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The Lebanon  
Conflict

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## **From the Chairman's Desk**

I am delighted to present the last Report of the year. As has been our practice, the Foreign Relations Committee takes cognizance of important political issues that impinge on Pakistan's security and its relations with other countries, notably the Muslims.

The Foreign Relations Committee, since its formation in April, 2004, has pursued activities to create awareness among the parliamentarians of the various international issues. Equally important, an initiative has been to hold frank and formal discussions with its counterparts, both at abroad and at home with visiting diplomats, analysts and academics. These initiatives have proved extremely rewarding. Pakistan's viewpoint on foreign policy issues, and its perspective and policies are explained in details with the interlocutors and their worldview has enriched our understanding of the issues. This interaction at different levels has helped members of Foreign Relations Committee enormously in appreciating other perspectives.

The Report entitled "The Lebanon Conflict" deals with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in July/August. The Foreign Relations Committee took the lead to hold open discussion on various aspects of Lebanese situation and to make the exercise as broad based and useful as possible; it was decided to invite foreign policy experts, media representatives and officials from Foreign Office.

The presentations made by them and the responses to the questions from the participants enlightened the audience and the different dimensions put the issues in sharp focus.

The meeting was convened on July 20, while the ceasefire and withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon came with effect on August 14 on the passage of Security Council Resolution No. 1701 (2006). The hearing was held, as the invasion was continuing, to highlight Pakistan's concerns with the issues of Ummah; to register its support and solidarity of Pakistan with their Lebanese brethren and also to make recommendations to the government to render humanitarian assistance to the victims of Israeli aggression and also extent political and moral support to the government of Lebanon. The Report is an extremely important document on various ramifications of the invasion for the peace and security of the region. To widen the scope of the report a few articles and data relevant to the issue have also been added to the Report.

I am confident that the Report will be welcomed by those concerned with contemporary political issues and the role of Pakistan. The Foreign Relations Committee, for the first time has set the tradition of open hearings and invited media and others. This has also proved an extremely useful tool to develop greater empathy and convergence of views.

I am confident that the Report will be a useful and important addition to contemporary political literature.



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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## Executive Summary

On 12<sup>th</sup> July, 2006 Israel launched a military operation against Lebanon using the pretext of kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers by Hezbollah. The air attacks and artillery firing targeted south Lebanon and southern parts of Beirut killing innocent men, women and children. Communication infrastructure was also targeted causing misery and hardship to the civilian population of Lebanon. In the wake of this naked aggression a meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was convened on Thursday, July 20, 2006 to discuss the Lebanon conflict. The Committee invited prominent political and defence analysts to give their point of view. The meeting was also open to the press.

Mr. Manzar Shafiq, Additional Foreign Secretary was invited to brief the Committee on the position taken by the Government of Pakistan on the crisis in Lebanon. He gave a brief history of the crisis and stated that United States and Britain have justified the Israeli action in the context of right of self defence while the other European countries like France and Russia have criticized the Israeli action as disproportionate. Within the Muslim world the condemnation of Israel has been universal. The Saudis, while condemning the violence, have attributed the same to reckless adventurism by Hezbollah. He said the Saudi reaction was pragmatic as they do not want to antagonize the powers supporting Israel. The Government of Pakistan has adopted a very principled stance. It has condemned the violence as being total and flagrant violation of the sovereignty of Lebanon and a contravention of universally accepted principles of inter state conduct as enshrined in the U.N. Charter. Pakistan has urged restraint on all sides and has called on major powers, the U.N. and the Quartet to use its influence

on Israel. Pakistan has also called for actions that can bring the derailed peace process back on track including a strong statement by Ambassador Munir Akram in the United Nations. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has spoken to the Prime Minister of Lebanon expressing solidarity with that country. Pakistan will also raise its voice in the OIC. He concluded by saying that Pakistan has received a request from the Lebanese Government for material aid.

Mr. Farrukh Sohail Goindi stated that Western media has totally distorted the picture of crisis in Lebanon while the Pakistani media is also following the same. Israel is blaming Hezbollah for the kidnapping of its soldiers which is totally incorrect. Actually two days before this incident, Israeli army kidnapped a Hezbollah soldier. These kidnappings are not the real issue as it is a routine matter on the border of southern Lebanon. It is an issue of the sovereignty of the State of Lebanon. The Western media is trying to drive a wedge between Hezbollah and the Lebanese society. Hezbollah is a people's movement, which has its own welfare system, education system and an international satellite television channel "Almanar". They bombed Almanar and the oppressed Shia population residing in south Lebanon. The victims of war are not just Muslims but include Druze and Maronites as well. No media channel has broadcast the use of two phosphoric bombs by Israel on south Lebanon. Israel is targeting food supply, food factories, poultry farms and communications network and has destroyed more than 50 bridges. Lebanese are awaiting help from the OIC and the Arab League but both are silent. He suggested that Pakistan should take initiative for a ceasefire, which can improve the situation. Since Pakistan supports

freedom movements, it should play its role in this crisis too.

Agha Murtaza Pooya said that the crisis erupted in Lebanon will not end in Lebanon. It will engulf much more than what we are witnessing at the moment. Muslims are faced with a moral crisis of arrogant criminalities on the one hand and arrogant impotence on the other. This is not the first time that Israel has attacked Lebanon for the protection of Zionist regime occupying Palestine. The world witnessed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the two Gulf Wars, the invasion of Palestine by Israel and now the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan by the Allied forces. This is to protect the Zionist regime occupying Palestine.

The biggest crime that emboldened Israel is the Camp David Accord, which has left the entire Muslim world at the mercy of Israel. Now Israel is looking for a few more such accords. The major crisis of impotence in the UN, OIC, NAM and other groupings in the Arab world has also emboldened Israel. He stated that in 1982 till the last Palestinian left Beirut, the OIC and NAM did not meet. Now Israel is hoping that till the last Hezbollah soldier has been removed from Lebanon no body is going to meet. Today the Lebanese resistance, Hezbollah and Hamas have become the symbol of resistance for the entire humanity and predicted that the Arab governments, which are showing abject impotence.

