

Bhutto's intention to improve relations with Muslim countries through the Islamic Summit Conference: A rational approach to regional diplomacy

Abstract

The Islamic Summit Conference, proposed by former Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, aimed to strengthen relations between Muslim countries through a rational approach to regional diplomacy. Bhutto's intention to improve relations with Muslim countries through this conference was a strategic move that recognized the importance of unity and cooperation among Islamic nations. The conference, held in 1974, brought together leaders from over 50 Muslim countries to discuss issues of mutual interest and promote solidarity among Muslim nations. By using analytical research approach, this paper concludes that through this conference, Bhutto sought to address political and economic challenges faced by Muslim countries and foster a sense of collective responsibility towards the Ummah. This approach to regional diplomacy not only strengthened ties between Muslim countries but also paved the way for future collaborations and partnerships, showcasing the potential for positive change through rational and diplomatic means.

Keywords:

Islamic Summit Conference, Bhutto, Muslim Countries, rational approach, regional diplomacy, mutual interest, solidarity, political, economic challenges

1. Introduction

In the year 1974, the Islamic Summit Conference was held in Lahore, Pakistan. This was considered a historic event as it marked the first gathering of leaders of Muslim countries in the modern era. That was hosted by the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who had a strong vision of bringing countries together to improve relations and strengthen cooperation. His intention to improve relations with countries through this was a rational approach to regional diplomacy, and it had a significant impact on the political landscape of the world.

Bhutto, a charismatic leader and a staunch advocate of Islamic unity, believed that the world needed to come together to address the challenges and issues faced by the ummah. He saw the Islamic Summit Conference as an opportunity to promote solidarity, unity, and cooperation among Muslim nation. The intention was not just to strengthen political ties but also to foster economic, cultural, and social cooperation among the people.

One of the main objectives was to create a platform for countries to discuss and address common issues and challenges. This included finding solutions to

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conflicts in the region, promoting economic development, and enhancing cooperation in the fields of education, science, and technology. Bhutto believed that by working together, the countries could overcome their differences and achieve mutual progress and prosperity.

Another important aspect of intention was to improve relations with countries through the conference was to counter the growing influence of Western powers in the region. He saw the league as a means to reduce the dependence on Western aid and support. He believed that by coming together, the Muslim world could create a strong and united front to protect their interests and assert their political and economic independence.

Furthermore, the approach to regional diplomacy through the Islamic Summit Conference was also driven by a desire to promote Islamic values and principles. He firmly believed that the conference would serve as a platform to showcase the rich cultural heritage of Muslim countries and promote the true essence of Islam. The conference as an opportunity to counter the negative narrative surrounding Islam and present a positive image of the religion to the world.

The Islamic Summit was a success in achieving Bhutto's intended goals. It was attended by leaders of 34 Muslim countries, and it resulted in the signing of the 'Lahore Declaration.' This declaration emphasized the need for unity and cooperation among nations and outlined a plan of action to achieve these goals. It also led to the establishment of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), which continues to play a vital role in promoting solidarity and cooperation among Muslim nations.

1.1 Literature Review

“The Myth of Independence”¹ written by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is a very relative book which clearly presents the perception of Bhutto towards international relations. This book is more or less concerned with the thought and perception of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on the international regimes leading the world order. He shed light on the relationship of major powers with the third world and underdeveloped nations. It was written in 1969 when he was no more a part of legislative structure. Because this book was written before assuming the full power by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto so there is no work available regarding his governing era. I preferred to read this book to discover the opinions he holds, what was his attitude to the problems of the world. This incredible book offers its reader to explore and study his thoughts, ideas and perceptions in foreign policy making, as my area of interest and research is “foreign policy making and foreign policy of Bhutto”. This book proved very helpful for me in understanding the mindset, ideas and ideology of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in foreign policy making. This book has also proved very fruitful in presenting his approaches that while formulating the foreign policy what should be the priorities for a State and how to achieve the national objectives in international diplomatic environment.

In this book, Bhutto has mentioned three principal objectives in pursuing foreign policy.

1. Policy of friendship and good faith with China, Great Powers and neighbouring country.
2. Good relations with United States and Soviet Union but on the basis of non-interference and also with nations of Eastern and Western Europe especially France, Germany, Britain, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland.
3. The strengthening of Third World States and particular develop friendly relations with Muslim Nations and Neighbouring Countries.

Since independence Pakistan has emphasized on developing and establishing relations with neighbouring countries. With the formation of RCD, Pakistan has presented a model relationship with Iran and Turkey. Fortunately, these countries are Muslim countries as well. Subsequently, this Fraternal association is an increasingly a powerful factor in Asia. This association is on the basis of equality, mutual relationship and friendship. Pakistan has also developed good relations with Afghanistan and this association also proved fruitful in fulfilling Pakistan's vital interest.

Another article "Pakistan in 1974"² also provided me substantial knowledge regarding my research. This article is written by Herbert Feldman. In this article, the author has discussed the developments made in foreign affairs of Pakistan by the year of 1974. The remarkable achievement and success in 1974 were the holding of Islamic summit Conference in Lahore during February. No doubt, it raised the respect of Bhutto, but its major credit goes to Saudi Arabia's King Faisal. It was great triumph as Pakistan was succeeding in gaining its objective i.e., changes in mindset of Mujib-Ur-Rehman and return of POW's. Mujib was very much impressed that he offered Bhutto to come to Bangladesh. Then Bhutto also visited Dacca in June.

