

**PAKISTAN -
SOLIDARITY WITH
THE MUSLIM WORLD**



**ISLAMIC SUMMIT
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PAKISTAN**

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Introduction

Both during the pre-independence period and after the establishment of Pakistan in August 1947, Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah strongly and consistently supported all just causes of the Muslim world, notably the Arab cause in Palestine. His speeches and statements bear eloquent testimony to this fact.

The Quaid-i-Azam repeatedly condemned on all possible occasions and in the strongest terms what he aptly called the "infamous Balfour Declaration." The partition scheme of Palestine, he declared in all appropriate forums, was illegal, against the wishes of the people, a violation of international law by certain interested powers and contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

The Quaid-i-Azam's deep concern with the issue of Palestine and the epic struggle of the Arabs for their rights was shown by the fact that soon after assuming office as head of the new state of Pakistan, he deputed his Foreign Minister to the UN to fight vigorously for the Arab cause and oppose the illegal set up of aggressive Zionism in the region.

Subsequent pages have some of the excerpts from his speeches and statements on the Arab cause in Palestine.

Excerpts from statements and speeches of

QUAID-I-AZAM

Mahomed Ali Jinnah

*Presidential Address,
Lucknow Session of
the All India Muslim League,
October, 1937*

May I now turn and refer to the question of Palestine. It has moved the Musalmans all over India most deeply. The whole policy of the British Government has been a betrayal of the Arabs from its very inception. Fullest advantage has been taken of their trusting nature. Great Britain has dishonoured her proclamation to the Arabs which had guaranteed to them complete independence of the Arab homelands, and the formation of an Arab Confederation under the stress of the Great War...

The Muslims of India will stand solidly and will help the Arabs in every way they can in their brave and just struggle that they are carrying on against all odds. May I send a message, on behalf of the All India Muslim League, of cheer, courage, and determination in their just cause and struggle which I am sure they will win through.

*Presidential Address,
Annual Session of the
All India Muslim League,
Patna, December, 1938*

Among the immediate issues we have to grapple with, which may come up before the Subjects Committee, is the question of Palestine. I know how deeply Muslim feelings have been stirred over the issues of Palestine. I know Muslims will not shirk from any sacrifice if required to help the Arabs who are engaged in the fight for their national freedom. You know the Arabs have been treated shamelessly. Men who are fighting for the freedom of their country, have been described as gangsters and subjected to all forms of repression. For defending their homelands

they are being put down at the point of the bayonet and with the help of martial laws. But no nation, no people who are worth living as a nation, can achieve anything great without making great sacrifices which the Arabs of Palestine are making. All our sympathies are with those valiant martyrs who are fighting the battle of freedom against usurpers. They are being subjected to monstrous injustices which are being propped up by British imperialism with the ulterior move of placating international jerry, which commands the money bags. That question we will have to consider.

*Presidential Address,
All India Muslim League,
Lahore Session, March, 1940*

Then the next point was with regard to Palestine. We are told that "endeavours, earnest endeavours, are being made to meet the reasonable national demands of the Arabs." Well, we cannot be satisfied by earnest endeavours, sincere endeavours, best endeavours (laughter). We want that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine.

*Message on Eid-ul-Fitr,
October, 1942*

It is a matter of no small satisfaction to us that just as we have taken an abiding interest in the freedom and prosperity of the Muslim States, such as Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and other countries and our sympathies have always gone out to them so I find that the people of Muslim countries today have similarly displayed their concern and sympathy in our struggle for Pakistan. Therefore, while we are engaged in our struggle for freedom and independence, let us not forget our brethren who in other parts of the world are doing likewise. Let us pray for their success. Let us also pray for those Muslim States who are independent and sovereign that God may help them to preserve and maintain their independence and sovereignty.

*Speech at a Public Meeting
at Quetta, 10 October, 1945*

Slaves and a subject race as we are still our hearts and souls go in sympathy with those who are struggling for their freedom and let us hope that the people of Palestine and Indonesia will survive their ordeals.

Subjugation and exploitation, if carried out, there will be no peace and end of wars...

*Interview with Duncan Hoper,
Reuter's Correspondent,
25 October, 1947*

The leader of our delegation to the U.N.O., Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, has clearly defined our position regarding the latest developments in Palestine and I do still hope that the partition plan will be rejected, otherwise there is bound to be the gravest disaster and unprecedented conflict, not only between the Arabs and the authority that would undertake to enforce the partition plan, but the entire Muslim world will revolt against such a decision which cannot be supported historically, politically, or morally. In such a case, Pakistan will have no other course left but to give its fullest support to the Arabs and will do whatever lies in its power to prevent what, in my opinion, is an outrage.

*Message to the Nation on
Eid-ul-Fitr, 27 August, 1948*

My Eid message to our brother Muslim States is one of friendship and goodwill. We are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as an eye opener to us. It is only by putting up a united front that we can make our voice felt in the countries of the world.

*Resolution passed at the 26th
Session of the All India Muslim League,
Patna, December, 1938*

This Muslim League Session regards Arabs who are being subjected to all kinds of persecution and repressions, and who are making all sacrifices for preserving their sacred land, protecting their national rights and emancipating their motherland, as heroes and martyrs, and congratulates them on their bravery and sacrifices.

This Session declares that the problem of Palestine is the problem of Muslims of the whole world; and if the British Government fails to do justice to the Arabs and to fulfil the demands of the Muslims of the world, the Indian Muslims will adopt any programme and will be prepared to make any sacrifice that may be decided upon by a Muslim International

Conference, at which the Muslims of India are duly represented, in order to save the Arabs from British exploitation and Jewish usurpation.

This session of the League warns the British Government that, if they persist in trying to give practical shape to the idea prevalent among certain sections of the British and the Americans that Palestine be made the national home of the Jews, it will lead to a state of perpetual unrest and conflict.

Fateh Point Archives

Excerpts from statements and speeches of
MR. ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO
Prime Minister of Pakistan

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has been, from his early days, inspired by a grand conception of Muslim unity and its potentialities as a vital factor in the emancipation and progress of mankind. As a young student in England and America he was greatly stirred by the prospects of a Muslim renaissance. His public life, in and out of office, was marked by a deep sense of dedication to Muslim causes. The following are extracts from his contributions as a student, as a political leader and thinker, as Foreign Minister, and finally as Head of Government in Pakistan, whose destiny is linked with that of the Arab Muslim world, and which seeks to give the abiding sense of unity a new dynamism and a new focus of meaning in the contemporary setting:

*"Islamic Heritage,"
University of Southern California,
Los Angeles, 1948*

Destiny demands an Islamic association, political reality justifies it, posterity awaits it, and by God we will have it. Courage is in our blood; we are the children of a rich heritage. We shall succeed.