He said that President Musharraf has an opportunity in history to muster the courage and weld the nation behind him in support of Hezbollah and Lebanon. Previously he took a remarkable position on Kargil and nearly got the Indians where it hurts. It was they who called

‘Uncle’ and not us. Mr. Pooya suggested that Pakistan should publicly give money or whatever it can to Lebanon.

Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Talat Masood stated that whatever is happening in Lebanon is because of the extreme disproportionate response of Israel as a result of pre planned thinking. Israel today believes in the concept of infinite deterrence. Due to the disproportionate response Israel has inflicted many casualties and it feels that it is capable of destroying her enemy. In fact this is not true as five invasions of Lebanon have already proved that it is not possible to do so. In fact this has given room to lot of hatred and antagonism making the situation more complex. The entire region with three new governments in Israel, Lebanon and Palestine, is going through a dramatic and radical change and has added fuel to the motivation and the ambitions that have defined why they are fighting today and that poses a challenge for the international community except the U.S, which is already engrossed so heavily in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The Americans are promoting democracy in the Middle East but the Lebanese government and the Palestinian Authority, which are a product of democracy, are unable to protect their people. Only the Hezbollah is protecting the people. The contradiction is that the U.S. is protecting the Lebanese government which came through the process of democracy, but the U.S. is not protecting the security of Lebanon. Another contradiction is that Hamas was elected through a perfect democratic process but the U.S. does not want to pass the power on to Hamas. This really shows to what extent the U.S. is committed to the tenets of democracy. If Hamas government was allowed to function it would have probably

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Pakistan should also talk to the Lebanese government to enquire about aid requirement. He further stated that President Bush has supported the Israeli action as a right of self defence while Condoleezza Rice has pointed to the Israeli restraint. It is, therefore, imperative that a parliamentary delegation is also sent to the U.S. to clear the misperceptions of the U.S. government given the above statements.

Senator Mushahid Hussain stated that an 80 page document circulated by two Professors of Harvard University, reviewing U.S.-Israel relations, have analyzed and concluded that American Foreign Policy on Middle East is often guided by Israel and is against American interest. This is a very important conclusion and has initiated debate, which is taking place for the first time in the US. Secondly, it is not just a matter of two soldiers as Israel is destroying the infrastructure of Lebanon in retaliation. This action by Israel has been initiated now because talks were scheduled between America and Iran with reference to Iraq, the Iranian nuclear issue and the regional issue. Besides Ayatollah

Khamenai has taken direct charge of foreign affairs almost a couple of weeks ago which is a very important move made by Iran in this respect and Israel thought it would be left out.

He further stated that Pakistan has had a very strong principled commitment to the oppressed people and to the principle of freedom. Muslim governments should bravely come forward and take initiative like we have done in Pakistan.

Senator Talha Mehmood condemned the Israeli action and demanded that all Israeli forces should go back from Lebanon and peace process should be initiated. He volunteered to go with any Parliamentary delegation to Lebanon on his own expense.

Thereafter, the floor was opened for a question-answer session. A resolution, condemning the Israeli aggression and demanding its immediate cessation, was also unanimously passed by the Committee. Details of the meeting can be read in the verbatim proceedings given in the following pages.

## **Resolution passed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee**

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**Taking note of the aggression in Lebanon and the willful killings of civilians by Israel in the last 10 days which has resulted in deaths of over 300 innocent children, women and men, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, headed by Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, held a special public hearing on this issue and unanimously:**

**Condemned the aggression of Israel as a violation of all civilized norms of behavior and International Law;**

**Held that if a national of a country is kidnapped by a non-state actor, the state cannot justify waging war against civilians and infrastructure of any state;**

**Deplored the dual aggression against two democratic states of the Arab and Muslim world - Palestine and Lebanon;**

**Regretted the apathy and inability of the Muslim Ummah to translate its economic affluence into political influence which shows both lack of vision and will; and**

**Expressed solidarity with the people of Lebanon and Palestine and demands that the international community to put principles before political interest and pressure Israel to stop this aggression which has become a war against the people and infrastructure of Lebanon;**

**Demanded immediate cessation of Israeli aggression and bombardment of Lebanon and withdrawal of its troops from territory of Lebanon;**

**Also urged Pakistan and other countries to immediately dispatch humanitarian supplies to Lebanon and call an emergency meeting of the OIC Foreign Ministers.**

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Meeting of the Senate  
Foreign Relations Committee  
on  
**The Lebanon Conflict**

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July 20, 2006

- Participants of the meeting
- Verbatim record of the meeting



## Participants of the Meeting

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A meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was held on Thursday, July 20, 2006 at 10:00 a.m. at the Parliament House, Islamabad to discuss the Lebanon conflict. Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed was in the Chair. The following members of the Committee attended the meeting:

1. Senator Nisar A. Memon.
2. Senator Sardar Mahtab Ahmad.
3. Senator Muhammad Talha Mahmood.

Prominent political, foreign and defence analysts, Foreign Office and think tanks representatives as well as a large number of the national and international media also attended the meeting. These included:

1. Agha Murtaza Pooya
2. Lt. Gen. (R) Talat Masood
3. Dr. Shireen Mazari
4. Mr. Javed Hussain, (former Ambassador)
5. Mr. Farrukh Sohail Goindi
6. Mr. Manzar Shafiq, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
7. Mr. Hussain Baksh Bangulzai, (former Senator)
8. Mr. Ikram Abid, SANA News
9. Ms. Fauzia Shahid, Daily PAKISTAN
10. Mr. Muhammed Ansari, Emirates News Agency
11. Mr. Sohail Abdul Nasir, Nawa-i-Waqt
12. Mr. Mazhar Abbas, AFP, Karachi
13. Mr. Mehmood Hussain, Pakistan Observer
14. Hafiz Tahir Khalil
15. Mr. Ghulam Haider Khokar, IBRAT
16. Ms. Tanzeela Mazhar, INP News
17. Mr. Fayyaz Chaudhary, APP
18. Mr. Jamal Ismail, Abu Dhabi Television
19. Mr. Mubashir

## Meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on The Lebanon Conflict

July 20, 2006

### Vebatim Record:

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** The meeting will come to order. We have called this special meeting on the Lebanon conflict. Honourable Members of the Committee, who are present are Senator Nisar Memon, he is also Chairman of the Defence Committee, Senator Muhammad Talha Mahmood, from MMA and Senator Sardar Mahtab Ahmad from Muslim

League (Nawaz Group). I welcome them. This is a public hearing. It is open to the media. We also have political analysts, who would speak for 8 to 10 minutes each. We are aware about the facts. The question is what needs to be done and I think there should also be a bit of analysis and also a bit of proposals.



*Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, Chairman of the Committee, listening to the views of the meeting participants.*

We have a very distinguished list of persons representing public opinion and think tanks. Starting with Agha Murtaza Pooya, who is a very distinguished public figure and we have been good friends and know each other for the last 25 years. He was my boss in "THE MUSLIM". He was the one who offered me the editorship, which I declined twice and then he forced me into it. Since then, I never looked back and I think it was a pleasure to work with him and I would say that he is probably Pakistan's most creative conspiracy theorist. He has larger vistas and has spoken at think tanks from Washington DC to London and in the Arab world. He has also held the office of Chairman, Institute of Strategic Studies at Islamabad. He is a distinguished public figure and has a very clear position on this issue. Lt. Gen. (R) Talat Masood is here. He is a democratic and thinking General. He still looks like a serving General. He has got his own perspective and we look forward to hearing his views. Then, we have Ambassador Javed Hussain, who has recently retired from the Foreign Service. His last assignment was in Iran, where he was Pakistan's Ambassador. You can read his articles in the "Dawn". He writes very clearly. Dr. Shireen Mazari is Director General of the Institute of Strategic Studies. She is the resident radical of the Pakistani establishment and she is carrying the flag. Mr. Farrukh Sohail Goindi is an activist and analyst from Lahore. He is an old friend and a progressive intellectual of the left. He has an old connection with Peoples Party and was a prominent leader of Shaheed Bhutto group of Peoples Party. He is very close to Mrs. Ghanwa Bhutto also. His wife, Ms. Reema is Lebanese. She lives in Lebanon and is presently stranded in Beirut. They are our friend for the last 15-20 years. Mr. Goindi is a friend of Mahathir and Bulent Ecevit. He also publishes books on Third World issues in Urdu.

Yesterday, I talked to the Foreign Minister and told him that this would be a public hearing. He has sent his representative Mr. Manzar Shafiq, Additional Secretary (Middle East) is here. The Minister of State is out. I told the minister that we have to do public hearing because it is an expression of solidarity. Now, I will ask Mr. Manzar Shafiq to give the official perspective about what has happened up till now and what is the situation and how does the government see it and what the government is doing to alleviate the sufferings of the people of Lebanon and to show solidarity with the people of Lebanon.

I also welcome the Press very warmly. We know that Pakistan and Lebanon have strong ties but more important than that we have always taken positions on points of principles when it comes to the Arab World, when it comes to the Muslim World and it is in this spirit that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has taken this initiative to show solidarity with Lebanon because I do feel strongly that Muslim response has been very weak, unfortunately, and there is no spirit in it. Yes, Mr. Manzar Shafiq.

**Mr. Manzar Shafiq, Additional Secretary, Foreign Affairs:** Mr. Chairman, as you yourself said, everyone knows the facts. So I will very briefly recapitulate them. The whole thing started on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July, when Hezbollah militants crossed the border and killed 8 Israelis and kidnapped two others. In return for the release of those soldiers, they have demanded the release of around 10 thousand Palestinians in Israeli jails. Israel has refused. The reaction is in front of you. Between then and now, the ongoing air strikes directed at Lebanon's infrastructure basically and Hezbollah hideouts and headquarters. The death toll has crossed 200 and according to this morning's BBC report,

the number of displaced persons has reached almost half a million.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** At 8 a.m. CNN said that the death toll has crossed 300.

**Mr. Manzar Shafiq:** You are more current. The number of displaced persons, reported by BBC this morning at half a million, may be higher now. It changes on an hourly basis. In reaction to this, countries like the US and Britain have actually justified the Israeli action in the context of the right of self defense. Other European countries like France and Russia have criticized the action by calling it disproportionate. In other words, if you cross a red light, you don't get a death sentence and this is what is happening there. Within the Muslim world, the condemnation of Israel has been universal. Within the Arabs there is an interesting phenomenon. The Saudis, while condemning the violence itself, have attributed it to "reckless adventurism by Hezbollah". This is a gesture towards pragmatism or reality or whatever. We feel that if this situation gets out of hand they really have no actual power to stop it or do anything. They do not want to antagonize the powers behind Israel which probably explains this very wishy-washy-wimpy sort of reaction.

What about Pakistan? The Government of Pakistan has adopted a very principled stance. We have, to date, issued three statements. The elements of our stance essentially are that we have condemned the violence as being total and flagrant violation of Lebanon's sovereignty and a contravention of universally accepted principles of inter state conduct as enshrined in the UN Charter. We have urged restraint on all sides. We have called on major powers, the UN and the Quartet to use its influence on Israel and