In May, Bhutto went China to discuss issues included recognition of Bangladesh by China and the prospects economic and military assistance. In October, Bhutto also paid visit to Soviet Union so that Soviet Union could help in reducing the hostile attitude of Afghanistan and restrained Afghanistan from interference in Baluchistan and Frontier Province. In June, Kissinger came to Islamabad and the question of supplying arms was under discussion. In the junks of foreign policy, Islamic Summit was a great and remarkable achievement. Besides this, another success for Pakistan in 1974 was to patron a resolution on nuclear issue and serious participation in the debates on Palestine.

Again, the U.S stance became rigid towards Pakistan due to its pro-Arab policy, hosting of Islamic summit. Henry Kissinger deterred Bhutto from hosting Islamic Summit. Situation became more serious and critical when Bhutto decided to make Pakistan a nuclear power after the successful nuclear blast of India. In the late 1976, this issue has emerged as a major irritant in Pak-U. S relations when Pakistan concluded agreement with France and IAEA had also approved the agreement. President Carter opposed it. Then Henry Kissinger visited Pakistan to persuade Bhutto to abandon his nuclear program. After the refusal of offer, A-7 planes by Bhutto, U.S started anti-plant campaign. U.S also put pressure on France and Canada. As a result, Canada abrogated its agreement and stopped providing fuel, spare parts and technical assistance for the Karachi atomic power

reactor whereas France declared that it will continue with it until Pakistan wished to continue. Bhutto also claimed U.S for overthrow of his government and accused U.S for supporting PNA.

The article “The Second Islamic Summit Conference, 1974”³ contains sufficient literature relating to Second Islamic Conference 1974. This article has been written by Mehrunnisa Ali and published by Pakistan Institute of International Affairs in 1974. The author has done a great work. She has discussed in detail the holding of Second Summit Conference in Lahore e.g., agenda, achievements and decisions concluded at the end of this summit and the views and responses of international media and other states towards this summit. The author has also done a comparison between First and Second Islamic Summit Conference and has also discussed the factors that made situation favourable for holding of second Islamic Summit Conference and how far it was favourable for Pakistan to hold this summit. The author has also mentioned the achievements get by Pakistan.

The author wrote that first Summit was held in haste and even had no proper agenda. That’s why it could not secure the full participation of all 30 invited states. Only 24 states attended this summit. On the other hand, second Summit conference was held in favorable environment as balance of power in Middle East was shifted in favour of Arabs. A large number of Muslim States were supporting the just cause of Arabs. There was growing Arab unity and understanding and reconciliation in the Muslim World. The proper agenda was prepared i.e., the Palestine cause, strong attachment of the Muslims to the Jerusalem, the situation in the Middle East and the firm determination of their governments to liberate it. Attention was also paid to the problems facing by the Third World countries. It also secured full participation of invited states. Many Asian and West European countries appreciated the conference except India. Other States included Canada, North Korea, Ceylon, Cambodia and West Germany. Another great achievement of this summit was the consensus on decisions among all participants. Its decisions were also welcomed by Third World States. China and Soviet Union also appreciated its resolutions. The holding of this summit at Lahore also helped Pakistan in improving its image and strengthened its ties with Muslim World. It also brought reconciliation between Bangladesh and Pakistan. Pakistan also got economic benefits by concluding bilateral pacts with Libya, Bahrain and the U.A.E.

“Saad S. Khan” wrote an article “Pakistan and the Organization of Islamic Conference.”⁴ This article was also published by Pakistan Institute of International Affairs in 2003. In this article, the author has discussed the dedications and efforts made by Pakistan for the development of OIC. The author has also shed light on the devotions that Pakistan has for Muslim Countries. Since its inception, Pakistan has treated Muslim World as its natural ally. As Pakistan considered Muslim Countries as Ummah and defied the Westphalian notions of territorial nationhood. When Pakistan became a member of U.N.O, it espoused the Palestine and Holy Jerusalem cause and also spoke for the liberation of other Muslim Countries. Similarly in 1949 and 1951, Pakistan held conferences of World Muslim Congress in Karachi. In the same way, Islamic Economic Conference and Conference of Ulema were also held by Pakistan in early 1950s. So, when OIC was established in 1969, Pakistan became its proactive member. Amongst Iran, Egypt and Pakistan, Pakistan was nominated as host and held

Second Islamic Summit Conference in 1974 and attracted the World's attention. This summit helped in morale-boosting of Pakistan and its nation. Pakistan also established Summit Minar, opposite to Punjab Assembly, commemorating second Islamic Summit of 1974.

OIC has four principal organs and Pakistan is the only country that has organized all the four types of conferences. There are three OIC institutions on Pakistani Soil. Pakistan has also been an active member of various OIC committees. Pakistan also defrays its annual contribution on regular basis. Pakistan has always tied itself to the decisions of OIC. The persistent support of Pakistan to OIC has never been affected by any form of government in Pakistan either its democracy or dictatorship.