Pakistan has remained unswervingly and resolutely unreconciled to Israel, which was proclaimed as a "State" in May 1948. It has refused to recognise Israel or to have any thing to do with it. Pakistan has continued to take an active interest in all subsequent developments in regard to Palestine and to sponsor resolutions about it on behalf of the Arabs year after year. Invariably, Pakistan has been in the forefront of those defending the principles of justice and international law so cynically violated by the majority of the United Nations in planting a "State" for alien Jews in the heart of the Arab world.

...The stand of Pakistan on the Palestine question is a typical example of its support to the struggle against colonialism and imperialist domination. The vehemence with which Pakistan continues to voice its opposition to alien occupation of the homeland of the Palestine Arabs exemplifies

the spirit of Islam, which enjoins perpetual resistance to iniquity and demands the establishment of a world order conditioned by justice and fairplay.

...Palestine thus became the first problem in international affairs to engage the attention of the newly independent State of Pakistan. Just as the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate of the League of Nations over Palestine were a violation of British pledges of Independence to the Arabs, the proposals to create in it, in the teeth of indigenous opposition, a State for aliens was contrary to International Law and the Charter of the United Nations. This was the position taken by Pakistan. One of the first acts of the Head of the new State was to address a forceful letter to President Truman to desist from the "monstrous" attempt to deprive the Arabs of Palestine which had been their homeland for two thousand years.

...I could go on indefinitely into the evidence of harmony that exists among the Islamic peoples... It is incumbent upon us to consolidate our advantageous position at this stage and build a base for a new order bound by ancient ties.

...Unfortunately, because of our feebleness, our economic resources are being most unscrupulously exploited by outsiders. The exploiters are shamefully busy filling the coffers of the money-made and cut-throat business interests of the West. To avoid this, first will come a harmonising of our own people by massive contacts, by a large-scale exchange of students, professors, artists, and all other intellectuals who influence the minds of men. Those intellectuals will discuss vital common problems... These efforts will be followed by economic co-operation climaxing in a loose political alliance, from one continent to the other. If we work conscientiously in this direction I think that within the space of the next twenty years, this movement will take a definite shape.

...This is the time when the young generation of Muslims, who will be the leaders of a new force, of an order based on justice, wants the end of exploitation. We still retain a host of homogeneous affinities and with the unity of our culture we can unite again politically.

*UN General Assembly,
29 September, 1960*

In this context, among the other vital unsolved issues, I have in

mind Algeria—that strife-torn land where the blood of a patriots still flows in their fight for freedom. Is it not an irony of fate that that struggle should have to be won against a nation which through history has been identified with liberty and equality.

At the opening of the General Assembly last year, we welcomed the declaration of President de Gaulle on 16 September, 1959 recognizing the right of self-determination for the people of Algeria. We regret that no significant development has since taken place which would translate that inalienable right into a reality. At a time when so many countries on the continent of Africa are taking their place in this Assembly, it is with great sorrow that we note the absence of Algeria. We appeal for a new effort on the part of the parties concerned to settle this human problem by peaceful means. If we succeed, a tragic chapter will close in the history of mankind, and to the brave people of Algeria will be brought peace and the freedom and dignity for which they have fought so long and so well.

*UN General Assembly,
29 September, 1960*

The failure to solve the Palestine question has kept the Middle East for all these years on the verge of conflagration. It has been suggested that the tension in the Middle East should be removed by the dictates of realism. In the view of my delegation the only realistic approach in this case is to recognise the human rights of a million Arab refugees who have been uprooted from their homes. Unless the resolutions of the General Assembly on this question are implemented, no arrangements to enforce peace in the Middle East by outside powers are likely to be effective or lasting.

*UN General Assembly,
11 October, 1963*

In the last decade or so Pakistan has stood for the peaceful settlement of all disputes. We have seen former colonies become independent. In our own small way we have contributed to the efforts to decolonize them. We stand for decolonization. For Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria it was Pakistan that made every effort to see that there should be justice and decolonization. In the case of Algeria, Pakistan offered recognition at a time when India had not.

*Preparatory Meeting of the Second
Asian-African Conference, Djakarta,
11 April, 1964*

The principles of human rights and self-determination of peoples have been successfully asserted and vindicated in the African continent during the last nine years. Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and other African states have won their struggles for freedom and independence. Pakistan played its role in sustaining strength and courage in their ordeals.

*Pakistan Islamic Council for International
Affairs, Karachi, 13 June, 1965*

An essential feature of the foreign policy of Pakistan is its marked emphasis on relations with the world of Islam as a factor in the emancipation and progress of mankind. The nature of this emphasis has passed through its own variations. The intensity of belief and preoccupation with its objective have, however, not been impaired by the passage of time.

Pakistan's policy towards the Arab world is to support all measures unanimously accepted by the Arab States. We welcome all manifestations of the unity and solidarity of the Arab world and acclaim its economic and social achievements. Pakistan will continue to extend its full and unqualified support to the movement for political, economic and cultural co-operation between Arab States in the interest of their own collective security and welfare as conducive to solidarity among Muslim countries and Afro-Asian unity. This is not merely a matter of policy for Pakistan, but represents the heart's desire of every citizen of this country.

*Address to the All Pakistan Students' Federation,
Conway Hall, London, 1966*

...It is important for Afro-Asian solidarity to crystallise, because we belong to the underdeveloped countries. We are the proletariat of the world. We have gone through great difficulties, trials and tribulations, poverty, disease, misery, exploitation and domination. It is not just a phenomenon which is confined to the subcontinent. It is a world-wide phenomenon and, therefore, we have to co-operate, collaborate, get together, assist one another, whatever the odds or difficulties...Asia and Africa must have a better day. We are not asking for domination of any part of the world. We are just asking for a better life. Our people deserve it. For centuries they have lived in misery, squalor, filth and poverty.

