ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE AND THE PALESTINE ISSUE

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The Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) which very largely owes its birth to the Palestine¹ Issue, was created to foster unity amongst the Muslims and thereby solve their collective problems vis-a-vis other communities of the world. Since the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924 the Muslim Ummah had been in search of an organization which could look after its interests. But no satisfactory results were achieved until the first Islamic Summit Conference was held at Rabat from 22 to 25 September 1969. It was at this Summit that the urgency of establishing such an organization was re-emphasized. However, the OIC formally came into existence a few years later when its charter was approved by the Third Session of Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference in Jeddah in Muharram 1392 A.H. (February/March 1972). The OIC's Secretariat is situated in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.²

Situated on the eastern Mediterranean coast and sacred to the followers of three monotheistic religions (Islam, Judaism and Christianity),³ Palestine was first conquered by the Muslims in the first half of the seventh century A.D., and it remained under their control,⁴ until its passing into the Allies' hands in December 1917, which was followed by grant of a mandate over it to Britain by the League of Nations⁵ in July 1922.

The dream of a Jewish state in Palestine which originated sometime between 1897 and 1905, started taking a practical shape during the British occupation. As far as Britain was concerned, its Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour had publicly declared in favour of the creation of a Jewish state as early as November 1917, and this had led to a heavy influx of Jews into Palestine especially from Europe. With the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish terri-

tories under the auspices of the United Nations in 1948, Israel emerged as an independent Jewish state. The 1967 Arab-Israel war added to the Jewish state more Arab lands including the whole West Bank and Ghaza strip. The Palestinian Arabs' struggle against this Christian-Jewish conspiracy enjoys the universal support of the entire Muslim *Ummah*.

In the beginning, there was some difference of opinion on the question of Palestine among the Muslim states. When the First Islamic Summit was called, Iraq demanded that all the Muslim states should sever their diplomatic and economic ties with Israel. Since this was not done, Iraq as a protest did not attend the Summit. Iran and Turkey who maintained normal relations with Israel, not only did not favour the above demand, but also opposed the idea of giving even the status of an observer to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The Algerian President, Boumedienne, however, extended his full support to the latter proposal. He argued that if the Algerian National Liberation Front could get admission to the Bandung Conference and also to the Non-aligned Conference in Cairo why the PLO could not be admitted to the Summit. As a result, the PLO leader Yasser Arafat was invited as an observer.

Another problem which was faced by the First Islamic Summit at the very outset was whether the Palestine question should be included in the agenda or not. Saudi Arabia and Morocco's stand was that the Summit should confine itself to discussing only the arson of the Al-Aqsa mosque and future status of Jerusalem, while the United Arab Republic insisted that the whole question of Israeli occupation of Arab territories as well as the future of Palestine refugees should be included in the agenda. Iran, Turkey and five African states which had diplomatic relations with Israel opposed the idea. But finally the Conference took up the Middle-East problem in its entirety 13 and at the conclusion of its deliberations, the Summit declared:

The grievous event of 21st August 1969 which caused extensive damage by arson to the Sacred Al-Aqsa mosque, has plunged over six hundred million followers of Islam throughout the world into the deepest anguish . . . their Governments and peoples are firmly determined to reject any solution of the problem of Palestine which would deny Jerusalem the status it had before June 1967. 14

The above declaration makes it clear enough that the questions of Jerusalem and Palestine are not different from each other, rather indeed complementary to each other. However, in order to avoid further deepening of differences among the participants on the question of Palestine, the Summit refrained from calling upon the Muslim states to resort to diplomatic and economic boycott of Israel, 15 but none the less it declared that "moved by the tragedy of Palestine, they [Muslim States] affirm their full support to the Palestinian people for the restitution of their rights which were usurped and in their struggle for national liberation." 16

The First Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers which was held in Jeddah in March 1970, however, had a clearer perception of the Palestine issue. It not only reaffirmed the Palestinians right of a homeland but also called upon the participating states to extend political, material and moral support to them, in their struggle for liberation. It also asked the member states to provide required facilities for establishing Palestinian missions in the Muslim countries. The Conference also decided to observe 21 August every year as a day of solidarity with the struggle of the people of Palestine. Palesides, the Conference called upon all states of the world particularly France, Soviet Union, United Kingdom and United States of America to intensify their efforts to secure withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the territories occupied by her since June 1967.

