



Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Views on Palestine and Question of Recognizing Israel

Mubashar Hasan Jafri
PhD Scholar,
Center for International Peace & Stability (CIPS),
National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST),
Islamabad, Pakistan.
mubashar289pcips@nipcons.nust.edu.pk

Prof. Dr. Summer Sultana
Chairperson Department of Political Science
University of Karachi, Karachi.
summer.sultana@uok.edu.pk

Dr. Sabir Ijaz
Ph.D Scholar
Department of Political Science
University of Karachi
Sabirijaz84@gmail.com

Abstract

The Palestinian issue was a matter of great concern for Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of the Islamic state of Pakistan. Considering its status as first Qibla, he particularly played a crucial role in creating awareness on the issue. Under the stern leadership of Jinnah, the Palestinian issue gained an increased impetus on international forums. He supported the Arab cause throughout his political career and maintained cordial relations with Palestinian leadership. His composed leadership enabled All India Muslim League to support each and every resolution on Palestinian's turmoil and guaranteed its utmost assistance. Like Pakistan had come into existence in the name of Islam, Israel also came into being on the basis of religion. However, both countries had never established diplomatic relations with each other. This paper endeavors to highlight Jinnah's stance over the Palestine issue, besides it includes debate on the question of recognizing Israel.

Key Words: Palestine, Quaid-e-Azam, Pakistan, Israel



Introduction

The Indian Muslims had substantial emotional and religious affiliation with the Caliph's institution and other sacred places in Middle East. The Indian Muslims launched the Khilafat Movement to protect the Caliph's institution, holy places and Palestine (Butt, 2017; Krishna, 1968). Unfortunately, the post-war treaties of World War 1 known Palestine as the British mandate, which permitted Jewish settlement and migration in Palestinian land. Waves of bitterness and protests against this decision came from across the world. Muslims and Arabs of all regions condemned this biased decision (Garfinkle, 2014). Pakistan's concern for the Palestinian issue can be traced back from the unjust proclamation of Balfour Declaration of 1917. Since 1947 Pakistan has opposed the Partition Plan of Palestine. With every passing day, Pakistan has intensified its zeal and fervor to support Palestine cause. Within few weeks, when Lord Balfour had acquired British support for Jewish state within Palestine and General Allenby captured the Jerusalem, Muslim League expressed great concern for safety of Holy Places in Palestine (Kumaraswamy, 2000).

How Pakistan and Israel View Each Other

Pakistan had vociferously and very clearly opposed the creation of a Jewish national state within Palestine's land, since the first day of its establishment. The day Israel came into existence, Pakistan completely refused to accept it as a sovereign state and has adopted a hostile diplomatic attitude towards Israel (Ajmal, Sultana, Ain, & Tahira, 2011). Moreover, it is clearly highlighted on the Pakistani passport that "*this passport is valid for all countries of the world except Israel*" (Shah S. , 2019). This shows the ultimate anger of Pakistan towards Israel. Since Pakistan government follows strict policies in coping with Israel, the general public also show its utmost hatred and acrimony towards the Jewish state (Ali, 1970). Majority of public perceive that Israel along with India has been involved covertly in harming Pakistan's strategic and economic interests. Religious framework of Pakistani society and curriculum in educational institutions has also contributed significantly in hostility, aversion, and enmity against Israel. Resultantly, Israel along with India holds top position among 'enemies of Islam' for the lay men in Pakistan (Gaier, 2012). These hatreds, sentiments and strong provocations have kept Pakistan apart of accepting Israel. There are many notable arguments and reasons for not accepting Israel; however, solidarity with the Muslims of Palestine mainly prohibits Pakistan for not developing diplomatic ties with Israel.