most important, I think, we have called for actions that can bring the peace process, which was already derailed, back on track. And even more forceful statement was made by Ambassador Munir Akram in the UN in New York. So, in political terms, this is all that we can do, show our solidarity with the cause. The Prime Minister has also spoken to the Prime Minister of Lebanon expressing that solidarity. We have received a request from the Lebanese Government for material aid, which we are processing. As I said, in political terms, the public stance we have taken is about all that we can do. And within the OIC, we will also raise our voice. In New York we have already done so. Before anyone asks me about the fate of the Pakistani community, let me quickly address that. We do not have too many Pakistanis in Lebanon. A couple of hundred at best. Our Ambassador and her staff remain in position. They are in contact with the community, such as it is. Some Pakistanis have been evacuated by road to Syria. Attempts are underway to evacuate some on British convoys. We are not in a position to put together a convoy but we have requested the British, or those who have Commonwealth solidarity, have agreed. So some of our people may be evacuated towards Cyprus but we have advised the Ambassador that well she is sitting on the spot, she is the best judge. I myself am a veteran of having been in Kuwait in 1990 and the most dangerous place for anyone, in physical terms, is to be on the roads. According to the Ambassador, the strafing of Beirut is actually quite strategic and fairly pin pointed. They have targeted infrastructure, the airport and Southern Lebanon. Beirut, by and large, is not dangerous. So hopefully our community, even those who stay on, if they avoid the roads, should be safe. What can we do for them, well whatever the Embassy can do, it does. I think I have nothing

more to add. Any questions?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Now we start from Goindi Sahib. Please update us on the latest position. Please convey my solidarity to your wife Reema and the family. I hope they are fine.

is a routine matter on southern Lebanese border. So, they kidnap and they exchange soldiers. Two years ago, there was a big exchange of soldiers and even dead bodies of Israeli soldiers and Lebanese and Palestinian soldiers. About a thousand prisoners were exchanged for 19 Israeli soldiers and 8 dead bodies. So, the up



*Listening to the meeting participants: Senators: Nisar A. Memon, Muhammad Talha Mahmood and Sardar Mahtab Ahmed Abbasi.*

**Mr. Farrukh Sohail Goindi:** Thank you very much. The picture of this crisis is totally distorted by the Western media and our Pakistani media is also following the same. Israel is blaming Hezbollah for the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July. This is totally wrong. Actually, two days before this incident, the Israeli army kidnapped one soldier of Hezbollah. So, kidnapping of two soldiers is not the issue as it

date is quite different than what the Western media is promoting regarding the image of Lebanon or Hezbollah. They are dividing Hezbollah and Lebanese society. Hezbollah is not an isolated organization of Lebanon. It is the people's movement and it is a big organization, which has its own welfare system, education system and an international satellite television "Almanar". It is one of the best welfare

organizations of Lebanon. So, that is why they tried to bomb “Almanar” the very first day and they warned Dahia, a suburb of Beirut. The oppressed people, who are mostly Shias, migrated during the earlier civil war to south Lebanon. They have their own houses along with Almanar, Hezbollah and Shia community headquarters there. So the Israeli army and air force warned people of Dahia to evacuate this place, after which they bombed all of Dahia and if I have the opportunity to show the pictures what is happening there, may be, you will not believe and it is quite different than what the Western media is showing.

The most dangerous thing which happened and nobody published or telecast or broadcast this news is that on Sunday my wife called me and informed me that Israel dropped two phosphoric bombs, i.e. chemical weapons, on south Lebanon and they warned south Lebanese people again, who are Shias to evacuate South Lebanon. They dropped two chemical weapons in a south Lebanese village and there were many casualties and the figure of 200 or 300 dead is distorted. It is much more than 300 or 400. Presently too, they are targeting food supply. Yesterday they targeted a tissue paper factory. They also targeted poultry farms and food factories. They targeted communications network and destroyed more than 50 bridges in Lebanon. It is a small country, may be 3 and a half million population, of which half a million population has migrated internally and more than 160 thousand people have migrated to Syria. It is dangerous to cross the Syrian – Lebanese border because the Israeli fighter planes hit or strike that road and Mr. Manzar Shafiq is right that roads are highly insecure and Beirut is also insecure because my wife’s house is just close to Pakistani Embassy which is situated in Rouche and

warship planes are standing in front of Rouche and Minara. So, they are bombing the sea port, the naval bases and the communication network. When I asked my wife what is happening, the first two days they were upset because of war, because they hate war. They are the victim of violence, both internal and external. Lebanese are the most peace loving nation in the Middle East which I observed in my travel in that region. They are merchants. They are business people. They don’t have any tendency to fight against any one but frankly speaking, if these people are saying the Hezbollah is armed, so please remember all organizations, all political groups like Druze, Palestinian, the Maronites and organization of Jaja, Quwat-e-Lebnaia, are all armed. Because when the Taif Agreement was signed in 1997, they tried to disarm all groups. So, nobody was ready to disarm themselves. They feel insecure.

So, this is not an issue of two soldiers. This is an issue of the sovereignty of the State and they are very much keen to have ceasefire. When my wife sent me the last SMS this morning she said we are waiting for help from the OIC and Arab League but all people are silent. We first want ceasefire and country like Pakistan, I think, has to take some initiative. Pakistan is the most important country and has a very good image in the Middle East. Pakistan is a nuclear country. Pakistan has a military power. Pakistan is a political power. So, if we cannot intervene, if we cannot help someone militarily, we have to take some steps towards peace and we have to take some intervention for diplomacy, for peace. So, this is very important and I think because of Pakistan’s initiative the situation can be much better because I know the Israelis personally. I had interaction with some Israelis in different conferences and what they think, including

Shimon Peres, when they meet any Pakistani they treat them in a very special way. That is why the other participants asked why I was getting a special treatment. Lebanon is not an Islamic country. Frankly speaking, it is a Christian-Muslim country and an Arab country as well. So, the victims of war are not just Muslims, the victims of war are not just Shias, they are Sunnis, they are Druze, they are Maronites. Different kinds of churches are there.