The question of Palestine got more importance in the Second Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Karachi in December 1970, when it declared that "respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine is indispensable for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East". 19 Another significant development on the question of Palestine was the agreement between Cairo and Amman calling for fraternity and co-operation between the Government of Jordan and the PLO and for co-ordination of their efforts against the Zionist enemy. 20

The Third Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers noted that Israel continuously defied the United Nations resolutions on the future of Palestine because of the support it got from the United States of America. The Conference, therefore, in a resolution requested the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council particularly the United States of America, "to take all appropriate measures to make Israel withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and . . . to refrain from providing Israel with any military or economic support so that it may not persist in refusing to withdraw from these territories". ²¹ The Third Islamic Confe-

rence of Foreign Ministers called upon the member states to impose political and economic sanctions against Israel. ²² Another significant step to help the Palestinians was the decision of the Conference to constitute a 'Palestine Fund' for the benefit of the Palestinian resistance and appealed to the Muslim states as well as individuals to give their donations. ²³

The Fourth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers recognized the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and decided to provide political, moral and material aid to them to liberate their occupied lands and to foil any attempt to eliminate Palestine resistance movement.²⁴ It also called upon the member states to open offices in their countries for volunteers wishing to participate in the *Jihad* for the liberation of the holy land and to allow the PLO to open its offices in the Muslim countries. At the same time the Conference asked the member states to sever all political and economic relations with Israel.²⁵

The efforts which were continuing since the First Islamic Summit in 1969 to narrow down the differences among the Muslim states on the question of Palestine steadily bore fruits and as a result the Second Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore in February 1974, gave PLO leader Yasser Arafat the status of a Head of the State and thus the PLO got full membership in the OIC. The Summit also recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Nation in its just struggle. The Summit termed Palestine question as the core of the Middle East problem and declared that, "the restoration of the full national rights of the Palestinian people in their homeland is the essential and fundamental condition for a solution of the Middle East problem and the establishment of lasting peace on the basis of justice".26 The Summit for the first time categorically condemned "all states that provide Israel with military, economic and human assistance" and requested them "to put an end to this practice immediately". 27

The Sixth Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Jeddah in July 1975, undertook a programme to isolate Israel through diplomatic efforts and decided "to call for an action by Member-States in international forums and the United Nations to expel Israel from the International Organization for its violation of the principles stipulated by the United Nations Charter and its rejection to implement the United Nations Resolutions". The Conference furthered the Palestinian cause by setting up a perma-

nent committee to safeguard the status of Jerusalem as well as Palestine. The name of the body is Al-Quds Committee which is also known as Jerusalem Committee. Its responsibilities are not limited only to the Jerusalem question but are extensive enough to cover the entire Palestine issue. As the Conference decalred:

Considering the inseparable link between the Palestine question and the conflict against Zionism based on the fact that the usurpation of Palestine, including Al-Quds (Jerusalem) is the cause of this conflict, this Committee should be entrusted with the task of following up the implementation of all the resolutions of the Islamic Conference in this respect.²⁹

The Committee has been asigned the task of making plans as well as suggesting means of action to liberate all Arab territories includ-

ing Jerusalem and Palestine.30

The Tenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Fez in May 1979 decided to convene the Al-Quds Committee³¹ at the level of Foreign Ministers and to make King Hassan-II of Morocco its Chairman who was the first Head of the State to call for an Islamic Summit after the burning of Al-Aqsa mosque in 1969. The Committee until then was being headed by the Secretary-General of the OIC. Henceforth the Committee was assigned, along with other responsibilities, the task to 'see to the implementation of a political and information programme in non-Islamic countries, aimed at consolidating the Islamic Conference resolutions at the highest level with a view to preserving peace as well as the Arab and Islamic character of Holy Jerusalem" ³²