"The Myth of Independence"

Pakistan has a primary responsibility to foster comradeship among Muslim nations in accordance with its traditional foreign policy, which derives from the obligations imposed by the country's Constitution and ideology. We share with the Muslim States stretching from Morocco to Indonesia a number of affinities, and even before Independence, Muslims of the subcontinent gave what support they could to Islamic causes. This movement of solidarity is a factor which cannot be ignored by the Great and Global Powers in the formulation of their policies.

"The Myth of Independence"

Recently when the veil of secrecy which had shrouded the German-Israel agreement of 1960 for the supply of war material to Israel was removed, the strong resentment of the Arab countries, whose security had thereby been jeopardised, was fully appreciated in Pakistan. Despite its friendship with West Germany, Pakistan's sympathy was with the Arabs.

...The traditional problems of the Middle East always appear to be colossal, but they have been surpassed by those introduced with the Arab-Israel war of June, 1967. This brief conflict has, temporarily at least, changed the map of the region and radically altered the balance of power. It has done incalculable harm to the Arab peoples, but the sting of defeat may provide their leaders with a final opportunity to rally and remedy the wrongs they have suffered.

Public Speech, Abbottabad, 1970

The ideology of Pakistan means that the Muslims of Pakistan should do their duty to Muslims who are in trouble anywhere in the world. If Muslim blood is being mercilessly shed in India, you cannot just wring your hands. If atrocities are being committed on the Muslims in the Middle East, you will have to do something about it.

Public Speech, Charsadda, 1970

Our first principle is that Islam is our religion. We are prepared to offer any sacrifice for the cause of Islam not only in Pakistan but anywhere in the world. When the Masjid-al-Aqsa was set on fire by Israelis, the workers of the Pakistan People's Party were prepared to give their blood...

Public Speech, Mardan, 1970

We shall serve the cause of Islam, not only in Pakistan but wherever Muslims live. If I did not have the sense of honour of a Muslim and if I were not a true Muslim, I would not have been able to face India resolutely. We are Muslims first and foremost. Who says that equality is against our religion? Equality is the message of our religion. Islam has spread because of this message.

*Election Manifesto,
Pakistan People's Party, 1970*

Pakistan will follow a positive policy to promote solidarity among Muslim peoples.

Israel is a colony implanted on Arab soil. The Arabs are the victims of a Zionist aggression... Complete and unreserved support to Arab states and the Palestine liberation movement in their fight against Israel will be given by Pakistan.

*Address as the President of
the National Assembly, 1972*

The freedom movements of the three countries of the Maghreb evoked a deep sense of sympathy in Pakistan. For its part, the Government of Pakistan gave all possible support to the people of North Africa in their struggle for the restoration of their sovereignty and independence. On all the three questions, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, Pakistan played a leading role in the United Nations and was frequently chosen by the Asian African nations as their spokesman.

...Historically, Lebanon has been the meeting place of the empires and civilizations of Asia and Europe. The Lebanese have been a great seafaring and mercantile people. Their ancestors, the Phoenicians, who founded Carthage, are credited with the invention of the alphabet. Contacts between Pakistan and Lebanon have, in recent years, greatly expanded. This has helped in the maintenance of the excellent relations that have always existed between the two countries.

...Jordan, the custodian of the Masjid-al-Aqsa, has always occupied a place of special affection in the hearts of Pakistanis and has attracted thousands of them as pilgrims. Pakistan's relations with Jordan have

always been very cordial and a large measure of political co-operation has existed between the two countries. The suggestion made by Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, when he was Foreign Minister of Pakistan, to convene at Jerusalem a conference of Muslim countries to evolve a policy for United action to counter the menace of Israel was significant of the sympathy of Pakistan for Jordan.

...Damascus has been one of the great power centres of the Muslim world. Pakistan's relations with Syria have always been cordial. When Syria joined the United Arab Republic, Pakistan, consistently with its policy of goodwill and sympathy towards the movement for Arab unity, welcomed the Union. Later, when Syria decided to separate from it, Pakistan took a non-partisan attitude but noted with satisfaction that Arab unity remained the goal of Syrian policy.

...As in the pre-Pakistan period, we have always given our support to Egypt in its struggle against imperialism. We backed the Egyptian demand for the evacuation of British occupation forces from the Suez Canal zone and for the negotiation of a new settlement of the problem of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In this matter, Pakistan was instrumental in promoting the resumption of negotiations between Egypt and the United Kingdom, which had reached a deadlock.

...South Arabia, which has long been struggling against colonial rule, cannot much longer be denied its legitimate demand for independence. Pakistan has joined with Arab and other Asian-African States in supporting, in the United Nations, resolutions favouring freedom and self-determination for South Arabia.

...The emergence of independent nations in Africa opened up a new vista of co-operation between the people of this great continent and those of other continents. This is a matter of special gratification for Pakistan, for Africa occupied a very important position in the world of Islam. A large number of the inhabitants of this continent are followers of Islam. Twenty-two out of thirty-five independent African countries have Muslim majority populations. But the importance of Africa in the Muslim world derives not only from the large number of Muslims inhabiting that continent, but also from the notable contribution made by it to the concept of Islamic universality.

...Much of Africa has now broken the shackles of alien rule and Muslims of this vigorous continent are freely taking an active interest in

the revival of the dynamic values of Islam as a factor in Afro-Asian unity. African delegations are also playing a prominent role in Islamic conferences outside their continent, such as the African-Asian Islamic Conference held in Bandung in March 1965. Pakistan looks forward to developing new ties of friendship with the countries of Africa, thus giving further momentum to Afro-Asian co-operation.

...Africa is a continent in revolt, striving for full emancipation from colonial domination. Islam is in the forefront of the revolution in Africa. The demand for human dignity, equality and social justice, which is urgent, has found an enthusiastic ally in the proselytising elements of Islam, which have merged and identified themselves with the revolution. Alien missionaries are fighting a losing battle against the revolutionary tenets of Islam, which derives strength from its indigenous character and from its unsurpassed record as the greatest moral force against racial discrimination.

...It is the universality of the spirit of Islam, its emphasis on brotherhood and equality between man and man, its inherent vitality and vigour which have led to its fusion with the forces of revolution in Africa. This revolution and Islam's contribution to the emancipation and progress of the African people have a significance not only for the continent of Africa but for the world as a whole.

