ways and the exact definition is not yet complete. Generally speaking, the term power is often related to influence, control, force etc. For Robert A. Dahl, it is the ability of A to cause B to do something which B would not do if given the choice.² While the definition still occupies important position in the realist explanation of the world politics, it has failed to explain the increasing interdependence between the states, thereby creating a situation in which B would do what A wants due to the common interests they share. Dahl’s

second scenario suggests the likely possibility of a positive-sum game.

Power has been categorized in a number of ways but here one may start with the general division done by Kira Peterson who distinguishes power into coercive, bargaining, concerted and political power. Coercive power, as the name suggests, is related to use of force and violence to get the job done. Treating the international relations as a zero-sum game, a great power can convince a relatively weaker state to do what the great power wants either through the use of direct force or by creating deterrence. The bargaining power also relies on the available resources and so is somehow related to the first type, yet despite the competitive interests the states may agree to cooperate; not because of coercion but because of interdependence. Concerted power is not hierarchal rather horizontal. It simply means that the outcome is not owned by one actor but belongs to many. Largely driven by the common interests and progress, the involved members work together. The fourth one is the institutional power which “is the capacity to implement decisions, enforce rules, provide essential collective goods and achieve collective goals.”³ Another nature of power that needs to be mentioned in the 21st century is the soft power that for Joseph S. Nye is “the attractive power”.⁴

Keeping in mind this general overview of power, one can not only estimate China’s power but also her behavior in the world politics. Moreover another important fact often overlooked is that despite China’s increasing power in relevance to United States and her growing influence, the clear distinction can be made between the behavior of the rising powers of the previous century and China; not only because of the transition in the nature of international system but also because of China’s willingness to adapt and peacefully co-exist. Therefore, equating China’s growing power to aggressive or challenging behavior would be wrong.

As far as the first form of power is concerned, China no doubt has an impressive military power but it has not used the power for violent or coercive purpose. China, by spending 2% of its GDP, occupies second position in the military spending after U.S.A, though the difference between their spending is roughly that of 1.2%⁵. The state is also a nuclear power since the Cold War. Yet as said earlier, the behavior of the state needs to be analyzed as well. China has adopted the doctrine of No First Use and self-defense. Secondly, China has always given more priority to the economic power rather than the military power. China has also insisted on the limited development of nuclear weapons. Furthermore though China had previously been engaged in territorial rifts, it has resolved these disputes not with the use of coercive power but through compromise and dialogue. Even with the contrasting territorial claims that are left,

China’s leadership has assured to resolve the issues peacefully.

Bargaining power, which is less intense than the coercive power but encourages competition and rift, also does not define China’s influence well; provided the fact that China’s “inviting in” and “going out” strategies create more of a win-win situation for all. By opening up her economy, China has provided a great opportunity to world community as well via her contribution to the international trade. China’s relations with third worlds states, for example, do not reflect an unequal partnership rather economic interdependence; thereby benefiting both and creating opportunities for further integration. Hence it can be said that unlike the other powers, China does not want to concentrate power rather share it. As Zheng Bijian writes in “*China’s Peaceful Rise to Great Power Status*” that China will not follow the example of great powers who strive for global domination, in fact, it strives for development and peace of the world.⁶ China’s determined commitment to the strategy of “peaceful co-existence” and the introduction of “China’s peaceful rise” under the leadership of Hu Jin Tao further elaborates the point. Talking about the institutional power, China has institutional influence in the world mainly due to her permanent membership of United Nations Security Council. China’s performance in the Security Council demonstrates well that she realizes the authority and responsibility that comes with this status. In the post-Cold war era, China’s participation in UN peacekeeping has been enlarged. It is the 13th largest contributor to United Nations troops overall and the first largest contributor among the P5.⁷ Furthermore; China has always advocated strengthening the international law and supremacy of United Nations against the unilateral interventions and state-led coercive measures. Four Chinese requisites in this context are: all activities should be authorized by UN, cooperation of the concerned state, stability of the state and region, and fourthly China’s own limitations as the state is fully aware that commitments need to be made after full consideration of one’s capacity.⁸ This is the reason why China has urged dialogue in the contemporary nuclear crisis of North Korea and Iran-She urged them both to abide by their commitments, failing which both the states have faced sanctions. However based on the assumption that any use of force may worsen the situation, China has urged all the actors to resort to dialogue. The Six-Party Talks, initiated by China to reach a compromised agreement over North Korean nuclear crisis is one such example.

Lastly, China’s soft power is increasing with the passage of time due to various reasons. Though many analysts believe that China’s soft power lags behind that of Western powers, Chinese elite’s increasing desire to expand the soft power demonstrates the importance this power occupies in Chinese politics. Moreover, China has all the elements of soft power ranging from the

cultural, language and civilizational power to the intellectual power.⁹ Five principles of peaceful coexistence play an extremely important role. The five fundamental rules governing China's foreign policy include mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.¹⁰ It can be argued that it is not just the capital that a state invests in other states or at the international level that helps the state to improve its image, the behavior also matters a lot. For instance despite enjoying military supremacy and elevated supreme soft power, anti-American sentiments are increasing around the globe. This evident decline in United States' intangible influence is probably because of U.S interference in the internal matters of the state, her unilateralism which often contrasts with the international norms and standards, strings attached with her aid or assistance to other states in the form of proposed reforms or strict conditions and most importantly because of the dual approach towards the issues concerning allies and foes.

It is, therefore, without any doubt that China is a power today but China's approach towards her rising power and influence in the world politics is different from the powers of the past. China understands it well that the 21st century is different from the previous centuries where the great powers would plunder other countries' resources by expansion, invasion, and aggression. China's rise has been motivated by technology, capital, and resources acquired through peaceful means.¹¹ To add in more, China is smart enough not to jeopardize the influence she has gained through peaceful means by adopting aggressive military posture; a mistake too often committed by the great powers of the past. Indeed like the rest of states, the ultimate goal is the pursuit of national interests but China seems to understand that power comes with responsibility. This is the reason why China wants to share the power to share the responsibility of maintaining world peace and harmony.

III. RISE OF CHINA AND OVERSTATED CONCERNS

While the world has observed the economic rise of China with surprise and praised this economic development, United States has shown concerns and wariness. Despite Chinese assurances and devotion to the peaceful rise, the concerns raised are often overstated and exaggerated. John J. Mearsheimer, a staunch supporter of offensive realism, needs to be mentioned here. He argues that China will follow in the footsteps of other great powers that seek regional and then the global hegemony to ensure their survival. His theory of offensive realism asserts that as the world is anarchic and uncertain and the states have offensive capabilities, every state lives under the constant fear for

her safety and survival. Such an adverse situation, therefore, prompts the countries to seek hegemony and the already-existing powers to maintain the status quo. He predicts that China will seek hegemony in Asia by translating her economic power to military power and will try to push United States out of there because he says: "most Chinese surely remember when Japan was powerful and China was weak. In the anarchic world of international politics, it is better to be Godzilla than Bambi."¹²

A large number of modern day writers frequently use the term "new Cold War" to explain the atmosphere of competition and contention that surrounds the Asia-Pacific in particular and the world in general. The new Cold War, according to these writers, will involve China and United States as key players; both striving to woo allies and expand their influence across the world. It is believed that the growing mistrust between U.S.A and China reflects "cool war", if not Cold War and therefore poses serious threat.¹³ Hence the U.S administration is imprudently advised to "contain" China's rise, giving an impression that United States cannot afford to overlook this important development. The reason given is that if U.S wants to maintain its contemporary position in the world, it has no other option but to balance China.¹⁴

While U.S.A, after enjoying considerable hegemony with the disintegration of Soviet Union, is worried about China's rise, China seeks no hegemony. The fact is that due to her integration in the world economy, it would be ridiculous on behalf of China to behave aggressively. China cannot afford to and surely does not intend to show that aggression; as China's main focus has been on the economic development and not to achieve the military supremacy. It is well aware that a confrontational foreign policy will thwart the development and by affecting life of millions of Chinese will cause domestic instability. Hence China is rational, calculating and conscious.¹⁵ Moreover Mearsheimer compares emerging China with United States of 20th century that emerged as the super power after the fall of European powers. Nonetheless, he forgets one important point; which is that the modern China has preferred dialogue over force and compromise over coercion to settle down her inter-state differences. While U.S has been engaged in multiple wars in the Cold War and post-Cold War era across the globe, China has avoided such foreign meddling. It is, for sure, concerned with her border and home security in particular and world security in general but she appears to avoid direct military encounters. Not only that China's main focus has been on economy, her tools of persuasion are also different from those employed by United States. Secondly though the mistrust and suspicion between the powerful states is natural and understandable, making comparison between U.S-U.S.S.R rifts of Cold War with today's Sino-U.S relations is a bit of exaggeration. The competition between the Soviet Union

and United States was based on arms race, where both the sides sought domination in military realm. Today's world is highly interdependent because of the increasing commercial relations. Whilst U.S is busy establishing military bases across various regions of the globe, China is busy engaging states in economic relations which further create interdependence and this interdependence, the majority agrees, assures peace and stability. To add in more, those who believe that China's strategic culture is dominated by the concept of war need to realize the fact that China has undergone considerable changes on its journey from being an empire to a modern state; the changes that were brought from within and not forced upon it. This reflects China's rationality and flexibility. Therefore though the realists can predict a gruesome future, they cannot be certain. Unfortunately, however, it is their prediction that creates a sense of fear often leading to anarchy and aggression.

China's economic integration can be well explained by analyzing her commercial relations with the regional states and most importantly by looking at her relations with United States. However before moving on to China's evolving relations and foreign policy, it is preferable to look into U.S policy towards Asia-Pacific and her upgraded involvement in the region due to notable China's emergence.

IV. U.S POLICY TOWARDS ASIA-PACIFIC

*"The future of politics will be decided in Asia, not Afghanistan or Iraq, and the United States will be right at the center of the action."*¹⁶

Hillary Clinton

United States' engagement to the Asia-Pacific is not new. Indeed it was in the latter part of 19th century when United States sent delegations to various countries, forcing them to open their ports for trade. Throughout history, U.S has managed to influence the behavior of the states using various means. It was, however, in the Cold War when the region occupied important position in U.S policy. Japan, the emerging power of Pacific, surrendered in World War II (after U.S dropped nuclear bombs) thereby creating a power vacuum. The vacuum had to be filled to contain the spread of communism and to restrain Soviet's influence to reach the strategically important region. United States, therefore, seized the opportunity and extended strategic, economic and diplomatic relations to the already existing and the newly independent states of the region. It was, in fact, the Second World War that enabled U.S to establish military presence in the region, the presence that has been strengthened and upgraded since then. While the attention of U.S was diverted towards Middle East and South Asia in the post-cold war era and particularly after 9/11; after her failures in both Afghanistan and Iraq U.S.A has once again shifted

towards areas of her key interests, with Asia-Pacific being most important. Five officially stated interests U.S has in reference to the region are: retention of access to Asian markets, continuance of a permanent American military presence, prevention of the rise of a dominant regional rival, maintenance of military bases and facilities to assure freedom of access and maneuver, and advancement of democracy.¹⁷

America which looks at itself not only as a superpower but also as the Pacific power has developed relations with the regional states through both bilateral and multilateral forums. As far as the bilateral relations are concerned, the degree and extent of these relations have varied from state to state and from time to time. Brief overview, nonetheless, is required to better understand the U.S policy toward the region. Starting with Japan, the first encounter of both countries was quite hostile where Japan was forced to open itself up for trade. In fact General Ishiwara Kanji, when prosecuted for his war-crimes in 1946, demanded to charge Commodore Matthew Perry of the U.S. navy who negotiated first U.S- Japan trade treaty. The point he made was that it was through this experience that Japan learned about aggression.¹⁸ The history of their bilateral relations is also tainted by the catastrophic nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Ironically, the war-torn Japan then became U.S key ally rather a junior partner in the region. Though this unequal alliance increased with the passage of time, it also received some setbacks owing to the economic development of Japan during 1970's and 1980's. The same advancement could be observed in the strategic realm where the need to build sufficient Japanese forces was felt. At present, U.S is actively supporting the Japanese military upgrade. Moving forward, America's relations with South Korea are dominated by the common threat of North Korea. The Korean War of 1950 in the cold war era and the nuclear status of North Korea in the contemporary world have had large impact on South Korea; thereby pushing the state under U.S umbrella. U.S also enjoys cordial relations with Taiwan. Though the formal relations with Taiwan ended in 1979 when U.S recognized the People's Republic of China, the informal ties have been extensive and cordial which have been kept alive through Taiwan Relations Act. The fact is that irrespective of the developing relations with China, U.S.A has never backed from her relations with Taiwan. It was in 2000 when the Congressional bill titled Taiwan Security Enhancement Act was passed by one of the two houses of Congress. Had it become law, it would have further jeopardized Sino-U.S relations as it suggested exalted military support to Taiwan. U.S.A needs to be more vigilant in this context as her military assistance may adversely affect peace in region by fueling suspicions. Recently, U.S has shown eminent interest in strengthening relations with her regional allies. This suggests that Asia has once again become

“central to U.S policy” as said by Joel R. Campbell.¹⁹ Another U.S key ally in the Pacific is Australia with which U.S enjoys cordial relations since long. Other than trade and economic relations, both the allies have been working exclusively on the military relations as well. Being the members of ANZUS, United States and Australia along with New Zealand have agreed to cooperate on military and defense matters. As far as the South East Asia is concerned, with the arrival of Nixon Doctrine and bitter defeat in Vietnam, U.S disengaged herself from the region largely. Though U.S provided financial and non-lethal aid against Vietnamese and Cambodian rebels, the superpower turned her focus from security to economic issues in the region of ASEAN. Though the “Vietnam Syndrome” affected U.S influence in the region, the economic relations between U.S and ASEAN have improved. In the light of many analysts, U.S.A is working on improving its bilateral relations with the states of Asia-Pacific after a period of “neglect”. Not only this, United States has also extended her strategic relations with India. The Civil Nuclear Deal of 2005 is important to mention here which has not only grown suspicions in Pakistan but is also believed to be another measure to contain China. Bilateral relations with regional actors reflect U.S strategy of “raising others up” as is said by Ashley J.Tellis.²⁰

V. U.S PIVOT TO ASIA

U.S views Asia Pacific stretching from Indian subcontinent to America, spanning across Pacific and the Indian Ocean, including engines of the global economy and home to several emerging powers. At this time when the region has emerged as an economic engine, it has attracted the attention of the world including the U.S.A. As the once hegemon of post-cold war era realizes that the region has become important in the 21st Century, “Strategic pivot or rebalancing” has been launched by Obama administration to increase influence over this part of the globe. U.S Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton explains this pivot to Asia as “U.S commitment” to the region that is working on its security and economic structure which U.S will assist through “American leadership”. The reason she gives is that “Just as Asia is critical to America's future, an engaged America is vital to Asia's future. The region is eager for our leadership and our business...”²¹

With this belief, United States has embarked on strengthening relations with the allies and improving relations with key regional players. By engaging the region in different multilateral and bilateral arrangements, U.S has not only speeded up trade but has also expanded her military presence. The reemphasis approach is multidimensional; ranging from security and economic to diplomatic enhancement. In the security realm, owing to the increasing significance of the Asia-Pacific, United States has refocused

attention towards the military deployment in the region particularly after the decision of forces withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan. The doctrine of Air-Sea Battle has been enforced, to counter the state and non-state threats. However, it has been accepted at both the official and academic level that the doctrine is intended to contain China in East Asia and Iran in Persian Gulf.²² With already established permanent bases in South Korea and Japan, U.S has enhanced strategic partnership with Australia, Thailand, Singapore and Philippines. Other than that, by strengthening her allies’ position, United States aims at ensuring her influence in the region by countering the other rising powers, particularly China.²³ America is also working on improving relations with the regional states through multilateral engagements including APEC, TTP and EAS. U.S.A, irrespective of expressing suspicions regarding SCO, applied for its membership.

The U.S relentless efforts to project power region coincide with China’s economic rise. The question is despite having economic ties with almost all regional states, having a web of military bases stretched across the region and the growing strategic relations with important players of the region like Japan, Australia and now India; why does United States fear rise of China?

VI. CHINA’S REGIONAL POLICY

After looking at United States’ policy towards the region, it is necessary to review China’s regional policy as well. While U.S policies enable us to understand U.S concerns and the consequent containment of China, China’s regional policy will help us comprehend how Chinese leadership look at her rise and the available opportunities. For it is important to know how China interprets her global emergence.

While China was somehow isolated during the Cold War, her policy has been completely transformed in the post-Cold War era. Peaceful cooperation, win-win situation and the harmonious world form the three pillars of China’s foreign policy. These three guiding principles indicate that China does not want to play the role of a destructive major power, rather it wants to participate towards the construction of the international community which will benefit the world and of course China itself.²⁴

Last year’s speech by Foreign minister Wang Li at the symposium titled “New Starting Point, New Thinking and New Practice 2013: China and the World” points towards the new approach in China’s foreign policy including the regional policy. Wang Li explains that the basic principles of Chinese neighborhood policy revolve around the concept of “amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness”. Realizing the fact that the neighborhood is extremely important for China’s own security, progress and prosperity, the Chinese government has designed an effective regional



diplomatic agenda. China, he says, has not only proposed a number of cooperation initiatives but has also upgraded high official contacts for the sake of building confidence and enhancing mutual trust. Representing the China's government, Wang Li expressed the state's welcoming attitude towards the region and suggested strengthening the regional and bilateral relations.²⁵ China's Ambassador to United States Cui Tiankai expressed the similar official desires this year. Owing to the fact that the region has experienced many bloody wars in the past, China is committed towards the peace and stability. He says: "The last thing we want to see in our neighborhood today is instability, be it in the form of armed conflicts, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or rise of terrorism." China also wants inclusive integration of the Asia-Pacific and believes that the creation of alliances and blocs is likely to produce negative consequences. He further adds that China wants to see itself as a strong, democratic, culturally advanced socialist state and these goals can only be achieved through peace.²⁶ The reason strong enough why unlike United States, China has avoided making alliance to counter increasing U.S influence in the region.

With this realization in mind, China has developed bilateral and multilateral relations with the region that holds significance for her because of security, economic and political reasons. China's improving relations with the states of Southeast Asia illustrates the point as the states, which previously viewed each other with suspicion, now acknowledge one another's importance and interdependence. China's response towards the East Asian Financial Crisis and SARS, which further deepened the economic crisis, was appreciated by the Asian countries and China's responsible role was praised by both the leaders and public. The result of the special treatment by China is that "the concept of China threat" has been replaced by "the concept of "China opportunity."²⁷ To achieve this goal, China's policy towards Southeast Asia is based on trade relations, CBMs, and providing the developmental assistance without conditions with special emphasis on uplifting the poorer states like Laos and Burma.²⁸ This approach has not only helped China make the economic gains but has also improved China's image in the region. The tool employed, therefore, is often interpreted as China's soft power.

Lu Jianren explains the different stages in the China-ASEAN relations. Before 1991, he argues, was the period of confrontation and fluctuations. While both sides established diplomatic relations in the mid of 1970's, it was not until 1990's that China and ASEAN speeded up the cooperation in various sectors. The second phase was that of creating a framework. It was between 1991 and 1996 that both sides laid down proposals to establish mechanisms. In this period, the actors involved not only worked to improve trade ties but

also expressed willingness to address the territorial disputes of South China Sea, which indeed reflects the level of seriousness from both sides. The third period represents the mutual trust and good neighborhood policy. It was the time of Asian Financial Crisis when China proved her sincerity towards the relation with ASEAN by not devaluing its currency and by offering unconditional assistance to the states. This grandiose gesture of China convinced the regional states that China is not only a responsible regional power but also trust-worthy. The fourth period is that of setting the strategic partnership and China and ASEAN have made important developments in the domain of security and strategy as well.²⁹ Hence the relationship which started with some hesitancy and much fear has been transformed into an all level partnership. Statistics show that trade between China and ASEAN rose more than 10% in 2012 and by 2020 and the annual trade is expected to reach \$1 trillion. The two-way trade not only makes China the largest trading partner of ASEAN but also makes ASEAN the third largest source of China's FDI.³⁰

Not only the bilateral but also the multilateral arrangements connect the region to China. Being the member of ASEAN+1, ASEAN+3, ARF, and EAS, China wants to ensure her involvement in the important regional forums. Boao Forum of Asia also provides a platform for the regional states to improve relations by extending cooperation in different fields. Moreover, the growing relations between ASEAN and SCO illustrate the level of engagement China has achieved bilaterally and multilaterally in the region.

It is important to realize however that despite the deepening economic integration, the overlapping territorial claims made by states in South China Sea and East China Sea continue to pose a serious challenge in the region. Though China's territorial issues remain unresolved with ASEAN members, both sides have signed non-aggression pact and the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in South China Sea and there appears to be a reaching consensus between the various parties involved. In the presence of strong economic ties, there are high hopes that China and ASEAN states will reach a compromise. The matter is different with Japan, however. It is, nonetheless, worth mentioning that for China, her "peaceful rise" does not contradict with her territorial claims. Chinese Chief of Defense Fang Fenghui has recently explained China's stance in his press release along with United States' General Dempsey where he stresses that China means no harm to her neighboring states but she has firm stance when it comes to her sovereignty and territorial integrity. He stresses that China will "not lose an inch" by arguing that "we do not make trouble, we do not create trouble, but we are not afraid of it." Moreover, he demands that the world needs to adopt objective approach towards the region's dispute.³¹ While his

remarks are being used to criticize China's peaceful rise argument, what needs to be understood is that China is not a weak state and like the rest of members of international community, gives immense importance to her national interests and sovereignty. Yet China has a wide experience of peaceful settlement of border disputes and has, in fact, successfully settled down boundary issues with 12 of its neighboring states.³²

Therefore, the world should give as much attention to Chinese President Xi Jinping's remarks as much as has been given to China's military statements when he says: "There's no gene for invasion in Chinese people's blood, and Chinese people won't follow the logic that might is right."³³ The rising power fully understands her power but also acknowledges the fact that her rise is possible only in a peaceful environment.