Since 1979 Al-Quds Committee is continuing its multi-dimensional efforts to further the Palestinian cause in and outside the Organization of Islamic Conference. In the diplomatic field the Committee's achievement is noteworthy. After assuming the chairmanship of the Committee King Hassan sent a letter to the Pope on 26 September 1979 and also visited Vatican City to persuade him to support the liberation of Jerusalem. King Hassan held detailed discussion with the Pope and in response the Pope observed:

Rest assured that I have carefully listened to you plead their [Muslim Countries] point of view. I have paid similar attention to your own thoughts on the subject, which you had already outlined to me in a personal message a few months ago. 33

He further declared:

I consider that our talks have been extremely fruitful. It seems to me that the holy city represents a truly sacred heritage for all the Faithful of the three great monotheistic religions, for the entire world and, in the highest degree for those people who live on its territory. 34

The importance of Jerusalem to the Muslims was thus recognized by the Christian world as well. Pope John Paul, it may be recalled, also made positive references to the holy city of Al-Quds and its prevailing situation, while addressing the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations' General Assembly. He later came forward with very clear and sympathetic policy and, in June 1982, even made an appeal to recognize the rights of the Palestinians and said that they should have their own land where they could live in peace. He emphasized that the Palestinians have the right to have their homeland in the Middle East. ³⁶

As a result of the Al-Quds Committee's efforts, the United Nations' Security Council adopted on 20 August 1980 the resolution number 478 in which Israel was strongly condemned for its decision to annex Jerusalem and its refusal to implement the Security Council's resolutions.³⁷ The Al-Quds Committee's continuous moral pressure resulted in the transfer of embassies of the following countries from Jerusalem: Holland, Bolivia, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El-Salvador, Guatemala, Heiti, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela.³⁸

As Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee King Hassan of Morocco tried to gain support of the Muslim countries in favour of the Palestinian cause both within the framework of the Committee, as well as through his personal efforts. In this connection his letter to the Egyptian President, on 12 March 1980, following the Camp David Accord between Egypt and Israel, and latter's decision to make Jerusalem as its capital, is especially important.³⁹

The Seventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Istanbul in May 1976 passed a resolution calling the member states to issue a special stamp "bearing the name of 'Palestine-Stamp' in the interest of the families of the Palestine cause (sic) after consultations between the PLO and the Islamic Conference Organization". The Eighth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Tripoli in May 1977 also supported the proposal and called upon all member states to continue the issuing of the Palestine-Stamp permanently as long as the Palestine question exists. The Ninth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Dakar in April 1978 chalked out a detailed programme for the issuing of Palestine-Stamp by the member states. The Conference requested the member states to issue the stamp in one denomination with a

surcharge equivalent to about 1.4 US cents in the local currencies in accordance with the tables fixed by the Organization. The Conference requested the member states to transfer the revenue of the Palestine-Stamp regularly to the Palestine Welfare Society through the Arab Bank branch in Beirut, Lebanon. Within three years of the first call for the issuing of Palestine-Stamp, in May 1979 when the Tenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers was held in Fez, some of the member states had already implemented the plan and sent money to the 'Association for the benefit of the families of fighters and martyrs of Palestine', on which the Conference expressed its satisfaction.

So far the OIC has held three extraordinary sessions out of which two were devoted to the Palestinian and Al-Quds causes. This fact clearly proves the importance which the OIC gives to the Palestine problem. The first extraordinary session held in January 1980 was devoted to the question of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The request for holding the second extraordinary meeting of the Foreign Ministers, was made on 6 June 1980, 44 by Yasser Arafat because of unusual escalation of terrorism of the Israeli authorities against the Palestinians, and the formal invitation for the meeting was extended by the Jordanian King Hossein 45 who hosted the Conference.