Pakistani leaders have always placed themselves at the forefront of the "anti-Zionist" struggle and shown zealous efforts for the Palestinian cause. Pakistan led an Islamic



opposition to the Palestinian partition plan in 1947. In United Nations during the debate on Palestine partition no other Arab or Muslim figure presented such blatant and exclusive support for the Palestinians, except Sir Zafrullah Khan (first foreign minister of Pakistan) (Kumaraswamy, *The Strangely Parallel Careers of Israel and Pakistan*, 1997). Sir Zafrullah Khan strongly argued in the General Assembly that all Western forces were: "*forcibly driving a Western wedge into the heart of the Middle East and warned them that they would have to face the consequences of their approval of the creation of Israel*" (Bishku, 1992). When Great Britain, France and Israel jointly went into war against Egypt in 1956, H.S. Suhrawardy (then Prime Minister of Pakistan) stated as follows:

"These developments have created a very grave situation. Not only have these events incited and helped Israel in her aggressive designs on Egyptian territory, but the violation by these two Powers of Egyptian sovereignty and territory by the use of force, in disregard of the appeals of the other members of the United Nations, has shocked world opinion and placed the very concept of that world organization in jeopardy.... What is happening in Egypt today constitutes a threat to the entire Muslim world" (Bishku, 1992).

In 1962, Pakistan officially announced economic, cultural, commercial and diplomatic boycott with Israel. Islamabad publicized to all Arab countries that boycott was imposed as it sees Israel a thieving country. Pakistan pledged to be on Arab side in attaining Holy Land to the lawful inhabitants (Yegar, 2007). In 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Pakistan on requests of some Arab countries sent its pilots to participate in the war. Pakistani pilots used Jordanian and Syrian jets to down some Israeli jets in the combat (Hassner, 2014, p. 98). In 1973 during another war between Arab and Israel, Pakistan's minister for foreign affairs and defense Aziz Ahmed, condemned Israeli war atrocities in the UN General Assembly. He expressed that "the Arabs and the rest of the world have waited for almost six years for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East in accordance with Resolution 242, adopted by the Security Council in 1967." However, Israel by its inflexible behavior has rejected almost every effort to resolve the conflict. Israel has shown that it has no intent to part with the occupied Arab territories at any cost. He further argued that Israel has considerably blocked all the possibilities of peaceful settlement. It would be no wonder that the inhabitants of Arab have occupied up arms and have decided to meet with force (Dar, 1976).

After 1973 Arab-Israel war, Pakistan agreed to train Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) officers in Pakistan. Pakistan army trained PLO combatants to fight guerrilla warfare against Israel (Yegar, 2007). In 1982 Israel Lebanon war, Pakistani volunteers joined PLO to fight against Israeli forces. Israel captured near fifty Pakistani volunteers



who fought with PLO combatants. Pakistan aggressive ventures against Israel sometimes led to serious frictions towards United States. Pakistan cautioned United States in March 1984, to reconsider its decision to transfer its embassy to Jerusalem. The same year Pakistan severed relations with Costa Rica when in April, later moved its embassy to Jerusalem (Hussain, 1988; Yegar, 2007).

On contrary Israel views Islamabad if not exclusively but primarily a nuclear threat to its security. Israel had helped India against Pakistan in the wars of 1965, 1971 and 1999. Israel had helped India even before establishing diplomatic ties with New Delhi. In 1986-87 India colluded with Israel to destroy Pakistan's strategic installations (Noor, 2019). The year 1990 which is known as crises of spring, led to the development of border skirmish between India and Pakistan. By early 1990, India and Israel threatened to destroy Pakistan nuclear facilities (Hagerty, 1995-1996). Some other controversial events have also caused doubts and misperceptions between Israel and Pakistan. The kidnapping and murder of renowned journalist of Wall Street and American-Israeli citizen Daniel Pearl by Pakistan, reinforced traditional Israeli perception of opposition, mistrust and animosity towards Pakistan. Moreover, the Mumbai attacks of 2008 which killed nearly 170 people, including 5 Jews as well were covered quite extensively by Israeli and Jewish media. This event led to the advancement of security measures of numerous Israeli's institutions around the world (Susser, 2008). Israel justified these high security measures that it certainly perceives threats from nuclear Pakistan with regards to its very existence. Majority of strategists and think tanks in Israel point the possibility of stealing or smuggling of Pakistan's nuclear weapons by some rogue elements. They fear that these rogue elements might intend to target Israel. They also feel more threats from nuclear Pakistan than Iran. This fear seems to be permissible as it would take Tehran some more years to develop nuclear technology, while Islamabad has already possessed more than 100 nuclear weapons (Bermant, 2015).

