CHAPTER IV

KING FAISAL AND PAN-ISLAM
Religion in general, is considered to be a specific system of belief, worship, conduct, etc often involving a code of ethics and a philosophy.\(^1\) However, Islam, besides being a religion, is also a social order and complete code of life. In the Islamic view, Christianity and Judaism also have social order but these are not as comprehensive and as adequate as that of Islam.\(^2\)

Islam which literally means submission to the will of God, is not only the message of prophet Mohammad but also the divine message from the days of Adam through Noah, Abraham Moses, Jesus and finally integrated in the message of Mohammad.

Islam is a universal, trans ethnic religion that transcends national, linguistic, and cultural diversities, Muslims share many things, a universal way of life, worship of the same God, recognition of the same religious laws (Sharia), and observance of same rituals, such as Prayer, Fasting, Almsgiving and Pilgrimage.

Pan Islam is the idea and doctrine of, and the movement to establish the unity of the Islamic world.\(^3\) The modern Pan-Islam movement originated at the end of the nineteenth century. The Turkish Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II encouraged it to help him ward off European influences infiltrating his empire. He also hoped the Pan-Islamic movement would prevent disintegration of his


\(^{3}\) Yaacov Shimoni, Political Dictionary of Middle East in the Twentieth Century (Jerusalem, 1972), p.312.
realm from within. The idea of Pan-Islam was propagated by such scholars and thinkers as Jamaluddin Afghani, Rashid Rida and Mohammad Iqbal Afghani believed that any unity in order to materialize must restrain egoism and the only effective means to limit it was religion.4

Jamaluddin Afghani conceived of a Union of Muslim Nations in the form of confederation under the constitutional leadership of the already existing Qttowan Sultan Caliph. However, Pan-Islam under the pressure of circumstances was replaced by the territorial nationalism or Arab nationalism. The development of nationalism in different parts of the Arab world resulted in the struggle for independence in specific territories which had fallen into the hands of numerous colonial power.

Rashid Rida argued that Islam considered that it was the duty of Muslims to defend other religions which came under their control and to treat them on a basis of equality, according to the first ruling of the Sheria... The Muslim youth must not forget, while serving their homeland and people, that they are a member of a body bigger then their people, then own personal homeland, and must therefore seek to make the progress of the part a means toward the progress of the whole.5

In the twentieth century Mohammad Iqbal, the great poet of the east also gave the idea of Islamic solidarity. He envisaged an international Islam when he preached that Islam was neither nationalism nor imperialism but a


commonwealth of nations which accepted racial diversity. Iqbal pointed out that the uniform spiritual atmosphere in the world of Islam could facilitate the political combination of Muslim State.

The concept of Pan-Islam as it has evolved is dual in nature, having both religious and political elements. In its religious aspect, as the reaffirmation of the applicability of Islamic law to all matters pertaining to human life, it opposes the rise of secularization in Muslim countries. On the political side, it is the reassertion of the political unity of the Muslim world. Thus its goal is to promote unity among the Islamic state in order to re-establish a single Muslim community.

The history of Pan-Islam roughly falls into three phases: the first spanned the period from the late nineteenth century to the dissolution of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924, the second was marked by Pakistan's abortive endeavours in West Asia to forge an Islamic bloc, the third was triggered off by the ideological divide between the conservatives and radical forces in the Arab world.

Initially, the idea of Pan-Islam was started by later Caliphs of the Ottoman Empire. They began to equate, in their international dealings, the Caliph's office with that of the Pope if only to sustain religious jurisdiction over Muslims territories to lost European Powers. Sultan Abdul Hamid (1876-1909) went a


step further and claimed religious headship of all Muslims within and beyond the Ottoman Empire. At one point Abdul Hamid enlisted the support of Jamal al-Din Afghani (1839-97), one of the best known and most powerful personalities of the Pan-Islamic ideas.9

Born in Asadabad (near Hamadan, in Iran), al-Afghani toured the Islamic countries, then Europe, with lengthy spells of residence in several of them. His travel included Iran, Afghanistan, India, Turkey, Egypt, Hijaz, England, and Russia.10 He seems to have been successful in conversing with small elitist groups and in haranguing large crowds in the manner of a populist leaders.11 His overbidding concerns, however, were to stem the tide of expansion of European power into West Asia; to bridge the differences between Shiites and Sunnites and to establish a Muslim bloc, made up of the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and Afghanistan,12 the only independent Muslim States at that time.