Farouk Kaddoumi, the Head of the Political Section of the PLO, informed the meeting about the serious increase in the systematic official terrorism perpetrated by the occupation authorities especially in the wake of the Camp David Accord and Egyptian-Israeli Treaties, "and the frantic attempts by the parties to the Camp David Accord to carry through the autonomy conspiracy which seeks to liquidate the Palestine question and circumvent the inalienable national rights of its people." 46

Some details of the Israeli terrorism in occupied West Bank were given by a prestigeous American weekly:

In the thirteen years the Israeli have occupied the West-Bank, terror has been a fact of life. Murderous raids by Palestinian commandos routinely have been met by violent reprisals from Israeli armed forces. But last week, Israeli civilian terrorists launched a calculated series of bomb attacks on three Arab mayors. While the Israeli Government quickly condemned the bombings, the incidents threatened to turn the tindery West-Bank into an even more dangerous place. ⁴⁷

The Israeli terrorism was so brutal that Shimon Peres, the Israeli opposition Labour Party Leader, severely criticized it. 48 A Jewish

woman photographer confessed that, "the vicious terrorism almost makes me ashamed to be Jewish". Thus the situation was ripe to convene an extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers and the Muslim states enthusiastically responded to the call to consider the latest Palestine situation.

The Conference in its declaration showed its reaction to the terrorist activities of the Israelis in the following words:

The Conference condemned the racist, expansionist, and terrorist policies and practices perpetrated officially and systematically, by the Zionist authorities in Occupied Palestine. The Conference looked at those policies and practices as a challenge to the will of the Muslim world and a flagrant violation of international laws. In this respect, the conference firmly considered any country supporting the Zionist aggression against the Palestinian people and the Islamic Holy Places in Palestine an enemy of Islam and Muslims. ⁵⁰

The Conference took a serious note of the Israeli decision to annex the Occupied Arab lands, particularly Jerusalem. On 30 June 1980, the Israeli parliament passed a draft-law to legalize its illegal occupation of Jerusalem and declared Jerusalem as its capital. As a reaction to this decision of the Israeli authorities the extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers declared "the commitment of all Islamic states to sever all forms of relations with any country that supports, or contributes to the implementation of Israel's decision to annex Al-Quds Al-Sharif (Jerusalem) and declare it the Capital of the Zionist entity; or transfer its embassy to Al-Quds (Jerusalem)". 52

The then Secretary-General of the OIC Habib Chatti, after the extraordinary session told the reporters that, "no nation will dare to transfer its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem because the Islamic states have decided to take serious and clear measures against any country which takes such a step". This claim of the Secretary-General of the OIC was not wrong and is borne out by the fact that the two Central American states, the Dominican Republic and Guatemala were the last to shift their embassies from Jerusalem on 6 September 1980. Twelve countries which had shifted their missions to Jerusalem had returned to Tel Aviv earlier. Aviv

The Conference also took notice of the Israeli plan to establish settlements in the occupied territories which Israel captured in the June 1967 war. According to one report, the Israeli planners had prepared a secret programme to establish eighty-five new Jewish settlements in the occupied West-Bank within the year 1985. The

plan was presented to the Israeli Cabinet in March 1980. The total number of Jews in the West-Bank until then was 14,000 and the Israeli authorities had planned to increase the number between 120,000 and 150,000. The Foreign Ministers' Conference viewed the Israeli programme as "its persistent and deliberate attempts to alter the political, legal, demographic, economic, social, cultural, civilizational and historic character" of the Israeli occupied territories. The Conference also asked the European Community, "to suspend the application of its bilateral and collective economic agreements with Israel, in pursuance of the Community's pledge that these agreements would not be enforced in the Occupied Palestinian and Arab Territories, and with a view to compelling Israel to withdraw from these territories". 57

The OIC's diplomatic efforts to isolate Israel bore fruit and the West European countries declined to participate in the Israeli military manoeuvres on the Occupied Golan Heights in August 1980.⁵⁸

The need for another extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers took the shape of urgency when the Israeli parliament finally passed the annexation bill and declared Jerusalem as the permanent capital of Israel on 30 July 1980. ⁵⁹ The PLO leader Yasser Arafat termed this action of the Israeli authorities as a "declaration of war against Muslims" on 3 August 1980 and the following day he called for an immediate Islamic Summit Conference. ⁶⁰ The Al-Quds Committee also responded to this latest development by convening an emergency meeting of the Committee on 17–18 August 1980. ⁶¹ It was declared therein that:

In their reaction to the racist-inspired religious war waged by Zionism the Arab and Islamic countries reassert their resolve to pursue their Jihad (struggle) to liberate Al-Quds Al-Sharif from Zionist occupation, because Jihad is the expression of an unyielding human will for freedom and a legitimate duty for any citizen whose homeland is occupied and whose national rights are usurped. 62

The Committee also recommended to hold an extraordinary meeting of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers to discuss the "Jerusalem Question" on 18 September 1980 in Morocco. ⁶³ The third extraordinary Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers was accordingly convened in Fez from 18 to 20 September 1980, in which thirty-eight countries, including the PLO, participated. In the opening session of the Conference King Hassan-II of Morocco,

the Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee, expressed a sharp reaction to the Israeli action and observed that "the decision made by the Israeli government constitutes in reality, the first step towards digging its own grave". Israel, he said, is an "oppressor which despises men, scorns values, offends religions". King Hassan had no doubt that "in few years Moslems and Arabs will be capable of facing it, technologically and on the battlefield".⁶⁴

The Conference went further and unambiguously condemned the United States of America for its illegal support to Israel and declared that "any support extended to the Zionist entity to sustain its illegitimate occupation and desecration of holy places, be it direct or indirect, overt and covert, constitutes a challenge to the Islamic World." At the same time, the participating countries declared that they were committed:

- to meet this challenge and liberate Al-Quds Al-Sharif (Jerusalem);
- to uphold Arab-Islamic sovereignty over the Holy City;
- to confirm their support to the Palestinian people;
- to counter the Israeli aggression with their power and potential;
- to sustain support for the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people until the liberation of Al-Quds (Jerusalem) and the restoration, by the Palestinian people, of their inalienable rights, including their right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state on their territory.

The third extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers declared its full support to the recommendations made by the Al-Quds Committee during its extraordinary session in Casablanca, in August 1980, and accordingly declared the commitment of the Muslim states to Jihad, "with its wideranging humanitarian dimensions, as it constitutes steadfastness in the face of the Zionist enemy on all military, political, economic, information and cultural fronts". The then Secretary-General of the OIC, Habib Chatti, after the Conference said that "the call for sacred Jihad was the most important topic discussed at the emergency session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference which met at Fez. . ".68"

The extraordinary meeting of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers entrusted the Al-Quds Committee to prepare "an over-all strategy to mobilize all the potential of Islamic countries to counter the Israeli aggressiveness" and to submit that report in the Third Islamic Summit Conference which was scheduled to be held at Taif, Saudi Arabia. The Summit Conference which met from 25 to 28 January 1981 endorsed the idea of Jihad

with all the means at our disposal for the liberation of Al-Quds and the occupied territories. We shall make this liberation struggle the prime Islamic cause of this generation until God willing, Al-Quds Al-Sharif and all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories are restorated to their legitimate owners. 70

The OIC has been continuously trying to adopt a unified approach to liberate Palestine and other occupied lands but has so far failed to wage Jihad with arms against Israel to achieve its objectives. Some difference of opinion still exists among the member states on the question of Palestine and their attitude towards Israel. One member state, the United Republic of Cameroun, for instance, has, some time ago, established diplomatic relations with Israel. 71

Such actions on the part of individual states undoubtedly weaken the forces of Islamic unity and unquestionably embolden Israel and its supporters. However, exceptions apart, all the member states of the OIC fully support the Palestinian cause and they are trying to extend possible help to the Palestinians. The member countries of the Organization are also extending financial support to the Palestinians, individually as well as through the Islamic Development Bank, Al-Quds Fund and Islamic Solidarity Fund. In 1980, the Islamic Development Bank donated a huge sum to the PLO for building Schools and hospitals in the occupied West-Bank, 72 Similarly, in 1980, the PLO received an estimated amount of twenty million dollars for different projects from the Al-Quds Fund also. 73 In 1984 Indonesia donated 60,000 dollars to it. 74 Since 1977, Saudi Arabia has been providing one hundred and fourteen million dollars annually to the PLO.75 The other members of the OIC, too, are helping the PLO financially. 76

The OIC has also been projecting the Palestinian cause in all international forums and the results of these efforts are quite discernible. It is, for instance, a result of the diplomatic endeavours of the member countries of the OIC that Spain has granted official status to the PLO mission in Madrid.⁷⁷

In view of the account given above it hardly needs to be emphasized that interest of Islamic world in the Palestine question is genuine, sincere and enduring. If one were to point out any single issue on which the entire Muslim *Ummah* has been united it is the question of Palestine.