Jinnah's Stance on Palestine

Palestine issue gained significant attention in subcontinent as Muhammad Ali Jinnah took up the matter as his political roadmap (Javed & Awan, 2014). All India Muslim League (AIML) under Muhammad Ali Jinnah leadership launched various protests and passed many resolutions in support of the Arab cause and to show solidarity with their Arab brethren (Qaisar, 2018). Muhammad Ali Jinnah supported Palestinian at both national and international forums and firmly rejected the Balfour Declaration. The Muslim League then called for a cancellation of the Announcement as well as, asked for removal of British Command over Palestine. Jinnah very firmly maintained that "Indian Muslims would consider the British as enemy of Islam if they failed to alter its present pro-Jewish



policy in Palestine” (Khaliqzaman, 1961; Kumaraswamy, *Beyond the Veil: Israel-Pakistan Relations*, 2000). In April 1934, Jinnah attended the League’s Council meeting, wherein he proposed to send a delegation to notify the Viceroy over Palestinian issue, unfair Balfour Declaration and deprivation of the Arab populations in Palestine (Pirzada, 1976).

The formulation of Arab Higher Committee in April 1936 by Amin-el-Husseni, boarded a broad strike in contradiction of Jewish settlements. This latter turned into an prepared armed uprising. The rise of the revolt and subsequent actions of British to suppress the rebels jolted the Indian Muslims. At this critical moment, the Muslim League under the grueling efforts of Jinnah observed "Palestine Day" to show solidarity with the Palestinian people. Accordingly, the League in its Lucknow Session, criticized the British strategy towards Palestine and emphasized public response over this situation (Antonius, 1939, pp. 355-360). Jinnah mentioned therein that “the British policy of deception was destroying trust over the proclamations and honor of the promises which were made to the Arabs” (Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League Documents, 1906-1947*, 1970).

Jinnah sent Abdur Rehman Siddiqui and Ch. Khaliqzaman to attend the International Conference on Arab Question, with an intention to spare a seat for Indians. However, his appeal was turned down. The Purpose of Khaliqzaman was just to support the Grand Mufti throughout the proceedings of Conference. The two member delegation also stayed Near East, Cairo and London to assess the situation. Jinnah also took up the Palestine issue in Patna Session and stated: *"I know how deeply Muslims have been stirred over the issue of Palestine. I know Muslims will not shrink from any sacrifice if required to help the Arabs who are engaged in the fight for their national freedom"* (Qaisar, *Jinnah and Palestine Question*, 2019). Furthermore, he argued that sympathies of Muslims are with the courageous martyrs, who are indulged in the battle of freedom against land grabbers. He applauded the Arabs as 'heroes and martyrs'. He also expressed his sureness and faith in the Grand Mufti as true leader of the Arabs. Jinnah endorsed a full day deliberations of Patna Session to talk over Palestine issue on the third day. Similarly, an All-India Palestine Day was witnessed on 8th February 1939 and an suspension motion was hurled in the Central Assembly (Qaisar, *Jinnah and Palestine Question*, 2019).

The League welcomed numerous unfamiliar agents from different Muslim nations to its notable Lahore Session (1940). Because of Jinnah's devoted endeavors for the Arab rights a greater part of Muslim pioneer across the Muslim nations went to the meeting. The Lahore meeting 1940 was additionally an energetic illustration of Jinnah's tendency towards the Arabs and battle for their privileges. Jinnah straightforwardly censured



generalization approach of British government to the Palestine issue in his official location. He requested generous measures to determine the Palestinian issue. Jinnah additionally requested that British government ought make guarantees as well as must essentially satisfy the legitimate needs of Arabs in Palestine (Aali, 1952).