1.2 Research Question

1. What benefits could have by Bhutto's intention of improving relations with the Muslim Countries by hosting Islamic Summit Conference keeping in mind the Rational Model?

1.3 Research Objective

1. To evaluate the developments which Bhutto brought with the Islamic countries.

1.4 Research Methodology

Research methodology plays a vital role in understanding and analyzing the intentions and actions of political leaders. In the case of Bhutto's intention to improve relations with Muslim countries through the Islamic Summit Conference, a rational approach to research methodology can provide valuable insights into the effectiveness of this diplomatic move. This includes gathering and analyzing data from various sources, and examining historical precedents while using analytical tool. By using a rational approach, researcher has objectively evaluated the motives behind Bhutto's decision and the potential impact on regional diplomacy. This methodology helps identify any potential challenges or obstacles that may arise in achieving the desired outcome.

2. Rational Decision Making: Second Islamic Summit Conference 1974

2.1 Organization of Islamic Cooperation

With 57 the member nations grew across four continents—from Guyana, in the west, to Indonesia, in the east, and from Albania, in Europe, to Mozambique, in Africa, the League of (OIC), formerly known as the the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, is the second largest intergovernmental after the United Nations. This translates to 650 million people, or 21% of the world's inhabitants. The Muslim Brotherhood serves as the global voice of Muslims, guaranteeing the defence and protection of their interests in the purpose of promoting world peace and harmony among all peoples. In response to an arson attempt against the Al-Aqsa Mosque on August 21, 1969, the United Nations was established in Rabat, Morocco, on September 25, 1969. It was created as a representation of the Islamic world's integrity and solidarity. The countries in question are members, with more than half of their citizens being Muslims. The OIC's participating countries have abundant material and human resources as well as great

manufacturing and trade potential. The mandate is to promote comprehensive political, economic, social, cultural, and scientific cooperation among the nations that are part of it. It is also responsible for safeguarding Islamic holy sites and working to end colonisation and racism. The aim is to safeguard the interests and the progress and well-being of Muslims.⁵

There have been many attempts to bring the countries and their people together ever since the colonial powers were driven out of the lands. Since the world shares a common source of inspiration and want, the call for unity is only natural. On the intellectual front, Jamaluddin Afghani, Shakaib Arslan, Mufti Muhammad Abduhu, and Iqbal took the lead. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Dr. Hatta, and Saad Zaghlul Pasha were renowned political liberation warriors in the recent history.⁶

Attempts were undertaken to bring the country together, periodically putting people on the same page and cooperating for the political and social well-being of nations. However, the small-scale disputes among the various countries overshadowed the genuine intentions, and the strategy of weakening and dividing pursued by interested parties proved advantageous and effective. The Islamic faith and the issues surrounding turmoil are the two things that the entire world shares. A significant occurrence in one region of the Muslim world invariably ripples over to other regions, owing to the shared faith that fosters a loose but genuine unity. After the end of the First World War, Arab souls became hardened to the Israeli stiletto. The fate of the people of Israel had been reversed, which deeply alarmed the entire Muslim world. In the 45 years since 1948, there have been roughly 6 Arab-Israeli wars. The Palestinians abandoned their houses and fireplaces. In the six-day battle that took place in June 1967, Israel overcame the Arabs and took control of the Arab States' lands. India had already invaded Pakistan in 1965 and had already taken control of Jammu and Kashmir in 1948. Furthermore, Israel attacked Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, three Arab nations, in 1967. The world as a whole was called upon by all these events to speak out in defence of their rights, maintain security, and progress.⁷

Rabat hosted the First Islamic Summit Conference in 1969, thanks to King Hassan of Morocco's invitation to serve as host. Both historically and symbolically, It was significant. For the first time, heads of state and governments of Muslim nations had formally convened on a political platform. Twenty-five Muslim leaders were present. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was invited to attend as observer.⁸ The meeting decided to encourage member states to work closely together and support one another in the cultural, economic, and spiritual spheres, all while drawing inspiration from the timeless teachings of Islam. The member states deemed the arson attack on the mosque Al-Aqsa to be illegal and denounced it. The significance of maintaining the sacred nature of religious shrines was underlined. It was determined not to accept any deal that did not bring Jerusalem back to its pre-1967 status. The intent of the Rabat Conference was that the world as a whole, not only Arab states, wasn't impacted by the Jerusalem issue. The conference also helped to boost morale following their shocking humiliation in the War. Another most important outcome of this summit was the decision to institutionalize the cooperation among the 1000 million people in the world by establishing a permanent body of Islamic countries. It was agreed that Jeddah would be the Headquarter until the liberation of Al-Quds from Israel occupation.⁹ Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tunku Abdul

Rehman became its first Secretary General and resigned from his office. In his closing Prayer King Hassan said, "May God help Muslims in Palestine, India and wherever they are being persecuted."¹⁰

The Charter of Organization was adopted in meeting of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in February 1972. It has 3 official languages: Arabic, English and French. The Four Principal organs of OIC are: Islamic Summit Conference, Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, and General Secretariat and International Islamic Court of Justice.¹¹

2.1.1 Islamic Summit Conference

It is the OIC's main policy-making body and top decision-making body. The heads of state and government of the member states, along with their monarchs, make up the Islamic Summit, the organization's highest authority. It meets once every three years to discuss and decide on policy decisions and provide guidance on all issues pertaining to the realization and consider other problems of concern to the Member States and the Ummah.¹²

2.1.2 Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers

OIC Foreign Ministers meet annually at the beginning of UN General Assembly session to implementation taken by Heads of States.