VII. CHINA-U.S INTERDEPENDENCE

China's regional policy indicates that though China wants to improve her relations with the neighbors, she does not intend to snatch United States' share. From Latin America to Africa and from Middle East to Asia-Pacific, China is extending relations but has not adopted "the containment policy", the tactics too often employed by the rest of major powers. While the great powers normally try to create blocs and/or counter-blocs; China, other than building relations with the rest, has always endeavored to maintain warm and sound relations with U.S.A. The fact is that principles of peaceful co-existence do not just apply to China's neighbors but have also greatly influenced China's policy towards United States.

The expanding trade between the two since last decades is considered to be just a start by China and urges to further speed up the economic ties. In 2013, China became the second largest trading partner of U.S by exports totaling \$122 billion and imports totaling \$440 billion.³⁴ China's serious commitment towards trade relations with United States can be further explained by the fact that China increased her imports from United States after the international financial crisis though her exports to U.S have decreased. This is the reason why many U.S firms have turned towards the China's market.³⁵ Another sector promising further integration between China and U.S is that of foreign investment. According to Rhodium group's findings, China's FDI in U.S doubled in 2013³⁶ and only in the first quarter of 2014, Chinese companies have already announced deals worth \$8 billion.³⁷ Moreover while American exports to rest of the world increased only by 162% between 2000 and 2011, her exports to China increased by 632%.³⁸ China's increasing trade and lucrative FDI made in United States reflects the building confidence and trust or at least such an effort on behalf of China. Moreover, China offers market to the American small and medium businesses, thereby attracting U.S direct

investment as well. The trends in economic relations predict the growing interdependence between the two powers in the future despite little setbacks. Mr. Zhong Shan, the vice minister of commerce of PRC urges, as the representative of government, that the two states should enhance trade and investment by avoiding the politicization of economic ties.³⁹

The study of U.S-China 2022: Economic Relations in the Next Ten Years suggests that the two states have impressive opportunities to extend cooperation in fields of agriculture, tourism, and energy and research sector. The study not only predicts the possible future bilateral relationship between them but also represents the wishes of both sides. Moreover, even if the states decide to conduct the trade at a same pace as now, their trade is expected to reach up to \$1 trillion by 2022.⁴⁰

It is not just the economic interdependence that binds them only. Rather now in the globalized world, United States and China have to cooperate and work together on a number of issues. Ranging from the issues of global warming, climate change to countering terrorism, China's ability and the growing interest in active participation in the global issues cannot be ignored by the world now. The two, for example, being the permanent members of the U.N Security Council have every reason to cooperate with each other or else the world affairs and progress may get paralyzed as was experienced in the Cold War. The fact is that their approach may be different but as the major powers, China and United States share the same concerns regarding the various global issues. China, for instance, wants the earliest possible solution of North Korea's and Iran's nuclear crisis. She is equally concerned about the growing terrorism, has condemned the acts of terrorism worldwide and has promised all kind of support to the international community in this context. Particularly, her proximity to Afghanistan, Pakistan and Central Asia makes her more vulnerable to the rising assemblage of non-state actors in the region. Likewise, China is as concerned about the misuse of Syria's chemical stockpiles as is United States. Being the responsible members of U.N Security Council and the powerful states of the world, therefore, both need to converge rather than diverge their energies if want to secure the world peace. The approach adopted is often different though, this difference is not a conflict in itself. China believes that the issues of North Korea, Syria and Iran should be resolved at the table and not in the battlefield, for this will make matters only worse. While China's preference for dialogue is often interpreted as her intent to delay, the fact is that haste and use of force have always accelerated the tension and misunderstanding.

The interdependence between China and United States is unique and unparalleled and it is because of this interdependence that many conflicts have been overcome or at least pacified. It indeed is the



“new type of great power relationship” where if U.S desires to be treated as an “indispensable nation” then it needs to recognize China as an “indispensable partner”⁴¹ which may help her sort issues which United States cannot solve on its own, either because of its limitations or because of problem’s gravity. In short while many in the Western circle draw the sketch of China as a rising power which is desperate to compete with United States, China is nothing but an opportunity for U.S and it is through cooperation that U.S can get the maximum out of this opportunity.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The attitude of Chinese leadership, her growing economic relations with the regional states and the level of interdependence she has with United States point towards one direction and that is China views itself as a responsible member of international community. Moreover, the state fully realizes that her designed goals are only possible to achieve through cooperation, collaboration and co-existence. The logical question to be asked at this point is why will China jeopardize what she has gained so far to challenge the status-quo? While the realists may hold the aggressive behavior of powerful states responsible for it, the fact is that China is not following the track of other powers. China has neither pursued the imperialism of Japan after her industrial revolution nor has shown any inclination to challenge United States and her allies by making an alliance similar to that of Allied powers in the Second World War. Furthermore, never in the history can we find an example of a rising power with policies such as peaceful co-existence, peaceful rise and harmonious world. Had China inclined towards becoming a regional or global hegemon, she would not have favored economic integration equally with all.

Though the Western writers present the bleak future scenario, China does not seem to agree with that. It is, hence, essential to know how China views the future. One can look into the concept of “harmonious world” presented by the last Chinese president Hu Jintao, for instance. He made the four point proposal and argued that a harmonious world can be achieved through multilateralism, mutually beneficial cooperation, spirit of inclusiveness, and rational and necessary reforms. Not only this, but he also defied forceful interference in another country’s affairs, use or even threat of a military force against the sovereignty of a state.⁴² Xi Jinping’s speech at the opening ceremony of Boao Forum points to the similar emphasis on “common development” and “boost cooperation” to “uphold peace.” He further vowed that as an important member of global family China “will continue to develop itself by securing a peaceful international environment and, at the same time, uphold and promote world peace through its own development.”⁴³ Country’s white paper

on the peaceful development expresses similar future vision. China’s foreign policy is aimed at promoting harmonious world based on mutual benefit, mutual trust and coordination; where politically the states should be treated equally, cooperate economically and seek common ground culturally.⁴⁴ None of this hints China’s inclination to either threaten or challenge United States or any other state of the world.

The fact is that China is a responsible power of the contemporary world that has always cooperated and desires to cooperate in future as well. She neither follows any belief similar to that of “Manifest Destiny” to lead the world nor is she striving to reach the top by pushing others down like other major powers. The state has shown flexibility in her foreign policy and her leaders have expressed goodwill towards all including the United States. Now it is time for United States to reciprocate in a positive way as it is the need of time, for China has already made it clear that “the Chinese people want peace do not want war.”⁴⁵

REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Morrison, Wayne.M. (February 3, 2014). China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States. Congressional Research Service. 7-5700, p.1.
2. Baldwin, David.A. (2013). Power and International Relations. In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons (Eds.), Handbook of International Relations (2nd Ed., p.273). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2013.
3. Petersen, Kira. (2011). Four Types of Powers in International Relations. IPSA. pp. 6-18.
4. Nye, Joseph.S. (2008). The Powers to Lead. New York: Oxford University Press. p.31.
5. The World Bank. Military expenditure (% of GDP). Retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS>
6. Bijian, Zheng. (Sept/Oct 2005). China's “Peaceful Rise” to Great-Power Status. Foreign Affairs. 84,5.
7. United Nations Peacekeeping. Troop and police contributors (Statistics). Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors.shtml>
8. Zugui, Gao. (2008). Constructive Involvement and Harmonious World. FES Briefing Paper,13. p.2.
9. Minjiang, Li. (2008). China Debates Soft Power. Chinese Journal of International Politics, Vol. 2. p.298.
10. Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. (n.d). Retrieved June 25, 2014 from http://wiki.china.org.cn/wiki/index.php/Five_Principles_of_Peaceful_Coexistence
11. Bijian, Loc.cit.
12. Mearsheimer, John, J. (2006). China's Unpeaceful Rise. Current History, 105, 690. p 160-162.<http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A005.pdf>

13. Silver, Joe. (April 9, 2014). Is the US headed toward a cyber Cold War with China?. *Arsctecnica*. Retrieved from <http://arstechnica.com/tech-policy/2014/04/is-the-us-headed-toward-acybercold-war-with-china/>
14. Tellis, Ashley J. (2013). Balancing without Containment: A U.S. Strategy for Confronting China's Rise. *CSIS. The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 36, Number 4. p.111
15. Brzezinski, Zbigniew and Mearsheimer, John, J. (2005). Clash of the Titans. (Special Report). *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2005/01/05/clash_of_the_titans
16. Clinton, Hillary. (October 11, 2011). America's Pacific Century. *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/10/11/american_pacific_century
17. MacDevitt, Micheal. (2007). The 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review and National Security Strategy: Is There an American Strategic Vision for East Asia?. *Issues and Insight*, Vol. 7. p.1-3.
18. Mearsheimer, John J. (2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. p.118
19. Campbell, Joel R. (2012). US Foreign Policy towards Northeast Asia. *PERCEPTIONS*, Vol.XVII, Number 4. pp. 5-21
20. Tellis. Loc.cit. p.112
21. Clinton. Loc.cit.
22. Sutter, Robert G., Brown, Michael. E, Adamson, Timothy J.A., Mochizuki, Mike. M, and Ollapally, Deepa. (2013). The George Washington University. P.13. Retrieved from http://www2.gwu.edu/~sigur/assets/docs/BalancingActs_Compiled1.pdf
23. Twining, Daniel. (2007). America's Grand Design in Asia. *CSIS. The Washington Quarterly*, Vol.30, Number 3. p. 80.
24. Zugui. Loc.cit.
25. Yi, Wang. (December 16, 2013). Embark on a New Journey of China's Diplomacy. Speech presented at symposium of New Starting Point, New Thinking and New Practice 2013: China and the World. Retrieved from <http://si.chineseembassy.org/eng/xwdt/t1109943.htm>
26. Tiankai, Cui. (April, 2014). China's Policy towards the Asia-Pacific. Speech presented at John. F. Kennedy School of Government. Retrieved from <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/sgxx/ctk/rota/t1150642.htm>
27. Ye, Shulan. (2010). China's Regional Policy in East Asia and its Characteristics. (Discussion paper). *China Policy Institute*. p. 3. Retrieved from <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/discussion-papers/discussion-paper-66-china-regional-policy-shulan-ye.pdf>
28. Mauzy, Diane. K and Job, Brian. L. (2007). U.S. Policy In South East Asia. *Asian Survey*, Vol.47. pp. 632-633.
29. Lu Jianren. (2006) See China and ASEAN have forged solid ties since they established a dialogue 15 years ago, and their strategic partnership seems likely to expand in the future. Retrieved from www.eaber.org/sites/default/files/documents/IAPS_Lu_2006_02.pdf
30. Alter, Bruce. (January, 2014). China and ASEAN relations. *HSBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.hsbc.com/news-and-insight/2014/china-and-asean-relations>
31. Feddersen, Michael. (May, 2014). CJCS GEN Martin Dempsey and Chinese Chief of Defense, Fang Fenghui Press Briefing. Retrieved from <http://www.dvidshub.net/video/337164/>
32. Hua, Zhang. (2014). China's Position on the Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea between China and the Philippines. Retrieved from <http://ph.chinaembassy.org/eng/xwfb/t1143881.htm>
33. See Xi: There is no gene for invasion in our blood. (May, 2014). Retrieved from http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2014-05/16/content_17511170.htm
34. The People's Republic of China. (April, 2014). Office of the United States Trade Representative. Retrieved from <http://www.ustr.gov/countries-regions/china-mongolia-taiwan/peoples-republic-china>
35. Shan, Zhong. U.S.-China Trade Is Win-Win Game. Retrieved from <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/xw/t675646.htm>
36. Hanemann, Thilo and Gao, Cassie. (2014). Chinese FDI in the US: 2013 Recap and 2014 Outlook. *Rhodium Group*. Retrieved from <http://rhg.com/notes/chinese-fdi-in-the-us-2013-recap-and-2014-outlook>
37. Hanemann, Thilo. (2014). Chinese FDI in the United States: Q1 2014 Update. *Rhodium Group*. Retrieved from <http://rhg.com/notes/chinese-fdi-in-the-united-states-q1-2014-update>
38. Chen, Baizhu. (2012). China Is America's Biggest Opportunity. *Forbes*. Retrieved from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/forbesleadershipforum/2012/02/17/china-is-americas-biggest-opportunity/>
39. Shan. Loc.cit.
40. U.S-China Economic Relations In Next Ten Years. (2012). Retrieved 3rd July from http://www.chinausfocus.com/2022/index-page_id=1427.html
41. Zhongying, Pang. (July, 2013). A "New Type of Great Power Relationship" between China and US. *China-U.S Focus*. Retrieved from <http://www.chinausfocus.com/foreign-policy/a-new-type-of-great-power-relationship-between-china-and-us/>
42. Hu Makes 4-point Proposal for Building Harmonious World. (2005). Retrieved from <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/UN/142408.htm>

43. Jinping, Xi (2013). Speech at opening ceremony of Boao Forum. Retrieved from http://www.china.org.cn/business/Boao_Forum_2013/2013-04/10/content_28501562.htm
44. China's Foreign Policies for Pursuing Peaceful Development. (2011). Retrieved from http://www.china.org.cn/government/whitepaper/2011-09/06/content_23362744.htm
45. To understand China, look back. (June, 2014). The Strait Times. Asia Report. Retrieved from <http://www.stasiareport.com/the-big-story/asia-report/opinion/story/understand-china-look-back-20140610>



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE

Volume 15 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2015

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)

Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Cold War in the West Asian Planet: A Historical Study of the Afghanistan Unsettledness

By Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan & Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi

International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan, Pakistan

Abstract- The cold war in West Asia was come across by the world in shape of Afghanistan conflict. This battle besides unfocused the U.S.S.R. from her armaments competition by way of the U.S.A, consequently let America to achieve a scientific plus. USA ratcheted up stress on U.S.S.R. all the way through several means. The Reagan government initiated introducing missiles in Western Europe, principally in Western Germany, tactically positioned to terrorize Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. Reagan moreover initiated buttressing the United States armed forces. Reagan custom-built innovative jumbo jet carriers and long-drawn-out America's stealth aircraft curriculum. Toward the Soviets, these measures indicated a broaden armaments fissure, in particular in terms of scientifically sophisticated armaments.

Keywords: *cold-war, ussr, usa, afghanistan, west-asia, unsettledness.*

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 160699p*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



© 2015. Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan & Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/>), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

The Cold War in the West Asian Planet: A Historical Study of the Afghanistan Unsettledness

Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan ^α & Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi ^σ

Abstract- The cold war in West Asia was come across by the world in shape of Afghanistan conflict. This battle besides unfocused the U.S.S.R. from her armaments competition by way of the U.S.A, consequently let America to achieve a scientific plus. USA ratcheted up stress on U.S.S.R. all the way through several means. The Reagan government initiated introducing missiles in Western Europe, principally in Western Germany, tactically positioned to terrorize Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. Reagan moreover initiated buttressing the United States armed forces. Reagan custom-built innovative jumbo jet carriers and long-drawn-out America's stealth aircraft curriculum. Toward the Soviets, these measures indicated a broader armaments fissure, in particular in terms of scientifically sophisticated armaments.

Keywords: cold-war, ussr, usa, afghanistan, west-asia, unsettledness.

I. HISTORICAL LOCALE

Russian interest in Afghanistan goes back to the Tsarist time. The pocket-sized non-coastal and taciturn country was then a buffer zone between two empires and it was keenly aware of its powerful northern neighbor. By virtue of its size and common border, the USSR has held an important place in Afghan foreign policy, even though the intensity of Moscow's relations with Kabul has varied. Here Soviet objectives in Afghanistan are examined and gauged Soviet success in achieving these objectives and the cost that is involved.

Afghanistan did not in the 1950's turn out to be a party to the anti-Soviet alliances, which were linked by its neighbors, Iran and Pakistan. One of the focal aims had been to continue to stay Afghanistan out of the western orbit. Like articulated by the then President Podgorny at the conclusion of a visit to Afghanistan in June 1967, the Soviet Union had "high evaluation of Afghanistan's foreign policy, which was based on principles of positive neutrality, nonparticipation in blocs and military groupings. [1]

A subsequent purpose of Soviet course of action had been to exercise its relationship with

Author α : Head, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan. e-mails: dr.zahoorkhan@iiu.edu.pk, dr.zahoor2008@gmail.com

Author σ : Head, Department of Politics & International Relations, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan. e-mails: manzoor.afridi@iiu.edu.pk, drmanzoorafridi@gmail.com

Afghanistan to fashion complexities for Pakistan, a US ally and one-time base for spying operations against the Soviet Union. Unstated support from the USSR was significant in Afghanistan's decision in December 1953 to repudiate the 1921 treaty in which Afghanistan had recognized the Durand Line as the international boundary between Afghanistan and what was then British India. The same year, the Afghan premier declared that American military aid to Pakistan constituted a threat, a view that was shared in Moscow. And when Kabul articulated its support for Paktoonistan [2], Moscow announced and repeatedly confirmed its support of the Afghan moves. [3]

The anti-Pakistan policies of Afghanistan elicited strong Soviet support in the diplomatic crises, which on two occasions led to diplomatic breaks between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Nor has the Soviet objective in playing up the nuisance value of Afghanistan for Pakistan always been subtle. To that day, Moscow pressed on Islamabad the need for strong Soviet-Pakistani relations as the only real guarantor of improved Pakistan-Afghan relations and of a peaceful northern border for Pakistan.

The 3rd Soviet objective in Afghanistan was to demonstrate its good neighborly policies. The Soviets had repeatedly emphasized a policy termed by Khrushchev in 1960 as never having a friendly neighbor alone in her needs [4]. Soviet aid to Afghanistan was part of this policy and Soviet cultivation of good relations with Muslim Afghanistan kept their common border peaceful and did not provoke the ethnically related Soviet Muslims. The USSR's objective here was to demonstrate in Afghanistan the advantages that accrue to a Third World country that remain outside the American orbit.

The 4th soviet objective could be' characterized as an outgrowth of the Soviet Union's perceptions of it role. The USSR was an Asian as well as a European power and it projected it image in the Third World more as an Asian power, which identified with the concerns of die less-developed countries. Despite the challenge from the People's Republic of China in that quarter, Moscow had persisted Soviet involvement with Afghanistan helped to legitimize the Soviet Union Asian's concerns. That also offered a foothold for Soviet

operations in a region that had seen rivalry between the three superpowers. The Soviet objective was to neutralize and if possible to exclude other powers from the region, and Afghanistan was an important part of that regional strategy.

II. MECHANISM OF SOVIET GUIDING PRINCIPLE

The USSR as a superpower had numerous means at its disposal, which it could utilize in pursuit of its foreign policy objectives. The Soviets offered Afghanistan military aid as well as training for the Afghan armed forces, much needed economic aid to help develop their backward neighbor, trade which helped to offset the foreign aid debt and to offset the geographic disadvantages of diplomatic support for Afghan causes in particular the Pakhtoonisian quarrel with Pakistan. Each of these is analyzed below.

Primarily, the Soviet Union gave military aid to Afghanistan to counter US aid to Pakistan and Iran. Reflections of realpolitik demand that Soviet concentration to Afghanistan in the interests of refuting that bordering country to the rapidly growing American alliance system. Stuck between 1955 and 1972 Afghanistan, officially, nonpartisan, was given \$455 million in military aid [5]. To that date "Soviet military aid deliverances to Afghanistan were in excess of \$600 million [6]. Since 1956 the USSR has made available 95 percent of Afghan military paraphernalia. Additionally, at the same time as of 1979 there were some 4,500 Soviet military gurus in Afghanistan serving to maintain military equipment and to direct the fighting against rebels. As Afghanistan moved closer to Moscow, its military dependence increased. With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviet military had essentially taken over all of the functions previously performed by the Afghan army.

Soviet military instructors accompanied modern Soviet weapons. In fact, Soviet instructors replaced the Turkish and German officers who were the traditional instructor of the Afghanistan. Both at the military academy in Kabul and in the field Soviet mentors became strictly involved with the enlargement of the Afghanistan military, helping with the assemblage and maintenance of military equipment, schooling local personal in the use and maintenance of military apparatus and advising staff and armed forces officers. Besides, soviet instructors had skilled a substantial number of Afghan pilots and crewmen to operate the modern jets delivered by the USSR. The closeness of that affiliation had developed strong pro-Soviet elements inside the officer corps in the Afghan military, and that was that group, which carried out the coup d'etat against King Zahir Shah in 1973 and played a key role in the 1978 coup against President Daud which "brought the Communists to power in Afghanistan.

