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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.*

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RISINGCHINANOTATWARWITHUS

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Rising China: Not at War With Us

Muhammad Nazim Rahim ^a & Adeela Ashraf ^a

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 Deng 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

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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 hierarchical 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 world 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 Jintao 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 CONCERN

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 Ishiwaru 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, TPP 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 be 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 threat 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

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

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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

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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 Pakhtoonistan [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 its role. The USSR was an Asian as well as a European power and it projected its image in the Third World more as an Asian power, which identified with the concerns of the 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 Pashtoonistan 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 over haul 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, 1975. 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 increased 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 tome 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 in-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 redound 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, thereby 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 again 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 Indian 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 but 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.

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

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Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan ^a, Muhammad Idrees ^a & Muhammad Altaf ^b

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.

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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 Dhorjee 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'iyyat '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 (1907-1980) 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 May 30, 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'iyyat '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 'lathy 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 anywhere 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 'lathy 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 Tahrik-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).

XVIII. 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 trialed. 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.

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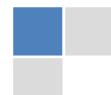
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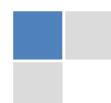
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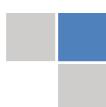
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- All figure and table must be adequately complete that it could situate on its own, divide from text

Discussion:

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- 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.



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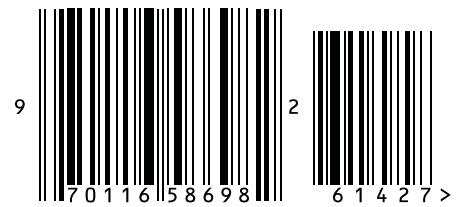


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