He not only contributed his articles to various European newspapers, but also set up several periodicals, in Arabic, of which the best known was al-Urwa al-Wuthqa in Paris13 to spread his message of Islamic unity. This periodical also expressed his views on Pan-Islam in general, at that time in an article

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10. Ibid., p.3.

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entitled al-Wahda al-Islamiya (Islamic Unity or 'Islamic Union').

His emphasis were on diplomatic efforts (secret, of course), on pressure at the highest levels (compelling Iran to join the alliance). He considered Great Britain as the most servious threat to the Islam and Islamic Unity and, hence, adopted anti-British stand. Probably as a result of this, al-Afghani was invited to Istanbul in 1892 to participate in Pan-Islamic propaganda.

Al-Afghani's greatest merit, here, was to have shown that, in his days at least, Pan-Islam and nationalism could be mutually complementary (he even toyed with the idea of a confederation of semi-autonomous Muslim states, with the Ottoman Sultan as them suzerain, and to politicise Islam within a Pan-Islamic context or otherwise said, to transform Islam into a political ideology.

The initiative to revive the idea of Pan-Islam came from Pakistan in the late 1940s. Pakistan's quest for an Islamic bloc as a corollary of its two-nation theory took the form of a series of non-official Islamic conferences at home and diplomatic probings in several West Asian Capitals. But these overtures did not evoke positive response in the target area. On the contrary, the Egyptian Foreign Minister Salah al Din Pasha told an Indian correspondent in November 1951 that Egypt looked to India for moral support in its struggle for national independence. About the same time, the Turkish Government, demanded the

recall of Pakistan Ambassador, Mian Bashir Ahmad, on the ground that he was encouraging "religious reactionaries in Turkey.\textsuperscript{18}

The cold response it received in West Asia persuaded Pakistan to put aside the Pan-Islamic project and join the British and American Sponsored Baghdad Pact. Its attempts to present this alliance as a Step towards Islamic unity could hardly obscure the deep divisions the pact had created among the West Asian States. In the circumstances, official Pakistan found it hard to sustain the pretense of promoting Islamic Unity through the pact, and it was soon abandoned. In the wake of the Suez crisis in 1956, Prime Minister Husain Shahid Suharwardy made the much quoted statement. "The Arab World is divided amongst themselves, and even if they were united, zero plus zero plus zero is after all equal to zero."\textsuperscript{19} In his personal memoir Friends Not Masters, President Ayub Khan frankly defended the Baghdad Pact on power political rather than Pan-Islamic grounds. He justified it in terms of the military and, economic advantages it would confer on Pakistan and brusquely dismissed the pan-Islamists as" no more than a bunch of busibodies dabbling and interfering in the affairs of others on the pretext of Universal brotherhood.\textsuperscript{20}

According to Shaykh Mohammad Shaltut, an Arab writer, the most influential proponent of Pan-Islam in the Arab world are the Wahhabis of Saudi Arabia and the Azharite of Egypt, both having considerable support. Shaltut

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\textsuperscript{19} Abid Hussain, op cit, p.16.
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actually placed the leadership of Pan-Islam in the hands of two men, the king of Saudi Arabia, Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz and the Shaykh (Rector) of Al-Azhar University.21

The first Islamic summit of heads of state and government at Rabat in September 1969 marked the beginning of the third phase of pan-Islamism. King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, the chief architect of the Summit, owed his success to the changed balance of power in West Asia rather than to any upsurge of Islamic fervour in the wider Muslim World.

In other words king Faisal's dedication to pan-Islamism had its genesis in the struggle for Arab Unity and the Saudi-Egyptian rivalry for the leadership of the Arab world. Inter-Arab politics during the late 1950s and 1960s reflected the ideological revolution that the Arab world was undergoing between the forces of radicalism and revolutionary socialism on the one hand and conservative on the other hand. Two phases of this inter-Arab conflicts can be identified in tracing the historical evolution of King Faisal's pan-Islamic movement: the 'Arab hot War', which produced Faisal's call for pan-Islamic solidarity.22

Phase One: The Arab Cold War

Since the late 1950s, the Saudi monarchy had been feeling ill-at-Arabism emanating from Nasser's Egypt and the Ba'ath Socialists of the Fertile crescent.