...The history of Pakistan's relations with Indonesia is also conditioned by the traditional sympathy of the Muslims of this subcontinent for their brethren in other countries. The people of Indonesia in their struggle for freedom had all the support of Pakistan. Pakistanis in Indonesia fought side by side with Indonesians in the latter's war of liberation. Pakistan, an infant State, as it was in those days, extended its whole-hearted support to their cause both in the United Nations and outside it, and rejoiced in their success and the establishment of the independent Republic of Indonesia. In its subsequent struggle over West Irian, Indonesia had the full backing of Pakistan, which sent a sizeable contingent of troops to assist the United Nations in its task of supervising the transfer of the territory from Dutch to Indonesian control.

...Co-operation between Pakistan and Indonesia has been significant in various fields, particularly in international affairs. They were both among the co-sponsors of the first African-Asian Conference, which adopted the historic Bandung principles, now recognized as the universal norm of conduct in international affairs.

...The feeling of brotherhood that the people of Pakistan have for their co-religionists has been an important factor in its relations with South East Asia in general. Even before the independence of Malaya, there was considerable contact between the leaders of Pakistan and Malaya. In 1955, Tunku Abdur Rahman, while on his way to London for independence talks, broke journey at Karachi and had consultations with the Pakistan Prime Minister. Needless to say that Pakistan extended its whole-hearted support to Malaya's demand for independence. Pakistan also made an important contribution to the work of the Reid Commission, which in 1957 drew up the Constitution of Malaya. There was exchange of visits, the most notable of which was the visit to Pakistan of the Paramount Ruler of Malaya in December 1961 and that of Prime Minister Tunku Abdur Rahman in October 1962.

...With Afghanistan, we have ethnic, historical and linguistic links. These go back to the dawn of history, to the time of the southward movement of the Aryans, more than three thousands years ago.

It was expected that upon the emergence of Pakistan as an independent State, Afghanistan would develop with it close friendly ties. However, there were barriers of isolation which had been created in the region during the era of colonial rule. In the early stages, there were, in the relations between the two countries, unmistakable signs of reserve and suspicion on the part of Afghanistan. Pakistan, nevertheless, always maintained that the two countries had far too much in common to permit any problem to permanently mar the natural development of close and good neighbourly relations between them...

...While Pakistanis share in the joys and sorrows of Muslim peoples all over the world, it is the welfare of the Muslims of India that is closest to their hearts. This is only natural, because the Muslims of Pakistan and India have the same heritage and history and were but one community until 1947, when independence came to the two countries. It is for this reason that Pakistan has always been deeply concerned with the problems of the fifty million Muslims of India.

...Pakistan's policy towards Muslim countries is not based on any desire for gain or appreciation. It is based on more fundamental considerations. As has been shown, even before the inception of the Pakistan movement, the leaders of Muslim renaissance in the subcontinent had identified themselves with the greater cause of the awakening of the Islamic world as a whole.

...With the Shaikhdom of Kuwait, Pakistan has established cordial and friendly relations. Pakistan opened a Consulate-General, which has since been raised to the level of an Embassy. A number of visits have been exchanged by Ministers of the two countries and there is no doubt that fruitful and mutually advantageous co-operation between them will continue to develop.

...Again in 1954, Pakistan was one of the fourteen African-Asian States which requested the inclusion of the Moroccan question in the agenda of the ninth session of the General Assembly. In 1956, Morocco attained its independence.

...The question of Morocco was analogous to that of Tunisia. The Sultan of Morocco had been coerced into signing the Treaty of Fez of 1912, ceding to France the sovereign right of conducting the foreign relations of Morocco. Invoking provisions of this Treaty, France maintained that, under Article 2(7) of the Charter, relating to domestic jurisdiction, the United Nations was debarred from considering the matter. The question had been inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly, in 1952, at the instance of African-Asian States, Pakistan being one of them.

...Later, in December, 1961, Pakistan moved in the General Assembly, on behalf of thirty-five States, a resolution urging the French Government to redress the grievances of the Algerian prisoners in France and thus make possible the immediate termination of their hunger strike. This resolution was adopted by the General Assembly.

...Saudi Arabia is the guardian of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Madina. So profound is the attachment of the Muslims of the subcontinent to these cities that to safeguard them, they made during and after the First World War, untold sacrifices. The bonds between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are very strong indeed. It is a matter of special satisfaction to Pakistan that it has been able to extend advice and technical assistance to Saudi Arabia in matters of defence and other matters and that Pakistani doctors, engineers, consultants and workers in oil industry, are playing their part in that country.

...The future of mankind clearly depends upon its ability to develop bonds of fraternity between peoples with different racial and cultural backgrounds in different parts of the world. Such a development has so far come only from Islam. For that reason alone the role of Islam in Africa is one of far reaching importance to humanity at large.

...Taken collectively the countries of the Muslim world today, spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific, differ in their forms of governments, and in their economic and social systems. Their national interests, as dictated by geopolitical and historical factors, need to be harmonised. The future of the Islamic world is beginning to take shape. The Arab States come together periodically at the summit level. So do the Maghreb States, the RCD and the IPECC countries. In their totality, the growing contacts between Muslim nations constitute a force of considerable significance. What needs to be done is to enlarge the existing scope of such contacts through multi-lateral meetings of the Heads of States and Governments. If this is done, it is capable of giving a powerful impetus to the renaissance of Islam in the twentieth century.

...With Iran, our people are bound by innumerable historical, cultural and ethnic links that go back to ancient history. Notwithstanding two centuries of colonial domination, the people of Pakistan have retained the rich heritage of their intimate past association with Iran. Pakistanis have a feeling of identity with the people of Iran, who are in more than one sense the progenitors of the Muslim culture of the subcontinent. This feeling is a living reality. Pakistanis hold the Shahanshah of Iran in high respect and value his personal contribution to the continued development of friendship between his country and ours. The mutual esteem between the Shahanshah and the President of Pakistan is a symbol of the fraternity of our two peoples.

*Message to General Hafez Al Assad,
President, Syrian Arab Republic, and
Mr. Suleman Franjieh,
President of the Republic of Lebanon,
26 June, 1972*

Last week's Israeli raid across the borders of Lebanon resulting in loss of valuable human lives and injuries to innocent civilians and abduction of Lebanese and Syrian officers had deeply shocked the Government and people of Pakistan who once again reiterate their solidarity with the Arab brethren in their struggle against Zionism. We strongly condemn this dastardly act which would surely be deplored by all peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

Address, PAF Risalpur, 1972

We are a nation based on the idea of love, not hatred, love for the

Muslim brethren wherever they live, love for our principles and heritage, love for knowledge and wisdom, and love for the greater interests of all humanity, inherent in the faith we possess and profess.