It is the dream of all Muslims, irrespective of the fact that they are Arabs, Asians and Africans, to oust the Jews from the first

qiblah of Islam. It is of course true that the efforts that have so far been made have failed to yield the desired results, but we must not forget that the Muslims are not fighting the Jews alone, it is the entire Western world, including the Super-Powers, that is arrayed against them. If on the one hand, the USA extends its all out support to all acts of wanton aggression and continuous stream of ruthless oppression perpetrated by Israel against the Palestinians, on the other, it was the greatest advocate of the downtrodden communities, the USSR, which was the first country of the world to accord diplomatic recognition to this Zionist entity.⁷⁸

NOTES

 The total area of Palestine is 26,421 sq. km. In 1918 there were ninety three percent Arabs (708,000) and seven percent naturalized Jews (57,000). For details, see S. Amjad Ali, The Muslim World Today, Islamabad, 1985, p. 278.

 The OIC has decided to make Jerusalem its permanent headquarters. However, until the liberation of Palestine, Jeddah will serve as its headquarters. See the charter of the OIC in Organisation of the Islamic Con-

ference, Jeddah, n.d., p. 7.

3. The most sacred place in Palestine is Jerusalem or Bait al-Muqaddas which

houses the Al-Aqsa mosque, the first Qiblah, of the Muslims.

 The Crusaders occupied Palestine in early twelfth century A.D. until it was reconquered by Muslims in 1187 A.D. For details, see The New Encyclopaedia Britannica (Marcropaedia), 15th edition, vol. XVII, Chicago, 1975, p. 953.

5. Christina Jones, The Untempered Wind: Forty Years in Palestine, London,

1975, p. 4.

 M. Mohiuddin Qazi, Islam ke Khilaf Saihuni Khufia Sazish (Urdu), Sargodha, 1986, p. 36.

7. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 958.

. Immediately after the Allied occupation the Jews started their migration into Palestine. Between 1922 and 1939 their population in Palestine rose from 83,790 to 445,457 and Tel Aviv became a Jewish city with

a population of 150,000. (Ibid., p. 960).

During the Second World War the Jewish immigration into Palestine got a new momentum. In May 1942 American Zionists adopted Baltimore Programme which disowned the British Plan of 1939 for an independent Palestine and demanded the creation of a Jewish State, with its own army, in Palestine. On 13 August 1945, World Zionists Congress demanded that Palestine be opened to 1,000,000 Jews. On 31 August 1945 American President Truman asked for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews displaced from Europe. For further details, see Muhammad Baqir, "The Problem of Palestine — A Summary", Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Islamabad, Vol. II, No. 2, July-December 1981, p. 35.

9. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 960.

10. Shameem Akhtar, "The Rabat Summit Conference", Pakistan Horizon, (Karachi), Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 336.