2.1.3 General Secretariat

It is the Organization's executive organ, responsible with carrying out the decisions made by the two bodies that came before it. The OIC Secretary General is in charge of it. The Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (ICFM) met for the first time in 1970 in Jeddah, where it was determined to open a permanent the workplace there until Gaza was restored. Besides these four principal organs, it is also composed of many specialized, ad hoc and standing committees, specialized organs (like the Islamic Development Bank and Islamic News Agency etc.), subsidiary organs (like the Islamic Centre for History and Culture, the Islamicity Sports Federation and the International Red Crescent Committee etc.), affiliated institutions (like the Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities). All these institutions are playing an important role in the Islamic World.¹³

No doubt, this has become the most important collective body in the World. With its vast economic resources, its strategic and huge manpower, was to be destined to play an effective role in preserving world peace and improving the lot of common man. Organized properly, it could be turned into a tremendous force for peace and prosperity. The countries Possess enormous natural resources particularly oil. The Islamic countries have an important role in the world. Additionally, a few significant tributaries flow through them. The nation is also nuclear and militarily capable. It makes up one-fifth of the world's people and has a unique identity and culture. It can function as a potent barrier and have a significant impact on global affairs if they develop cohesion in their ranks.¹⁴

The Association of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) now comprises 57 member states, representing over 25% of the United Nations membership. A trio of states have observer status, while the remaining fifty-five states are regular members. Among

these, Syria's membership in the OIC was terminated on August 16, 2012. Furthermore, the only OIC member that is not a UNO member is Palestine. Palestine is a United Nations observer member. On June 28, 2011, the League of Islamic Conference (OIC) changed its name to the Council of Islamic Cooperation.

2.1.4 Pakistan and Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Pakistan is a founding member of corporation of the Islamic Conference. It has played an important role in the establishment and a number of its subsidiary organs and affiliated bodies. The meetings and conferences have been hosted in which facilitated the growth of the institutional infrastructure of the OIC. Pakistan is a member of a number of OIC ministerial-level committees entrusted with implementation of measures approved by OIC conferences. It is expected to continue its active role and participation in the activities of the OIC in all fields.¹⁵

Pak is one of a few countries that have confronted the Westphalian notions of territorial nationhood. As an ardent supporter of Islamic Unity, it has always tied itself with the OIC decisions, be it on Afghanistan or Palestine or Bangladesh. The commitment to the cause of Islam is a cardinal principal of foreign policy. It is one of a very few countries that defray their annual contribution to the OIC regularly.¹⁶ Country is playing a leading role in providing assistance to the countries of African Sahel region. Technical assistance has also been offered by nation to the African States in improving their agricultural productivity. A pioneering role is played by in promoting economic contacts and cooperation among the Islamic States. It has also contributed to the Islamic Solidarity Fund on the regular basis. It has given its full support to Islamic Fiqh Academy. Also credited with being among the pioneers of floating the idea of an Islamic International Court of Justice.¹⁷

Pakistan held the largest number of OIC conferences i.e., seven. hosted the Second Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, 2nd Islamic Summit Conference, and First session of the Islamic Commission for Economic, Cultural and Social Affairs etc. Country also served as Chairman of the Jerusalem Committee in 1979-1980. There are also three OIC institutions on the soil. The efforts for consolidation of Muslim Unity on a worldwide basis and strengthening cooperation among the States are clearly reflected by the records of the OIC.¹⁸

It was demanded in the name of Islam. Once it got established, it started treating the World as natural ally. When established, countries were faced with many serious political problems. There was an urgent need for uniting the World. For this purpose, it held several International Conferences at short intervals. The legacy of the historic commitment of the Muslims of the sub-continent to Palestine and other causes served as a determining factor of nation's foreign policy and became one of its principal objectives.¹⁹

The six-day Arab-Israel War of 1967 provided with another opportunity to show her solidarity with Muslim causes. When war broke out promptly condemned Israel for naked aggression. Country fully supported to the move made by King Hassan II of Morocco to convene an Islamic summit conference. It was one of the 25 countries which participated in First Islamic Summit held in Rabat from 22-25 September 1969.²⁰

2.2 Rational Decision Making: Second Islamic Summit Conference

The 2nd was held in Lahore, from 22-24 February 1974, four months after the Arab-Israel War of 1973. It was sponsored by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia attended by 37 countries of Asia, Africa It was indeed a landmark in the history of country. The holding of conference at Lahore served as a morale-booster for people and also reaffirmed continued importance in Muslim World.²¹

The event has been taken to find out what was the rationale in hosting the event how far it proved effective in enhancing the economy and boosting the morale of country and its nation.