*Message on Al-Aqsa Day,
20 August, 1972*

The burning of the Holy "Al-Aqsa" Mosque in 1969 was a crime against the entire civilized world. It deeply shocked Muslims throughout the world. This day should, therefore, be observed as one on which the Muslim "Ummah" pledge themselves to greater unity which alone can guarantee for them an honourable and rightful place in the world.

*Address as the President of the
National Assembly of Pakistan, 1973*

In August, 1961, Pakistan took the bold step of according formal recognition to the Provisional Government of Algeria in Exile. This action was hailed not only by Algerians, but by all Africans. Pakistan took this step despite the risk of its losing French support, in the Security Council on the Kashmir question. One must here pay a tribute to President de Gaulle. As a great statesman, he understood that our action was prompted by our respect for the principle of self-determination and not by any ill-will towards France, a country with which Pakistan has always had the best of relations.

*Prime Minister's Address at the National
Press Club Luncheon, Washington,
19 September, 1973*

The crisis in the Middle East has tormented us as it has given anxiety and trouble to the rest of the world. We are close to the Middle East and anything that happens in the Middle East has its repercussions in the subcontinent. We have seen that in the past and I have no doubt that the same situation will arise in the future. There is an affinity of interests, historical, cultural, geographical between the subcontinent and the Middle East. So we would be happy, we would be extremely happy to see an end to that strife and struggle. This is a challenge which is for all of us but the challenge is greater for those who wield greater responsibility in world affairs.

*UN General Assembly,
20 September, 1973*

The Middle East conflict is a pre-eminent example of the bankruptcy of power politics in so far as equitable settlements are concerned... No settlement, of course, will be noble which denies the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people—a people that was ruthlessly displaced from the homeland and consigned to a diaspora.

*Speech at the Luncheon by
the Foreign Policy Association and the Asian
Society, New York, 21 September, 1973*

Though the severance of East Pakistan has alerted our geo-political perspective, it has not diminished our interest and involvement in Asia and Africa. Pakistan is geographically in South Asia and enjoys a proximity to the Middle East. It has a 371-mile border with the Sinkiang region of China. It is adjacent to the Soviet Union, from which it is separated only by an Afghan corridor with a width of 7 to 31 miles. Its location on the Arabian Sea controlling entrance to the Persian Gulf gives it a strategic position vis-a-vis the sea lanes between Europe and the Indian Ocean. Any threat to Pakistan's security could be a threat to the stability of a much larger area. By the same token, a strong Pakistan could be a factor of stability not only in South Asia but also in the Middle East.

With its culture having roots in Islam, with these roots having been nurtured by the spiritual energies of the Arab and Persian Middle East, with its ancestors having evolved the civilizations of the Indus basin, with its history being intertwined with that of India, with its contact with Western civilization mediated through British rule, with its friendship with America, the complexity of Pakistan's make-up and the range of its sympathies could qualify it as a worthy candidate for standing with those who will help to transform a world civilization from a vision to a reality.

*Message to the UN Secretary-General,
7 October, 1973*

The state of "no-war, no peace," which has been allowed to prevail in the Middle East has failed to prevent a renewal of hostilities. It has plunged the region into yet another armed conflict. The United Nations Security Council should no longer evade its grave responsibility for the restoration of peace. It would not be enough to call for a ceasefire. The Security Council must take immediate measures to have occupied Arab

territories vacated without further delay. It must implement its resolution 242 of 1967. Failure to do so is fraught with serious and far-reaching consequences for the whole world.

*Message to Heads of State of Egypt and Syria
sent on 8 October, 1973*

I am following with close personal attention the heroic struggle of the Arab Armed Forces in the renewed battle against Israel for the liberation of occupied Arab territories.

I wish to assure your Excellency of the solidarity of the Government and people of Pakistan with you and your people in this grave hour. We earnestly pray that the just cause of the Arab people will triumph in the end.

*Address to the Chiefs of Staff of the Army,
the Navy and the Air Force on 11 October, 1973*

We would do whatever we can within our limited resources to be of assistance to the just cause of Arab people, which we uphold dearly and consider to be a part of our own struggle.

You know that since last Saturday hostilities have broken out in the Middle East. Pakistan has always supported the Arab cause because it is a just cause and we have uncompromisingly upheld our position in support of the just Arab cause. There was a conflict at the time when Israel was created; there was another war in 1966 and then in 1967. This is the fourth war that has raged in the Middle East...When the conflict arose I was in Larkana. I immediately came here and I held a series of meetings with Government officials. I immediately summoned all the Arab Envoys in Pakistan and I made it quite clear to them that Pakistan, as an Islamic State, as an ideological state, and above all, Pakistan, the new Pakistan, will always uphold principles of justice and equity uncompromisingly, unswervingly and unwaveringly; and we would do whatever we can within our limited capacity to be of assistance in bringing about justice.

*Reply to the Syrian President's Message,
16 October, 1973,*

I have today received with anguish your Excellency's message on

the escalation of Israeli aggression against the civilian population of our brother Arab countries and the savage terror-bombing of civilian targets in your country by the desperate enemy.

We are deeply pained at the sufferings which your heroic people are undergoing in the war of liberation against a cruel and ruthless enemy. We pray and hope that the indomitable courage of your armed forces and the patriotic people of Syria will repel the Israeli aggressor and that your just cause will triumph in the end.

Your Excellency is aware of certain steps already taken by me to render you such assistance as we can at this time. Let me assure you that the people of Pakistan share the sufferings and tribulations of the Arab people. We shall continue to express by word and deed our solidarity with you.

*Press Conference, Teheran,
18 October, 1973*

From the beginning of the Palestinian conflict in 1948, we have expressed our solidarity with the Arab position...Pakistan came into existence only one year before the Palestine conflict arose. Since the inception of Pakistan, we have taken a constant and historical position on this conflict in conformity with the universally recognised international principles.