The fall of Iraqi monarchy in 1958, followed, in 1961, by a republican coup d'état in Yemen, caused intense apprehension in Saudi Arabia about the future of its own polity.\textsuperscript{23} In 1964, Faisal replaced the ageing Saud as king. Besides internal reforms Faisal undertook a hectic tour of several Muslim capitals to win support for a pan-Islamic platform in order to contain the tide of radical pan-Arabism.\textsuperscript{24}

Following the nationalisation of the Suez Canal in 1956 and the subsequent Israeli-British-French attack on Egypt, Nasser emerged as the unchallenged hero of Arab nationalism. Within a year and a half of the Suez crisis, Egypt and Syria joined to form the United Arab Republic (UAR) under his leadership. With the establishment of the UAR, the radical notions of nationalism and revolutionary socialism of the Pan-Arab movement acquired new significance. Revolutionary Arab nationalists expected and even encouraged the masses in other Arab countries to rise against their leader and join the UAR, and soon Lebanon was engulfed in a bloody civil war between the opponents and proponents of the UAR. Opponents of Nasser and the UAR were labeled by Cairo as 'reactionaries' and 'agents of imperialism' and several unsuccessful plots were organised by the UAR to overthrow the various monarchies and conservatives regimes in the Arab World.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{23} M.S. Agwani, op. cit, p.74.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid, p.74.
To protect himself, Imam Ahmad of Yemen quickly merged his country with the UAR to form a federation called the United Arab States. The two Hashimite monarchies of Jordan and Iraq also joined forces to form a federation of their own, but shortly thereafter, the federation came to an end when a group of Iraqi army officers, led by Abdul-Karim Qassem, overthrew the monarchy in Baghdad. However, it later turned out that Qassem had plans of his own and refused further to join the UAR or to accept Nasser's leadership of the Arab revolutionary camp.

While other Arab monarchies decided to protect themselves in federation, Saudi Arabis sought to disrupt the Egyptian - Syrian Union. It was reported that king Saud had offered Abul-Hamid al-Sarraj, the chief of Syrian Arab Intelligence, two million British pounds and the presidency of Syria if he would assassinate Nasser and frustrate the Union between Syria and Egypt.26 This allegation made Saudi Arabia and other Arab monarchies the targets of a long and vitriolic propaganda campaign in the press and radio of the United Arab Republic.

By September 1961, a group of Syrian army officers, dissatisfied with Nasser's socialist measures, broke the Union with Egypt. Nevertheless, Nasser's dream of a Pan-Arab Union continued. Nasserists and radical Arab nationalist believed that the quest for Arab unity required the prior overthrow of Arab monarchies and conservatives regimes. Pan-Arab nationalists simply did

not believe in peaceful co-existence in so far as inter-Arab politics were concerned, seeking instead to foment revolution and assist it whenever it took place in the Arab world. Revolution to them was not a mere matter of domestic affairs, it had acquired a Pan-Arab dimension. Consequently, Arab monarchies, and conservative regimes, led by Saudi Arabia, were put on the defensive and felt threatened by Nasser's radicalism and claim to the leadership of the Arab world.

To combat Nasser's radicalism and revolutionary socialism, Faisal, who was acting head of the Council of Minister at the time, invoked Islam as a counter-ideology. In May 1962, the government of Saudi Arabia sponsored an international Islamic conference in Mecca to devise ways to fight radicalism and secularism in the Arab and Muslim worlds. Religious authorities and distinguished personalities from all over the Muslim world attended the gathering. As a rebuke to Nasser's radical Arab nationalism, the conference declared that 'Those who disavow Islam and distort its calls under the guise of nationalism are actually the most bitter enemies of the Arabs, whose glories are entwined with the glories of Islam.' The conference ended with the formation of an international Islamic organisation called Rebetat al Alam al-Islami, or World Muslim League (WML), with permanent headquarters in Mecca.