Considering the significance of Palestine, Jinnah normally positioned the Palestinian issue second on the plan of any meeting. The League passed a goal on Palestine soon after section of its memorable goal for 'self-governing states'. The goal communicated its interests over drag out delay in the settlement of Palestine issue. The Jewish associations began publicity against Palestinians and their battle for opportunity in WW II. Besides, the expanding Jewish migration into Palestine likewise irritated the locals. Due to Jinnah concerns, he had been very much guaranteed by the Viceroy that under new guidelines, no settlers would be permitted to abuse the privileges of the Arab. He, at the end of the day, led a gathering of League's Council, which requested security of Arab rights according to affirmation from the then emissary, Lord Linlithgow (Sheikh & Malik, 1990).

Jinnah's service and efforts for Palestinian cause did not go unnoticed by the Arabs. On 12th October 1945, Muhammad Amin-el-Husseni, Mufti of Palestine, acknowledged Jinnah for his valuable services for the Arabs and his devotion towards the welfare of the Muslims. He highly appreciated Jinnah's efforts and affirmed that the whole of Islamic world values his services. Jinnah was very conscious about Palestinian issue because of foreseeable Jewish domination and international consent for Jewish state in the region. His interview published by New York Times, showed his ultimate resentment over illegal Jewish developments in Palestine. He responded that *"he will go to any length to help" the Palestinian brethren in their quest for their rights*". He further clarified that they could do *"whatever we can do, even violence, if necessary"* (Qaisar, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Palestine Question, 2018; Ahmad, 1999).

Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Views on Israeli State

Muhammad Ali Jinnah had very clear views regarding the creation of Israeli state. Jinnah had a firm belief that *"partition plan would be rejected"* in UN or *"there is bound to be the gravest disaster and unprecedented conflict, not only between the Arabs and the authority that would undertake to enforce the partition plan, but the entire Muslim world will revolt against such a decision which cannot be supported historically, politically or morally"*. His intentions were clear from the statement that *"in such a case, Pakistan will have no other course left but to give its fullest support to the Arabs"*. However, with the acceptance of the 'Partition plan' with 'Economic Union' by UN, Jinnah was left with no



other option, but only to condemn the UN resolution as “*inherently unjust and outrageous decision*” (Javed & Awan, 2014; Kattan, 2017).

As the first Governor General of the newly born Islamic state (Pakistan), Jinnah supported Palestine in the United Nations to prevent vote for creation of Israel. With the proclamation of the Israeli state on 14th May 1948, many states including United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK) soon recognized Israel a sovereign state. However, the ruling party in Pakistan under Quaid-e-Azam passed a strong resolution to condemn their action for recognizing Israel (Javed & Awan, 2014). Jinnah termed the recognition of Israel as “*constitutionally wrong and morally unjust*”, which highly amounted to “*placing a premium on armed aggression and the use of brutal force*”, and UN’s resolution “*lacked legal and moral justification*”. Muhammad Ali Jinnah further claimed the Partition Plan was contradicted to all international laws and regulations. He further remarked that it was against the spirit of right of self-determination and equity (Javed & Awan, 2014). He even stated that the partition plan to create a new Jewish State was an act of prejudice and opposed to all cannons of justice and acceptable rules (Shah M. A., 1997). An attempt was made through telegraphic message by the first Israeli premier David Ben-Gurion to establish formal diplomatic relations with Pakistan; however, Quaid-i-Azam gave no particular response to his gesture (Shehzad, 2011).