*Press Conference at Karachi
on return from Iran, Turkey and Saudi Arabia,
20 October, 1973*

In the first place the way we look at the Middle Eastern conflict is that the whole of the Muslim world is on trial. This is a test not only for the Arabs but for the Islamic world, and it is a struggle for justice and equity which I shall refer later. But my first point is that this is as much our struggle, this is as much a part of our own destiny as it is of the Arabs in the Middle East. We cannot draw a distinction, secondly, Pakistan is not a non-aligned state; Pakistan is firmly aligned to the principles of justice and international law and to durable structure of international peace. We are aligned to principles, we are aligned to convictions, and being aligned we believe that the principles of justice and equity are on the side of Arab states. My third point is that the present war in the Middle

East shows that an imposed solution, a solution which is not acceptable to the people cannot endure. It only leads to further strife, bitterness and tension.

Pakistan is in touch not only with the Arab states but with other states as well for the purpose of finding a lasting settlement. We shall continue to make every human effort in this direction. It is well known to the people of Pakistan that I have always espoused the Arab cause and that I have vigorously upheld it in the past and will continue to do so in the future.

Address to the Parliament, 21 December, 1973

Pakistan has always supported the Arab States in the Middle East conflict, Pakistan has always stood by its Arab friends in this conflict with Israel. But I would say that, in this conflict, we have done more than would be expected of a state in our present conditions, subject to threats.

I hope there will not be another war, but if there is one, our position will be the same and we will do more, if necessary, in support of the just cause of the Arab people, notwithstanding what might be the attitude of the great or small powers. This is our faith, this is our commitment, and we shall honour it. It is the feeling of the people of Pakistan.

A great tragedy occurred when a great injustice was done to the Palestine people. There is no example of a greater injustice. What is more cruel than what was done in 1948 in the Middle East? It was injustice par excellence. It was a callous act against a great people. The Arabs have gone through many vicissitudes. The Arabs of 1973 are not the Arabs of 1947 and 1948. They are not the Arabs of 1956 or of 1967. The Arab nation is on the march; the forces of justice are on the march. Now it is quite clear that no force on earth can prevent justice from coming to these people. They have suffered for more than 25 years; they have seen four wars, they have been driven out of their homes, and today they are an awakened people. Today they have demonstrated to the world that theirs is a rich and a great civilization. Overnight they have changed the equilibrium of forces in the world.

This Islamic Summit Conference is being held in Pakistan to demonstrate Islamic unity and solidarity for the just and honourable cause of the Arab people.

We will be proud to host this Conference. We are happy to know that all Muslim states have agreed to participate in this Conference.

Fateh Point Archives

Excerpts from speeches of
**REPRESENTATIVES OF PAKISTAN
AT THE UNITED NATIONS**

Pakistan's strong support to Arab and Muslim causes has been a constant aspect of the country's foreign policy.

At the United Nations the country's delegates invariably made common cause with the Muslim world. Their statements and other diplomatic initiatives in the various councils of world organization from 1947 upto date reflect the continuity of Pakistan's devotion to the spirit of Islam and its fraternal ties with Muslim countries.

*UN General Assembly Ad Hoc Committee, on the
Palestine Question, 13 October, 1947*

The Pakistan Delegation was utterly and uncompromisingly opposed to Partition.

UN General Assembly, 28 April, 1948

It should not be ignored either that partition could only be imposed by overwhelming force and subjugation of the majority of the population of Palestine. That solution would certainly not be to the liking of the Members of the United Nations and would moreover be contrary to the principles of the Charter...

UN General Assembly Session, held at Paris, 24 November, 1948

Apparently, they assumed that they had title to the whole of Palestine and magnanimously had not taken possession of the whole. Yet Palestine had been Arab for centuries and independence had been promised to the Arabs prior to the Balfour Declaration which consequently was invalid, in so far as it was inconsistent with that previous pledge. In any event, the Balfour Declaration merely promised a Jewish national home without prejudice to the rights and privilege of the original inhabitants of Palestine.

UN General Assembly Session, held at Paris, 30 November, 1948

...Any proposal based on the partition of Palestine and the establishment of an independent State of Israel would be unacceptable to this delegation...

*Cablegram from Minister of Foreign Affairs to
the President of the Security Council,
3 January, 1949*

The Government and people of Pakistan have been much distressed and perturbed at the recent Dutch military action in Indonesia.

The only basis of a peaceful settlement in Indonesia is by way of negotiations between free and equal parties. The alternative would be a bitter struggle ending sooner or later in complete severance of relations between the Dutch and Indonesian peoples, leaving behind a legacy of hatred and enmity.

Such a prospect must be viewed as a grave threat to the restoration of peace in South East Asia and the maintenance of international peace.

UN Security Council, 21 March, 1949

It must, therefore, be obvious to all—and I sincerely hope more so to the representation of the Netherlands Government—that the Dutch action in Indonesia contains the elements of a very great disaster for the whole organization of the United Nations.

UN General Assembly, 12 April, 1949

It must also be remembered that the longer a final solution of the question was delayed, the greater was the threat to peace in South East Asia and hence to world peace.

It was desirable from all points of view that the question should be discussed by the General Assembly in an effort to find the best means of achieving a speedy and peaceful settlement based upon equity and justice.

UN General Assembly, 10 May, 1949

The Indonesian struggle for freedom had started four years previously and its first success could already be noted; the colonial Power had ended by unequivocally recognizing the Indonesian people's right to freedom; the news of that success had been particularly welcome to Indonesia's neighbours, who had themselves only very recently achieved independence. It was also encouraging for the peoples of Malaya, French Indo-China and the African colonial territories, who were still waiting for recognition of their rights and liberties.

UN General Assembly, 24 September, 1949

With reference to the Italian colonies, Pakistan made its point of view perfectly clear during the last session and to that point of view it continues to adhere. Pakistan submits that solution of this question must be found, as set out in Annex XI to the Peace Treaty with Italy, that is to say:

"In the light of the wishes and welfare of their inhabitants and the interests of peace and security, taking into consideration the views of other interested Governments."

Of all these considerations, the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants are paramount."

UN General Assembly, 2 December, 1949

Palestine had been ravaged by war; the people of Israel, it was true had found a new home in that area, but four-fifths of the Arab population had been hunted from the territory where they had lived for centuries. Thus the problem of Arab refugees in Palestine had been created.....