So, the situation is worsening day by day and the biggest crisis of the moment is food, shelter, communications, medicines, water, electricity, international aid and availability of volunteers. They are just waiting for this kind of help from Pakistan or other OIC members or Arab League members or international community and I think if people like Mushahid Hussain are in Pakistan and they are part of this government, I hope they will play some important role. What I learnt from politics is that if you have some weight you have to play an important role. If a mosquito has weight and it is on a ship then the ship has a weight. So, we have to play an important role. This is our ideological responsibility because in our Constitution we mentioned that we support freedom movements. Frankly speaking, I am not teaching international affairs but I just want to say that Pakistan is not just a South Asian country. It is on the junction of Middle East, South Asia and Central Asia and politically we are more Middle Eastern than South Asian. We are more close to Lebanon and war is day by day drawing close to Pakistan. If we have to play some diplomatic role in this war and that too immediately then we have to play a decisive role for ceasefire and for helping Lebanese community.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you

Goindi Sahib. Basically you talk of the humanitarian assistance required and the political and diplomatic support for cease fire. Now, I will request Agha Murtaza Pooya Sahib.

**Agha Murtaza Pooya:** Mr. Chairman, members of the panel, members of the press *Assalam o Alaikum*. We are very grateful to the Chairman and the members of the Committee for affording us this opportunity to discuss the Lebanese crisis. The crisis did erupt in Lebanon but it will not end in Lebanon. It will engulf much more than what we are witnessing at the moment. What the world is witnessing and what we are fighting today is pax Zionica, a place for Zionists. For the Indians and for the Americans while everyone else can, in their language, go to hell. We are faced with a moral crisis of arrogant criminality on the one hand and arrogant impotence on the other. This is not the first time that the Zionist regime occupying Palestine has extended the war into Lebanon. In 1982 just as mock exercise Israel attacked its own ambassador in London which paved the way for the invasion of Lebanon. Mr. Mushahid Hussain is a witness that in 1982, Khurram Shehr had just been retaken by Iran and I rang up Mr. Mushahid from Tehran and said Khurram Shehr had been retaken and he said, well congratulations. I said, no, the price of victory is worse than that of defeat, wait till Israel counters this and on the 6<sup>th</sup> of June, they invaded Lebanon.

So, this is a continuous process and it is not the first war for the protection of Zionist regime occupying Palestine. We had the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. We had the Iraq attack against Iran, then the first Gulf War and then the second Gulf War, then the Israeli occupation of Palestine and now the occupation of Iraq and the occupation of Afghanistan. This is to protect the

Zionist regime occupying Palestine. So, Pakistan has to look for space in this theatre and I think we are adequately equipped in all aspects to be able to enter as protagonists and to save not the Muslim world but to save humanity from the crimes being committed by these three arrogant powers, the Indians, the Israelis and the Americans, who continue to occupy other people's lands. Now, if we are not going to stand up and be counted, well, the war has already entered our territories and it will intensify here. Israel has survived on perverse propaganda. First is the myth of innocence, that they are innocent people, they are harmed. They are surrounded by enemies and the rest of the world is being made to pay for the crimes committed by Europeans.

The second is the myth of invincibility that nobody can roll back Israel. *Al-hamdo-Lillah* how Hezbollah has rolled back Israel when no Arab Army could ever do it. And the biggest crime that was committed, which emboldened Israel is the Camp David Accord, leaving the whole Muslim world at the mercy of the Israel. That is the worst crime that has been committed and now Israel is looking for Camp David like accords all along the way. The other three factors which have emboldened Israel are the tricks that they are playing in the name of fighting on media, terrorism and state terrorism without any reprimand from organizations like the United Nations or the OIC or NAM or any other grouping or the Arab League. All of them are suffering from a major crisis of impotence. We remember in 1982 that till the last Palestinian had left Beirut, the OIC did not meet and the NAM did not meet. This time too the story is not different. So, this battle is between CIA and SHIA but it will not remain so. *Al-hamdo-Lillah* today the Lebanese resistance, Hezbollah and Hamas have become

the symbol of resistance for the entire humanity and those Arab governments which are showing such abject impotence, they will collapse under their own contradictions, if they do not rise to the occasion and this affords Pakistan a very important role to play. We have acquired a status in the international community as fighting terrorism so let us stand up to the terrorism of the Israelis also. Now three Ts are important. One is the tricks of the Zionists, their terrorism and the treachery of the Arab Muslim governments. If it was not for the treachery of the Arab Muslim governments, the poor Palestinians or the Lebanese would not be in this condition. So where do we go from here? Somehow or the other, dialectics has its own tone. Today, there is no Soviet Union to block the path of the Syrians. How the Soviets made treacheries against the Syrians in 1982 when their batteries of SAM missiles were destroyed and the Soviets did not replace them? So therefore we are in a much better position today.

The most important two factors which I would like to mention are that why have the Israelis chosen to up ante at this stage. There were talks going on between Iran and the United States and a grand historic reconciliation was about to emerge and I was fearing like in 1986 when the Iran Contra affair took place it was the Israeli who destroyed the possibilities of the Americans and the Iranians coming together and also the fact that the American and the Iranians were going to meet at the highest level and the Israelis were going to be left out in the cold and they had chosen this point of time.

More important than anything else is what we can do and we cannot do is that the US has been gradually reviewing and revising its attitude towards the Zionist regime in Palestine. Two

years ago, Sharon threatened to use nuclear weapons against America and Europe if they do not revise their policy and try to force some peace on them. I am still convinced, I was with my friend Gen. Talat Masood, two months ago at a seminar of the IPS and I said by 2008 Insha Allah there will be no Israel and the Islamic Republic of Palestine will emerge. A few days later, an Arab ambassador got hold of me and congratulated me for this lovely good news, and two days after when this crisis erupted he said “now what you have to say?” I said, “instead of 2008 it is going to be 2007 *Inshallah*”. We want this criminal status quo in this region to collapse. This criminal status quo will collapse under its own contradictions and we are going to witness this now. A month ago when a very senior European diplomat was discussing with me the Palestinian issue, I said, “by 2008 the Islamic Republic of Palestine will emerge”. He said, “no, that is a little optimistic but 2010 - yes”, and “the Americans are the ones who are working most strongly for it because they will not be able to carry this cross on their neck indefinitely and this whole situation is going to erupt”.