Cost Benefit Analysis of Recognizing Israel

Pakistan and Israel are not directly involved in any dispute against each. However, Pakistan has always refused to recognize and accept Israel as a sovereign state. This refusal is mainly to show solidarity with Palestinians and Arab countries (Kumaraswamy, *Beyond the Veil: Israel-Pakistan Relations*, 2000). Pakistan has persistently supported Arab causes in the United Nations and other international arenas. In return of its support to Arab states, Pakistan expects their support over Kashmir issue (Yegar, 2007). Majority of Arab countries do not have diplomatic ties with Israel. It is quite certain that by recognizing Israel, Pakistan might loss the support of Arab countries for the Kashmir issue. Pakistan cannot afford to recognize Israel due to its high cost for the Kashmir issue (Chinoy, 2019; Siddiqa, *Why Pakistan won't be recognising Israel anytime soon*, 2019).

However, for several years, diplomatic ties between some Arab countries and Israel have been developing in the shadows. Turkey is one the pioneer country which established formal ties with Israel. Egypt has maintained strong ties with Israel since the Peace Treaty of 1979. Jordan also had to follow the suit in 1994. Whereas Saudi Arabia too, under Crown Prince Muhammad bin Salman, has gradually leaned towards Israel. It is assumed that Riyadh might establish formal ties with Tel Aviv. As far as Pakistan is



concerned, it had recently followed Saudi Arabia on many international issues; many scholars speculate that Islamabad might also follow the similar suit, particularly Pakistan's continuously growing dependence on Riyadh's economic and financial support (Kaura, 2018).

Recently, Israeli and Pakistani scholars have speculated about the possibility of establishing diplomatic relation of the two states. Scholars who emphasize on recognizing Israel simply uphold that Pakistan must review the ground realities and readjust its diplomatic stance. These scholars demand that rational attitude and political maturity is required to replace the traditional rhetoric and emotional slogans. These scholars argue that Pakistan can benefit by this nexus; particularly since Israel carries weight in Washington and could perhaps mediate on recurring U.S.-Pakistan tensions. Moreover, Islamabad can also access Israeli weapon and technology by recognizing Israel (Sajjad, 2015). Some scholars also maintain that Pakistan's stance for not establishing diplomatic ties with Israel has a lot to loss. India an arch rival Pakistan, on the contrary has benefited a lot from Israel. Although India has persistently supported Palestinian rights and voted in favor of Palestine at the United Nations (UN) over many resolutions. However, the political scenario changed with the end of the Cold War. India established diplomatic relations with Israel in January 1992 and opened its embassy in Tel Aviv (Macdonald, 2014). Ambit of Israel-India relation particularly includes cooperation in arm industry and import of latest defense technology from Israel. Seeing the fact the Pakistan's security is considered to be heavily Indian-centric, Islamabad obviously cannot afford the domination of New Delhi over Jerusalem.

Pakistan and Israel reached for a first direct meeting in 2005 during the regime of Pervaiz Musharraf. Meeting of foreign minister, Khurshid Mahmood Kasuri and his Israeli counterpart, Silvan Shalom was brokered by Turkish leadership in Ankara (Erlanger & Masood, 2005). No result came out from the meeting of the diplomats, given the reason that Pakistan never wanted to be out of the "Arab/Muslim consensus" (Bokhari & Libel, 2018). If, however, Israel-Pakistan relationship materializes; Pakistan can also avail many benefits like that of India. Furthermore, Pakistan would be in better position to influence both Israelis and Palestinians to resolve the issue. If Islamabad prepares to develop a relationship with Israel, thousands of Pakistanis desirous of pilgrimage to Masjid al-Aqsa could and have never been able to undertake could do so. But if the idea of talking to Israel and recognizing it is floated on any forum in Pakistan, the consequences can be devastating within Pakistan and might not be controllable. This whole situation of Israel is a complex challenge to our foreign policy and hence, needs to be handled very smartly (Bashir, Razzak, Hassan, & Fatima, 2019).