Even though the WML was not formed as a political or a governmental organisation, but rather a religious organisation whose objectives include the dissemination of all alien ideologies and habits inconsistent with Islam, it has

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27. 'Islam against Nationalism', The Economist, 2 June 1962, p.903.
dealt with a number of Muslim political issues and has assumed the task of co-ordinating the efforts of Islamic organisations around the world. From time to time, it has called a general conference of these organisations to discuss various measures for the defense and propagation of Islam and the protection of the Muslim world from radical alien ideologies.28

With king Faisal's continuing support, the WML has today, become one of the most dynamic and authoritative of Muslim organisations, with branches and affiliates all over the world. It has achieved international status as a member of the non-governmental bodies in the United Nations and has become a source of strength and aspiration for Muslims everywhere through its scholarships, financial support of Muslim causes and Islamic centres around the world, annual international seminars at Mecca during the pilgrimage period and various publications and periodicals in both Arabic and English.29

The WML, however, dealt with only one aspect of Pan-Islamism, namely, the war against secularism, socialism and radicalism. The other aspect of Pan-Islamism - the promotion of political unity among the Islamic states and the formation of a Pan-Islamic political organisation - was left to later efforts by Faisal and stemmed from inter-Arab politics and the Faisal-Nasser rivalry.

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Phase Two: The Arab Hot War

No sooner had the WML been established than another inter-Arab crisis developed. In September 1962, Imam Ahmad of Yemen died, to be succeeded by his son Imam Mohammad Al-Budr. A week later, a group of Yemeni army officers led by colonel Abdullah al-Sallah took control of the government, seized the radio station in Sana, and announced that the new Imam had been executed. Egypt, along with all Arab countries except Saudi Arabia and Jordan recognised the new regime in Yemen. Shortly thereafter, however, it was revealed that Imam al-Budr had not been executed, but was actively organising tribal support to stage a counter coup. Dedicated to the support of Arab revolutionaries Nasser seized on the coup d'état in Yemen as an opportunity to break out of his year-long isolation in the wake of Syria's secession from UAR, and regain the initiative in Arab affairs through a display of revolutionary leadership.\footnote{Miles copeland, The Game of Nations, The Amorality of Power Politics (Simon and Shustir, New York, 1969), p.266.} To support the new republican regime in Yemen, he first dispatched military advisors, then a few troops, then a large number of troops. Nasser was not interested in Yemen itself, but rather in entire Arabian Peninsula with its large oil deposits, Yemen to him was only a foothold.\footnote{Ibid, p.267.} Infuriated by Nasser's radicalism and warfare close to home, Faisal countered by breaking off diplomatic relations with Egypt and supplying the royalist forces in Yemen. In response, Nasser ordered the bombing of several Saudi villages on the Yemeni
borders. The conflict between Saudi Arabia and Egypt escalated, and soon Yemen became an international battle ground.

In addition to the revolution in Yemen, the year 1963 witnessed a great boost to the radical Arab's hopes when the revolutionary Baath Party seized power both in Syria and Iraq, giving rise to prospects of a new and larger United Arab republic. Saudi Arabia and Jordan felt themselves threatened and surrounded by revolutionary regimes in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Yemen. The Cairo negotiations for a new UAR were inconclusive, however, for although Nasser welcomed the overthrow of Qassem and the 'secessionists' in Syria, he was not very willing to work with the Baathists, an action that he later regretted.32

Throughout 1964 and 1965, several Arab and international efforts were made to negotiate a solution to the Yemeni conflicts; all eventually came to nought. There were too many irreconcilable differences, both between Faisal and Nasser and between the Yemeni royalists and republicans themselves. In addition, Yemen represented a testing ground for influence in the Arab world between the forces of revolutionism under the leadership of Nasser and the forces of conservatism under Faisal.33


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King Faisal's call for Pan-Islamic Solidarity.