Military support to Afghanistan had been a part of the overall prototype of Soviet relations. It was originally given to increase Soviet power and prestige. Military support to Afghanistan had been a part of the overall prototype of Soviet relations. It was originally given to increase Soviet power and prestige. In order to continue the pursuit of that power and prestige, Moscow had had to undertake a greater military commitment to the Afghan regime than it might at first have foreseen.

Economic aid had also been an important component in the Soviet-Afghan relationship. Between 1954 and 1975 the Soviet Union gave \$1.263 billion in aid to Afghanistan, making it one of the largest recipients of Soviet assistance [7]. Grants comprise a larger share of Soviet aid to Afghanistan than to any other Third World country. About 1,500 Soviet economic advisors and technicians were assisting Afghanistan in a massive amount of projects [8].

Afghan dependence on the USSR for economic aid had been pronounced since the fall of Daud. Indeed, the offer of 52 billion made by the Shah of Iran to help counteract that dependence was a factor in the overthrow of Daud who was perceived by the pro Soviet factions in Afghanistan as moving to the right and also as weakening the growing ties to Moscow. Economic aid from the United States reached \$500 million by 1977 but was cut off in February 1979 after the murder of the American Ambassador Dubs. Thus Kabul was no longer able to exploit the competition between Washington and Moscow, as previously it had done so successfully.

The Soviet Union was Afghanistan's principal trading partner. Afghan Trade with Eastern Europe was also shipped from first to last the USSR, while trade with the West and with India in handled through Pakistan. Pakistan kept constant to allow transit facilities but because of the unfortunate stale of its relations with Afghanistan the latter's reliance or trade with and through the Soviet Union had increased.

Soviet diplomatic support had been influential in strengthening Afghani claims against Pakistan, Afghan calls for Pakhtoonisian had been believable because of Soviet backing, and that was for that reason "that they had been taken gravely in Pakistan. Soviet diplomatic hold up was used as an instrument for gratifying the "appropriateness" of Afghan policy toward the USSR.

III. REVIEWED EVALUATION OF PROCEEDS AND OVERHEADS

The epoch of Zahir Shah's epoch was the most trouble-free time in Soviet-Afghan relations. In retrospect, it is ironic that Moscow's tacit support was instrumental in the kings overthrow the subsequent declaration of the Republic by his pro-Soviet cousin Mohammed Daud, who took over as President and the pro-Soviet elements in the afghan military for a time after taking over, Daud followed a classic pro-Soviet and anti

Pakistan stand. Thereby pleasing the activists in the military who felt that Soviet backing was essential for a solution to Afghanistan's only problem-the Pushtoonistan issue [9]. Moscow greeted the Daud coup with enthusiasm and hailed the new regime's determination to pursue a policy of non-adherence and no adherence to military blocs [10]. Reaffirming the classic Soviet approach to South Asian politics, Pravda stated.

"Naturally the people of the Soviet Union cannot be indifferent to the political changes taking place in Afghanistan. The question is not merely concerned with the fact that our southern neighbors, Afghanistan, and the Soviet Union have a common border more than 2,000 km. long, but that Afghanistan is a friend and its people are our friends."[11]

There were supplementary contestants for Soviet benevolence, at a distance from Daud himself and the Soviet-trained Afghan military personnel. The Marxist-Leninist Khalq party led by Taraki and Hafizullah Amin set off Daud's program by working for a course of action which would lighten "the boundless sufferings of the oppressed natives of Afghanistan," through a conquest of international Marxism over intercontinental entrepreneurship," incomparability of municipal over clandestine sector, and land reorganization to overhaul the feudal organism overlooking Afghan society. The Parcham party led by Babrak Karmal was an derivative of the Khalq party from which it had come apart in 1966, as an upshot more of devices than philosophy. Parchamies were more in good turn of working within the structure and were ever accused after the 1978 coup of group effort with Daud, even though they had turned out to be disheartened with the weakening of the progressive side of his rule and had largely inhibited their hold. Even though they had helped in the 1978 coup beside Daud, Parcham leaders were either sent out of the country or shut down when the Khalq party took power.

The 1973 coup was projected to auxiliary Moscow's objectives in Afghanistan, and for a while it did. Daud in the beginning allowed bigger contribution for the pro-Moscow left in Afghan political affairs and reaffirmed Afghan thankfulness for Moscow's support largesse he not only moved closer to the Soviet Union in municipal support, but he also articulated support of Moscow's Asian united safekeeping sketch and became aggressive to Iran and Pakistan but in a little while Daud set in motion to run into complexity, losing the support of pro-Soviet fundamentals who well thought-out his modernization curriculum and reform a farce exportation that Hand would make wider the decision making bottom to comprise those who helped him to muscle proved false, and the constricted base of power remained in actual fact in Mohammadzai hands. What's more, the conventional traditionalist essentials in Afghan world were apprehensive of Daud for his known flirtation

with Moscow and his dependence on the latter in his 1973 invasion. [12]

Daud's takeover expenditure of Soviet Union got increased the aid support in economic and military sectors. While half of the \$ 1.3 billion aid committed by Moscow to Kabul had been delivered, the pace of delivery was stepped up after 1973. The Soviet Union committed itself to 20 major projects in agriculture, irrigation, electric power, oil and gas exploration, mineral and metal processing and transportation. [13]

Moscow's honeymoon with Daud began to bitter later than the Shah of Iran lucratively enticed the Afghan President away from exclusive reliance on Moscow. Daud, who was in problem with household splinter groups of the left and the right, acted in response by straightening out his differentiation with Pakistan? He blamed domestic troubles for the stoppage in signing a concord identifying the Durand Line as the authorized border line between Afghanistan and Pakistan. When Daud, at some stage in a visit to Sadat's Egypt in 1978, reprimanded Cuba for its inclined stand in the nonpartisan pressure group, the Soviet Union saw that the accomplishment of its intentions in Afghanistan, pulled off decades of international relations, was in danger of spinning to malfunction.

IV. THE NUR MUHAMMAD TARAKI COUP AND UNION PRO MOSCOW

Although Daud's removal from power came at a time when Moscow was progressively gloomier with his course of action, there is little substantiation to put forward direct Soviet intervention in the April 1978 overthrow. There, Daud was killed by the side of 29 other associates of his family and a projected 3,000 others who were either Mohammadzaies or minimally blameworthy by unification with the ruling family. There is, on the other hand, the prospect that Moscow's despondency with Daud's policies was a fundamental dynamic in heartening the Parcham and Khalq divisions to amalgamate and integrate.

The new Soviet leverage in Afghanistan was best understood in historical perspective. Whereas, the successive Afghan rulers had been competent in the 19th and 20th centuries to take part in oil. Russian concentrations against those of the British and later the Americans, their aptitude to carry out that paired act then had been complicated by the existence of domestic forces named or predisposed by Moscow. In other words, Moscow had got hold of neighboring allies who could force down for transformations and policies that could be approving and favorable for the USSR. But which it could not bear down on directly. Pro-Soviet rudiments in the military, a decisive resource of support and muscle in Afghanistan organism had provided evidence principally helpful to Moscow in carrying out that strategy. [14]

The 1978 revolution had been referred to as the unintended overthrow by an observer of the Afghan scene who witnessed it from close quarters. [15] It resulted from the aggravation caused by Daud and moved toward a direct upshot of the assassination on April 17, 1978, of Akbar Khyber, the ideologue of the Parcham splinter group. Although the Khalq faction was suspected of attachment, annoyance was lined and veined against Daud, and he well thought-out an onslaught and crackdown beside leftist leaders, Hafizullah Amin, the Khalq co-leader who afterward grew to be president of Afghanistan, was proficient without more ado before his apprehension to get in touch with three military officers, a couple was major in the army and a colonel in the air force, who set off the rebellion because of a feeling of at this time or on no account. The 2000 bodyguards of Daud were to conclude subdued by air force terror bombing campaign. Air force squadrons trustworthy to Daud could not get their own back owing to a communicational collapse. As a consequence the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was born espousing open-mindedness, the wellbeing of peasants, workers, and land reforms.

Once upon a time, the budge towards Moscow came instantaneously; Soviet acknowledgment was absolute to the new government, and Moscow showed its gladness at Afghan gradient in her favor. Soviet intentions of pro-Soviet Afghan administration, serving as an example for next-door countries and backing up in rebuffing the area to great-power contestants, was being fulfilled and pleased. Afghanistan had become yet another triumph in a series that-encompassed Angola, Ethiopia, and South Yemen. It confirmed and demonstrated the hostile source of power followed dynamically or by failure to pay of budding Soviet credence and weight. The United States, by contrast, appeared in the eyes of regional countries to be on the self-protective and condemned to inaction.

The 1978 coup was followed by stepped up Soviet economic and military aid. The price of coalition could be witnessed here in greater than before support. 72 up-to-the-minute economic support accords were signed by Moscow between April 1978 and March 1979, and those were accompanied by an incursion of almost 4,500 Soviet counselors. As the Taraki administration exchanged blows for authenticity, legitimacy and power, which schemed the Soviet Union by virtue of its self-declared alliance with Moscow into giving greater support.

The vigilant equilibrium in Afghanistan policy under Daood. Who had hunted fiscal support from both east and west, was once another time went down in favor of entire reliance on Soviet, relieve. For the reason that the Taraki management turned not in favor of all technically trained or opinionated Afghans. Most of whom were connected to the prior rule; it very much

needed Soviet consultants to fill in the space in all ministries of the government. Additionally, Soviet advisers were posted in the office of the president. The finale of the slant came in the office of companionship signed by Taraki in Moscow on December 5, 1475. That concordat institutionalized Afghan reliance in the USSR. Taraki was not capable to get a mainstream of Afghans to support his hallucination of an original Afghanistan. His transformation in education, land, over ship, and communal strategy ran into complicatedness as a mutiny by a small number of tribesmen grew into an extensive confrontation in a mainstream of the 28 Afghan provinces. A dribble of refugees entered Pakistan after May 1978, and by August 1979 their number had augmented to 100,000. They had a discussion regarding the movement beside the Communist rule in Kabul as a religious over and above a nationalistic upheaval, since Taraki had been abnormal and got against Islam and put up for sale Afghanistan to the Soviet Union.

Pakistan was the first country to recognize the Taraki government and had offered full mutual aid in transportation, travel and trade amenities and facilities. The Pakistani president, General Zia ul Haq, visited Kabul devoid of invitation in September 1978. On the other hand, as well-liked opposition to the Taraki regime spread, Pak-Afghan relations deteriorated. Pakistan counted 56 violations of its air and ground space and Afghanistan charged Pakistani involvement in the mounting insurgency inside the country. These charges were held up by the Soviet Union, as Afghanistan's neighbors were made scapegoats on a campaign to influence Afghans that the revolt was not inside based.

The Soviet Union sustained to put anxiety on Pakistan to send back the 450,000 Afghan refugees for the reason that their occurrence was seen as constituting an embarrassment and mortification to the victory of a socialist regime. Pakistan had responded that it couldn't force them back for humanitarian and compassionate reasons. Furthermore, these refugees had relatives and unavoidable associates in Pakistan with whom many were staying. The border was a porous one and Pakistan was unable to stop them from crossing over. Nevertheless, consistent with the Pakistan government, that was up to the Afghan government to stop them, that could one way or another be managed. Moscow had subsequently put pressure on India to persuade Pakistan to return the refugees. The Indian response under Desai was to give advice the Afghans to generate in-house state of affairs, which would make possible their come back.

As the fighting increased, the Soviets were drawn in with in creased military aid, and soon there were reports of Soviet pilots flying combat missions against rebel strongholds. In addition, an East German embassy was opened, and the Cuban mission enlarged to eighty persons. In contrast Kabul asked the missions

of the United States, China, Iran and Pakistan to decrease their staffs. While the Soviet Union benefited in that Afghanistan began to follow Moscow's line slavishly after April 1978, the costs were increasing as Moscow became more heavily committed. It could be seen as a case of the tail wagging the dog and Moscow, for the first time, faced a dilemma in Afghanistan. It had a duty to support a self-declared socialist regime, but the cost in material and diplomatic terms was increasingly high. Not to support the regime meant the collapse of Afghanistan's socialist experiment and a victory for "reactionary elements there as well as in Iran, Pakistan, China and the United States, since Soviet propaganda has repeatedly linked these countries as conspirators seeking the overthrow of the Communist regime. There appeared to be no easy responses and Moscow's search for a solution was complicated once more by yet another coup.

V. A PUNTER STATE FOR MOSCOW

Soviet advisers cautioned Taraki and Amin to act more slowly in implementing reforms in order not to alienate so many so rapidly shah who lived in some sparked rumors of the kings return under a soviet aegis. This may have contributed to the September 1979 coup in Kabul.

Hafizullah Amin was the strongman and ideologue of the Khalq party. He perceived that Taraki was succumbing to pressures to moderate for example at the Havana Summit of Nonaligned Nations. Taraki moved away from the direct confrontation with neighbors that he had previously threatened that this moderation was not distasteful to the Soviets is suggested by the fact that Taraki stopped in Moscow on his journey home from Havana and was given a warm welcome. However, reports circulated that Moscow was less than satisfied with the Prime Minister, Hafizullah Amin, and would seek to replace him in a move to win support from the rebels. Instead, Amin moved first, and a week after Taraki returned from Havana he was overthrown in a coup and was killed. Amin declared that Taraki was alive but sick and almost a month later admitted he was dead as a result of a long illness.

Amin declared that his September 16, 1979, coup marked the beginning of a better socialist order" in which the enemies of the people had been eliminated. [16] He moved harshly against the opposition, dropping napalm on rebel villages, removing political opponents, organizing the secret police under his personal control, appointing his brother as Governor of four provinces and other friends and relatives to key posts. He had not previously listened to Soviet advice to go slowly, and there was little to indicate that he would do so after he assumed power.

VI. A GLOVE PUPPET

Soviet stakes in Afghanistan were high, and Moscow was put in a position where it had to support Amin at least for a limited time or face the prospect of a backlash, similar to the anti-US feelings in post-Iran if the rebels won. But Moscow was looking for an alternative leader even as President Brezhnev sent Amin a letter congratulating him on his "election" shortly after the coup.[17] Amin was committed to ensuring that reforms launched after 1978 were not set back. The coup was a desperate attempt to prevent a change in policies. To win Moscow's concurrence, Amin acted as a client of Moscow's but a client that told its patrol that it couldn't be forced off its chosen path to socialism. It was a new version of the patron-client relationship, and it turned out that Moscow did not like its new equation with Amin.

Anyway, on December 27, 1979, the Soviets moved with 50,000 troops into Afghanistan and established control. In the process, they killed Hafizullah Amin and brought in three days after the coup Babrak Karmal, the leader of the Parcham party, to be the new president of Afghanistan. This move, characterized as the most serious challenge since World War II-by President Carter, destroyed detente and put Southwest Asia directly in the path of a possible US-Soviet confrontation. [18]

The timing of the Soviet move was curious. As early as June 1979 there had been reports in Pakistan of a Soviet division within Afghanistan's borders waiting to interject direct Soviet force. It is surprising that US intelligence reports did not pick up this information. Contrary to many reports, the rebel movement was inflicting no more damage against the Kabul government in December than it had been in the months past. In fact, there was some indication that the Soviet-backed Afghan army would make a successful bid against the insurgents before the winter snows deepened. Hence why did the Soviets invade Afghanistan at the moment in time?

There were a number of plausible reasons for the Soviet move. Principally, Moscow perceived US policy in Southwest Asia to be essentially bankrupt and US responses limited by an inability to project American power beyond a temporary naval presence. The 100,000 men Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) was operationally years away, and the lesson learned in projecting US forces even 90 miles from American shores in Cuba could not have been lost on Moscow. The exercise hopelessly delayed by foul weather and bogged down in bureaucratic and logistic problems, demonstrated the inadequacy of any US response in a critical situation half a world away.

Subsequently, the Soviet Union took advantage of the American-preoccupation with Iran. The spectacle of a United States condemned and held hostage in a

country where only in January 1978 President Carter had proclaimed the Shah to be an island of stability in an unstable area of the world permitted a unique chance for Moscow to move to project its own power in a region where the United States had only recently been dominant.

In the same way, in the foray of Afghanistan the Soviet Union took advantage of a golden opportunity to move towards the final play of the Great Game. By means of fulfilling its ambitions to secure a warm water port on the Indian Ocean-then only 300 miles from Soviet army positions through troubled Baluchistan. The temporary collapse of detente seemed a price-worth paying for the achievement of such a major and concrete objective. While the United state may threaten future action against further Soviet moves for then the Soviet Union had dramatically changed the political map of areas under its domination and control. One had to understand the larger objectives of that invasion-Afghanistan in and of itself was not a sufficient prize. The Soviet invasion had destroyed what remained of the regional leaders, a concept put forward by Dr. Brzezinski and endorsed in the Carter visit to New Delhi and Teheran. With the collapse of the Shah and his role as the policeman of the Persian Gulf, the return of a Moscow-oriented Mrs. Gandhi, and the Soviet takeover of Afghanistan, Washington could no longer count on any of its regional powers in Southwest Asia to guard its interests in a game where the stakes were high.

Correspondingly, the Soviet Union did not wish to see an uncompromising Islamic revivalist area encompassing Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, which might encourage its own Muslim population-a goal it probably shared with India. This could not have been a goal uppermost in the minds of the Soviet planners, but in combination with the other factors it undoubtedly influenced the decision to intervene.

As a final point and lastly, the prospect of a failing Socialist experiment invited a Soviet response to move-with force sufficient to get the job done. While socialist honor had to be defended, Moscow must have recognized that the negative publicity of the move would not rebound to its propaganda advantage, as seen in the condemned of the Soviet move in the General Assembly and Islamic Nations Conference.

Babrak Karmal had, in the words of one Afghan, been brought to power perched on Soviet tanks. Despite his efforts to harm the reputation of Amin as a stooge of the CIA and his undertakings to wipe down the atrocious excesses of the Amin regime through gesticulations such as the release of Afghan opinionated prisoners, there were few indications that he was perceived as being more benevolent-or more independent. At the same time as the USSR was carrying out policies to soften the dead set against religion and rebellious traditional perceptions of the Communist. Organization in power the presence of Soviet troops

everywhere fed the opposite belief that Babrak Karmal was not the master of his fate even in his own house. [19].

In nutshell Soviet policy in Afghanistan had so far been a success. Soviet Objectives to keep Afghanistan out of the Western orbit, to use the country to legitimize Soviet concern with Asia, to demonstrate to Pakistan the need for Soviet friendship-had then largely been realized. While the virtues of Soviet friendship were suspect in light of the strong embrace of Afghanistan, there was grudging respect for the extent of the support that a Soviet commitment brings.

The primary position of Moscow was ensured in Afghanistan by virtue of its size and common border and because it was Afghanistan's foremost trading partner. Soviet international relations had sophisticated Afghan good will over decades. In the last 5 years, it had become more heavily committed to the course of events unfolding in Kabul. Post-1973 success for Soviet policy in Afghanistan came as Moscow reaped the benefits of domestic discontent and pro-Soviet Afghan groups sought to initiate progressive changes. They had operated, at times, with direct Soviet approval, but had always had Moscow's tacit support in aiming Afghan policy towards a clearly Soviet orientation. These groups were encouraged by their perception of American unwillingness to get involved in regional problems driven by a desire to settle scores with their neighbors-Pakistan foremost among them.

The USSR was then heavily involved in Afghanistan. The cost of that involvement was rising. While Moscow might wish reconciliation between the Afghan government and the rebels who disagreed with the socialist path, and might even look for a compromise, there was little indication that the regime would be able to get the support of the population. But they had military control and while Soviet power was dominant, their control was ensured. The Soviets might even succeed in pacifying the rebels with their vastly superior force and the use of nerve gas. They would run a puppet regime in Kabul knowing that otherwise the conservative Muslim rebel forces could win, there by changing the Southwest Asian scene to a mullah controlled one-with possible adverse implications for Soviet control of the USSR's Muslim population.

VII. BUTT OF COUNTERFEIT VIEWPOINTS

The Soviet invasion might have been the last card that Moscow chose to play, but there was no doubt that it preferred to play the card rather than to lose its long cultivated and hard won place in Afghanistan. Moscow could not have wished for the souring of the Afghan revolution, but faced with its demise against the Soviets would protect the Revolution. [20]

It is too fact that Afghanistan is one of those unfortunate countries that have been the victim of false

beliefs. The Afghan confrontation between Afghanistan and British India were not measured opinionated wars by several Afghans but were between Islam and Christianity. As a result of these wars, abhorrence urbanized between the Afghanistan and the British.

King Amanullah of the Mohammadzai dynasty wanted to bring Afghanistan to the same level as any European country. Although there was great hatred against the British, king Amanullah advised the Afghans to learn the English language, as it was the key to technological and scientific knowledge. He also thought that devoid of educating the women the new generation could not originate evolution. King Amanullah advised the Afghans to seek knowledge giving the example of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.W.) who said that of necessary; one should go even as far as China to search for and rummage around for knowledge. But some of the fanatical groups disagreed with Amanullah Khan. They disagreed that the Prophet (S.A.W.W.) had meant that those in the hunt for Islamic knowledge should go to China. King Amanullah Khan also used to say that in Islam any person could lead the prayers consequently he himself used to lead the Friday prayers bit the fanatical clergy used to say that he was not eligible to do so, for the reason that he did not wear a beard.[21]

King Amanullah did not hope the flatterers around him and in order to be familiar with what the people considered with reference to him and his government, he made it a customary practice to camouflage himself and roam in the bazaars of the Afghan people. On one occasion he was more or less recognized by an Afghan was said to him, yours eyes are as beautiful as the eyes of the king Amanullah'. The king by the way had been blessed with a pair of extremely attractive eyes. It can be expressed that Afghanistan has the dubious honor of being the first state outside Moscow's sphere of influence in Eastern Europe to be invaded by the Soviet Union since the Second World War. The invasion of this out-of-the-way country, in December 1979, also sounded the final death knell for 1970s-style East-West detente. The continued presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan still sours relations between East and West, and between the Soviet Union and China. But strangely enough, this poor and remote land has a history of drawing the attention of great powers.