Iran has played her own role. It was at the receiving end at one time, today if we go by conventional yardstick, forget what Allah can do for them, we don't know what Allah can do for anybody but by conventional yardsticks, today in 2006, Iran is in a much better position than they were in 1980 or 1979. In terms of diplomacy they are not isolated. In terms of economics their position is better. Militarily they are in a better position to help others and also in their own country they are in a much stronger position.

So, I think the important thing is that I said in 1980, 20 years ago, this region is bristling with missiles and Israel's security has been reduced

to below zero. Israel can destroy five million Muslims in one hour but she will not survive one strike and that strike is round the corner. So, they have to make up their choice or they will implode from within just as the Soviet Union imploded from within by over arrogance, by stretching itself, by fighting a meaningless war. The Israelis today are involved in a meaningless war and they will implode from within and the highest voices of the protest will come from within Israel itself. Already there are voices of protest coming from within Israel and just like Sabra and Shatila, if you can recall, the loudest voices of protest came from within Israel and not from the Arab world. The Arab world had a 'tamasha' in place and a carnival in Casablanca after everything was over. So, therefore, we may be appearing to be weak and the Israelis may behave in a slight upper hand militarily but morally they have lost the war long ago and today, even in Europe they are the most hated people besides the Americans. The Europe fears that her security is being threatened by Israel's arrogance.

So, *Insha-Allah*, we will all come out well. It is very nice to have come up but I think President Musharraf has an opportunity in history. He is capable, as he took a very remarkable position on Kargil and we nearly got the Indians to where it hurts. It is they who cried 'Uncle' and not us. So, therefore, if he can muster the courage he will be able to weld the nation behind him and he should demonstrate what he demonstrated in Kargil. He should demonstrate his support for Hezbollah and Lebanon. It was good that Pakistan committed some 3 million dollars to 'Hamas'. I mean we have suggested, of course, that Hamas and Hezbollah leaders should have been invited to Pakistan. Just as we have helped Hamas and Hezbollah we should publicly give money and whatever we can to Lebanon and

the others but the main crisis is that if the Arab Governments are going to be as impotent and sterile as they are demonstrating today then *Insha-Allah* they will not be there. Thank you.

which came two weeks after Palestinian militants from Hamas seized an Israeli corporal and took him into Gaza Strip producing the worst Arab-Israel conflict since 1982. The rapid and dangerous escalation of war operations in



*Participants of the meeting: Agha Murtaza Pooya and Lt. Gen.(R) Talat Masood.*

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you Agha Sahib. I think you have lived up to your reputation for unconventional and creative thinking. Now Gen. (R) Talat Masood and I suggest time limit is 8 minutes.

**Lt. Gen. (R) Talat Masood:** Let me first thank you for inviting me here. It is a very important occasion to reflect and to analyze very seriously what is happening in the Middle East because it is not only going to impact Pakistan but the rest of the world and of course the Middle East and the Muslim world in particular. Well, I think Israel's ferocious response on the pretext of kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers by Hezbollah,

the Middle East has resulted in a very significant loss of life amongst the Palestinians and amongst the Lebanese and this loss of life is likely to continue and the only reason why this is happening is because of the extreme disproportionate response of Israel as a result of a pre-planned sort of thinking.

I have a feeling that Israel today believes in the concept of what one would call an infinite deterrence. It's an extraordinary sort of a situation that Israel now thinks it must abide by a deterrence which is infinite in nature. So that means there is something like a minimum deterrence that we follow. Sir, the consequence

of this doctrine of infinite response is so disproportionate that it is likely to further aggravate the conflict. And since the response is so disproportionate what really happens is that you inflict so many casualties and you think that you are capable of destroying your enemy. In fact, this does not happen as 5 invasions of Lebanon have already proved that this is just not possible to destroy any force. In fact, what happened is that hatred and antagonism increases manifold and the problem becomes more complex and you have a much greater legacy of hatred and the peace process becomes even more difficult. So, I think we are going to see in the future that things are going to only aggravate and not move towards any solution or stability in the Middle East.

What is really driving the violence and why does it seem so difficult to cool down? Although the current battles may seem to be the result of age-old hatred between Israel and its Arab enemies, what we have seen is not simply sort of a replay of the hackneyed set pieces that we have been witnessing in the past in the Middle East. We have, in fact, three new governments in the Middle East at the moment and they are all on the keynote of crisis. In Israel, there is a completely new government with a new Prime Minister and a new Defence Minister. There is a new government in Lebanon and a new government in the Palestinian Authority. In Palestinian Authority you have the fighters within the radical Islamists group Hamas and Hezbollah eager to assert their agendas. This is another important factor in the region. So, the whole region is going through a dramatic and radical change and the volatility has added new fuel to the motivations and the ambitions that have defined why they are fighting today and that poses a challenge for the international community

not, the least, the US which is already engrossed so heavily in two wars; one in Iraq and the other in Afghanistan. What is also very interesting to see is that the US is really playing a marginal role in this whole conflict in the Middle East, with Israel practically dictating its policies to the US.

One also has to bear in mind the extreme asymmetry of power and also the great arrogance of power that exists with Israel and also with the US and you can see their contemptuous attitude which is reflected because of this great asymmetry of power. Another factor which was alluded to was the helplessness of the rulers of the Middle East. On the one hand, you have the Militias like Hamas and Hezbollah which are asserting themselves and, on the other hand, you have rulers who are totally helpless and so the leadership of the Middle East has practically passed into the hands of these Militia leaders. So, one has to understand this phenomenon.

I also foresee that Israel and the US are also likely to exploit the Shia and the growing division between the countries of the Shia crescent that is Iran, Iraq and Lebanon versus the Sunnis. We have to be careful about that because they destroyed and weakened Iraq and Iran as a consequence of war that took place between the two countries. It is very much possible that Israel and the United States or forces which are unable to cope with the situation there would like to use any division that there be between the Sunnis and the Shias and will try to pitch one against the other in order to benefit and gain from that.