King Faisal's anxiety over his inability to resolve the conflict in Yemen, together with the rising tide of Soviet influence and radicalism in the Arab world, led him to adopt a counter strategy in the form of an appeal for Pan-Islamic solidarity. Faisal realised that the WML, despite its wide success in Pan-Islamic reformism, was essentially a religious organisation and that he needed to engender broader intergovernmental co-operation among the Islamic states, not only to bring the Muslim nation together for mutual benefit, but also to curtail the spread of radicalism in the Arab World.34

King Faisal launched his Pan-Islamic call, Faisal began series of state visits to Muslim countries in which he appealed for Pan-Islamic Unity. Between December 1965 and September 1966, he visited nine primarily conservative Muslim countries in Asia and Africa. Faisal began with a one-week visit to the Shah of Iran. A month later, he spent another week with king Hussain I of Jordan, and then visited to Sudan, Turkey, Pakistan, Morocco, Guinea, Mali and Tunisia.35 During his state visit to Pakistan, Faisal spoke of Islam as a bond uniting all Muslims and called for Co-operation among all Muslim states to meet the challenge posed by radical ideologies: It is in these moments, when Islam is facing many undercurrent that are pulling Muslims left and right, east and west, that we need time for more co-operation and closer ties to enable us to face all

35. For Faisal's state visit and speeches. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Information, Faisal speaks.
the problems and difficulties that obstruct our way as an Islamic nation, believing in God, His prophet and His laws.\textsuperscript{36}

King Faisal's call for Pan-Islamic solidarity was favourably received in all the countries he visited. Somalia and Iran,\textsuperscript{37} in particular, along with Morocco, Jordan and Pakistan strongly endorsed Faisal's Pan-Islamic alliance. Egypt and Syria, however, perceived the alliance as a threat to Arab nationalism and an attempt to reconstitute a regional pro-Western defense pact. Nasser reviled Faisal as a traitor to the Arab cause, and argued that the Islamic alliance was an American - British conspiracy aimed at dividing the Arab world and undermining Arab hopes for Unity. Syria condemned Faisal as a reactionary whose call for Islamic unity was not sincere, but was rather designed as a campaign against Arab nationalism for purely personal ends. To counter Faisal's proposed Pan-Islamic alliance, Syria called for an emergency conference in Damascus of the revolutionary Arab states. Since this, however, represented a Syrian attempt to take away from Egypt the leadership of the Arab revolutionary camp, little was achieved by the Syrian call. Faisal frequently argued that he was promoting neither a pact nor an anti-Arab nationalist campaign, declaring on several occasions that he was not opposed to Arab unity but rather regarded it as a first step toward the larger Muslim Unity. Since Arabism is inalienably associated with Islam and Arab nationalism, it is a

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., p.52.

distinct Islamic nationalist phenomenon. Faisal emphasised the religious and traditional elements in Arabism and was vehemently opposed to the radicalism, secularism and revolutionism of the Pan-Arab movement conducted by the leftist Arab regimes.

In addition to his local enemy - the radical Arabs-Faisal identified three foreign enemies of his Pan-Islamic alliance: Zionism, communism, and imperialism. He argued that these three doctrines were the most dangerous enemies faced by the Arab and Muslim world, and stressed the importance of Arab leadership and responsibility for the call to Pan-Islamic solidarity against them.

**Major Aspects of King Faisal's Pan-Islamic Theory**

Faisal's Pan-Islamic theory consisted of three major tenants. The first was a distinctive Islamic mission, which he defined as "our responsibility from birth, deriving from the faith to which our lives are devoted." The second was presented as a determinant of policy that would provide the necessary justification for combating Communism and for opposing socialism and revolutionism. The Third was the supranational foundation of a Pan-Islamic political organisation that, in Faisal's words, would foster 'Islamic co-operation that would win us 600 million Muslim's, and would also introduce a potent

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38. Willar A. Belling, 'Arabism : An Ecological Variable in the Politics of the Middle East, 'in The Middle East, Belling (ed.), p.34.
political force in the Arab struggle. In short, King Faisal's Pan-Islamic alliance had three major international objectives: inter-governmental co-operation among the Islamic states, elimination of Soviet influence and radicalism in the Arab World, and mobilisation of the rest of the Muslim World behind the Arab Struggle against Israel.

The 1967 War and Pan-Islam

Prior to the June 1967 war, the Arab States were in such disarray that it was hard to imagine an Arab victory over Israel. When the War broke out, the Israeli army swiftly captured not only the Syrian Golan Heights and the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula, but also the rest of Palestine with its holy city Bait-al-Magdis (Jerusalem), the third holiest city in Islam. Three months after the crushing defeat, Arab leaders met in Khartoum to assess their situation. King Faisal seized this opportunity to end the conflict in Yemen by extracting from Nasser a pledge to withdraw Egyptian troops from that country. However, along with other oil-rich Arab States, Faisal also agreed to extend $140 million to Egypt, Syria and Jordan to help in the recovery of their war-torn economies.