Russian interest in the orientation of Afghanistan could be traced to the eighteenth century expansion of the Czarist Empire southward, taking over central Asian khanates. For some two hundred years the Russian and British (India) empires battled for influence in Afghanistan, the key buffer state in the Great Game. Britain established and helped maintain an independent kingdom in Afghanistan until a coup in July 1973 by the King's cousin. Afghanistan had remained neutral in two world wars and non-aligned in the early days of the cold

war. After a request for aid from the United States was refused in the early 1950s, Afghanistan turned to a closer relationship with its Soviet neighbor.

This pro-Soviet gradient was of little consequence for many years, except to Pakistan-a CENTO collaborator of the United States. Afghanistan's population of fifteen million included and integrated eight million Pathans, who every now and then sought an independent and sovereign Pushtoonistan, which would take in Pakistan's the then North West Frontier Province (now KPK). Conflict with Pakistan along the frontier was contained, but continuous, and led Afghanistan to lean more heavily on Soviet aid. The 1973 coup installed a more pro-Soviet regime but at the time the Soviet Union seemed to have done little directly to bring this about. Further unrest, especially in the armed forces, led to another coup in April 1978. [22]

The armed forces put in power the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, a radical Marxist group sharply divided between two factions, the Parcham and Khalq. The new Prime Minister, N.M. Taraki was a Khalq leader and immediately set about radical land reform. He also antagonized wide sections of the population with vicious attacks on members of the Parcham faction. Above all, he pursued uncompromising Marxist policies, including anti-Islamic campaigns, and a growing Soviet influence emerged in social and political life. The resulting alienation of the people led Taraki's deputy, Hafizullah Amin, to strengthen his position. [23] In September 1979 Taraki, with Soviet support, botched an attempt to purge Amin and was he killed.

It was at that point that the Soviet Union began serious plans to invade Afghanistan. In the meantime, Amin began undoing Taraki's handiwork. He even signaled his desire to re-open contact with Iran and Pakistan, as well as western states, in order to win support against the growing Muslim fundamentalist opposition movements in Afghanistan. The Soviets feared the loss of Afghanistan and invaded on 24 December 1979. They installed Babrak Karmal, a Parcham faction leader in exile in Moscow, and arranged for him to request Soviet assistance. The basic Soviet motive was the security of its southern border and maintenance of a friendly Afghan regime. Apparently the Soviet Union did not fear a spread of Iranian-type Islamic fundamentalism to its own central Asian territory, because Moscow used its own Muslim troops and at first relied on the Afghan army to control the rebels. However, it soon became clear that Muslim fundamentalism was a greater threat than originally' appreciated. Troops from the European part of the Soviet Union were hurriedly brought in. [24]

By sooner or late some 115,000 Soviet troops into Afghanistan, Moscow demonstrated its ability to deploy large numbers of troops beyond its territory and its determination to wage a dirty and prolonged war. By 1985, it was estimated that the campaign had cost \$12

billion and at least 25,000 Soviet casualties. Perhaps half-a-million Afghan soldiers and civilians have been killed out of a population of 14 million. But the war can hardly be seen as a success, except in its most limited objective of keeping the Afghan regime out of hostile hands. The Soviet armed forces appear to be bogged down in a war where superior firepower merely allows the Russians to control towns and most major roads but not the three-quarters of the countryside. Cynical observers noted this might be called 'socialism in one town'. Soviet access to the Gulf is not significantly enhanced and, on the international scene, Moscow has earned widespread criticism from the non-aligned and Muslim worlds, not to mention the West. New Soviet tactics in 1984 concentrated on using air power to depopulate the countryside, creating free-fire zones. The short-term military position was stabilized but the regime in Kabul seemed no more secure than in 1980. Factional politics in the ruling Afghan party and low morale in the army were the most serious problems.

Rebel forces could take pride in holding the Soviet Superpower at bay, but they were just as far from achieving power in Kabul in 1986 as in 1980. The two hundred or more rebel movements lacked a common Programme even if they had a common enemy and offered no real alternative to the Soviet-supported regime. They found uneasy allies in the United States, Egypt and, to a certain extent, China and Pakistan, all of whom provided limited arms to the rebels. Western interests were more straightforwardly anti-Soviet than pro-rebel. After all, the fundamentalists among the anti-government rebels had much in common with Khomeini's Iran. While these anti-Soviet forces cheered every minor military triumph over Soviet troops, they regularly expressed concern every spring when Soviet forces swept into rebel-held areas in force. The result has been military stalemate. [25]

The Soviet intention was to impose a military solution but, in the longer term; to drive Pakistan into cutting off the rebels' access to arms. Some four million refugees from Afghanistan were already straining Pakistan's resources, especially since the refugees were mainly Pashto and threatened to destabilize Pakistan's northwestern border province. The challenge to the Pakistan regime also gave the Soviet Union some hope that a new leader in Pakistan would solve their problems. Pakistan's policy is to sit tight, arguing that only a more broadly based Afghan regime has any chance of survival. It is also unclear whether Pakistan could now move against rebel bases on its territory without destabilizing its own border region.

Negotiations, organized by the United Nations and managed by Diego Cordovez, began in 1982 and, despite early indications of progress, have remained deadlocked. The key question was whether and when Soviet troops would quit and whether the Kabul regime would really change its character. After five years of war,

the Soviet Union was unlikely to quit without having confidence in the stability and friendliness of the regime in Kabul. To be sure, the war was a drain on a Soviet economy now looking for savings but in the Soviet definition, national security has always been worth a high price. Some political concessions on the nature of the Kabul regime may be possible and the reforming Mikhail Gorbachev did install a more pragmatic Dr Najib in May 1986 as the Afghan leader. In January 1987, Najib proposed a unilateral ceasefire and the Soviet Union indicated that it was prepared to quit Afghanistan soon. There is little evidence that the Soviet Union intends to transform Afghanistan into yet another central Asian republic. However, the incentive for Afghanistan's neighbors to help arrange a deal is not very high. Only Pakistan seems vulnerable to pressure but a direct Soviet attack on Pakistan would certainly raise the stakes since that country has enjoyed American support. In the flurry of diplomatic activity in early 1987 the United States made it clear that it was discouraging Pakistan from accepting the new Soviet offer of a ceasefire and troop withdrawal within eighteen months. Thus, despite much apparent diplomatic and military activity, the political and military situation in Afghanistan seems deadlocked. Perhaps the best the Afghans can hope for is to become the Asian Finland. [26]

VIII. CONCLUSION

In nutshell, this research paper lets everybody make out that Mr. Gorbachev came to power in March 1985; Afghanistan presented his most immediate foreign policy dilemma in the Third World. His approach to this problem provided the proof that new thinking did involve a substantive change in Soviet foreign policy and that Moscow would no longer allow secondary, regional issues to drive its foreign policy to the detriment of its primary objectives.

Gorbachev's policy toward Afghanistan provided a model for Moscow's subsequent approach to other regional conflicts. In Afghanistan, Gorbachev demonstrated that his commitment to the peaceful resolution of regional disputes was not rhetoric alone and that the drawdown of military force was a primary objective. In Afghanistan, the national reconciliation emerged as the favored Soviet political solution to those regional disputes in which Moscow sought a face-saving compromise. Furthermore there in Afghanistan, Moscow showed that, while it would seek to reduce the costs and risks associated with its Third World realm and sphere, it would go on with to make available its clients with the indispensable assistance and backing to shore up them.

Moscow's wrapping up to pull out Soviet ground forces from Afghanistan was an inferred admission and right of entry of its incapability to hold back the uprising. It was also an acknowledgment and admittance that the

unrelenting pledge of Soviet forces to an unwinnable conflict and inconsistency was a bleed dry on sparse domestic possessions and a pricey embarrassment and loss of composure. As a final point, the decision was a sign of Moscow's acknowledgment that the charisma and magnetism of Soviet combat forces in Afghanistan was a foremost obstacle impediment both to its long-standing regional objectives and to the relaxation of the intercontinental milieu, which Gorbachev needed in order to chase his domestic precedence and primacy.

REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Current Digest of the Soviet Press. (1967, June 4). Pavda, Vol XIX, No.17.
2. CDSP. (1961, March 21). Pravda, Vol XIV, No 13.
3. Alfred, M.M. (1981). The Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan. Washington D.C: American Enterprise Institute.
4. Blechman, B. M. (Autumn 1980). The Afghan Angle: Where Détente?" Washington Quarterly 3, 100-108.
5. Bernstein, C. (July 18, 1981). Arms for Afghanistan. The New Republic 185, 8-10.
6. Joint Economic Committee (JEC). (1976). Congress of USA Soviet Economy in a New Perspective. Washington, DC: US Govt. Printing office, 194.
7. Charters, D. (Spring 1981). Coup and Consolidation: The Soviet Seizure of Power in Afghanistan. Conflict Quarterly 282, 41-48.
8. Statement by Daud After 1973 Take Over. (1973, July 29). New York Times.
9. USSR and the 3rd World. (1973, July 18). Pravda, VOL III No.6, Sep.2 1973 London: Central Asian Research Center, 380.
10. Hannah N. (Spring 1979). The Afghan Coup of April 1978: Revolution and International Security. Orbis, VOL 23 No1, 93-113
11. Critchlow, J. (Spring 1980). Soviet Prospects: Minarets and Marx. The Washington Quarterly 3, 47-57.
12. (i)-Shirin T. K. (Winter 1979). The Southern Flank of the USSR: Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan. Naval War College Review, 36.
(ii)-Greenway, H.D.S. (June 28, 1981). Tales from the Land of the Pathans. The Boston Globe Magazine, 8-9, 22-24.
13. Louis D. (Spring 1979). Inside Afghanistan: Yesterday and Today-A Strategic Appraisal. Strategic Studies, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, VOL II.
14. The New York Times. (1979, Sep. 19).
15. Philadelphia Inquirer. (Sep.19, 1979).
16. (i)-Aspaturian, V. V. (Jan. 28, 1980). Superpower Maneuvers-Moscow's Afghan Gamble. The New Leader 63, 7-13.
(ii)-Furlong, R.D.M., & Winkler, T. (March 1980). The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan. International Defense Review, 13(2), 168-169.
17. Chaliand, G. (April 2, 1981). Bargain War. New York Review of Books 28, 31-32.
18. The New York Times. (1980, Jan 28).
19. Declared, ironically, by Hafizullah Amin at the 61st anniversary of the Soviets Revolution
20. Louis F. (1930). The Soviets in the World Affairs. London: Jonathan Cape, Vol. 1, 284-286.
21. (i)- Eliot, T. L. Jr. (Spring 1979). Afghanistan: Yesterday and Today: A Strategic Appraisal. Strategic Studies Islamabad, 2, 64-83.
(ii)-Dupree, L. (July-August 1979). Afghanistan Under the Khalq. Problems of Communism 28, 34-50.
22. Foreign Broadcast Information Service (1979, October 10), S1.
23. Washington Post (1980, Jan.2), A2; Kabul New Times. (1980, Jan.1) and in Foreign Broadcast Information Service. (1979, Dec 31), S1-4.
24. Washington Post (1981, June 18), 24 A and Fulnuyama, The Security of Pakistan, 17-19
25. Dil, S. F. (June 1977). The Cabal in Kabul" Great-Power Interaction in Afghanistan. American Political Science Review 71, 468-476.
26. New York Times. (1981, July 21), P.A11, AND New York Times. (1981, August 7) ,P.4A

This page is intentionally left blank



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE
Volume 15 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2015
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Dynamic Role of “Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani” in the Constitution-Making of Pakistan (1972-1975)

By Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan, Muhammad Idrees & Muhammad Altaf
International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan, Pakistan

Abstract- Mawlana Noorani could be found busy in politics even before the independence of Pakistan in 1947. Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani entered into Pakistani Parliament through the general elections held in 1970. He always struggled for the democratization and Islamization of Pakistani society through constitutional means. When the Interim Constitution was presented in the National Assembly on April 14, 1972 by the Bhutto Government, Mawlana Noorani on that very day urged the President to prepare a constitution based on the teachings of Holy Quran and Sunnah and on the twenty-two points of the Ulama. A twenty-five member Committee, which was entrusted with the task of preparing the draft for permanent constitution, Mawlana was one of them. Mawlana Noorani was one of the signatories of the “Constitutional Accord” signed by the opposition parties and the then Government on October 20, 1972.

Keywords: *shah-ahmad-noorani, constitution-making, parliamentary-politics, udf, jup, 1970-elections, abdul-hafeez-pirzada, 1973-original-constitution, definition-of-muslim, fundamental-rights.*

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 360199



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



© 2015. Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan, Muhammad Idrees & Muhammad Altaf. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/>), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

The Dynamic Role of “Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani” in the Constitution-Making of Pakistan (1972-1975)

Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan ^α, Muhammad Idrees ^σ & Muhammad Altaf ^ρ

Abstract- Mawlana Noorani could be found busy in politics even before the independence of Pakistan in 1947. Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani entered into Pakistani Parliament through the general elections held in 1970. He always struggled for the democratization and Islamization of Pakistani society through constitutional means. When the Interim Constitution was presented in the National Assembly on April 14, 1972 by the Bhutto Government, Mawlana Noorani on that very day urged the President to prepare a constitution based on the teachings of Holy Quran and Sunnah and on the twenty-two points of the Ulama. A twenty-five member Committee, which was entrusted with the task of preparing the draft for permanent constitution, Mawlana was one of them. Mawlana Noorani was one of the signatories of the “Constitutional Accord” signed by the opposition parties and the then Government on October 20, 1972. Mawlana voiced for the separation of Executive from Judiciary, the elimination of Preventive Detention as well as termination of Martial Law Regulations from the Draft Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Mawlana formed the United Democratic Front against the undemocratic behavior of the Government and to present suitable amendments to the Draft Constitution. He himself presented more than two hundred amendments to the draft Constitution of Pakistan. He presented amendments to the Original Constitution of 1973 for the citizen's fundamental rights, smooth democratic system and Islamizing the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Keywords: *shah-ahmad-noorani, constitution-making, parliamentary-politics, udf, jup, 1970-elections, abdul-hafeez-pirzada, 1973-original-constitution, definition-of-muslim, fundamental-rights*

I. INTRODUCTION

Pakistan got independence from British Rule in 1947. Soon after its independence efforts from different sections of Pakistani society started to make Pakistan a truly democratic and Islamic state. In this struggle a number of religious scholars, politicians and political parties have contributed and scores of them are still striving to achieve this goal. These forces of democratization are struggling in a variety of ways.

Author α: Head, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan. e-mails: dr.zahoorkhan@iiu.edu.pk, dr.zahoor2008@gmail.com

Author σ: Ph.D. Scholar-History, Department of History & Pakistan Studies Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan. e-mail: idrees_620@yahoo.com

Author ρ: Ph.D. Scholar-History, Department of History & Pakistan Studies Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan. e-mail: muhammadaltafch52@yahoo.com

Some of them are directly participating in political system. While a number of these forces are indirectly involved in influencing the efforts for democratization. In this regard the role of religious scholars turned politicians is of considerable importance. From the very beginning of the creation of Pakistan they either directly or indirectly strived for it. A respectable number of religious scholars and politicians not only contributed in their individual capacities but also even organized political parties to achieve this goal of democratization (Rashid, 1996, pp. 5-6).

One such group of religious scholars organized themselves in shape of Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan in 1948. Leaders and workers of this religious party started contributing to the process of democratization in a number of ways. It had the services of some such leaders who remained active on the political scene of Pakistan for a number of years like Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani and Mawlana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi (1915-2002). Both these personalities as leaders of their own factions remained active political figures for a number of years, where the politics were mainly dominated by the agenda of democratization and Islamization of Pakistani society.

II. EARLY LIFE OF MAWLANA NOORANI

Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani was born on April 1, 1926 in Meerut (India). He was the son of a famous religious scholar Mawlana Shah Abdul Aleem Siddiqi (1892-1955). He memorized the Holy Quran by heart at the age of eight. He passed his Matriculation Examination from Meerut and he graduated from the National Arabic College, Meerut. He got his Dars-i-Nizami (Fazil) from the Darul-'Ulum-i-Arabiyyah, Meerut. He also got his Fazil Degree in Arabic from the Allahabad University (Daily Pakistan, Dec. 24, 2003).

III. MAWLANA NOORANI POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

Pakistan Movement was at its peak at the time when he completed his education. He became an active member of the 'National Guards', (Khan, 2001, p. 60) which used to manage the public gatherings of All India Muslim League.

At the 1945-46 elections (Khan, 2001) when Liaqat Ali Khan (1898-1951) was a candidate for the Central Legislature against the seat of district Muzafar Nagar (Meerut Division), Mawlana Noorani took active part in his election campaign.

The second event of importance where we can trace Noorani's participation in political activities is when the British government enforced the Zakat Bill for the Muslims in 1946 according to which Zakat was deducted from the Muslims forcefully and used according to British's own choice. This Bill was anti-Muslims and the Ulama all over India agitated against the bill. Mawlana Noorani participated in a meeting held at Madrassa-i-Miskeeniyah Dhorajee Kathiwar on November 13, 1946. He strongly resented the bill and declared it as interference in the religious affairs of the Muslims. He demanded its withdrawal (Ibid; pp.48-49).

IV. ENTRY OF MAWLANA NOORANI INTO PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS

Mawlana Noorani started his political career from the platform of Jam'iyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan (JUP) (Ahmad, 1993, p.44) in 1953. He remained an active member of the JUP Karachi branch during 1953. When the 6th annual conference of the JUP was convened on October 19, 1954 regarding the Day of Hazrat Hussain (R.A), Mawlana Noorani was the office secretary of the JUP Karachi branch at that time. When the One Unit (Khan, 2001, p.158) was formed in 1955, Mawlana Noorani was appointed the Senior Vice-President of the JUP (West Pakistan). When General Muhammad Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law on October 7, 1958, all the political parties were banned including the JUP. But when the political parties were restored (Ibid; p. 159) in 1964, Mawlana Noorani again started the activities from the JUP platform (Hussain, 2009, p. 55).

The elections of 1970 were approaching. The parties having the Socialist and Communist tendencies were busy in their own campaign. Mawlana Noorani also contested the election from the JUP platform. His main slogan was the imposition of Nizam-i-Mustafa in the country (Ibid; pp. 56-57).

Meanwhile, General Ayub Khan (1907-1974) handed over the power to General Yahya Khan (1901-1980) who issued a Legal Framework Order on March 30, 1970. In the same order he dissolved the 'One Unit' in West Pakistan; and the principle of parity East and West Pakistan was introduced (Ahmad, 1993; p. 44). It required elected representatives to draft a constitution within 120 days after assuming power. The LFO laid down certain fundamental principles that the National Assembly had to respect in framing a new constitution. These principles were the preservation of independence, territorial integrity, national solidarity of Pakistan and its Islamic Ideology (Ibid; pp. 44-45).

On May30, 1970, the Majlis-i-'Amal met in Lahore to discuss organizational problems. The meeting approved a manifesto. Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani was nominated as a candidate of the JUP for NW-134 Karachi VII in the 1970 Elections. Mawlana Noorani, while highlighting the main points of the manifesto, pledged to work for the establishment of a social welfare state based on the teachings of Quran and Sunnah negating socialism and capitalism (Scruton, 1984; p. 52). He also stressed the need for the enforcement of an Islamic constitution, and condemned the regional, ethnic, and class conflicts (Ibid; pp. 45-46).

V. 1970 ELECTIONS AND JAM'IYYAT 'ULAMA-I-PAKISTAN

At first, the date of elections was October 5, 1970, but the elections were postponed by two months, due to heavy floods in East Pakistan in August and now to be held in December 1970. The elections were held on December 7, 1970, for the National Assembly, and December 17, 1970, for the Provincial assemblies. The JUP contested the elections for the National Assembly from NWFP, Punjab and Sindh, and for the Provincial assemblies of Punjab and Sindh. It put up fifty candidates for National Assembly seats. Out of these 01 was put up from NWFP, 08 from Sindh and 41 from Punjab. According to the election results, only 7 JUP candidates won National Assembly seats, which included 4 from Punjab and 3 from Sindh. While in the provincial assemblies 4 of its candidates remained successful for the Punjab Assembly and 7 for Sindh Assembly (Ahmad, 1993; pp. 70-71).

Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani started his parliamentary career with the Jam'iyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan (JUP) which won 7 seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan during the 1970 elections. He was one of the seven successful candidates from Sindh. He was elected from Karachi in the constituency NW-134 Karachi VII (Ibid; p. 218). Names of other successful candidates along with their constituencies were; Allama Abdul Mustafa al-Azhari (1916-1989) (NW-128 Karachi I), Mawlana Sayyid Muhammad Ali Rizvi (NW-118 Hyderabad I), Mawlana Muhammad Zakir (1903-1976) (NW-47 Jhang II), Mehar Ghulam Haider Bharwana (NW-46 Jhang I), Sahibzada Nazir Sultan (NW-48 Jhang III) and Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Barq (NW-92 Muzaffargarh III) (Noorani, M. n.d. p. 75).

On January 25, 1971, the JUP central working committee held its first meeting in Lahore after the 1970 elections with Khwaja Muhammad Qamaruddin Sialvi (President of the JUP since June 1970-July 1972) in the chair. The working committee elected Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani as the leader of the JUP's Parliamentary Party and Allama Abdul Mustafa al-Azhari as deputy leader. Mawlana Noorani made it clear that the JUP would never accept any constitution based on principles

repugnant to the Quran and Sunnah (Ahmad, 1993, p. 75). The General Council of the JUP, which met in Sargodha on March 27, 1972, threatened that the JUP would launch a movement if the interim constitution were not based on the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah. Mawlana Noorani, while addressing a public meeting at Karachi, demanded that the interim constitution should solely be based on the Quran and Sunnah (Ibid; p. 93).

Mawlana Noorani took the oath and signed the Roll of Members on April 14, 1972 (NAP Debates, I (I), April 14, 1972; p.5). When vote of confidence in Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as President of Pakistan was adopted in the National Assembly of Pakistan on that very first day Mawlana Noorani pointed out the unsuccessful efforts of the Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution for the country during the last 25 years. He assured the House about his cooperation in the formation of a new constitution (Ibid; p. 26).

VI. ENACTMENT OF THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION 1972 AND MAWLANA NOORANI

As a first step to constitution-making the Bhutto government, presented a draft Interim Constitution on April 11, 1972. Mawlana Noorani, in a press conference, announced that the opposition parties along with the JUP had decided to vote against the constitution of Martial Law and the Interim Constitution. They also decided to work for the introduction of an Islamic constitution and the supremacy of democracy. After taking unanimous vote of confidence from the National Assembly, Bhutto presented the Interim Constitution on April 14, which the National Assembly approved on April 17. A twenty-five-member committee was entrusted with the task of preparing the draft of the permanent constitution. Mawlana Noorani represented the JUP on this committee (Ahmad, 1993, pp. 93-94).

Mawlana Noorani, on April 14, 1972, addressing the inaugural session of the National Assembly welcomed the decision to lift Martial Law. He urged the President to prepare a constitution based on the teachings of Holy Quran and Sunnah and on the twenty-two points of the Ulama (Appendix C, 22 points of Ulama, p. 94). On April 15, 1972, Mawlana Noorani alleged that all the provisions of the Martial Law Regulations (Chowdhury, 1969, pp. 135-136) had been present in the interim constitution. Referring to its Islamic provisions, he observed that no time limit had been laid down for the elimination of un-Islamic provisions. He criticized the government for not banning liquor, music, dancing, nightclubs and gambling. Mawlana Noorani observed that the Interim Constitution would be acceptable to the JUP only if its un-Islamic provisions are omitted (Ahmad, 1993, p. 94).

Mawlana Noorani actively participated in the discussions of the constituent committee. In cooperation with other parties, he presented more than 200 amendments (Many of those are given in the text of the entire chapters) in the draft constitution of 1973 (Ibid; p. 98).

VII. THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACCORD 1972 AND MAWLANA NOORANI

All the opposition parties had representation in the twenty-five-member committee formed by the PPP government. All of the members presented their own suggestions. Bhutto and opposition parties' leaders held talks in that regard. Mawlana Noorani of the JUP informed him about his constitutional proposals in detail and convinced Bhutto about his suggestions (Hussain, 2009, p. 73). Bhutto also could not find any problem in accepting constitutional proposals of Mawlana Noorani. An agreement was reached upon and in the light of the said agreement a "Constitutional Accord" was signed between the PPP and opposition parties on October 20, 1972 (Ibid; pp. 73-74).

10 leaders of the seven parliamentary parties signed the accord. The leaders of the parties who signed the accord on the behalf of their parties were: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the President of Pakistan and Chairman of the PPP, Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani, Member of National Assembly (JUP), Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan (b. 1915), MNA Council Muslim League (CML), Abdul Qayyum Khan (1901-1981), MNA Qayyum Muslim League (QML), Sher Baz Mazari (b. 1930), MNA (Independent), Major-General Jamaldar Khan (b. 1908), MNA (FATA), Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil (1911-1982), Member of Provincial Assembly, National Awami Party (NAP); Governor, NWFP, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo (1917-1989), MNA (NAP), Mawlana Mufti Mahmud (1919-1980), MNA (JUI), Chief Minister, NWFP and Professor Ghafoor Ahmad (b. 1927), MNA (JI) (Daily Dawn, Karachi, October 21, 1972).

VIII. THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION PRESENTED BY THE GOVERNMENT

On December 31, 1972, Abdul Hafeez Pirzada (Minister for the Law and Parliamentary Affairs) presented before the National Assembly the draft Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The draft Constitution comprised 278 Articles (Ibid; January 1, 1973).

IX. MAWLANA NOORANI'S NOTE OF DISSENT OVER THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

After the constitutional accord it was expected that the constitution would be undisputed. But when the draft constitution was prepared by the PPP, the constitutional accord between the government and

opposition was violated. The government hampered the trust. Mawlana Noorani declared this violation as going back by the government on its words. The government blamed the opposition that they were not taking interest in the constitution making (Hussain, 2009, p. 74). Mawlana Noorani was astonished to see that the formula made and agreed upon by the opposition parties was violated badly. The rulers had ignored the true draft of the constitution in order to protect their desires for power. Each and every Islamic and democratic clause was vanished. According to him the Constitutional Accord could not be a complete constitution but the blame of the ruling party was unjust to say that the opposition parties were not interested in the constitution making process. He responded that his interest was apparent from the fact that he personally presented more than 200 amendments to the draft constitution during the constitution committee proceedings. After the accord it was the duty of the government to insert the Islamic clauses in the constitution. If there would be no Islam in the country then there was no question of the creation of Pakistan. The constitutional guarantee should be given to all the Islamic clauses (Ibid; pp. 74-75). Mawlana Noorani while answering a question during an interview said that Islam was ever used for gaining political ends. Islam was used for instigating the public and to play with their emotions. It was compromised in the constitutional accord that Islam would be made the state religion of the country and no law would be made repugnant to the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah. But it was astonishing that no guarantee was given in the constitution to Islamize all those laws, which were repugnant to the Islamic values (Siddiqi, 1988, p. 19).

Mawlana Noorani regretted over the draft Constitution and said that in spite of the best efforts made during the deliberations of the Constitution Committee, the proposed draft Constitution was disappointing from the points of view of Islamic provisions, fundamental rights, independent judiciary, free and impartial elections, economic and social justice and parliamentary democracy (Daily Dawn, Karachi, January 1, 1973).

X. MAWLANA NOORANI'S COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Mawlana said, "The constitution which was going to be framed, if framed on the basis of different nationalities then it would lead us towards destruction" (NAP Debates, II (14), March 6, 1973, p. 722). Propaganda was being made that the Constitution was an Islamic one. It would be Islamic if the Quraanic injunctions were incorporated. But surely it was not the case (Ibid; p.727). In his note of dissent Mawlana Noorani declared that Article-2 of the draft provided that Islam shall be the State religion of Pakistan, demanded

that laws in Pakistan should conform to the Quran and Sunnah. He therefore proposed that a constitutional provision should be made that any law in contrast to Islam should be ultra-vires (Daily Dawn, Karachi, January 1, 1973).

XI. MAWLANA ON THE PROPOSED EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIARY OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Mawlana Noorani condemned the strange features of the draft constitution concerning the Prime Minister and demanded its correction. The Prime Minister was made a dictator by vesting all powers in his hands. All the powers started and ended in the Prime Minister. The parliamentary system was based on the principle of separation of powers where the executive and judiciary executed separately. These institutions worked just for the integrity of the country and were independent of one another. The separation of powers agreed upon at accord was not completely incorporated. The Prime Minister was made dictator through extraordinary powers in his hands and it would seem that an owl was sitting on every branch. So it was necessary to separate the judiciary completely from the executive. Proper amendments should be made in the constitution in that connection (NAP Debates, II (14), March 6, 1973, pp. 728-729).

XII. MAWLANA ABOUT THE MARTIAL LAW REGULATIONS IN DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Mawlana Noorani drew the attention of the other parliamentarians to the "Martial Law Regulations". He made it clear that the constitution would be showed to the world in its democratic shape hiding the black laws of Martial Law. The preventive detention (Ahmad, M. B., 1996, PP. 261-262) was safeguarded in the draft constitution. Mawlana Noorani was against the bureaucracy indulgence in the politics. He strongly opposed the black laws of the constitution and demanded to consider the amendments made by him and his Party. He aspired that we were supposed to make such a constitution, which would not be defended by the National Assembly but by the residents of the country (NAP Debates, II (14), March 6, 1973, pp. 730-731).

So from the above study one can easily conclude that the government was not true to its words as shown in the accord. There was no proper way for the Islamization of the society in its true sense. The clauses of the draft constitution nominally declare to Islamize the society. No practical steps were there to be followed in that regard. There seemed to be loopholes in the true parliamentary democracy. Fundamental rights were not safeguarded as was promised in the accord.

Instead the black laws of preventive detention were incorporated into the draft.

XIII. GOVERNMENT'S BILL FOR APPROVAL OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

On February 2, 1973, Abdul Hafeez Pirzada moved for leave to introduce a Bill to provide a Constitution for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. He hoped for constructive amendments from the Members of the House and assured that weighting would be given to the Members' viewpoints (NAP "Constitution-Making Debates", II (14), February 2, 1973, pp. 23-24). The National Assembly of Pakistan (Constitution-making) again met in the Assembly Chamber, Islamabad on March 6, 1973 for the approval of the draft constitution (NAP "Constitution-Making Debates", II (14), March 6, 1973, pp. 23-24).

Mawlana Noorani through his speech went into the past and said that Pakistan had come into existence after many sacrifices. One million Muslims were martyred and thousands of Muslim women were raped. These sacrifices were rendered for the sake of a land where the law of Allah and His Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) would be prospered. This country had not come into being by the sacrifices of its people as Punjabis, Baluchis, Sindhis or Pathans rather they were a single nation of the greatest spiritual bond, which was Islam. Some people related the Muslim nation with twenty five hundred or five thousand ancient cultures and civilization. There was no space for Mohenjodaro Civilization in Islam. Our culture and civilization is based only on the footings of Islam (Ibid; pp. 717-718).

Mawlana Noorani said that the people were mistaken to consider that Quaid-e-Azam fought for freedom on the base of Two-Nation theory and that Allama Iqbal founded the Muslim nation. Both of them fought on the basis of Islam, as they knew that nations were built up only on the basis of religion and not upon the culture or civilization. Nobody, within and outside the parliament should be proud to be Sindhi, Baluchi, Punjabi or Pathan. All of us should be proud to be the Muslims. According to the Quran all of us are Muslims (Ibid; pp. 719-721).

XIV. THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR CONSTITUTION AND NOORANI

The government's anti-opposition policy had created discontentment within the opposition circles. Nobody could oppose the government. Many opposition leaders went into refuge while many were compelled to stand by the government. For example, Mumtaz Daulatana was made the ambassador and went to England. The government allied Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan. Even the three members namely Mehar Ghulam Haider Bharwana, Sahibzada Nazir Sultan and Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Barq also left the JUP. Initially

the opposition leader, Shaukat Hayat Khan was the head of the Muslim League. He was leading the eleven members of his party but soon this number decreased to only one. The opposition bench decreased rapidly and a new opposition was to be made. The toss favored Khan Abdul Wali Khan as he was leading more members in the opposition benches. So ten members of the Muslim League and three from the JUP had left their parties and had joined hands with the government for power (Hussain, 2009, pp. 79-80).

All the opposition parties were united against the undemocratic measures of Bhutto. However the leaders of the opposition parties held a meeting at Rawalpindi on March 13, 1973, under the chairmanship of Pir Mardan Shah of Pagara. They decided to set up the United Democratic Front (UDF) (Pakistan Times, Lahore, March 14, 1973). Mawlana Noorani was nominated as the Chairman of the Coordinating Committee of the UDF (Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, Karachi, March 14, 1973). The UDF was composed of the NAP, PML, JUI, JUP, JI, Khaksar Tahrik (KT) and Pakistan Jamhoori Party (PJP). Apart from these parties some independent members were also there (Daily Pakistan Times, Lahore, March 15, 1973). Ten members committee was formed in its meeting so that important amendments to the constitution should be suggested.

The United Democratic Front issued a twelve point's press note. A summary of the points was: the protection of Pakistan solidarity; approval of an Islamic, democratic, federal and parliamentary constitution; restoration of fundamental rights; eradication of exploitation and aggression; guarantee for the provincial autonomy; support of the peasants, workers and students; following the positive politics; united struggle for the termination of the ideological conspiracies; stunt against the dictatorship and efforts for the quick return of the POWs of the East Pakistan crisis (Hussain, 2009, p. 80).

XV. MASS-CONTACT CAMPAIGN OF MAWLANA NOORANI AND GOVERNMENT'S REACTION

Mawlana Noorani, as an in charge of the coordinating committee, started tour of the whole country in order to impose Islamic system and eradicate the 'dictatorship' in the country for bringing Islamic democratic style (Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, Karachi, March 15, 1973). He made the programs for public meetings and the first show of public power appeared in the shape of public gathering in Peshawar, which was successful. Apart from the Peshawar gatherings, the meetings at Quetta and Hyderabad were also remarkable (Hussain, 2009, p. 81).

The government tried to fail the contact campaign of the opposition but that effort was also unsuccessful. It used the traditional tactics to sabotage

the next programs of the opposition. The loud speakers were destroyed and the security forces used 'lathi charge' over the public. Bullets were also fired at the processions. While on the other hand the police arrested the administrators and workers of the processions in the name of peace. The arrested workers were tortured in jails. Even the permits of their public gatherings were cancelled (Ibid; pp. 80-81).

Mawlana Noorani was stopped on his way at Rohri from Karachi to Multan and was delayed so much so that the time of the meeting was over. The people gathered at the station to receive Mawlana Noorani. As soon as he reached Multan, he started his speech just at the railway station. The local police stopped him from his speech and showed the orders that he could not address the gatherings any where at Multan. So in this way the meetings of the UDF were finished by force. But Mawlana Noorani kept up the public contact in the name of religious gatherings at Urs of the saints and informed the mass about the dictatorial mind of the government (Ibid; p. 82).

Addressing the people at Sadiqabad, Mawlana Noorani said, "The present government is making fun of the democracy and freedom of writing and expression. The hooliganism and luxury has increased. The opposition is stoned and 'lathi charged'. The hooligans are encouraged and they have been kept above the law. "No such example of barbarity over the workers in the twenty-five years history can be found as during this government. How such a head of the government can be regarded as the Quid-e-Awam? The contact and relation between the government and public is broken." (Ibid; p. 82).

XVI. CHARTER OF DEMAND OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT AND BHUTTO GOVERNMENT

The constitutional committee of the UDF presented the charter of demand before the Bhutto Government on March 16, 1973 (Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, March 17, 1973). It consisted of the points regarding the independence of judiciary, establishing the Election Commission, fundamental rights and the powers of the Prime Minister. Bhutto did not consider the said points to be suitable for the constitution. So the leadership of the UDF decided to hold a procession in Rawalpindi on March 23, 1973 (Ibid; March 25, 1973). The government dispersed the gathering with cruelty. As a result of this more than a dozen people were killed and many wounded. The leadership of the UDF decided to boycott the next session of the National Assembly. However Bhutto invited the opposition on April 2, 1973 for the sake of national consensus. Bhutto agreed with some of the demands of the opposition and also invited them to participate the Assembly session on April 7. But the UDF decided to boycott that session (Ibid; April 3 &

5, 1973). When Bhutto accepted some more amendments at the final round of the talks, the UDF decided to attend the session (Ahmad, P. G., 1991, pp. 39-42).

XVII. VOTING OVER THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION IN THE PARLIAMENT

On April 10, 1973, voting within the National Assembly was held in order to know how many opposition leaders were against the draft constitution (Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, April 11, 1973). Before holding the voting on the constitution, the UDF leaders met at Islamabad in which most of the party leaders suggested to vote in favor of the constitution (Tarjuman-e-Ahl-e-Sunnat, Karachi, May 1973, pp. 46-47). But Mawlana Noorani was of the opinion that PPP had gone against the Constitutional Accord and the Islamic clauses included in the constitution were not satisfactory, therefore the JUP members would not vote in favor of the constitution. When the voting over the constitution took place, Mawlana Noorani, Allama Abdul Mustafa Al-azhari (1918-1989), Sayyid Muhammad Ali Rizvi (b. 1916) and Mawlana Muhammad Zakir (1904-1976) did not take part. Other opposition leaders of the Parliament like Mir Bakhsh Bezanjo, Abdul Wali Khan (1917-2006) and Professor Ghafoor Ahmad tried their best to convince Mawlana Noorani but he did not vote. Mehmood Ali Qasoori (1910-1987) and Ahmad Raza Qasoori of Tahrir-i-Istiqlal (TI) and one member of the PPP, Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur (1915-1987), also voted against the constitution (Ibid; pp. 48-49).

When a journalist asked Mawlana Noorani that being the joint secretary of the UDF, why did not vote in favor of the constitution although the opposition voted in its favor? He answered, "I do not consider the Articles of the constitution completely Islamic and my party is also of the same opinion. He had decided in the meeting of the UDF that every person having any opinion individually about the constitution should express it. Therefore there was no question of differences with the coordinating committee or the opposition. The coordinating committee had permitted the whole members of the opposition to vote according to their own conscience (Siddiqi, 1988, p. 71). Mawlana Noorani in a press meeting at Karachi informed the journalists that during the preparation of the constitution the leaders of the JUP were offered the ministries at Center and Sindh but we rejected the offer for the sake of democracy and Islam (Ibid; p. 72).

Mawlana Noorani said that how could he call such a constitution an Islamic one for which nine years period was specified to Islamize it completely? The government itself had 'confessed' that after the said period the constitution would be made according to the Quran and Sunnah (Tarjuman-e-Ahl-e-Sunnat, Karachi, June 1973, p. 48).

VIII. THE 1973 ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION AND MAWLANA NOORANI

Consequently the permanent constitution of Pakistan was approved on April 10, 1973, which was implemented on August 14, 1973 (Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, April 11, 1973). Although the 1973 Constitution cannot be regarded as an Islamic one completely but due to the efforts of Mawlana Noorani and other Ulama some Islamic clauses were included in this Constitution. The Islamic clauses, which were made part of, the 1973 Constitution due to the amendments of Mawlana Noorani, are as under:

1. Islam will be the State religion.
2. No law will be made repugnant to the Quran and Sunnah. Already existing laws will be brought in accordance to Quran and Sunnah.
3. Forming the Islamic Ideology Council within 90 days of the implementation of the Constitution will be compulsory. The Chairman of the Council will be appointed from the two judges of the Supreme Court or the High Court, who will be the members of the Council.
4. 2/5th of the minority of the Provincial or Central Assembly will be able to send any law under consideration to the Islamic Ideology Council. (At first this right was given to the majority)
5. If a bill was passed in a hurry on necessary basis and later on the Council gives the opinion that it was against the Quran and Sunnah, then the revision will be compulsory (Hussain, 2009, p. 126).

XIX. MAWLANA'S AMENDMENT FOR INDIVIDUALS' FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

Mawlana Noorani moved this amendment before the House on March 12, 1973 in the Article-4. The amendment was: If a person or a part of the country is harmed he should have the right to knock at the door of the Supreme Court. This is his fundamental right (NAP Debates, II (18), March 12, 1973, p. 1065).

If that fundamental right was suspended any time then there was no law for the person or institution to knock at the door of the Supreme Court. So Mawlana Noorani was the first person to safeguard the fundamental right of the citizens in this respect (Ibid; p. 1069).

Another amendment moved by Mawlana Noorani in that regard was: -

That after clause (2) of Article 4 of the Constitution Bill the following clauses be added namely: -

- (3) The law shall not prejudice any vested rights, any judicial act accomplished or any adjudicatory matter.

(4) The law shall not exclude any injury to individual rights from consideration by the judicial power (NAP "Constitution-Making Debates", II (18), March 12, 1973, p. 1065).

Although these amendments of Mawlana Noorani were rejected by the majority Members sitting in the House but he fulfilled his duty by raising a voice in the Parliament for the constitutional rights of the nation (Ibid; p. 1072).

XX. AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION FOR EMPLOYMENT OF CITIZENS

Mawlana Noorani moved an amendment to the constitution for the employment of every able citizen of Pakistan. The amendment was: -

That Article 8 of the Constitution Bill be re-numbered as clause (1) of that Article and the following be added thereafter, namely: -

(2) Every able bodied citizen of eighteen years and above shall be entitled to demand from the State work within a reasonable distance of his place of residence and it shall be the duty of the State to provide work to such a person commensurate with his education and skill and if the State for any reason is unable to do so, he shall be paid a maintenance allowance till such time as the remunerative work is provided for him (NAP Debates, II (19), March 13, 1973, p. 1125).