2.2.1 Situation:

Bangladesh became an independent and sovereign state as a result of the War of 1971. The war of 1971 demonstrated Pakistan's complete isolation since none of her friends provided any meaningful assistance. Although some Muslim nations had given Punjab material and moral support, it was unable to stop Asia from falling apart. the country suffered a humiliating military loss. "In December 1971, Pak was divided, defeated, demoralised, and in the eyes of the world, disgraced," according to British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper. Both the political elites and the general public saw a shift in perspective as a result of the tragic country-wide split, and they started to think more in terms of Islam. President Bhutto visited twenty-two countries of the Middle East and North Africa from January to June 1972. He visited Iran, Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Somalia, Kuwait, and United Arab Emirates. These visits helped in bridging the gap between Pak these states. His purpose was to win the sympathy and support for Pakistan for the solution of outstanding problems with India and Bangladesh. The most immediate purpose of these visits was to boost national morale of its nation in the wake of humiliating defeat and loss to India. These visits also conveyed the message to India that it still enjoyed the support and sympathy of Muslim World. The objectives of these visits were to reassure them that country had recovered not merely the will to survive but also have the strength and ability to maintain a stable and democratic policy and a viable economy. To seek support and help for Pakistan break out of the diplomatic isolation.²²

2.2.2 Stance of Pakistan:

Bhutto's foreign travels raised the nation's profile and improved its reputation. He saw that without the unity of the Muslim countries, Pakistan and the Muslim world could not survive. On one side, the West surrounded them, and on the other, highly developed India. Both desired nations to join their ranks. was the leading proponent of the Muslim World's cause. Every chance they get, Pakistanis President Bhutto spoke of the need to combine Muslim energies and integrate third world efforts.²³

When the Arab-Israeli war erupted out in October 1973, he seized the chance to demonstrate his goodwill with the rest of the world by supporting the Arabs politically and economically. Sent telegrams to leaders Assad of Syria and Sadat of Egypt assuring them of support for their just and noble goals in a diplomatic move. At a press conference on October 20, 1973, he declared that "the entire

Muslim community is on trial in the present moment Middle East Affair." He also travelled to Iran, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia with the goal of uniting the Islamic world against Israel. Pakistan likewise supplied Egypt and Syria with material and psychological aid throughout their wars with Israel. The nation's mass media was also essential in the pro-Arab disinformation effort.

Following the Arab-Israel War, Tunku Abdul Rehman, Secretary General of OIC proposed the holding of an extraordinary summit.²⁴ This time initiative was taken by Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. Pakistan, Egypt and Iran were the main contenders owing to host the summit. Pakistan offered to host the summit. It is also called this summit as "a sequel to the war of October 1973."²⁵

The nomination was seen by Pakistanis as a reward for their contribution to the Islamic causes over the years and especially for their moral and material assistance to the Arab-Israel War.²⁶ The holding of laeugue was seen by Saudi Arabia and other Countries as a way of restoring Pakistan's international image after dismemberment. It was also considered by Secretariat and the other leaders to be an appropriate time to bring about a rapprochement between Pak and Bangladesh.

The country followed up with a historic move to hold a second Islamic conference, inviting the leaders of all Islamic and Arab countries to come to Lahore in February of the following year. Country took special care to make sure that honorary guests would be there and that the majority of heads of state would be gathered. To guarantee that both traditional and radical Arab components participated, Pakistan dispatched special envoys to the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. Bengal was also formally invited by Pakistan to the summit. "How can we keep our doors closed to seven crore Muslims of East Pakistan who lived with us for twenty-six years. Prime Minister Bhutto said, inviting Muslims from all over the world for 26years."²⁷

Messages of acceptance to the forthcoming Islamic Summit kept arriving from more than thirty states. It attracted every Head of State except Shah of Iran. The participation of poorer Islamic countries was also welcomed in any forum where they could be together with their affluent cousins.²⁸ Not only the 30 invited states agreed to attend the summit but some new members also joined the conference, bringing the total number of participants to thirty-eight.

There came a warning by the Indian Foreign Minister on 15 February asking Pakistan not to use the conference for 'raking up' affairs relating to the countries of the Sub-continent. India also described the summit as "an attempt to create a rift among the non-aligned states."²⁹ On the other hand, the forthcoming summit was well received by many Asian and West European States. Secretary General of UNO welcomed the summit and hoped that its deliberation would help in achieving a just lasting peace.³⁰ Premier of Britain also appreciated the initiative of Pakistan in holding the summit.³¹ America's discreet silence was understandable in view of her close relationship with Israel. U.S.S.R also remained silent because of its aversion to the religious basis of the meeting.