With the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem and other Arab territories, King Faisal's notions of Pan-Islamic solidarity took on new and compelling significance. Faisal, who was deeply affected by the loss of Jerusalem to Israel,


insisted that the holy city was not negotiable in any peace settlement with Israel and declared on many occasions that his fondest dream was to live to see Jerusalem liberated from Zionist control and to pray in its holy Shrine, al-Aqsa Monseque. Thus, Faisal began to rally the Islamic states behind the Arab cause, a strategy that Nasser and other Arab leaders had failed to employ. Faisal presented the Palestinian problem to the wider Muslim world as a Muslim issue and called upon the Islamic states to support the Arab for the liberation of Jerusalem. 41

King Faisal's appeal for Pan-Islamic solidarity was reinforced in August 1969 by the burning of the al-Aqsa in Jerusalem under Israeli occupation. The fire, which destroyed part of the mosque, the first Islamic Qiblah 42 and the place of the Dome of the Rock whence Prophet Mohammad is believed to have ascended to Heaven, sent a wave of shock across the Islamic world. While other Muslim leaders were content to condemn Israel for the fire, Faisal, deeply disturbed by the incident, not only called for an Islamic summit conference to consider the situation and mobilised the Saudi army forces, but also called upon all Muslims to rise in a holy war against Israel. A month later, Faisal Scored a major diplomatic victory when the world's first Islamic summit meeting was convened in Rabat, the capital of Morocco. Because of the tremendous symbolic and emotional significance of Jerusalem in the eyes of the Muslim world, even


42. In the early years of Islam Muslims faced Jerusalem when they prayed.
some opponents of King Faisal's Pan-Islamic alliance, such as Egypt, felt obliged to attend the conference. 43

Although the Rabat summit meeting was boycotted by Syria and Iraq, it was attended by an impressive number of Islamic states (twenty five in all). The radical Arab states (Egypt, Algeria, Libya and Sudan) 44 attending the summit gathering, however, tried to impose their political views on the conference and prevent king Faisal from securing any political advantage from the meeting.

The declaration condemned the criminal act against the al-Aqsa Mosque, called for the return of Jerusalem to Arab control, demanded the restoration of all Israeli-occupied lands to their pre-June 1967 status and to give astounding support to Faisal's call for a Pan-Islamic alliance - affirmed the Islamic states' need to promote co-operation and mutual assistance in all fields. 45 The Rabat summit meeting gave the conservative Muslim leaders in general, and king Faisal in particular, an opportunity to expand their influence in the area at the expense of the radical Arab leaders.

King Faisal's next step was to convene the first Islamic conference of foreign ministers in Jeddah in March 1970. To give the foreign minister's conference a more lasting impact and assert his own country's leadership in the Pan-Islamic movement, King Faisal recurred the decision to establish a permanent


44. Libya and Sudan joined the radical Arab Camp in 1969 as a result of Qaddafi's and Nimery's revolutions.

Islamic political organisation with its secretariat in Jeddah. Despite opposition from the radical Arab States who feared that the new organisation would act in rivalry with the Arab League and that it would be dominated by the conservative pro-western States, the conferences agreed to meet once a year at the foreign ministers' level to promote co-operation among the Islamic states and establish institutional basis for Pan-Islamism. In addition, the conference condemned Israel for its intransigence and refusal to comply with the United Nations resolution calling for its withdrawal from Arab territories.\textsuperscript{46} From Faisal's point of view, the jeddah conference had achieved its purpose by establishing the first inter-governmental co-operation among the Islamic states. Faisal's first international Pan-Islamic objective had finally been attained.

By the end of the first Islamic conference of foreign ministers, King Faisal's Pan-Islamic movement had acquired considerable nomination of its own. Pakistan hosted the second conference of foreign ministers in Karachi as part of an attempt to identify areas of meaningful and constructive co-operation.\textsuperscript{47}

Nasser's death is September 1970, not only eliminated major opposition to Faisal's Pan-Islamic alliance, but also stemmed the tide of radicalism in the Arab world. Also, Sadat, himself a devout Muslim who had taken an early interest in Pan-Islamism when he was secretary-General of the defunct Islamic Congress in Cairo, began to move closer to Faisal and appreciate his strategy of obtaining the support to wider Muslim world for the Arab cause against Israel.