Conclusion

Muhammad Ali Jinnah's support for Palestine was quite earnest and he showed sincere gesture for liberating the Palestinian Muslims. He believed that Palestinians have a genuine right over their land. Muslim League had inadequate and limited resources to influence international politics yet Jinnah played a substantial role to support Palestinians. Under his leadership, Pakistan government highlighted the issue of Palestine at every national and international level. Israel came into being during his lifetime but he refused its recognition as a state with legitimate status. After Jinnah, subsequent leaders have been supporting the Palestinian issue in United Nations and other international forum. Pakistan's support for the Palestinian Issue seems to be legitimate and obvious for many reasons. Israel without any doubt is a colonial settler entity, exactly what India is in Kashmir. Arabian rulers have abandoned the Palestinian support, but that is no reason for Pakistan to follow suit. By recognizing Israel, Pakistan would lose the legal and moral ground to argue that India should quit Kashmir.



References

- Aali, J.-U. (1952). *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*. Lahore: SH. M. Ashraf.
- Ahmad, W. (1999). *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Jinnah: The Nation's Voice Vol. III*. Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy.
- Ajmal, M. A., Sultana, S., Ain, N. u., & Tahira, M. (2011). Perception of Pakistani Muslim Students Regarding Jews. *Pakistan Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 9, 3-10.
- Ali, T. (1970). *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Antonius, G. (1939). *The Arab Awakening: Story of the Arab National Movement (New*. New York: J.B. Lippincott .
- Bashir, M., Razzak, S., Hassan, B., & Fatima, T. (2019). Pakistan and Israel; Friends Or Foes: An Analysis. *Electronic Research Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 1(1), 17-29.
- Bermant, A. (2015). *Pakistan Is the Only Muslim Nuclear State – So Why Is Israel's Hysteria Reserved for Iran?* Retrieved January 23, 2020, from <https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-why-isn-t-israel-hysterical-over-pakistan-s-nuclear-bomb-1.5364286>
- Bishku, M. B. (1992). In Search of Identity and Security: Pakistan and the Middle East, 1947-77. *Conflict Quarter*, 12(3), 30-51.
- Bokhari, K., & Libel, T. (2018). *Pakistan and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict*. Retrieved December 31, 2019, from <https://dailytimes.com.pk/316223/pakistan-and-the-israeli-palestinian-conflict/>
- Butt, A. (2017). *Pakistan Day: How Gandhi's support for Khilafat Movement made a separate homeland for Indian Muslims inevitable*. Retrieved January 23, 2020, from <https://nation.com.pk/23-Mar-2017/pakistan-day-how-gandhi-s-support-for-khilafat-movement-made-a-separate-homeland-for-indian-muslims-inevitable>



- Chinoy, S. R. (2019). *Israel, Pakistan ties a bridge too far?* Retrieved January 1, 2020, from <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/israel-pakistan-ties-a-bridge-too-far/article29433453.ece>
- Dar, S. A. (1976). The Ramazan War and Pakistan. *Pakistan Horizon*, 29(2), 59-63.
- Erlanger, S., & Masood, S. (2005). *'Historic' Meeting for Israel and Pakistan*. Retrieved March 6, 2020, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/09/02/world/historic-meeting-for-israel-and-pakistan.html>
- Gaier, M. (2012). Jews in Pakistan in the Context of Estranged Pakistani-Israeli Relations. In M. Hutter, *Between Mumbai and Manila* (pp. 139-150). Bonn: Bonn University Press.
- Garfinkle, A. (2014). *Origins of the Palestine Mandate*. Retrieved January 22, 2020, from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/186740/garfinkle_-_hi_-_palestine_mandate.pdf
- Hagerty, D. T. (1995-1996). Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia: The 1990 Indo-Pakistani Crisis. *International Security*, 20(3), 79-114.
- Hassner, R. E. (2014). *Religion in the Military Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hussain, M. (1988). How Pakistan Views Israel and the Palestinians. *Middle East International* .
- Javed, U., & Awan, M. T. (2014). Pakistan and Question of Recognizing Israel: Historical Issues and Future Prospects. *South Asian Studies Journal*, 29(2), 61-62.
- Kattan, V. (2017). *How India's Muslim Backlash, Led by Jinnah, Thwarted the Balfour Declaration*. Retrieved January 29, 2020, from <https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/how-india-s-muslim-backlash-wrecked-the-balfour-declaration-1.5461135>
- Kaura, V. (2018). *Rumors Notwithstanding, Prospects for Israel-Pakistan Relations Remain Dim*. Retrieved January 1, 2020, from <https://besacenter.org/perspectives-papers/israel-pakistan-relations-rumors/>
- Khaliquzzaman, C. (1961). *Pathway to Pakistan* . London: Longmans.
- Krishna, G. (1968). The Khilafat Movement in India: The First Phase (September 1919-August 1920). *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1(2), 37-53.
-