The agenda included, "The situation in the Middle East, the Palestine case, the strong attachment of the Muslims of Jerusalem and the firm determination of their governments to liberate it."³² The three-day Second Islamic Convention in

Lahore got underway on February 22, 1974. 38 Muslim leaders and notable government figures attended, including the head of the PLO, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, a delegation from Motamer-al-Alam-al-Islami, the Secretary General of Rabita-al-Alam-al-Islami, six kings, twelve presidents, six prime ministers, and eight foreign ministers. The heads of state, the monarchs, or the operation represented twenty-six states. An assembly of such a large number of Islamic heads of states was meant to exert pressure on Mujib to give up his demand of putting on trial of 195 Pakistani POWs. Bhutto had specially briefed Idi Amin of Uganda and Colonel Qaddafi of Libya to work on Mujib and brainwash him during his stay at Lahore. Bhutto embraced Mujib while presenting him the key of Lahore city to a tremendous public ovation at Shalimar gardens reception.³³

Bhutto, the leader of the government of Pakistan, oversaw the discussions. It has the opportunity to take centre stage and answer a range of questions as the Summit's host nation. Greeting his Majesties, Royal Highnesses, Excellencies, and dear brothers in Islam to premier Islamic capital, whose old Mughal Fort, great Masjid, the Largest Mosque in all of South Asia, and beautiful Shalimar Gardens provided the proper backdrop for this gathering, was the first thing he said in his inaugural address. "In the name of Allah, most gracious, most merciful," he said.

Speaking of Lahore's historical significance and the people's significant concern for Palestine and the Muslim world, Bhutto remarked, "This ancient city symbolises not only national struggle but also its abiding solidarity with the world." A resolution on Gaza was also unanimously accepted by the League session in Lahore 24 years ago, in addition to the resolution on the nation of Pakistan. A motion forewarned against the risk of employing force in order to conquer the Arabs in the Holy Land. submission."³⁴

Addressing the nation's ties to other Muslim nations, Chairman Bhutto stated, "Deep ties to its dear neighbours Turkey and Iran as well as friendship and cordiality with other Muslim countries are accompanied by Pakistan's involvement with the issue whose scene is the Arab Middle East."

Mr. Bhutto underlined Pakistan's intention to recognise Bangladesh by stating, "My country has extended official recognition to Bangladesh." This reciprocal acknowledgment, which embodies Islamic fraternity, is something we wish

now bury a past..."³⁵ Every islami Country appreciated this gesture of goodwill. Pakistan never directly mentioned Kashmir during the conference but made a number of leaning references to it, including, "Your host country, for instance, had been a victim of international conspiracies and unconcerned with an intense question, in which, it believes, its stand is based on nothing but justice and concern for the nation rights..."³⁶

King Faisal, Presidents Assad, Sadaat, the charismatic Colonel Qaddafi, and Yasser Arafat were among his rapt listeners. Pakistan viewed the issues facing the Arab world as her own. Prime Minister Bhutto stated, "Let me be clear from this platform: any protocol, agreement, or understanding that assumes the Holy City would remain under Israeli occupation or be transferred to an individual who are not Muslim's state will not be worth the paper on which it is written on..."³⁷

Present state of people in the Nations of the World, were discussed in detail by country. With Faisal and Mujib sitting on one side of him and Qaddafi and Sadaat on the other, Bhutto felt that he might be much stronger than India. Less than three years had passed since the catastrophic Bangladesh War when there was an enormous development. The conference addressed three key issues that the Muslim world is concerned about. First, the PLO, led by Chairman Yasser Arafat, was called upon by the Assembly to act as the only authorised spokesperson for the people of Palestine and to urge all representatives to provide Arabs and Palestinians with unwavering assistance as they fight to reclaim all of their seized territories. Additionally, there was broad agreement to give the PLO all the resources it needed to open offices throughout all Muslim nations. Every participant as well in all fields.³⁸

Second, there was a need for closer economic cooperation for which economic committees consisting the experts of five oil rich member-states (Libya, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Algeria and UAE) and three poorer members (Pakistan, Egypt and Senegal) were established to develop ways also established with the OIC.³⁹

Third, means and ways were also discussed as to how Muslim World associates itself with Third World Countries.

As the Chairman of the Islamic Summit Symposium, Bhutto made an impassioned statement during the closing session, stating, "We are a poor nation." We might not be able to provide financial support for economic growth. I thus proclaim that we, the Pakistani people, will shed our blood in the service of Islam. Pakistan's people are Islam's soldiers, and its forces are Islam's armies. We will join Bait-ul-Maqdis as brothers, insha'Allah arms."⁴⁰

All participants at the subsequent Islamic Summit Conference unanimously accepted the "Declaration of Lahore," which was formally released on February 25, 1974. The Lahore Declaration laid the groundwork for member state cooperation in the economic sphere while reiterating the Islamic Ummah's devotion to the resolutions of the first Islamic Summit and the previous conferences of Islamic Foreign Cabinet Members. It also stated the Ummah's considered responses on all important issues, particularly the Palestine question and Al-Quds field.⁴¹

2.2.3 Outcomes:

In contrast to the last conference, the Lahore summit addressed a variety of issues that the Islamic world was concerned about, which increased its level of interest. It resolved the impasse on Bangladesh's recognition. The summit also brought up a great lot of goodwill for Pakistan, the host nation, whose citizens welcomed the visiting delegations with such passion. The outcome of the Lahore Summit gave the OIC the legitimacy it needed to continue operating, and as a result, the group also acquired fame.