- 11. Ibid.
- 12. Ibid.
- 13. Ibid., p. 337.
- Declarations and Resolutions on Political and Information Affairs. Conferences of the Organization of the Islamic Conference: 1969—1980, Islamabad, n.d., p. 4.
- 15. Shameem Akhtar, op.cit., p. 340.
- 16. Declarations and Resolutions . . . etc., p. 5.
- 17. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
- 18. Ibid.
- Organization of Islamic Conference: Declarations and Resolutions of Heads of State and Ministers of Foreign Affairs Conferences: 1969-1981, Jeddah, n.d., p. 14.
- 20. Ibid., p. 15.
- 21. Ibid., pp. 27-28.
- 22. Ibid.
- 23. Ibid., p. 29.
- 24. Declarations and Resolutions . . . etc., n.d., p. 51.
- 25. Ibid., p. 52.
- 26. Declarations and Resolutions of the Islamic Summits, Islamabad, n.d., p.8.
- 27. Report on Islamic Summit. 1974, Islamabad, n.d., p. 229.
- 28. Declarations and Resolutions . . . etc., p. 137.
- Organizations of Islamic Conference. Declarations and Resolutions . . . etc. , p. 121.
- Al-Quds Committee Under the Chairmanship of His Majesty King Hassan-II: Achievements and Perspectives, Rabat, 1984, p. 3.
- 31. The Conference enhanced the membership of the Committee from nine to fifteen, and it now comprises (1) Morocco (2) Guinea (3) Bangladesh (4) Iraq (5) Indonesia (6) Jordan, (7) Iran (8) Lebanon (9) Niger (10) Mauritania (11) Palestine (12) Pakistan (13) Saudi Arabia (14) Senegal and (15) Syria. See Al-Quds Committee Under the Chairmanship of His Majesty King Hassan-II p. 11.
- 32. Declarations and Resolutions . . . etc., p. 308.
- 33. Ibid., p. 68.
- 34. Ibid.
- 35. Ibid., p. 17.
- 36. Muslim World (Weekly), Karachi, 3 July 1982.
- 37. Al-Quds Committee Under the Chairmanship of His Majesty King Hassan-II. p. 22.
- 38. Ibid.
- 39. For the full text of the letter, see ibid., p. 83.
- Resolutions on Economic, Social and Cultural Affairs: Conferences of the Organization of Islamic Conference: 1969—1979, Islamabad, 1980, p. 93.
- 41. Ibid., p. 123.
- 42. Ibid., p. 164.
- 43. Ibid., p. 212.
- 44. Viewpoint (Weekly), Lahore, 15 June 1980, p. 16.
- Organization of Islamic Conference: Declarations and Resolutions . . . etc. , p. 691.
- 46. Ibid., pp. 691-92.
- 47. Newsweek, New York, 16 June 1980.
- 48. Ibid.

- 49. Ibid.
- Organization of Islamic Conference: Declarations and Resolutions . . . etc. , p. 693.
- 51. Muslim World, 5 July 1980.
- Organization of Islamic Conference: Declarations and Resolutions . . . etc. , p. 693.
- 53. Muslim World, 19 July 1980.
- 54. Ibid., 13 September 1980.
- 55. Muslim World, 26 July 1980.
- Organization of Islamic Conference: Declarations and Resolutions. . . etc. ,
 p. 696.
- 57. Ibid., pp. 693-94.
- 58. Muslim World, 6 September 1980.
- 59. Viewpoint, 10 August 1980.
- 60. Ibid., p. 24.
- 61. Ibid., 24 August 1980.
- Al-Quds Committee Under the Chairmanship of His Majesty King Hassan-II, p. 76.
- 63. Ibid., p. 80.
- 64. For the full text of the speech, see ibid., p. 87.
- Organization of Islamic Conference: Declarations and Resolutions...etc., p. 714.
- 66. Ibid., p. 713.
- 67. Ibid., p. 715.
- 68. Muslim World, 27 September 1980.
- Organizations of Islamic Conference: Declarations and Resolutions... etc., pp. 715-16.
- 70. Organization of the Islamic Conference, p. 25.
- 71. Muslim World, 6 September 1986.
- 72. The total amount of donation was ninety million dollars which was for the PLO as well as the Afghan and Ugandese refugees. For details, see ibid., 7 June 1980.
- 73. Ibid., 20 September 1980.
- 74. Final Communique of the Forth Islamic Summit, Jeddah, 1984, p. 20.
- 75. Muslim World, 4 October 1986.
- 76. The exact related data on the financial help given by various countries and agencies is not available.
- 77. Muslim World, 6 September 1986.
- Dankwart A. Rustow, "The Appeal of Communism to Islamic Peoples",
 J. Harris Proctor, ed., Islam and International Relations, London, 1965,
 p. 51.