The amendment moved by Mawlana Noorani was regarding Article 8 of the Constitution and at last stood part of the Act (Ibid; pp. 1131).

XXI. AMENDMENT FOR THE REMOVAL OF PREVENTIVE DETENTION

Mawlana Noorani made it clear that there was no liberty of individuals as long as Preventive Detention had been protected in the Constitution Bill. According to the law every person could be sent to jail for eight months within two years whether he was arrested on the basis of law and order situation or without any reason. The Islamic principle of equity and justice had been crushed under the feet. If we had a glance over the constitutions in the world it would be clear that there was nothing more important than the freedom of individuals. The examples of the powers of the British Prime Minister were being presented on the floor. But if those powers were vested in his Pakistani counterpart he would become a dictator. Their constitution was the result of hundreds years of democratic experience. The press in England was free. If somebody wished to publish a newspaper he did not need the permission of the government there. Here everything was in the hands of the government. The journalists were not free to write independently. Mawlana Noorani presented a very vivid position on restrictions of press in Pakistan, which is true even today. He declared:

banned. The press is free but it is sealed. Everything is free but in chains. This is the atmosphere where slavery is flourished and black laws of the press rules and the people are growing under such circumstances...this is the constitution which is termed as an Islamic one (NAP Debates, II (14), March 6, 1973, p. 726).

Mawlana Noorani strongly criticized the clauses in Article 9, which were in favor of the Preventive Detention. He made it clear that there were no such clauses in the constitution of any civilized country. If a person were arrested on the basis of involvement in any crime, there was already a space for his penalty within Pakistan Penal Code, Criminal Law. The government could arrest such a person under the said code and investigations could be made within 24 hours and could be trialed in the open court. Through Preventive Detention any person could be arrested and sent to jail. So it would become very easy to exploit the Law and used by the government against their political opponents. The amendment moved by Mawlana Noorani in that connection was: That the clauses (3) to (9) of Article 9 of the Constitution Bill be deleted (NAP Debates, II (19), March 13, 1973, pp. 1132-1141).

Another such amendment for the substitution in the Constitution Bill was moved by Mawlana Noorani that was: That for clause (2) of Article 13 of the Constitution Bill, the following be substituted, namely: - (2) No person shall be subject to torture in any form, whether as a mode of extracting proof or as a mode of punishment (NAP Debates, II (20), March 14, 1973, p. 1205).

The majority of the House rejected the above amendment of Mawlana Noorani. (Ibid; p. 1219).

XXII. AMENDMENT FOR PROVIDING FREE EDUCATION

Mawlana Noorani forwarded an amendment to the Constitution Bill to make the government responsible for providing free education to its people. No timeframe was given in the Constitution Bill for providing free education. So his amendment moved in this regard was: That for paragraph (h) of Article 39 of the Constitution Bill the following be substituted, namely: - (b) Provide free and compulsory secondary education within a period of five years from the commencing day and remove illiteracy within the minimum possible time (NAP Debates, II (21), March 15, 1973, p. 1360).

The House also rejected the aforesaid amendment of Mawlana Noorani (Ibid; p. 1391). National Education Council was set up for making the education system better. Five Members, within the National Assembly, were elected to the National Education Council (NAP Debates, II (7), January 6, 1973, p. 427). Mawlana Noorani was one among them (Ibid; p. 427).

XXIII. AMENDMENTS FOR A SMOOTH DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

Mawlana Noorani was not in favor of five years term of the National Assembly. He demanded to decrease it to four years. Because the sooner the elections were conducted the more political consciousness was developed. Where the term of the Assembly was prolonged, the flaws become obvious. So he suggested fixing the Assembly term at four years instead of five. The representatives of the people would be more active and the people would also be politically mature. The amendment moved by Mawlana Noorani in that connection was: That in Article 55 of the Constitution Bill, for the word "five", occurring in the second line the word "four" be substituted (NAP Debates, II (23), March 19, 1973, pp. 1528-1533). The House negated the amendment (Ibid; p. 1536).

A true parliamentary democracy is that which safeguards the parliamentarians within the sphere of law. Mawlana Noorani also presented some amendments to the Constitution Bill in order to get some relief for them for a better efficiency on their part. He declared that all the previous constitutions had the provisions for sixty days regular leave for a member of the parliament while that was decreased to forty days in the new Constitution. Most of the parliamentarians remained abroad when there was no session of the house. Then there would be no source of communication where they stayed. That was the reason that he considered the forty days sanctioned leaves to be less for the members of the Assembly. Therefore he demanded to increase the leaves from forty to sixty days (NAP Debates, II (24), March 20, 1973, p. 1617).

Mawlana Noorani was of the opinion that when the members of the National Assembly were satisfied they would be able to represent their electorates vigorously and independently. Mawlana Noorani considered their contentment as a price of true parliamentary democracy. He demanded, through an amendment to the Constitution Bill, the protection of the parliamentarians from the instigation of the government benches. He feared that the opposition Members of the National Assembly would be trapped in different false cases by the government. He moved amendment to protect these members from the government blackmailing:

That at the end of clause (2) of Article 69 of the Constitution Bill, the following proviso be added, namely:-

Provided that no member of the Parliament shall be arrested or detained on any ground whatsoever unless a Committee known as the "Members Immunity Committee" to be elected in accordance with a law made by the Parliament has given prior authority for affecting such arrest. Until such a Committee is formed,

its powers and functions shall vest in the existing Privileges Committee of the National Assembly (Ibid; p. 1640).

The main purpose of the amendment was to stop any person from indulging a Member of the National Assembly in false cases or stop him from joining the session of the National Assembly. So the National Assembly should have the right to take action against such person. He did not mean that the Members of the National Assembly were innocent. He meant that if a parliamentarian committed a crime, the Parliament should have a committee of its own to deal with such a member. After the decision of that Committee the honorable member of the Parliament should be tried. In such a way the democratic norms would be safeguarded (Ibid; pp. 1649-1650).

Each and every track of the parliamentary and democratic government should be controlled properly through the Constitution. Three organs of the government (legislature, executive and judiciary) should be separate from each other. Mawlana Noorani found some gaps in the Constitution Bill in this connection and pointed out those one by one. He objected to the issuance of ordinances. One hundred and thirty days were specified for the Parliament in the new Constitution Bill. So there was no need for the issuance of the ordinances by the government as enough time was given for the working of the Parliament. The ordinance could be issued when the country was in war. When there would be peace then the session of the National Assembly could be called at once and a Parliament Act could be passed and promulgated. Even if an ordinance was passed and a person or party could be harmed by that ordinance, the person or the aggrieved parties could have the democratic right to challenge it in the Supreme Court (NAP Debates, II (26), March 22, 1973, p. 1820). The amendment moved by Mawlana Noorani in this regard was:

That at the end of clause (1) of Article 92 of the Constitution Bill, the following proviso be added, namely

Provided that it shall be open to the aggrieved parties to challenge the validity of Ordinance so made and promulgated on the ground that it was passed mala fide in the total absence of existence of emergency which is claimed to be the occasion for the exercise of that power (Ibid; p. 1811).

The House rejected the above amendments of Mawlana Noorani. (Ibid; p. 1832).

XXIV. AMENDMENTS FOR ISLAMIZATION

On August 24, 1972, addressing the National Assembly of Pakistan, Mawlana Noorani declared that the Muslims of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent gave sacrifices in order to lead their lives in accordance with

the Islamic culture, traditions and civilization. The resolution that had been moved to observe Friday as weekly holiday had really been the demand of the Muslims in Pakistan. Friday has a great importance in our life. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) has termed the Friday, as 'Sayyad-ul-Ayyam' i.e. "Friday is the king of days". The Prophet also named it as Eid Day. All over the world the Christians and the Jews celebrate Sunday and Saturday respectively as their sacred days (NAP Debates, I (9), August 24, 1972, p. 385).

Pakistan had come into being on the basis of the Islamic Ideology. Mawlana said that the Muslims were bound to declare Friday as a sacred day and there should be a holiday on Friday instead of Sunday. "The Islamic world is a brotherhood and all of them stood by us both in peace and war". Friday was observed as a holiday in the entire Muslim world and if we did the same we would be stronger than ever. If there was deficit in the banks and companies, it should be noted that those firms and insurance companies were busy all over the world. Even Friday was observed as weekly holiday in the Muslim world. They did not suffer economically. Therefore he appealed the House to favor and pass the resolution moved by Sahibzada Safiullah in order to celebrate Friday as holiday instead of Sunday. The resolution was then sent to the Standing Committee and after long deliberations the resolution took the shape of the Bill and was finally passed by the majority Members of the House. (Ibid; pp. 385-386).

XXV. MAWLANA NOORANI FOR THE LAW OF APOSTASY

While forwarding his suggestions for the future constitution of Pakistan, he said that

Our constitution should be Islamic one. The Islamic democratic society should be the part of our constitution. This constitution has a space for the Muslim to adopt any religion but when protection is not granted to the religion of a Muslim in a constitution that could not be considered as a complete Islamic one... It was heard that if the apostasy was stopped the world will make fun of us and will say that the Muslim has stopped the Muslim in his country to divert from his religion. So I will say that this objection of the people is wrong (NAP Debates, II (14), March 6, 1973, p. 722).

If someone left the circle of Islam he was an apostate and the punishment for apostasy in Islam was death. The example of the different world constitutions was present and those who rebelled against the constitution were awarded the penalty of death. So we should also give a provision in the future constitution for a law regarding Apostasy (Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, "Apostasy-Muhammadan, 2nd ed., s.v.). He declared that as Quran has presented the best democratic system to the world. Each and every work of the Muslim was successful through mutual consultation.

The Quran has a complete Surah with the title 'Shoorah' in this regard. Mawlana Noorani said that the Europeans had adopted the same democratic system of Islam (NAP Debates, II (14), March 6, 1973, pp. 723-724).

XXVI. MAWLANA NOORANI FOR THE TEACHINGS OF QURAN AND SUNNAH

Mawlana Noorani was a staunch Muslim and wanted to Islamize the whole society in the light of the Quran and Sunnah. He moved an amendment to make the Quraanic teachings compulsory. His amendment in this regard was:

That for paragraph (a) of clause 2 of Article 31 of the Constitution Bill, following be substituted, namely: -

(a) To make teaching of Holy Quran and Islamiat compulsory and reform the system of education in such manner that it may enable the Muslims to mould their lives in accordance with teaching of Holy Quran and Sunnah (NAP Debates, II (21), March 15, 1973, p. 1308).

The House rejected the above amendment to the Constitution Bill of Mawlana Noorani (Ibid; p. 1326). He also forwarded an amendment for the eradication of the alcoholic liquor from our society. The amendment moved in this regard was: That to the effect for paragraph (h) of Article 39 of the Constitution Bill, the following be substituted, namely: - (h) Prohibit the production, import, sale, possession and consumption of alcoholic liquor except for medical purpose, and in the case of non-Muslims for religious purposes (Ibid; p. 1393).

The above amendment of Mawlana Noorani was rejected by majority of the members of the House (Ibid; pp. 1393-1394).

XXVII. MAWLANA NOORANI AGAINST THE USURY

Mawlana Noorani made it clear before the House that the people were wrong to consider that Islam encouraged capitalism. As far as the Islamic teachings were concerned it prohibited the Riba (usury). If the Muslims would indulge in that system they would be destroyed in this world and the world hereafter. Without usury everybody could lead an honorable life in this country. But if there would be the system of usury then wealth would concentrate in a few hands and the poor would gain nothing out of it. So he demanded that the government should give a proper timeframe for the elimination of riba instead of saying 'eliminate riba as early as possible.' So the Islamic economic system would prevail and the country would flourish. He presented the following amendment in this regard: That for clause (f) of Article 40 of the Constitution Bill the following be substituted, namely: - (f) Prohibit riba as

early possible as but not later than five years from the commencing day (Ibid; pp. 1403-1404).

The Assembly rejected the amendment of Mawlana Noorani regarding riba (Ibid; p. 1406).

XXVIII. MAWLANA NOORANI'S DEFINITION OF MUSLIM

He brought the most important aspect of the Interim Constitution to the light. It had been provided in the Constitution that the President of Pakistan would be a 'Musalman' but nobody knew the definition of 'Musalman' as to what precisely it was and the result was that everybody tried to pose himself as 'Musalman'. He said that there were the worst enemies of Islam in the country who might by posing themselves as 'Musalman' to enter politics from the back door to govern and become the head of the State. He then forwarded a definition of the 'Musalman' (NAP Debates, I (2), April 15, 1972, pp. 125-126).

He was the first political leader in the constitutional history of Pakistan, who demanded incorporation of definition of a 'Muslim' in the constitution. His definition of a Muslim was: "one who believes in the unity of God and in Holy Prophet Muhammad as the last Prophet, is a Musalman, otherwise he is a Mirzai" (Ahmad, 1993, pp. 94-95).

XXIX. MAWLANA NOORANI'S RESOLUTION FOR DECLARING QADIANIS AS NON-MUSLIMS

On June 30, 1974, Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani, presented a resolution signed by thirty seven MNAs, belonging to the opposition and government benches, which stipulated declaration of Qadianis as non-Muslims, and demanded amendment in the constitution for this purpose (Ibid; p. 107). The resolution presented by Mawlana Noorani was:

"Whereas it is a fully established fact that Mirza Ghulam Ahmed of Qadian claimed to be a prophet after the last Prophet Muhammad (PBUH);

And whereas his false declaration to be a prophet, his attempts to falsify numerous Quraanic texts and to abolish Jihad were treacherous to the main issues of Islam;

And whereas he was a creation of imperialism for the sole purpose of destroying Muslim solidarity and falsifying Islam;

And whereas there is a consensus of the entire Muslim Ummah that Mirza Ghulam Ahmed's followers, whether they believe in the Prophethood of the said Mirza Ghulam Ahmed or consider him as their reformer or religious leader in any form whatever, are outside the pale of Islam;

And whereas his followers, by whatever name they are called, are indulging in subversive activities

internally and externally by mixing with Muslims and pretending to be a sect of Islam;

And whereas in a conference of the World Muslim Organization held in the holy city of Mecca-Al-Mukarram between the 6th and 10th April, 1974, under the auspices of Al-Rabita Al-Alam-e-Al-Islami, wherein delegations from one hundred and forty Muslim organizations and institutions from all parts of the world participated, it has been unanimously held that Qadianism is a subversive movement against Islam and Muslim World, which falsely and deceitfully claims to be an Islamic sect."

Now this Assembly do proceed to declare that the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed, by whatever name they were called, were not Muslims and that an official Bill be moved in the National Assembly to make adequate and necessary amendments in the constitution to give effect to such declaration and to provide for the safeguard of their legitimate rights and interests as a non-Muslim minority of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (Ibid; pp. 125-126).

After moving the resolution, the Speaker National Assembly, Sahbzida Farooq Ali told Mawlana Noorani that he had moved a terrible resolution. He said that it was not the task of the Parliament to prove who was pagan and who was a Muslim. That was to be a discussion of a Madrassah or Darul Ulum. He asked why Mawlana Noorani wanted to bring the issue to the Parliament (Hussain, 2009, p. 97). But at last Mawlana Noorani convinced all of them. He also met the Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and made him realized the sensitivity of the matter. He told the Prime Minister that he was the head of the government. If somebody, in his presence, claimed to be the Prime Minister, what would be his expression? Surely he would consider him a rebel. In the same way, according to the Khatm-e-Nabuwat, there was no prophet after Muhammad (PBUH). So it was very simple to declare any person as non-Muslim who did not trust in the Finality of the Prophethood (Ibid; pp. 97-98). In this way Bhutto was convinced and approved the resolution for discussion in the Parliament. But the problem was how to introduce the matter in the assembly under rules and regulations. Mawlana Noorani suggested "in camera session of Parliament" under the rules of the legislature (Nurani, S.F.R.R. Afkar-i-Nurani, pp. 41-44).

Bhutto agreed to discuss the issue in camera in the House. The National Assembly thus converted itself into a special committee to discuss and deliberate upon the matter. The special committee set up a steering committee for its assistance. Mawlana Noorani was on that committee. From June 30 to September 7, 1974, the special committee considered this issue in camera in a number of sittings (Ahmad, 1993, P. 107).

According to Mawlana Noorani, "all the points of the discussion were prepared by Yahya Bakhtiar, Attorney General of Pakistan. He struggled hard for it.

He prepared the questions, asked from the Qadianis, sitting up to midnights and even caters. We used to tell him that such and such were the beliefs of the Qadianis and then he would prepare questions in the light of those questions. "He used to ask questions on our behalf and Mirza Nasir would answer. Zafar Ansari and Abdul Hafeez Pirzada also accompanied me... We had to prove that Rabwah, in fact, was another state within the State. The Pakistani Passport bears the stamp that 'the Passport is valid for all countries of the world except Israel', then how the Qadianis go to Israel?" They had a Head Quarter in Israel and the Jews had permitted them. When Yahya Bakhtiar asked Mirza Nasir what was the relation of Israel with him having an office there? He rejected all these things. Then Yahya Bakhtiar presented all the magazines and addresses as a proof, which was provided by Mawlana and associates. After that he recognized that some people were working there in their own capacity. The purpose was to prove that the Qadianis had special relations with the Jews and that the Jews had given them shelter. But on the other hand they were pulling out its own inhabitants i.e., the Arabs from there. But the Qadianis were being colonized there. Hundreds of Qadianis had settled there in Israel who had got offices there. The Jews use them against the Muslims. We also cited another aspect of the time when Pakistan came into being; they had purchased a separate place at Rabwah and Sir Prince Moody, the first Governor of the Punjab, gave it to them very cheaply. Sir Zafarullah Khan was the foreign minister at that time. He also misused his position. Even Bhutto accepted all those proofs and the PPP helped us in this connection. All the secular forces were united at that time. "Therefore, we made a front before going into the Parliament. All the religious parties (JUP, JUI and JI) were united. Independent parliamentarians like Sardar Sher Baz Mazari, Mawla Bakhsh (father of Elahi Bakhsh Somro) also stood by us." (Nurani, S.F.R.R. Afkar-i-Nurani, pp. 43-44). In June 1974, when Mawlana Noorani presented his resolution demanding declaration of Qadianis as non-Muslims, the leaders of Lahori Group met Mawlana Noorani in Lahore and reportedly offered him fifty lakh rupees, if he omitted the words 'Lahori Group' from the resolution. However, Mawlana Noorani categorically rejected this offer (Ahmad, 1993, p. 110).

On September 7, 1974, Abdul Hafeez Pirzada presented the unanimous recommendations of the special committee to the National Assembly. That the Constitution of Pakistan be amended as follows: i) That in Article-106 (3) a reference be inserted to persons of the Qadiani Group and the Lahori Group (who call themselves 'Ahmadis'); ii) That a non-Muslim may be defined in a new clause in article-260 (Ibid; p. 109).

After adoption of these recommendations, Pirzada introduced the Bill to amend the constitution which the House unanimously adopted as 'The

Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill, 1974. This Bill stood passed by the House (Ibid; pp. 109-110).

In July 1975, Mawlana Noorani resigned from his seat in the National Assembly (Ibid; p. 111). According to Sayyid Aqeel Anjum Qadri, Secretary Information JUP Sindh, Mawlana Noorani was a very competent parliamentarian. As half of the Senators retire after every three years and the seats from Sindh at the Senate were vacated at the very first completion of three years so the party leadership considered it better to place Mawlana Noorani as a Senator and give an opportunity to another JUP candidate to be Member of the National Assembly. Mawlana Noorani had played a vital role in framing the 1973 Constitution as he was expected and then in the Senate the services of a seasoned parliamentarian were needed by the party, so Mawlana Noorani resigned the seat of MNA and was elected as a Senator from Sindh, although the seat vacated by Mawlana Noorani at the National Assembly was not won by the JUP candidate Haji Muhammad Hanif Tayyab in the by-election (Qadri, 2010).

XXX. CONCLUSION

Nonetheless, the present research paper explores that Mawlana Noorani played a vital role in the National Assembly of Pakistan especially in the formation of the 1973 Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. He himself forwarded more than 200 amendments to the constitution in order to Islamize it. He, at the floor of the National Assembly, legally and openly fought against the Martial Law Regulations inserted by the then Government in the constitution. He had a voice against the mismanagement of the government and forwarded amendments, modifications and improvements to the constitution to get safeguarded the fundamental and deep seated rights of all the citizens. He also played an important role for the social welfare of the people. To cut the long story short it can be said that Mawlana Noorani tried his level best to solve the social, political, constitutional, religious and cultural issues of the nation on the floor of the National Assembly of Pakistan through constitutional means and modes.

REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

- Rashid, H. (1996). *Pakistan The Successful Culmination*. Lahore: Publishers Emporium, pp. 5-6.
- Daily Pakistan*, (December 24, 2003). Islamabad: Pakistan.
- Khan, H. (2001). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, p. 60.
- Ibid, p. 48-9.
- Ahmad, M.(1993). *Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*. Islamabad: NIHCR, P. 44.
- Khan, H. (2001). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, p. 158.
- Ibid; p. 159.
- Hussain, M. (2009). *Pakistan kay Siyasi Ittihad may Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani ka kirdar: Qaumi Ittihad say Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal tak* (Urdu). Lahore: Allama Shah Ahmad Noorani Research Center, p. 55.
- Ibid; pp. 56-57.
- Ahmad, M.(1993). *Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*. Islamabad: NIHCR, p. 44.
- Ibid; pp. 44-45.
- Scruton, R. (1984). *A Dictionary of Political Thought*. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, p. 52.
- Ibid; 45-46.
- Ahmad, M.(1993). *Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*. Islamabad: NIHCR, PP. 70-71.
- Ahmad, M.(1993). *Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*. Islamabad: NIHCR, P. 218.
- Noorani, Q. A. M. *Imam Shah Ahmad Noorani ki Tareekhi Jadd-o- jehad*: Lahore: al- Naeemia International Qirat Academy, n.d.), p. 75.
- Ahmad, M.(1993). *Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*. Islamabad: NIHCR, p. 75.
- Ahmad, M.(1993). *Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*. Islamabad: NIHCR, p. 93.
- National Assembly of Pakistan (April 14, 1972). *Debates. I* (1), p. 5.
- Ibid; p. 26.
- Ahmad, M. (1993). *Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*. Islamabad: NIHCR, pp. 93-94.
- Appendix C for the 22 points of Ulama, p. 94.
- Choudhury, G. W. (1969). *Constitutional Development in Pakistan*. London: Longman Group Ltd, pp. 135-36.
- Ahmad, M. (1993). *Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*. Islamabad: NIHCR, p. 94.
- Ibid; p. 98.
- Hussain, M. (2009). *Pakistan kay Siyasi Ittihad may Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani ka kirdar: Qaumi Ittihad say Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal tak* (Urdu). Lahore: Allama Shah Ahmad Noorani Research Center, p. 73.
- Ibid; pp. 73-74.
- Daily Dawn*, (October 21, 1972). Karachi: Pakistan.
- Ibid; (January 1, 1973). Karachi: Pakistan..
- Hussain, M. (2009). *Pakistan kay Siyasi Ittihad may Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani ka kirdar: Qaumi Ittihad say Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal tak* (Urdu). Lahore: Allama Shah Ahmad Noorani Research Center, p. 74.
- Ibid; pp. 74-75.
- Siddiqi, J. A. (1988). *Nurani Siyasat*. Karachi: Shabal Publications, p. 19.
- Daily Dawn*, (January 1, 1973). Karachi: Pakistan.
- National Assembly of Pakistan (March 6, 1973). *Debates. II*(14), p. 722.
- Ibid; p. 727.
- Daily Dawn*, (January 1, 1973). Karachi: Pakistan.

37. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 6, 1973). *Debates. II(14)*, pp. 728-729.
38. Ahmad, M. B. (1996). *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan: Being a Commentary on the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973*. Lahore: P.L.D. Publishers, pp. 261-262.
39. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 6, 1973). *Debates. II(14)*, pp. 730-731.
40. National Assembly of Pakistan (February 2, 1973). *Constitution-Making Debates. II(14)*, pp. 23-24.
41. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 6, 1973). *Constitution-Making Debates. II(14)*, pp. 23-24.
42. Ibid; pp. 717-718.
43. Ibid; pp. 719-721.
44. Hussain, M. (2009), *Pakistan kay Siyasi Ittihad may Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani ka kirdar: Qaumi Ittihad say Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal tak* (Urdu). Lahore: Allama Shah Ahmad Noorani Research Center, pp. 79-80.
45. *Daily Pakistan Times* (March 14, 1973). Lahore: Pakistan.
46. *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* (March 14, 1973). Karachi: Pakistan.
47. *Daily Pakistan Times* (March 15, 1973). Lahore: Pakistan.
48. Hussain, M. (2009), *Pakistan kay Siyasi Ittihad may Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani ka kirdar: Qaumi Ittihad say Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal tak* (Urdu). Lahore: Allama Shah Ahmad Noorani Research Center, p. 80.
49. *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* (March 15, 1973). Karachi: Pakistan.
50. Hussain, M. (2009), *Pakistan kay Siyasi Ittihad may Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani ka kirdar: Qaumi Ittihad say Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal tak* (Urdu). Lahore: Allama Shah Ahmad Noorani Research Center, p. 81.
51. Ibid; pp. 80-81.
52. Ibid; p. 82.
53. Ibid; p. 82.
54. *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* (March 17, 1973). Lahore: Pakistan.
55. Ibid; (March 25, 1973). Lahore: Pakistan.
56. Ibid; (April 3 & 5, 1973). Lahore: Pakistan.
57. Ahmad, P. G. (1991). *Phir Martial Law Aa Gia*. Lahore: Jang Publishers, pp. 39-42.
58. *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* (April 11, 1973). Lahore: Pakistan.
59. *Tarjuman-e-Ahl-e-Sunnat* (May 1973). Karachi: Pakistan, pp. 46-47.
60. Ibid; pp. 48-49.
61. Siddiqi, J. A. (1988). *Nurani Siyasat*. Karachi: Shabal Publications, p. 71.
62. Ibid; p. 72.
63. *Tarjuman-e-Ahl-e-Sunnat* (June 1973). Karachi: Pakistan, p. 48.
64. *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* (April 11, 1973). Lahore: Pakistan.
65. Hussain, M. (2009), *Pakistan kay Siyasi Ittihad may Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani ka kirdar: Qaumi Ittihad say Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal tak* (Urdu). Lahore: Allama Shah Ahmad Noorani Research Center, p. 126.
66. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 12, 1973). *Debates. II(18)*, p. 1065.
67. Ibid; p. 1069.
68. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 12, 1973). *Constitution-Making Debates, II(18)*, p. 1065.
69. Ibid; p. 1072.
70. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 13, 1973). *Debates. II(19)*, p. 1125.
71. Ibid; p. 1131.
72. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 6, 1973). *Debates. II(14)*, p. 726.
73. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 13, 1973). *Debates. II(19)*, pp. 1132-1141.
74. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 14, 1973). *Debates. II(20)*, p. 1205.
75. Ibid; p. 1219
76. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 15, 1973). *Debates. II(21)*, p. 1360.
77. Ibid; p. 1391.
78. National Assembly of Pakistan (January 6, 1973). *Debates. II(7)*, p. 427.
79. Ibid; p. 427.
80. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 19, 1973). *Debates. II(23)*, pp. 1528-33.
81. Ibid; p. 1536.
82. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 20, 1973). *Debates. II(24)*, p. 1617.
83. Ibid; p. 1640.
84. Ibid; pp. 1649-1650.
85. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 22, 1973). *Debates. II(26)*, p. 1820.
86. Ibid; p. 1811.
87. Ibid; p. 1832.
88. National Assembly of Pakistan (August 24, 1972). *Debates. I (9)*, p. 385.
89. Ibid; pp. 385-386.
90. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 6, 1973). *Debates. II(14)*, p. 722.
91. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Apostasy (Muhammadan)"
92. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 6, 1973). *Debates. II(14)*, pp. 723-724.
93. National Assembly of Pakistan (March 15, 1973). *Debates. II(21)*, p. 1308.
94. Ibid; p. 1326.
95. Ibid; p. 1393.
96. Ibid; p. 1393.
97. Ibid; pp. 1403-1404.
98. Ibid; p. 1406.
99. National Assembly of Pakistan (April 15, 1972). *Debates. I(2)*, 125-26.

100. Ahmad, M.(1993). Jam'iyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979. Islamabad: NIHCR, pp. 94-95.
101. Ibid; p. 107.
102. Ibid; pp. 125-126.
103. Hussain, M. (2009), *Pakistan kay Siyasi Ittihad may Mawlana Shah Ahmad Noorani ka kirdar: Qaumi Ittihad say Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal tak* (Urdu). Lahore: Allama Shah Ahmad Noorani Research Center, p. 97.
104. Ibid; pp. 97-98.
105. Nurani, S. F. R. R., *Afkar-i-Nurani*. Lahore: Maktabah-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat Jamia Nizamiya-i-Rizwiya, n.d., pp. 41-44.
106. Ahmad, M.(1993). *Jam'iyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*. Islamabad: NIHCR, p. 107.
107. Nurani, S. F. R. R., *Afkar-i-Nurani*. Lahore: Maktabah-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat Jamia Nizamiya-i-Rizwiya, n.d., pp. 43-44.
108. Ahmad, M.(1993). *Jam'iyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*. Islamabad: NIHCR, p. 110.
109. Ibid; P.109.
110. Ibid; pp.109-110.
111. Ibid; p.111.
112. Qadri, S. A. A. *Interview by Author*, July 22, 2010, Karachi.



GLOBAL JOURNALS INC. (US) GUIDELINES HANDBOOK 2015

WWW.GLOBALJOURNALS.ORG

FELLOWS

FELLOW OF ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY IN HUMAN SCIENCE (FARSHS)

Global Journals Incorporate (USA) is accredited by Open Association of Research Society (OARS), U.S.A and in turn, awards “FARSHS” title to individuals. The 'FARSHS' title is accorded to a selected professional after the approval of the Editor-in-Chief/Editorial Board Members/Dean.



- The “FARSHS” is a dignified title which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FARSS or William Walldroff, M.S., FARSHS.

FARSHS accrediting is an honor. It authenticates your research activities. After recognition as FARSHS, you can add 'FARSHS' title with your name as you use this recognition as additional suffix to your status. This will definitely enhance and add more value and repute to your name. You may use it on your professional Counseling Materials such as CV, Resume, and Visiting Card etc.

The following benefits can be availed by you only for next three years from the date of certification:



FARSHS designated members are entitled to avail a 40% discount while publishing their research papers (of a single author) with Global Journals Incorporation (USA), if the same is accepted by Editorial Board/Peer Reviewers. If you are a main author or co-author in case of multiple authors, you will be entitled to avail discount of 10%.

Once FARSHS title is accorded, the Fellow is authorized to organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journal Incorporation (USA). The Fellow can also participate in conference/seminar/symposium organized by another institution as representative of Global Journal. In both the cases, it is mandatory for him to discuss with us and obtain our consent.



You may join as member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) after successful completion of three years as Fellow and as Peer Reviewer. In addition, it is also desirable that you should organize seminar/symposium/conference at least once.

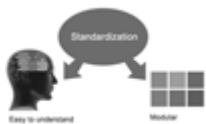
We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time. This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.





The FARSHS can go through standards of OARS. You can also play vital role if you have any suggestions so that proper amendment can take place to improve the same for the benefit of entire research community.

As FARSHS, you will be given a renowned, secure and free professional email address with 100 GB of space e.g. johnhall@globaljournals.org. This will include Webmail, Spam Assassin, Email Forwarders, Auto-Responders, Email Delivery Route tracing, etc.



The FARSHS will be eligible for a free application of standardization of their researches. Standardization of research will be subject to acceptability within stipulated norms as the next step after publishing in a journal. We shall depute a team of specialized research professionals who will render their services for elevating your researches to next higher level, which is worldwide open standardization.

The FARSHS member can apply for grading and certification of standards of the educational and Institutional Degrees to Open Association of Research, Society U.S.A. Once you are designated as FARSHS, you may send us a scanned copy of all of your credentials. OARS will verify, grade and certify them. This will be based on your academic records, quality of research papers published by you, and some more criteria. After certification of all your credentials by OARS, they will be published on your Fellow Profile link on website <https://associationofresearch.org> which will be helpful to upgrade the dignity.



The FARSHS members can avail the benefits of free research podcasting in Global Research Radio with their research documents. After publishing the work, (including published elsewhere worldwide with proper authorization) you can upload your research paper with your recorded voice or you can utilize chargeable services of our professional RJs to record your paper in their voice on request.

The FARSHS member also entitled to get the benefits of free research podcasting of their research documents through video clips. We can also streamline your conference videos and display your slides/ online slides and online research video clips at reasonable charges, on request.





The FARSHS is eligible to earn from sales proceeds of his/her researches/reference/review Books or literature, while publishing with Global Journals. The FARSHS can decide whether he/she would like to publish his/her research in a closed manner. In this case, whenever readers purchase that individual research paper for reading, maximum 60% of its profit earned as royalty by Global Journals, will be credited to his/her bank account. The entire entitled amount will be credited to his/her bank account exceeding limit of minimum fixed balance. There is no minimum time limit for collection. The FARSS member can decide its price and we can help in making the right decision.

The FARSHS member is eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper. After reviewing 5 or more papers you can request to transfer the amount to your bank account.



MEMBER OF ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY IN HUMAN SCIENCE (MARSHS)

The ' MARSHS ' title is accorded to a selected professional after the approval of the Editor-in-Chief / Editorial Board Members/Dean.

The “MARSHS” is a dignified ornament which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr John E. Hall, Ph.D., MARSHS or William Walldroff, M.S., MARSHS.



MARSHS accrediting is an honor. It authenticates your research activities. After becoming MARSHS, you can add 'MARSHS' title with your name as you use this recognition as additional suffix to your status. This will definitely enhance and add more value and repute to your name. You may use it on your professional Counseling Materials such as CV, Resume, Visiting Card and Name Plate etc.

The following benefits can be availed by you only for next three years from the date of certification.



MARSHS designated members are entitled to avail a 25% discount while publishing their research papers (of a single author) in Global Journals Inc., if the same is accepted by our Editorial Board and Peer Reviewers. If you are a main author or co-author of a group of authors, you will get discount of 10%.

As MARSHS, you will be given a renowned, secure and free professional email address with 30 GB of space e.g. johnhall@globaljournals.org. This will include Webmail, Spam Assassin, Email Forwarders, Auto-Responders, Email Delivery Route tracing, etc.





We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time. This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.

The MARSHS member can apply for approval, grading and certification of standards of their educational and Institutional Degrees to Open Association of Research, Society U.S.A.



Once you are designated as MARSHS, you may send us a scanned copy of all of your credentials. OARS will verify, grade and certify them. This will be based on your academic records, quality of research papers published by you, and some more criteria.

It is mandatory to read all terms and conditions carefully.



AUXILIARY MEMBERSHIPS

Institutional Fellow of Open Association of Research Society (USA) - OARS (USA)

Global Journals Incorporation (USA) is accredited by Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS) and in turn, affiliates research institutions as “Institutional Fellow of Open Association of Research Society” (IFOARS).



The “FARSC” is a dignified title which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FARSC or William Walldroff, M.S., FARSC.

The IFOARS institution is entitled to form a Board comprised of one Chairperson and three to five board members preferably from different streams. The Board will be recognized as “Institutional Board of Open Association of Research Society”-(IBOARS).

The Institute will be entitled to following benefits:



The IBOARS can initially review research papers of their institute and recommend them to publish with respective journal of Global Journals. It can also review the papers of other institutions after obtaining our consent. The second review will be done by peer reviewer of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) The Board is at liberty to appoint a peer reviewer with the approval of chairperson after consulting us.

The author fees of such paper may be waived off up to 40%.

The Global Journals Incorporation (USA) at its discretion can also refer double blind peer reviewed paper at their end to the board for the verification and to get recommendation for final stage of acceptance of publication.



The IBOARS can organize symposium/seminar/conference in their country on behalf of Global Journals Incorporation (USA)-OARS (USA). The terms and conditions can be discussed separately.

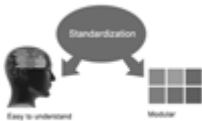
The Board can also play vital role by exploring and giving valuable suggestions regarding the Standards of “Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS)” so that proper amendment can take place for the benefit of entire research community. We shall provide details of particular standard only on receipt of request from the Board.



The board members can also join us as Individual Fellow with 40% discount on total fees applicable to Individual Fellow. They will be entitled to avail all the benefits as declared. Please visit Individual Fellow-sub menu of GlobalJournals.org to have more relevant details.



We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time. This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.



After nomination of your institution as “Institutional Fellow” and constantly functioning successfully for one year, we can consider giving recognition to your institute to function as Regional/Zonal office on our behalf. The board can also take up the additional allied activities for betterment after our consultation.

The following entitlements are applicable to individual Fellows:

Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS) By-laws states that an individual Fellow may use the designations as applicable, or the corresponding initials. The Credentials of individual Fellow and Associate designations signify that the individual has gained knowledge of the fundamental concepts. One is magnanimous and proficient in an expertise course covering the professional code of conduct, and follows recognized standards of practice.



Open Association of Research Society (US)/ Global Journals Incorporation (USA), as described in Corporate Statements, are educational, research publishing and professional membership organizations. Achieving our individual Fellow or Associate status is based mainly on meeting stated educational research requirements.

Disbursement of 40% Royalty earned through Global Journals : Researcher = 50%, Peer Reviewer = 37.50%, Institution = 12.50% E.g. Out of 40%, the 20% benefit should be passed on to researcher, 15 % benefit towards remuneration should be given to a reviewer and remaining 5% is to be retained by the institution.



We shall provide print version of 12 issues of any three journals [as per your requirement] out of our 38 journals worth \$ 2376 USD.

Other:

The individual Fellow and Associate designations accredited by Open Association of Research Society (US) credentials signify guarantees following achievements:

- The professional accredited with Fellow honor, is entitled to various benefits viz. name, fame, honor, regular flow of income, secured bright future, social status etc.



- In addition to above, if one is single author, then entitled to 40% discount on publishing research paper and can get 10% discount if one is co-author or main author among group of authors.
- The Fellow can organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and he/she can also attend the same organized by other institutes on behalf of Global Journals.
- The Fellow can become member of Editorial Board Member after completing 3yrs.
- The Fellow can earn 60% of sales proceeds from the sale of reference/review books/literature/publishing of research paper.
- Fellow can also join as paid peer reviewer and earn 15% remuneration of author charges and can also get an opportunity to join as member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA)
- • This individual has learned the basic methods of applying those concepts and techniques to common challenging situations. This individual has further demonstrated an in-depth understanding of the application of suitable techniques to a particular area of research practice.

Note :

//

- In future, if the board feels the necessity to change any board member, the same can be done with the consent of the chairperson along with anyone board member without our approval.
- In case, the chairperson needs to be replaced then consent of 2/3rd board members are required and they are also required to jointly pass the resolution copy of which should be sent to us. In such case, it will be compulsory to obtain our approval before replacement.
- In case of “Difference of Opinion [if any]” among the Board members, our decision will be final and binding to everyone.

//



PROCESS OF SUBMISSION OF RESEARCH PAPER

The Area or field of specialization may or may not be of any category as mentioned in 'Scope of Journal' menu of the GlobalJournals.org website. There are 37 Research Journal categorized with Six parental Journals GJCST, GJMR, GJRE, GJMBR, GJSFR, GJHSS. For Authors should prefer the mentioned categories. There are three widely used systems UDC, DDC and LCC. The details are available as 'Knowledge Abstract' at Home page. The major advantage of this coding is that, the research work will be exposed to and shared with all over the world as we are being abstracted and indexed worldwide.

The paper should be in proper format. The format can be downloaded from first page of 'Author Guideline' Menu. The Author is expected to follow the general rules as mentioned in this menu. The paper should be written in MS-Word Format (*.DOC, *.DOCX).

The Author can submit the paper either online or offline. The authors should prefer online submission. Online Submission: There are three ways to submit your paper:

(A) (I) First, register yourself using top right corner of Home page then Login. If you are already registered, then login using your username and password.

(II) Choose corresponding Journal.

(III) Click 'Submit Manuscript'. Fill required information and Upload the paper.

(B) If you are using Internet Explorer, then Direct Submission through Homepage is also available.

(C) If these two are not convenient, and then email the paper directly to dean@globaljournals.org.

Offline Submission: Author can send the typed form of paper by Post. However, online submission should be preferred.



PREFERRED AUTHOR GUIDELINES

MANUSCRIPT STYLE INSTRUCTION (Must be strictly followed)

Page Size: 8.27" X 11"

- Left Margin: 0.65
- Right Margin: 0.65
- Top Margin: 0.75
- Bottom Margin: 0.75
- Font type of all text should be Swis 721 Lt BT.
- Paper Title should be of Font Size 24 with one Column section.
- Author Name in Font Size of 11 with one column as of Title.
- Abstract Font size of 9 Bold, "Abstract" word in Italic Bold.
- Main Text: Font size 10 with justified two columns section
- Two Column with Equal Column with of 3.38 and Gaping of .2
- First Character must be three lines Drop capped.
- Paragraph before Spacing of 1 pt and After of 0 pt.
- Line Spacing of 1 pt
- Large Images must be in One Column
- Numbering of First Main Headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman Letters, Capital Letter, and Font Size of 10.
- Numbering of Second Main Headings (Heading 2) must be in Alphabets, Italic, and Font Size of 10.

You can use your own standard format also.

Author Guidelines:

1. General,
2. Ethical Guidelines,
3. Submission of Manuscripts,
4. Manuscript's Category,
5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,
6. After Acceptance.

1. GENERAL

Before submitting your research paper, one is advised to go through the details as mentioned in following heads. It will be beneficial, while peer reviewer justify your paper for publication.

Scope

The Global Journals Inc. (US) welcome the submission of original paper, review paper, survey article relevant to the all the streams of Philosophy and knowledge. The Global Journals Inc. (US) is parental platform for Global Journal of Computer Science and Technology, Researches in Engineering, Medical Research, Science Frontier Research, Human Social Science, Management, and Business organization. The choice of specific field can be done otherwise as following in Abstracting and Indexing Page on this Website. As the all Global

Journals Inc. (US) are being abstracted and indexed (in process) by most of the reputed organizations. Topics of only narrow interest will not be accepted unless they have wider potential or consequences.

2. ETHICAL GUIDELINES

Authors should follow the ethical guidelines as mentioned below for publication of research paper and research activities.