2.2.4 Morale –Booster for Pakistan

The successful holding of the conference at Lahore in 1974 served as a morale-booster for the people. Country which had recently come out the trauma of a defeat in war with India and fall of Dacca, staged a diplomatic coup by playing host to an assembly of kings and presidents and by becoming Chairman of one of

the world's biggest organizations. In last summit, 24 out of 30 invited states participated but in Lahore Summit there have been full participation of OIC member states. There was no boycott by any state. It saw 37 states turning up against 30 that were OIC member states at that time. This owed to the respect that Pakistan had enjoyed in comity of nations.⁴² It impressed the delegates of the summit. Colonel Qaddafi hailed Pakistan as "Citadel of Islam" and declared; ". Even India was surprised by Pakistan's new stature in the World. Pakwas now able to send a message to India that it did not standalone but had a large number of friends including some of the world's richest countries."⁴³

The world took notice of the Islamic meetings that took place in Lahore. This was the first time that Muslims from around the world have come together to debate the Middle East problem in modern Islamic history. It brought gathered the PLO leadership and the leaders of 35 member states. The summit's success gave Pakistan immense pride. Pakistan was forced to be described as "a strange phoenix-like country" that always seems to arise from its diplomatic coup by the New York Times of India ashes."⁴⁴

Commenting on the Lahore Summit, Sada-ul-Usbou, a leading daily of Bahrain, wrote; "It is the obligation of the Arab Leaders to support Pakistan.... The people also remember that Pakistan has made efforts to keep the cause of Arab Palestinians alive and has explained it with great skill."⁴⁵ Similarly, Al-Liwa of Jordan had the following words for Pakistan; "Pakistan... a lovely word, a cherished name among the Arabs... a word that reminds us of our brethren who always stand and still stand on our side in all hardships and in all fields."⁴⁶

2.3 Reconciliation between Pakistan and Bangladesh

This summit showed out to be an outstanding way of facilitating Bangladesh's prompt and rightful recognition. In the spirit of Islamic unity fostered by the Islamic Summit, Pakistani public opinion appeared to find it easier to let go of the animosity of the past and accept Bangladesh. The Arab and Islamic Countries used to induce Pakistan to recognize Bangladesh. The conference provided the climate of mutual forgiveness. On the last day of Summit, Mujib was a changed man, talking to the newsmen in Lahore on 24 Feb, he said, "he had stopped the trial of POWs and that mutual recognition of Bangladesh and Pakistan would lead to a solution of all outstanding problems between them."⁴⁷

The conference of Foreign Ministers held in New Delhi in April 1974 was a result of this summit. It was decided to release all Prisoners, including 195 who had been a subject of much contention. Pakistan was now in a position to start a fresh with Bangladesh.⁴⁸ The Soviet Union also came out with the appreciation for the Pakistan-Bangladesh rapprochement.

2.4 Unity of all Muslim Countries

An important role in the gathering was played by Pakistan. The idea underlying the entire endeavour was that Muslims worldwide could become a powerful force if they banded together. For the first time, the internationalisation of Jerusalem received backing from Iran and Turkey as well. The success of the summit can be gauged from this fact that there was no difference whatsoever on the decisions taken regarding the issues. Solidarity among the Muslim Countries for the cause

of Palestine and unity for progress were the singular achievements of the conference.⁴⁹

Before this summit, Islam was not the common thread that brought the Arab nations and other Muslim states along; instead, they thought in terms of nationalism. However, all heads of state today understand that maintaining the unity that Islam intended was essential to their survival and rebirth. In actuality, Pakistan deserves all the credit for this movement in the Muslim and Third Worlds, and all those involved have proclaimed Pakistan to be the Citadel of Islam. Formerly leading advocates of nationalism, those governments are now leading lights for Muslim unity. The Daily Sun of Sri Lanka characterised the grouping of Muslim countries as “Fourth World.”⁵⁰

Emphasis was made on Islamic unity and the beneficiary of this change. After this Summit, Arab countries and Iran gave a total of 993 million dollars to the country.⁵¹

2.5 PLO as a sole representative body

PLO, under the leadership of Yasser Arafat, was recognized as sole legitimate representative body of Palestine, considered as an important outcome of this summit. Before this, many Arab countries and even Pakistan had many reservations about the PLO for its involvement in terrorism and hijackings. The recognition of PLO also provided Palestinian cause an important boost in the international arena. Arafat also made this remark that the state of Palestine was born in Lahore.⁵²

This Summit also called upon all participants to give their support to Palestinian. Because Iran had some economic ties with Israel, similarly it is important to be noted here, that no such motion of censure had been passed at Rabat Summit.⁵³

2.6 Economic Cooperation.

In the modern era, this gathering also proved to be a turning point for freeing nations in developing nations from the political and economic restraints of the West and the United States of America. To advance true Muslim unity, the Muslim states intended for building an environment of political and economic cooperation. Muslim states with greater wealth were asked to support less developed nations, particularly those suffering from global inflation. Every member concurred that Muslim nations must cooperate economically

Stressing the necessity for institutions to channel the resources of the oil producers. Hence all the resources and energies of the developed world were mobilized to eradicate poverty and exploitation of the developing nations. As a result of this agreement, An Islamic Development Bank was also established in 1974.⁵⁴

2.7 Support for Third World Countries.

Pakistan also urged for mutually supportive economic activities in the Third world.⁵⁵ Attention was also paid to the problems confronting the Third World e.g., liberation movements in Africa and the drought in African Countries. The member states were also asked to give their support to the colonialism as well racist regimes in South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal. For this purpose, Algeria

announced \$ 2 million in aid to six drought-stricken countries of the Sahel region in Africa. Guinea Bissau was admitted as full member of OIC as a gesture of solidarity with the people fighting a war of liberation.⁵⁶