- Kumaraswamy, P. R. (1997). The Strangely Parallel Careers of Israel and Pakistan. *Middle East Quarterly*, 4(2), 31-39.
- Kumaraswamy, P. R. (2000). *Beyond the Veil: Israel-Pakistan Relations*. Retrieved January 1, 2020, from http://institutobrasilisrael.org/cms/assets/uploads/_BIBLIOTECA/_PDF/democracia-e-sociedade-israelense/4766c3f1ea0a333fdf43b17de01ade0f.pdf
- Macdonald, M. (2014). *INDIA-PAKISTAN THROUGH THE ISRAEL-PALESTINE MIRROR*. Retrieved December 30, 2019, from <https://warontherocks.com/2014/07/india-pakistan-through-the-israel-palestine-mirror/>
- Noor, A. (2019). *Indo-Israel nexus against Pakistan*. Retrieved March 2, 2020, from <https://dailytimes.com.pk/363012/indo-israel-nexus-against-pakistan/>
- Pirzada, S. S. (1970). *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League Documents, 1906-1947*. New Delhi: National Publishing House.
- Pirzada, S. S. (1976). Quaid-e-Azam and Islamic Solidarity. *Pakistan Horizon*, 29(4), 60-72.
- Qaisar, S. (2018). Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Palestine Question. *Journal of Historical Studies*, 4(2), 35-55.
- Qaisar, S. (2019). Jinnah and Palestine Question. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 56(1), 41-48.
- Sajjad, N. (2015). *Why Pakistan should recognise Israel*. Retrieved January 21, 2020, from <https://blogs.tribune.com.pk/story/30239/why-pakistan-should-recognise-israel/>
- Shah, M. A. (1997). *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impacts on Diplomacy, 1971-1994*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Shah, S. (2019). *Relations with Israel: Interesting suggestions start pouring in for Pakistani govt*. Retrieved January 2, 2020, from <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/521755-relations-with-israel-interesting-suggestions-start-pouring-in-for-pakistani-govt>
- Shehzad, W. (2011). *Why Pakistan should not Recognize Israel*. Retrieved January 21, 2020, from <https://crescent.icit-digital.org/articles/why-pakistan-should-not-recognize-israel>
- Sheikh, A., & Malik, M. R. (1990). *Quaid-i-Azam and The Muslim World: Selected Documents, 1937-1948*. Karachi: Royal Book Company.



Siddiqa, A. (2019). *Why Pakistan won't be recognising Israel anytime soon*. Retrieved January 2, 2020, from <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/525135-why-pakistan-won-t-be-recognising-israel-anytime-soon>

Siddiqa, A. (2019). *Why Pakistan won't be recognising Israel anytime soon*. Retrieved January 23, 2020, from <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/525135-why-pakistan-won-t-be-recognising-israel-anytime-soon>

Susser, L. (2008). *Mumbai Attacks Mean New Challenges for Israel*. Retrieved January 23, 2020, from [http://www.jewishjournal.com/world/article/analysis_mumbai_attacks_mean_new_challenges_for_israel_20081203

Yegar, M. (2007). Pakistan and Israel. *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 19(3-4), 125-141.