\textsuperscript{46. Declaration and Resolution, of OIC, pp.17-20.}

\textsuperscript{47. "Five Aims of the Conference', The Islamic Review and Arab Affairs (December, 1970), vol.58, no.12, p.8.}
In accordance with the decisions reached in Karachi, Egypt played host to the conference on the Islamic bank in February 1972. Sadat had also grown weary of the Russians, began to move away from their influence and by the summer of 1972, had expelled most of their military advisors and personnel from Egypt. In addition to this shift in the Egyptian political scene, Hafez Assad had assumed power in Syria in late 1970, moderating Syria’s political attitudes, President Jaafar Nimeiry of Sudan had recovered from an unsuccessful communist coup in 1971, and quickly reduced his country’s militancy, and President Moammar Qaddafi of Libya—despite his radicalism—became a strong advocate of pan-Islamism. Thus, the number of radical Arab countries opposed to Faisal’s Pan-Islamic movement was reduced to only two—Algeria and Iraq—and the latter decided to continue its boycott of the Islamic conferences, a decision that undoubtedly was welcomed by Faisal, who did not wish to have another dissenting voice in the conference.

Nothing could have pleased Faisal more than to see Soviet influence and Arab radicalism on the decline, for this was his other international Pan-Islamic objective, now finally being attained. by the time Faisal inaugurated the third Islamic Conference of foreign ministers in Jeddah in February 1972, in which thirty-Islamic states participated, including Syria, which attended for the first time, he realised that the road was opened for him to swiftly expand and strengthen his pan Islamic movement. Faisal’s chief goal which he accomplished was to secure the adoption and approval of the proposed charter for the

organisation. In appreciation of King Faisal's efforts on behalf of Pan-Islamism and in reorganisation of the symbolic importance of Saudi Arabia in the Muslim world, the agency's permanent headquarters were located in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

Realising what his Pan-Islamic movement had achieved so far and desiring to expand it even further to accomplish his another international pan-Islamic objective, King Faisal launched a wide diplomatic campaign in Africa to expose Israel and marshal support for Arab rights in Palestine and in its holy city, Jerusalem. In November 1972, Faisal undertook an official tour to five African countries to promote the Pan-Islamic cause and isolate Israel in Africa.

King Faisal's financial backing of Egypt and his close relations with Sadat prior to the October 1973 Arab Israel war had proved to be a turning point in the Arab history. The Arab achievement of the 1973 war, though limited, the subsequent Faisal-led Arab oil embargo and the sharp increase in world oil prices had created an unprecedented degree of unity and confidence among the Arab nations. Also, the newly recognised financial and political strength of the Muslim oil-producing nations had turned a spotlight on the Muslim world and


50. General Secretariat, Declarations and Resolutions, pp.62-68.


52. There are eleven Muslims countries in OPEC. These are Algeria, Gabon, Libya Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, and the United Emerates.
forced the rest of the world to recognise it as a potentially powerful force. Some industrialised countries, such as Japan and France, that had in the past maintained a neutral stand on the Arab-Israeli conflict were now, after having felt the pinch of the Arab oil embargo, coming out openly in support of the Arabs. In addition, the increasing number of states supporting the Arab cause had resulted in Israeli's diplomatic isolation. Most of the African states that had diplomatic relations with Israel broke them off during the 1973 war, those that did not, followed suit after the war.\textsuperscript{53} King Faisal's third and final international Pan-Islamic objective was finally achieved.

The decision to unify the Islamic states' policies in international organisations-which was re-affirmed by the fifth Islamic conference of foreign Ministers in Kuala Lumpur in June 1974-proved to be the cornerstone of Faisal's Pan-Islamic strategy of mobilising the rest of the Muslim world behind the Arab diplomatic struggle against Israel on the international fora. In the twenty-ninth Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1974, the Arab states pushed through three important resolutions on the Middle East conflict,\textsuperscript{54} an achievement that would not have been possible without the votes of the rest of the Islamic states. These resolutions involved inviting the PLO to participate in the United Nations debate on the Palestinian question, granting the PLO observer status in the United Nations General Assembly, and confirming the

\textsuperscript{53} Fifteen African States broke off relations with Israel; ten of these are predominantly Muslim.