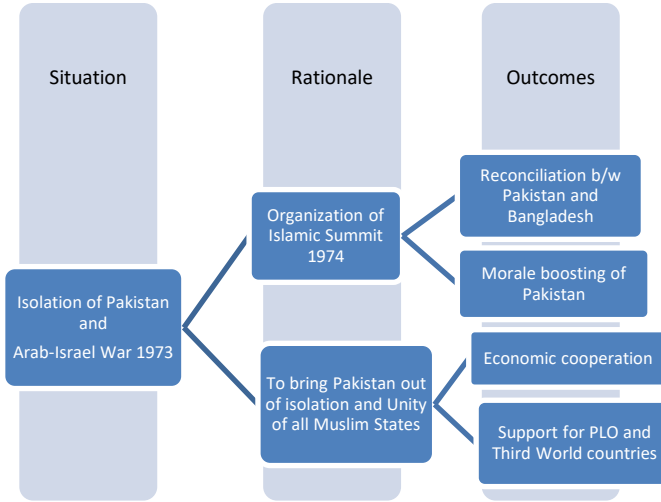


Fig 3.2: Rational Decision-Making Model; Second Islamic Summit Conference 1974.

3. Conclusion

The Islamic Summit Conference, initiated by former Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was a significant step towards improving relations with Muslim countries and promoting unity among the ummah. It was a rational approach to regional diplomacy, aimed at strengthening ties and fostering cooperation among nations with shared religious and cultural values.

Bhutto's efforts to establish a platform for the Muslim world through the Islamic Summit Conference can be traced back to his vision of a united Muslim community. He believed that unity among Muslim countries was crucial for their progress and development, and the summit was a means to achieve this goal. His intention was to create a platform where leaders of nations could come together to discuss issues of common interest, build mutual trust and understanding, and work towards a collective solution.

One of the major objectives of the summit was to address the challenges faced by the Muslim world and find ways to overcome them. Bhutto recognized that the Muslim world was plagued by various issues such as poverty, illiteracy, political instability, and conflicts, which hindered its progress. Through the summit, he aimed to promote economic and social development, enhance cooperation in various fields, and achieve political stability in the region.

Moreover, Bhutto's approach was based on the principle of non-alignment and neutrality, which he believed would help maintain equilibrium in the Middle East and the Muslim world. He strived to create a balance of power and prevent any domination by major powers, thus safeguarding the interests of Muslim nations.

This rational and pragmatic approach was well received by the Muslim world, as it provided an alternative to the polarizing Cold War politics of the time.

The Islamic Summit Conference also played a crucial role in promoting peace and resolving conflicts among Muslim countries. Bhutto's efforts to mediate between warring nations and bring them to the negotiating table were commendable. The summit provided a platform for dialogue and diplomacy, which paved the way for peaceful resolutions of disputes.

Furthermore, the summit served as a means to strengthen economic ties and promote trade and investment among Muslim nations. Bhutto recognized boosting in the development of Muslim countries and reducing their dependence on Western powers. He initiated various economic projects and programs through the summit, which helped improve the economic conditions of many Muslim nations.

4. A Way Forward

The world is facing numerous challenges, including political instability, economic crises, and security threats. In such a complex environment, regional diplomacy plays a crucial role in maintaining peace and stability. The Islamic Summit Conference can serve as a platform for Pakistan to strengthen its ties with other Muslim countries and address common challenges.

Moreover, the Islamic Summit Conference can also help Pakistan in its pursuit of economic development. The country's economy has been struggling in recent years, and it is in dire need of foreign investment and trade opportunities. By improving relations with Muslim countries, Pakistan can tap into new markets and explore potential investment opportunities. This can also lead to the creation of job opportunities and boost the country's economic growth. Additionally, increased cooperation in areas such as energy, infrastructure, and technology can bring significant benefits to Pakistan.

Furthermore, the Islamic Summit Conference can also help Pakistan in its efforts to counter the negative image often associated with the country. In recent years, Pakistan has faced criticism and international isolation due to its alleged support for terrorist groups. By actively participating in the Islamic Summit Conference and promoting peace and cooperation, Pakistan can improve its image and showcase its commitment to promoting regional stability.

However, there are also some challenges that need to be addressed in pursuing this initiative. The first and foremost concern is the diverse political and ideological landscape of the Muslim world. The Muslim countries participating in the conference have different political systems, interests, and priorities, which can make it challenging to reach a consensus on various issues. It is essential for Pakistan to take a balanced and inclusive approach and avoid any actions that may alienate certain countries or groups.

Another challenge is the ongoing conflicts and tensions among some Muslim countries. For instance, the rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran has been a major hurdle in promoting unity and cooperation among Muslim nations. Pakistan must tread carefully and avoid getting involved in any regional conflicts

Bhutto's intention to improve relations with Muslim countries through the Islamic Summit Conference.

or taking sides. Instead, it should act as a mediator and promote dialogue and peaceful resolution of conflicts.

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