Statement to the UN Council, 12 July, 1950

In the world of today, the importance of economics almost surpasses that of Political and unless a country has the financial means to meet its requirements it cannot survive. One of the most important obligations of the Commissioner and the Council is to ensure that when Libya becomes an independent State it will have sufficient resources to supply its immediate requirements.

U.N. Commission for Eritrea, 26 July, 1950

The solution proposed by Pakistan and Guatemala would permit the establishment of the necessary democratic institution and the necessary impartial supervision of the free political processes through which the Eritrean people could give expression to their wishes.

U.N. General Assembly, 28 September, 1950

It will be recalled that almost from the beginning of its own membership of this great organization, Pakistan became, alongwith Australia and India, a co-sponsor of the Indonesian case before the Security Council. It gives us great joy to welcome the Republic of Indonesia to membership of the United Nations, to which it has been admitted by a unanimous resolution of the General Assembly on the basis of a unanimous recommendation by the Security Council, something for which we have long waited but which has, in the case of Indonesia, been achieved this afternoon.

UN General Assembly, 13 October, 1950

Only the draft resolution jointly submitted by Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen (A/AC.38/L.13) offered all the necessary guarantees. It recommended that the National Assembly should be convened as soon as possible, and in any case not later than 1 January, 1951, and that a provisional government, to which all the powers at present exercised by the administering Powers were to be transferred, should be set up as soon as possible, but not later than 1 March, 1951. It was essential to place a time-limit for the realization of the main objectives. Moreover, those provisions were in harmony with the views expressed in that respect by the Commissioner himself.

Since the people of Libya alone had the right to draw up its constitution and determine the form of its government, they must be given the means to do so; such was the intention of the proposal.

UN General Assembly, 16 November, 1950

It appeared to us as most urgent that arrangements should be made for the transfer of power from the hands of the administering powers to the people of Libya. Once power was transferred, other difficulties would resolve themselves.

It appeared to us that to effect this transfer of power, a provisional government of Libya should be brought into being as early as possible, within a specified period. Accordingly, eight powers, including Pakistan sponsored a draft resolution which prescribed a definite time limit within which the provisional government must be set up.

UN General Assembly, 2 November, 1950

The Pakistan delegation believed that the only way of putting an end to the refugee tragedy was the immediate implementation of paragraph 11 of Resolution 194 (III) of the General Assembly, which provides that the refugees "wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date" and that "compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return."

UN General Assembly, 23 January, 1952

Taking all the circumstances into account, the Pakistani delegation had pleasure in welcoming Libya as a truly independent and sovereign State and looked forward eagerly to that country becoming a Member of the United Nations.

UN General Assembly, 3 December, 1952

Pakistan's position on the Palestine question was based upon three main considerations. First, Pakistan was bound to the Arab States by indissoluble ties of faith and culture. Any event affecting the Arab States had profound repercussions on public opinion in Pakistan and throughout the Islamic world...

UN General Assembly, 4 December, 1952

Sir Zafrullah Khan observed that the physical sufferings and material privations, the imprisonments, the lashings, the shootings, the blowing up of houses, the deportations, the demolitions were the less insupportable incidents of the martyrdom of the Tunisian people, who were a sensitive people, proud of their history, culture and traditions, what became unbearable was the martyrdom of the spirit which the dependent relationship with France inflicted. The relationship was evil and must be eradicated as quickly as circumstances permitted.

UN Security Council, 26 August, 1953

The delegation of Pakistan, with delegations of 14 other Asian and African countries, has been constrained to bring the question of Morocco to the Security Council because they feel that to subvert the government of another country by questionable means, to ride roughshod over the declared will of its people and overthrow its legitimate and rightful sovereign is aggression, just as much as the attempt to achieve these objects by the use of force. The recent trend of events in that brave country is interpreted, most certainly in my country and in the whole of Africa and Asia and much of the rest of the world, as instigated and manoeuvred by France to sabotage the Moroccan national movement.

UN Security Council, 3 September, 1953

Our contention is that France has interfered in the internal administration of Morocco, which interference is illegal according to both the Treaty of Fez and the Judgement referred to above, and that its intervention in the internal affairs of Morocco is a threat to international peace and security. We wish this item to be included in the agenda of the Security Council in order to prove our contention.

UN General Assembly, 18 September, 1953

France goes talking of reforms, mainly in the municipal sphere. These reforms amount to a fraud on the people of Tunisia and Morocco and would deprive those people in perpetuity of liberty, freedom and dignity in their own lands.

UN General Assembly, 9 November, 1953

It was clear from the United States representative's statement that his Government did not attach much importance to the problem, or believes that the dispute between Israel and the Arab States might one day burst into a conflagration in which Muslims all over the world might be compelled to play a vital and possibly a decisive role...

UN Security Council, 20 November, 1953

When Hitler was defeated, the Arabs were called upon to pay the penalty for his misdeeds so far as Jewish persecution was concerned. It was a strange and ironic instance of international justice.

The matter came to the General Assembly. The Assembly proceeded to do what it has no authority to do, what it had no power or jurisdiction to enforce. The methods and manoeuvres employed to bring about that result reflect no credit upon those who had recourse to them...

The truth is that Israel talks peace and acts war. It steals marches and it confronts the Arabs and the United Nations with *fait accompli* and then insists that these *fait accompli* should be confirmed as a part of the peace settlement. And there is yet no end to its ambitions, designs and projects of expansion.

UN General Assembly, 27 September, 1955

Recent political development and the prevailing conditions in Algeria are matters of deep concern to my people and my Government. They have created a problem of urgent international importance and merit immediate consideration by the nations subscribing to the Charter of the United Nations. For this reason, my Government has considered it imperative to join with 13 other Asian and African nations in the request for the inscription of the item, in order that this Assembly may assist the people of Algeria and the Government of France in resolving this problem by peaceful means, so as to prevent further violence and bloodshed in that unhappy strife-torn land.

In Algeria today a virtual state of war exists in which nearly 200,000 French military and para-military forces, armed with modern weapons and sustained by the material resources of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), are engaged in the suppression of a people's struggle for the attainment of their fundamental human rights. Yet when 14 Member States of the United Nations, after the most-careful consideration, approach this Organization for a discussion regarding a real and present threat to peace and to Friendly relations among nations, they are told that the question cannot be included in the agenda because a discussion would violate a fundamental provision of the Charter namely, Article 2, paragraph 7, which bars from the intervention of the United Nations any matter which is "essential within the domestic jurisdiction of any State."