What also one has to see that the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister of Israel today are those who have no experience of warfare. The pattern is different from the one which has been followed by Israel all these years, ever since its

independence that majority of its Prime Ministers as well as its Defence Ministers have been ex-Army personnel. So, this is a situation where you have the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister who have no experience of military and I think that has an important fall out because they are not sure and certain and want to be even more hawkish than the military leaders who had a certain level of confidence about themselves. So, one can see the pattern of behaviour of the present Prime Minister Ehud Olmert that he is even more hawkish than Sharon.

There are two or three other points that I would like to mention. One is that the new Lebanese

to support the present government. Whereas, there is a contradiction that the government is unable to protect and, at the same time, the US is not protecting the security of Lebanon. I think we should keep that in mind as well. I also want to say that, on one hand, the Americans want to promote democracy in the Middle East, in the Arab world and in the Muslim world but, on the other hand, when it came to Hamas which was elected through a perfect democratic process, they do not want to pass the power on to Hamas and this major contradiction and, in fact, the extent of financial squeeze that has been brought about on the Palestinian Authority since Hamas has taken over and then followed by the political and then the military squeeze that is now being



*Foreign Relations Committee discussing the Lebanon conflict.*

government and the Palestinian Authority are unable to protect their people against the invasion of Israel, which is a self evident fact. Now the only ones who are capable of protecting are Hezbollah. So there is a situation where a militia is at least in a position to take on Israel whereas the Lebanese Government is unable to stop the aggression. So this must also be understood. When you have this situation then, at the same time, you want to promote democracy also. So, you know that so-called American programme and the support for the democratic process in Lebanon is based on the fact that they are trying

applied, it only shows to what extent they are really genuinely committed to the tenets of democracy.

I would also like to say that the Hamas government, as far as I could see, would have functioned very well and would have probably adjusted to the reality of Israel over a period of time, if it would have been allowed. From what we have seen and have discussed with many people who have been through the Middle East, there was an impression that the discussions and the dialogue that was going on between

Hamas and its adversaries, it appeared that, some sort of solution was insight but unfortunately this present episode has completely derailed the entire process of bringing and putting Hamas into a situation where it could have remained effective. Now Hamas has been left with no choice but to take up arms and go back into its original role rather than the real authority, which could govern and demonstrate that it was much better than the past as far as the ruling authority of Palestine was concerned.

Now one or two other points. What surprises me is the extraordinary lack of any genuine role by the European Union so far, except the fact that they have been more or less toeing the American line. This is very unfortunate because what we were expecting was that at least the Europeans, who, in the past, have been somewhat more moderate and somewhat more balanced in their approach towards the two sides, have ceased to take up that role and now more or less parroting what the Americans have been saying. At the same time, what seems to me an extraordinary situation is that the Americans have marginalized themselves in a way by trying to give so much power and authority to Israel to dictate its policies in the Middle East. This is a very dangerous situation.

What we need to do is to fully support any international move particularly the UN resolution condemning the actions of Israel and, at the same time, we should also support a UN force as possible solution so that ceasefire to be imposed immediately on both sides and peace can be restored. We should also look at the reconstruction work. What surprises me also is that under the Syrian rule although it was in occupation and Lebanon was told that we will help you to get rid of the Syrian occupation. In

fact now the Israelis have occupied Lebanon and have destroyed completely the prosperity which Lebanon has gained in the 20 years of Syrian oversight or at least protection or even occupation, if you call that. The fact of the matter is that now you have destroyed Lebanon's economy and you have got Israeli occupation. So, I think this also has to be reversed. I am not saying that you should endorse Syrian occupation but what we have to seek is as soon as possible the Israelis must go back and the peace process must commence according to the road map, which is now, in a way dead. You may like to revive that.

In the end, I would like to once again thank you for giving me this opportunity and I am sure if there is any question we will be able to give the answer.

**Mr. Javed Hussain:** Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I had a prepared statement but I don't think I will read that statement because it will take a lot of time. With your permission, I would just make or highlight a few points for your consideration.

The first point that I would like to highlight is that, contrary to what Western media has tried to project, the crisis in Lebanon did not really start on 12<sup>th</sup> of July. I think the crisis started on 9<sup>th</sup> of June when Israel rocketed a Palestinian family at a Gaza beach killing all of them and leading to a statement by Hamas that they would be ending 60 months' truce and then this led to the kidnapping of an Israeli soldier on 25<sup>th</sup> of June, leading to Israeli incursions in Gaza and then, of course, you have just been told that Israeli soldiers were kidnapped by Hezbollah soldiers on 10<sup>th</sup> of July. So, first of all, we need to look at these events in a greater perspective.

The second point is that these events cannot and should not be seen in isolation from the Palestinian issue and from the whole issue of Arab - Israel conflict. It is not just a question of kidnapping one person here or a soldier there. It is a question of the denial of rights of the Palestinian people, specially their right of self determination. The occupation of their land by people who were alien to that area and then the inability of the international community to provide any help and assistance to the Palestinian people for the restoration of their rights despite innumerable UN Security Council resolutions. This has inevitably led to frustration, disappointment and desperation not only among the Palestinians but also among other Arabs. Because of the weaknesses of the Arab governments, this has led to the rise of non-state actors like Hezbollah and Hamas, which now have elected governments and are now playing a more important role than the Arab governments themselves, in dealing with these issues in which Israel has been and continues to be an aggressor and has committed untold atrocities against the Palestinian people and the rest of the Arabs. So, this is a point that needs to be emphasized that this issue should not be isolated and restricted just to kidnapping of one or two soldiers. It is a much bigger issue and should be analyzed and seen in that perspective.

The third point that I would like to make is about the reaction of various international players to these developments. We are, first of all, struck by the divisions within the Arab world. The Arab League Foreign Ministers meeting in Cairo adopted a resolution but all the reports indicated that within their ranks there were very deep divisions with some of the governments in fact even being critical of the so-called irresponsibility

of the Hezbollah. While of course, there were others who were supportive of what Hezbollah was doing.