Papers are accepted on strict understanding that the material in whole or in part has not been, nor is being, considered for publication elsewhere. If the paper once accepted by Global Journals Inc. (US) and Editorial Board, will become the copyright of the Global Journals Inc. (US).

Authorship: The authors and coauthors should have active contribution to conception design, analysis and interpretation of findings. They should critically review the contents and drafting of the paper. All should approve the final version of the paper before submission

The Global Journals Inc. (US) follows the definition of authorship set up by the Global Academy of Research and Development. According to the Global Academy of R&D authorship, criteria must be based on:

- 1) Substantial contributions to conception and acquisition of data, analysis and interpretation of the findings.
- 2) Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.
- 3) Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

All authors should have been credited according to their appropriate contribution in research activity and preparing paper. Contributors who do not match the criteria as authors may be mentioned under Acknowledgement.

Acknowledgements: Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned under acknowledgement. The specifications of the source of funding for the research if appropriate can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with address.

Appeal of Decision: The Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed elsewhere.

Permissions: It is the author's responsibility to have prior permission if all or parts of earlier published illustrations are used in this paper.

Please mention proper reference and appropriate acknowledgements wherever expected.

If all or parts of previously published illustrations are used, permission must be taken from the copyright holder concerned. It is the author's responsibility to take these in writing.

Approval for reproduction/modification of any information (including figures and tables) published elsewhere must be obtained by the authors/copyright holders before submission of the manuscript. Contributors (Authors) are responsible for any copyright fee involved.

3. SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts should be uploaded via this online submission page. The online submission is most efficient method for submission of papers, as it enables rapid distribution of manuscripts and consequently speeds up the review procedure. It also enables authors to know the status of their own manuscripts by emailing us. Complete instructions for submitting a paper is available below.

Manuscript submission is a systematic procedure and little preparation is required beyond having all parts of your manuscript in a given format and a computer with an Internet connection and a Web browser. Full help and instructions are provided on-screen. As an author, you will be prompted for login and manuscript details as Field of Paper and then to upload your manuscript file(s) according to the instructions.



To avoid postal delays, all transaction is preferred by e-mail. A finished manuscript submission is confirmed by e-mail immediately and your paper enters the editorial process with no postal delays. When a conclusion is made about the publication of your paper by our Editorial Board, revisions can be submitted online with the same procedure, with an occasion to view and respond to all comments.

Complete support for both authors and co-author is provided.

4. MANUSCRIPT'S CATEGORY

Based on potential and nature, the manuscript can be categorized under the following heads:

Original research paper: Such papers are reports of high-level significant original research work.

Review papers: These are concise, significant but helpful and decisive topics for young researchers.

Research articles: These are handled with small investigation and applications

Research letters: The letters are small and concise comments on previously published matters.

5. STRUCTURE AND FORMAT OF MANUSCRIPT

The recommended size of original research paper is less than seven thousand words, review papers fewer than seven thousands words also. Preparation of research paper or how to write research paper, are major hurdle, while writing manuscript. The research articles and research letters should be fewer than three thousand words, the structure original research paper; sometime review paper should be as follows:

Papers: These are reports of significant research (typically less than 7000 words equivalent, including tables, figures, references), and comprise:

(a) Title should be relevant and commensurate with the theme of the paper.

(b) A brief Summary, "Abstract" (less than 150 words) containing the major results and conclusions.

(c) Up to ten keywords, that precisely identifies the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.

(d) An Introduction, giving necessary background excluding subheadings; objectives must be clearly declared.

(e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition; sources of information must be given and numerical methods must be specified by reference, unless non-standard.

(f) Results should be presented concisely, by well-designed tables and/or figures; the same data may not be used in both; suitable statistical data should be given. All data must be obtained with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage. As reproduced design has been recognized to be important to experiments for a considerable time, the Editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned un-refereed;

(g) Discussion should cover the implications and consequences, not just recapitulating the results; conclusions should be summarizing.

(h) Brief Acknowledgements.

(i) References in the proper form.

Authors should very cautiously consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate efficiently. Papers are much more likely to be accepted, if they are cautiously designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and be conventional to the approach and instructions. They will in addition, be published with much less delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.



The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and to make suggestions to improve brevity.

It is vital, that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

Format

Language: The language of publication is UK English. Authors, for whom English is a second language, must have their manuscript efficiently edited by an English-speaking person before submission to make sure that, the English is of high excellence. It is preferable, that manuscripts should be professionally edited.

Standard Usage, Abbreviations, and Units: Spelling and hyphenation should be conventional to The Concise Oxford English Dictionary. Statistics and measurements should at all times be given in figures, e.g. 16 min, except for when the number begins a sentence. When the number does not refer to a unit of measurement it should be spelt in full unless, it is 160 or greater.

Abbreviations supposed to be used carefully. The abbreviated name or expression is supposed to be cited in full at first usage, followed by the conventional abbreviation in parentheses.

Metric SI units are supposed to generally be used excluding where they conflict with current practice or are confusing. For illustration, 1.4 l rather than $1.4 \times 10^{-3} \text{ m}^3$, or 4 mm somewhat than $4 \times 10^{-3} \text{ m}$. Chemical formula and solutions must identify the form used, e.g. anhydrous or hydrated, and the concentration must be in clearly defined units. Common species names should be followed by underlines at the first mention. For following use the generic name should be constricted to a single letter, if it is clear.

Structure

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals Inc. (US), ought to include:

Title: The title page must carry an instructive title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) wherever the work was carried out. The full postal address in addition with the e-mail address of related author must be given. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining and indexing.

Abstract, used in Original Papers and Reviews:

Optimizing Abstract for Search Engines

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or similar. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. This in turn will make it more likely to be viewed and/or cited in a further work. Global Journals Inc. (US) have compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Key Words

A major linchpin in research work for the writing research paper is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and Internet resources.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy and planning a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Search engines for most searches, use Boolean searching, which is somewhat different from Internet searches. The Boolean search uses "operators," words (and, or, not, and near) that enable you to expand or narrow your affords. Tips for research paper while preparing research paper are very helpful guideline of research paper.

Choice of key words is first tool of tips to write research paper. Research paper writing is an art. A few tips for deciding as strategically as possible about keyword search:



- One should start brainstorming lists of possible keywords before even begin searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.
- It may take the discovery of only one relevant paper to let steer in the right keyword direction because in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.
- One should avoid outdated words.

Keywords are the key that opens a door to research work sources. Keyword searching is an art in which researcher's skills are bound to improve with experience and time.

Numerical Methods: Numerical methods used should be clear and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Acknowledgements: Please make these as concise as possible.

References

References follow the Harvard scheme of referencing. References in the text should cite the authors' names followed by the time of their publication, unless there are three or more authors when simply the first author's name is quoted followed by et al. unpublished work has to only be cited where necessary, and only in the text. Copies of references in press in other journals have to be supplied with submitted typescripts. It is necessary that all citations and references be carefully checked before submission, as mistakes or omissions will cause delays.

References to information on the World Wide Web can be given, but only if the information is available without charge to readers on an official site. Wikipedia and Similar websites are not allowed where anyone can change the information. Authors will be asked to make available electronic copies of the cited information for inclusion on the Global Journals Inc. (US) homepage at the judgment of the Editorial Board.

The Editorial Board and Global Journals Inc. (US) recommend that, citation of online-published papers and other material should be done via a DOI (digital object identifier). If an author cites anything, which does not have a DOI, they run the risk of the cited material not being noticeable.

The Editorial Board and Global Journals Inc. (US) recommend the use of a tool such as Reference Manager for reference management and formatting.

Tables, Figures and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be few in number, cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g. Table 4, a self-explanatory caption and be on a separate sheet. Vertical lines should not be used.

Figures: Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always take in a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g. Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in electronic form by e-mailing them.

Preparation of Electronic Figures for Publication

Even though low quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (or e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Do not use pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings) in relation to the imitation size. Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement Form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution (at final image size) ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs) : >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.



Color Charges: It is the rule of the Global Journals Inc. (US) for authors to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that, if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a color work agreement form before your paper can be published.

Figure Legends: Self-explanatory legends of all figures should be incorporated separately under the heading 'Legends to Figures'. In the full-text online edition of the journal, figure legends may possibly be truncated in abbreviated links to the full screen version. Therefore, the first 100 characters of any legend should notify the reader, about the key aspects of the figure.

6. AFTER ACCEPTANCE

Upon approval of a paper for publication, the manuscript will be forwarded to the dean, who is responsible for the publication of the Global Journals Inc. (US).

6.1 Proof Corrections

The corresponding author will receive an e-mail alert containing a link to a website or will be attached. A working e-mail address must therefore be provided for the related author.

Acrobat Reader will be required in order to read this file. This software can be downloaded

(Free of charge) from the following website:

www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/readstep2.html. This will facilitate the file to be opened, read on screen, and printed out in order for any corrections to be added. Further instructions will be sent with the proof.

Proofs must be returned to the dean at dean@globaljournals.org within three days of receipt.

As changes to proofs are costly, we inquire that you only correct typesetting errors. All illustrations are retained by the publisher. Please note that the authors are responsible for all statements made in their work, including changes made by the copy editor.

6.2 Early View of Global Journals Inc. (US) (Publication Prior to Print)

The Global Journals Inc. (US) are enclosed by our publishing's Early View service. Early View articles are complete full-text articles sent in advance of their publication. Early View articles are absolute and final. They have been completely reviewed, revised and edited for publication, and the authors' final corrections have been incorporated. Because they are in final form, no changes can be made after sending them. The nature of Early View articles means that they do not yet have volume, issue or page numbers, so Early View articles cannot be cited in the conventional way.

6.3 Author Services

Online production tracking is available for your article through Author Services. Author Services enables authors to track their article - once it has been accepted - through the production process to publication online and in print. Authors can check the status of their articles online and choose to receive automated e-mails at key stages of production. The authors will receive an e-mail with a unique link that enables them to register and have their article automatically added to the system. Please ensure that a complete e-mail address is provided when submitting the manuscript.

6.4 Author Material Archive Policy

Please note that if not specifically requested, publisher will dispose off hardcopy & electronic information submitted, after the two months of publication. If you require the return of any information submitted, please inform the Editorial Board or dean as soon as possible.

6.5 Offprint and Extra Copies

A PDF offprint of the online-published article will be provided free of charge to the related author, and may be distributed according to the Publisher's terms and conditions. Additional paper offprint may be ordered by emailing us at: editor@globaljournals.org .



Before start writing a good quality Computer Science Research Paper, let us first understand what is Computer Science Research Paper? So, Computer Science Research Paper is the paper which is written by professionals or scientists who are associated to Computer Science and Information Technology, or doing research study in these areas. If you are novel to this field then you can consult about this field from your supervisor or guide.

TECHNIQUES FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY RESEARCH PAPER:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is searched by the interest of author but it can be also suggested by the guides. You can have several topics and then you can judge that in which topic or subject you are finding yourself most comfortable. This can be done by asking several questions to yourself, like Will I be able to carry our search in this area? Will I find all necessary recourses to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area? If the answer of these types of questions will be "Yes" then you can choose that topic. In most of the cases, you may have to conduct the surveys and have to visit several places because this field is related to Computer Science and Information Technology. Also, you may have to do a lot of work to find all rise and falls regarding the various data of that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information.

2. Evaluators are human: First thing to remember that evaluators are also human being. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So, present your Best.

3. Think Like Evaluators: If you are in a confusion or getting demotivated that your paper will be accepted by evaluators or not, then think and try to evaluate your paper like an Evaluator. Try to understand that what an evaluator wants in your research paper and automatically you will have your answer.

4. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

5. Ask your Guides: If you are having any difficulty in your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty to your guide (if you have any). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work then ask the supervisor to help you with the alternative. He might also provide you the list of essential readings.

6. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of Computer Science, then this point is quite obvious.

7. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable to judge good software then you can lose quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various software programs available to help you, which you can get through Internet.

8. Use the Internet for help: An excellent start for your paper can be by using the Google. It is an excellent search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question how to write my research paper or find model research paper. From the internet library you can download books. If you have all required books make important reading selecting and analyzing the specified information. Then put together research paper sketch out.

9. Use and get big pictures: Always use encyclopedias, Wikipedia to get pictures so that you can go into the depth.

10. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right! It is a good habit, which helps to not to lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on Internet also, which will make your search easier.

11. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it and then finalize it.



12. Make all efforts: Make all efforts to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in introduction, that what is the need of a particular research paper. Polish your work by good skill of writing and always give an evaluator, what he wants.

13. Have backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either in your computer or in paper. This will help you to not to lose any of your important.

14. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several and unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating "hotchpotch." So always, try to make and include those diagrams, which are made by your own to improve readability and understandability of your paper.

15. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history or current affairs then use of quotes become essential but if study is relevant to science then use of quotes is not preferable.

16. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense, to present those events that happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate future happening events. Use of improper and wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid the sentences that are incomplete.

17. Never use online paper: If you are getting any paper on Internet, then never use it as your research paper because it might be possible that evaluator has already seen it or maybe it is outdated version.

18. Pick a good study spot: To do your research studies always try to pick a spot, which is quiet. Every spot is not for studies. Spot that suits you choose it and proceed further.

19. Know what you know: Always try to know, what you know by making objectives. Else, you will be confused and cannot achieve your target.

20. Use good quality grammar: Always use a good quality grammar and use words that will throw positive impact on evaluator. Use of good quality grammar does not mean to use tough words, that for each word the evaluator has to go through dictionary. Do not start sentence with a conjunction. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Ignore passive voice. Do not ever use a big word when a diminutive one would suffice. Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. Prepositions are not expressions to finish sentences with. It is incorrect to ever divide an infinitive. Avoid clichés like the disease. Also, always shun irritating alliteration. Use language that is simple and straight forward. put together a neat summary.

21. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments to your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

22. Never start in last minute: Always start at right time and give enough time to research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

23. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time proves bad habit in case of research activity. Research is an area, where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work in parts and do particular part in particular time slot.

24. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if evaluator has seen it anywhere you will be in trouble.

25. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend for your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health then all your efforts will be in vain. For a quality research, study is must, and this can be done by taking proper rest and food.

26. Go for seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.



27. Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give rest to your mind by listening to soft music or by sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory.

28. Make colleagues: Always try to make colleagues. No matter how sharper or intelligent you are, if you make colleagues you can have several ideas, which will be helpful for your research.

29. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, then search its reasons, its benefits, and demerits.

30. Think and then print: When you will go to print your paper, notice that tables are not be split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

31. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information, like, I have used MS Excel to draw graph. Do not add irrelevant and inappropriate material. These all will create superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should NEVER take a broad view. Analogy in script is like feathers on a snake. Not at all use a large word when a very small one would be sufficient. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Amplification is a billion times of inferior quality than sarcasm.

32. Never oversimplify everything: To add material in your research paper, never go for oversimplification. This will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be more or less specific. Also too, by no means, ever use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions aren't essential and shouldn't be there used. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands and abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas, that are, not necessary. Parenthetical words however should be together with this in commas. Understatement is all the time the complete best way to put onward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

33. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. Significant figures and appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibitive. Proofread carefully at final stage. In the end give outline to your arguments. Spot out perspectives of further study of this subject. Justify your conclusion by at the bottom of them with sufficient justifications and examples.

34. After conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium through which your research is going to be in print to the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects in your research.

INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form, which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criterion for grading the final paper by peer-reviewers.

Final Points:

A purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people to interpret your effort selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, each section to start on a new page.

The introduction will be compiled from reference matter and will reflect the design processes or outline of basis that direct you to make study. As you will carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed as like that. The result segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and will direct the reviewers next to the similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you took to carry out your study. The discussion section will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implication of the results. The use of good quality references all through the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness of prior workings.



Writing a research paper is not an easy job no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record keeping are the only means to make straightforward the progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear

- Adhere to recommended page limits

Mistakes to evade

- Insertion a title at the foot of a page with the subsequent text on the next page
- Separating a table/chart or figure - impound each figure/table to a single page
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence

In every sections of your document

- Use standard writing style including articles ("a", "the," etc.)
- Keep on paying attention on the research topic of the paper
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)
- Align the primary line of each section
- Present your points in sound order
- Use present tense to report well accepted
- Use past tense to describe specific results
- Shun familiar wording, don't address the reviewer directly, and don't use slang, slang language, or superlatives
- Shun use of extra pictures - include only those figures essential to presenting results

Title Page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short. It should not have non-standard acronyms or abbreviations. It should not exceed two printed lines. It should include the name(s) and address (es) of all authors.



Abstract:

The summary should be two hundred words or less. It should briefly and clearly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript-- must have precise statistics. It should not have abnormal acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Shun citing references at this point.

An abstract is a brief distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approach to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Yet, use comprehensive sentences and do not let go readability for brevity. You can maintain it succinct by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study, with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to maintain the initial two items to no more than one ruling each.

- Reason of the study - theory, overall issue, purpose
- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
- Consequences, including definite statistics - if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account quantitative data; results of any numerical analysis should be reported
- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

Approach:

- Single section, and succinct
- As an outline of job done, it is always written in past tense
- A conceptual should situate on its own, and not submit to any other part of the paper such as a form or table
- Center on shortening results - bound background information to a verdict or two, if completely necessary
- What you account in an abstract must be regular with what you reported in the manuscript
- Exact spelling, clearness of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else

Introduction:

The **Introduction** should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable to comprehend and calculate the purpose of your study without having to submit to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give most important references but shun difficult to make a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. In the introduction, describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will have no attention in your result. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here. Following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study
- Shield the model - why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? You strength remark on its appropriateness from a abstract point of vision as well as point out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. Status your particular theory (es) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Very for a short time explain the tentative propose and how it skilled the declared objectives.

Approach:

- Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done.
- Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point with every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need a least of four paragraphs.



- Present surroundings information only as desirable in order hold up a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read the whole thing you know about a topic.
- Shape the theory/purpose specifically - do not take a broad view.
- As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (Methods and Materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A sound written Procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replacement your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt for the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to spare your outcome but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section. When a technique is used that has been well described in another object, mention the specific item describing a way but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to text all particular resources and broad procedures, so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step by step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

- Explain materials individually only if the study is so complex that it saves liberty this way.
- Embrace particular materials, and any tools or provisions that are not frequently found in laboratories.
- Do not take in frequently found.
- If use of a definite type of tools.
- Materials may be reported in a part section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method (not particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology)
- Describe the method entirely
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures
- Simplify - details how procedures were completed not how they were exclusively performed on a particular day.
- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

Approach:

- It is embarrassed or not possible to use vigorous voice when documenting methods with no using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result when script up the methods most authors use third person passive voice.
- Use standard style in this and in every other part of the paper - avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings - save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part a entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently. You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.



Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or in manuscript form.

What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.
- Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report
- If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results part.

Figures and tables

- If you put figures and tables at the end of the details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attach appendix materials, such as raw facts
- Despite of position, each figure must be numbered one after the other and complete with subtitle
- In spite of position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other and complete with heading
- All figure and table must be adequately complete that it could situate on its own, divide from text

Discussion:

The Discussion is expected the trickiest segment to write and describe. A lot of papers submitted for journal are discarded based on problems with the Discussion. There is no head of state for how long a argument should be. Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implication of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and hold up for all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of result should be visibly described. Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved with prospect, and let it drop at that.

- Make a decision if each premise is supported, discarded, or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."
- Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work
- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

- When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from available information
- Submit to work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.
- Submit to generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.



THE ADMINISTRATION RULES

Please carefully note down following rules and regulation before submitting your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc. (US):

Segment Draft and Final Research Paper: You have to strictly follow the template of research paper. If it is not done your paper may get rejected.

- The **major constraint** is that you must independently make all content, tables, graphs, and facts that are offered in the paper. You must write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The Peer-reviewers need to identify your own perceptives of the concepts in your own terms. NEVER extract straight from any foundation, and never rephrase someone else's analysis.
- Do not give permission to anyone else to "PROOFREAD" your manuscript.
- **Methods to avoid Plagiarism is applied by us on every paper, if found guilty, you will be blacklisted by all of our collaborated research groups, your institution will be informed for this and strict legal actions will be taken immediately.)**
- To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use please do not permit anyone right to use to your paper and files.



CRITERION FOR GRADING A RESEARCH PAPER (COMPILATION)
BY GLOBAL JOURNALS INC. (US)

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals Inc. (US).

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	C-D	E-F
<i>Abstract</i>	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
<i>Introduction</i>	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
<i>Methods and Procedures</i>	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
<i>Result</i>	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
<i>Discussion</i>	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



INDEX

B

Bijian · 2, 14

F

Fenghui · 11, 16

J

Jeopardize · 1, 4, 14
Jinping · 12, 14, 18

M

Mearsheimer · 4, 14, 16
Miskeeniyah · 40

P

Pakhtoonisian · 21, 22
Paraphernalia · 21
Peacekeeping · 2, 14
Preoccupation · 27

Q

Qadianism · 58

S

Slavishly · 25
Sluggishness · 1
Sovereignty · 4, 11, 12, 14
Soviet · 1, 4, 6, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33



save our planet



Global Journal of Human Social Science

Visit us on the Web at www.GlobalJournals.org | www.SocialScienceResearch.org
or email us at helpdesk@globaljournals.org



ISSN 975587

© Global Journals