UN General Assembly, 20 February, 1957

Mr. Mir Khan noted that a strong opinion existed in Turkey on the issue and that the Turks of the island as well as of the mainland felt

that any change in the status of Cyprus would amount to a modification of the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 which would upset the whole pattern of the area and affect the future of the large Turkish population of Cyprus. He Shared the view of the representative of Turkey, that its historic bond with Cyprus and its geographical proximity to the island strengthened further its claim that future developments in Cyprus should be consistent with its own security requirements and interests.

UN General Assembly, 27 February, 1958

Mr. Naik recalling that at its tenth session the General Assembly had, without objection, adopted resolution 915(X), expressing the hope that negotiations between the Netherlands and Indonesia would be fruitful, said that his delegation had consistently stressed that the two parties should reach a solution by peaceful means.

Unfortunately, the negotiations had failed, the failure resulting in further worsening of the relations between the two countries. The deadlock remained and the General Assembly continued to have the problem before it. Obviously, the General Assembly should not allow the situation to persist, but should explore all possible means of bringing about a peaceful settlement of the dispute. He was gratified at the general support for that objective.

Pakistan had co-sponsored the thirteen-Power draft resolution in the hope that negotiations could be resumed under the auspices of the United Nations without undue delay.

UN General Assembly, 3 October, 1958

A solution in a general spirit of compromise and conciliation in accordance with the principles of the Charter, can, we are sure, be found. Such a solution must, of course, take into account the equal right of the Turkish Cypriots to self-determination and must be acceptable to the Turkish Government.

UN General Assembly, 4 December, 1957

That the people of Algeria should be struggling for their political rights was not surprising at the present moment in history. Over a score of new nations had achieved freedom from colonial rule since the Second World War and the world could not afford to ignore the strength of the current of self-realization those nations represented. It was within the

framework of that inexorable reality that the future of Algeria must be considered by all who respected the principle of self-determination and who believed in strengthening world peace.

General Assembly Emergency Special Session, 19 August, 1958

Incidentally, during the course of this debate, we have listened with amazement and profound regret to charges and threats made by certain representatives against Turkey. Courageous and determined in the defence of their homeland, yet faithful in their devotion to peace, the great Turkish nation and its Government are the last to be intimidated by any such threats. May I take this opportunity of paying tribute to the people and the Government of Turkey, with whom we are united by the warmest and very closest of ties.

UN General Assembly, 19 November, 1958

It was futile to argue that the refugees could not return to Palestine because conditions in Israel had changed since the time when the refugees had left. As the representative of Saudi Arabia had pointed out (103rd meeting), the changed circumstances could not affect the fundamental rights of the refugees who still desired to return to their own country and had resisted all attempts at permanent settlement in the host countries.

UN General Debate of the UN General Assembly, 25 September, 1959

My delegation fervently hopes that President de Gaulle's offer may set into motion a process of negotiation and reconciliation leading to an early cessation of fighting, an end to suffering and bloodshed in Algeria and a fulfilment of the aspirations of its people.

UN Council, 14 June, 1967

The history of the Palestine problem is a history of the Charter of the United Nations being systematically torn to shreds.

I quote from the statement of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan at the 12th Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly.

"Remember, nations of the West, that you may need friends tomorrow, that you may need allies in the Middle East. I beg of you not to ruin and blast your credit in those lands."

UN General Assembly, 22 June, 1967

We are deeply anguished that Israel, having seized the Holy City of Jerusalem in the course of its aggression, makes no secret of its intentions to annex it. It calls annexation: unification. It is against Israel's design to present the world and this Assembly with a fait accompli that the Government of Pakistan felt compelled to protest in our permanent Representative's letter of 16 June to the Secretary-General, issued as General Assembly document A/6722.

UN General Assembly, 10 October, 1967

The invasion of the territories of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria by Israel in June was an act of aggression. Aggression is the gravest crime under international law. Even more subversive of the law of nations and the international order is inaction on the part of the United Nations in bringing about the vacation of aggression. There is no reason why the Assembly should not do the very minimum that needs to be done. That minimum is a demand for the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the territories which they overran last June.

UN Security Council, 21 March, 1968

...It is time that the Security Council turned its eyes again to the scene and pronounced itself in plain terms in regard to Israel's actions. They call for condemnation. They call for immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied territories. They call for an immediate halt by Israel of its violations of the Geneva Conventions. My Government is firmly convinced that the Security Council should do no less. The Security Council must act immediately.

UN Security Council, 6 May, 1968

My delegation believes, and the belief is widely shared, that Israel's actions in regard to Jerusalem present the menace of the Middle East situation in its most pointed form. The menace is directed not only against the Arab nations, but also against the hundreds of millions of adherents of Islam, Christianity and Judaism. The special and unique importance of Jerusalem for the international community has been repeatedly emphasized by the United Nations. Any arbitrary act with regard to the status of the city of Jerusalem is an assault on the most cherished sensibilities of the followers of these three world religions.

UN General Assembly, 2 October, 1969

Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have called upon Israel not to tamper with the status of the Holy City. Israel has treated all relevant (UN) resolutions with contempt. The gravity of this situation was underlined by the horrifying occurrence of arson in the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque on 21 August. This event, which would have been unthinkable in the civilized world, caused an emotional upheaval among the followers of Islam, which is unexampled in the modern age. Pakistan was overwhelmed by sorrow and seethed with indignation.

UN General Assembly, 13 December, 1971

...A solution, if it is to be viable, must be as much an organic whole as is the problem itself...

...It should address itself to the issue of the inherent right to self-determination of the people of Palestine as the core of the problem and to the question of the Holy City as the one component of it which involves the deepest sensibilities of populations all over the world...

UN General Assembly, 7 December 1972

Ever since 1948, Israel has alleged the existence of threat to its integrity from the neighbouring Arab States. Yet in each successive conflict—in 1948, in 1956 and in 1967—it was the territories under Israel's control that expanded. In each case the excuse proffered by Israel was the threat to its existence. It is now established that at no stage has Israel felt seriously threatened by the military potential of its neighbours. The security of a State's boundaries does not derive from the territory under its control. In a conflict such security depends on its military superiority; in peace, it arises from the acceptance of such boundaries by the adjacent States.

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