\textsuperscript{54} Mehrunnisa Ali, 'The World and Some Political Problems in the UN General Assembly', \textit{Pakistan Horizon} (1975), vol.28, no.1, pp.35-49.
right of the Palestinians to self-determinations. Also, in the same year in Paris the Arab States, with the support of the Islamic states, passed two UNESCO resolutions condemning Israel, cutting off aid to it, and barring it from full membership in UNESCO. During the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1975, the Islamic states were again able to pass a resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racial discrimination. In 1976, the Muslim states passed one General Assembly resolution calling for the establishment of a Pakistani homeland in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and the Gaza strip, and two resolutions in the Nairobi Session of UNESCO condemning Israeli cultural and educational violations in occupied Arab lands and continuing Israeli archeological excavation in Jerusalem, King Faisal's Pan-Islamic strategy had finally brought international legitimacy for the Arab course against Israel.

Now that the political front of his Pan-Islamic movement had achieved considerable progress, king Faisal turned his attention to the economic aspect of his movement by pressing for the establishment of the long-overdue Islamic bank, for which he had advanced the capital required to build its offices. As a result, the government of Saudi Arabia sponsored in Jeddah in August 1974, a

55. Mehrunisa Ali, op.cit, p.36.
conference of the Islamic finance Ministers in which the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) was formally established as the second specialised agency of the OIC, with permanent head quarters in Jeddah. The authorised capital stock of the IDB was declared to be two billion in Islamic Dinars.59

In evaluating the failure and success of Pan-Islam, we should remember that most Pan-movements have failed to achieve their ambitions on the political level. Pan-Italianism was a rare instance of success, while such movements as Pan-Romanianism achieved 'a Greater Rominia' only for a brief period between the two world wars. The reasons for the failure of pan-movement are not far to seek and are related to the almost insurmountable difficulties of changing the status quo in Pearce-time. In this respect, Pan-Islam has faced less formidable problems, as it did not aim to changing political borders by force, but merely strived towards Islamic Union (and, later, Islamic solidarity) on the premise that Islam and Pan-Islam would not acknowledge the legitimacy of frontiers between Muslim lands.60

None the less, Pan-Islam has faced some difficulties. The size and diversity of Muslim lands and the Sunnite-Shiite divergence have prevented an Islamic Union,61, while bilateral tension and conflict between Muslim states have marred co-operation and co-ordination. Pan-Islamic solidarity has very rarely been expressed in concerted action, even in international relations, this has made a limited impact.

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61. Ibid, p.311.
It appear, that, except for emotions of religions solidarity which boils over and then subside once the even that aroused them recedes, the Islamic countries do not have unanimity for the concrete decisions. At times, they are split by even stronger conflicts of interests and views. The countries which hoisted the flag of Pan-Islam did so for their own purpose, or to strengthen their national prestige. Pan-Islam activity in one country may frequently encounter the opposition of a competing Muslim country.

However, the picture is not all dark. A Pan-Islamic ethos has increasingly permeated education and historiography in many Islamic states, this process has been fostered, in recent years, by all-Muslim bodies. Moreover, all Muslim states are independent nowadays and the great majority have joined common administrative structures, of which the most important is the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC). These provide a good forum for discussion and decision-making in the interest of Islam - provided the member states can agree. After all, Islam is still the most effective form of consensus within Muslim communities and could serve as the most available made of commonality among their states, increasingly shaping all-Muslim solidarity. In other words, with Islamism having become a significant political factor in several major Islamic states, Pan-Islam may be seen as a potentially integrative force among these and other Muslim states.

There can be little doubt that king Faisal's tragic assassination in 1975 was a great loss to the Pan-Islamic movement, for he was not only the movement's engineer and most dynamic supporter, but also the spiritual leader

62. Londau M. Jacob, op. cit, page 312.
of the Muslim world, who was looked upon as the representative of Islam and
the guardian of its holiest shrines.

Although Faisal's Pan-Islamic movement is young and has a long way to
go before it achieves its ultimate goal of realising the political and economic
integration of the Muslim world, it is a solid manifestation of his ability to rely
on Islam as a means of achieving international ends.