So we need to keep in mind before we chalk out our course of action as to what we can do or should not do because we cannot act in isolation, we cannot act in vacuum. At the international level, the United States and the UK have expressed extraordinary support to Israeli aggression, compared to previous level as the Additional Secretary has pointed out, which has not only violated the Lebanese sovereignty but also is in total disregard of International Law and the UN Charter. Therefore, this has led, for instance, to both the US and the UK refusal, even to call for ceasefire unless, in the first place, Hezbollah returns the two soldiers to Israel and stop its bombardment of Israeli territory. This is, of course, in total disregard of the vast and widespread destruction which is being caused by Israel in Lebanon and also in Gaza, including the loss of human lives in these two areas. So we cannot formulate a policy unless we keep all these factors in our mind because we have in our mind our own interests which have to be taken into account.

The third factor which, I think, needs to be kept in mind is that although the EU has not taken as strong or different stand than the US and the UK as one would have expected but still you see between the lines the French stand is milder or is slightly more balanced. While the one which has been adopted by the United States and the United Kingdom, and in fact the latest report, indicates that the French delegation at the U.N. and New York has already started discussing principal elements of the Security Council Resolution which seem not as ideal as we would like them to be from our point of view, but certainly

more balanced than what the US position or the UK position is. I think, our government needs to, although we are not member of the UN Security Council, examine and analyze those elements at the official level to see what we can do to bring about greater balance in those elements, in consultation and in coordination with our partners and brothers from the Arab and the Muslim countries.

Sir, as far as the Islamic world is concerned, we are again facing very unfortunate situation and this can be traced back to the Iran-Iraq War when the Muslim world was further divided. There are deep divisions which are not only within the Arab world but also now within the Islamic world and unfortunately the Iran-Iraq conflict was a major factor in aggravating those divisions. Therefore, this also explains perhaps the inability of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to play an effective role on most of the conflicts and disputes which are of relevance to the Islamic world. I mean OIC has been marginalized on the Palestine issue and the Kashmir issue, primary due to divisions within the Islamic world.

Unfortunately the United States, the only country, which can influence Israeli policies, is not willing so far to exert its influence on Israel to rein in that government and to give a modicum of rationality to its policies concerning not only the Palestine issue but also in its dealing with its neighbours. I am sure all of us have heard the latest US Senate Resolution which has again extended full support to Israel in the current episode.

So, the final point that I would like to make and this is important in the existing Shia-Sunni contradictions in the Middle East and the Islamic

world and the inclination of the Western powers and certainly Israel to exploit these contradictions to the disadvantage of the Palestinians, the Arabs and the Muslims - that we have to adopt a course of action which neutralize it and don't allow them to exploit these contradictions. In fact, our approach should be to remove these contradictions through appropriate policy measures at national, bilateral and regional levels and within the framework of the OIC.

The question that arises in this scenario is that what can Pakistan do? We have already, as Additional Secretary pointed out, issued a number of statements which condemned Israel's aggression against Lebanon in violation of the principles of International Law and the violation of the Lebanon sovereignty. Our Prime Minister has also had conversation with the Lebanese Prime Minister and shown solidarity with the Lebanese people. Now the question is what more can we do? I think we can do a number of things at the national and multilateral levels and I would like to mention them briefly.

First of all, I think, may be this has already been done by the Foreign Office, but since the Additional Secretary has not mentioned it, is that we should enter into urgent and immediate consultations with important Muslim and the Arab countries and exchange views with them on how the Muslim world can adopt a united stand on this issue because only through unity we will be able to bear some degree of influence at the international level and at the UN or at other forums. At least, so far, I do not see that happening. Instead the impression that we give, within the Arab world or from the broader Islamic Ummah side, is of divisions, of lack of unity and in this kind of situation it is very unrealistic to expect that our voice will be heard in those

international forums where major decisions about the future of the international community and about the future of Palestine or Arab-Israel conflict are being taken or will be taken. So, this is one thing, I think, that our Foreign Office and government may wish to consider.

Secondly, if these consultations lead to some positive results or some encouragement, we should consider, subject to agreement and cooperation of important countries like Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Iran, Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey and Morocco, to take initiative for calling an emergency session of the Islamic Summit Conference or Foreign Ministers conference. I know since I have dealt with this organization as Additional Secretary in-charge of the UN in the past that it takes time to convene the emergency session. It does not take place quickly. The need of the hour is to show, at least at the political level, that the Islamic world is excited about this whole development and that we are not willing to take

whatever is decided or whatever happens in accordance with the wishes of Israel and the United States or other countries which are supporting Israel. So, this is something which should again be looked into. We should, at least, exchange views with our friends in the Islamic world whether such an initiative would be advisable and desirable and if we get positive feedback we might consider taking such a step.

There has been a decision by the Arab League Foreign Ministers at Cairo to refer the whole issue of Palestine and the Arab-Israel conflict back to the UN Security Council for its consideration. I don't know how serious they are but if they are serious, I think, it should be supported by some kind of a united and common stand of the Islamic Ummah to strengthen the Palestinian case and Arab case taken up by the UN Security Council. I would not like to mention as already it has been taken care of but besides moral and political support we should consider extending and sending humanitarian assistance



*Participants of the meeting (right): Dr. Shireen Mazari, DG, ISS, Amb. (R) Javed Hussain, Lt. Gen. (R) Talat Masood and Agha Murtaza Pooya*

to Lebanon within the possibility of our means. Thank you very much.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you very much Ambassador Javed Hussain. While I was out I talked to the Prime Minister and he expressed solidarity with Lebanon. I talked to him about the humanitarian supplies and the other initiatives to be taken by the Foreign Office. Yes. Dr. Shireen Mazari.

**Dr. Shireen Mazari:** Thank you Mr. Chairman. I am glad that you have come back with the message from the Prime Minister that there will be some more immediate action on the humanitarian front because I was a little perturbed to hear that the Foreign Office is processing the request. You don't process request for immediate relief and emergency.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** He was not aware of that request so I told him about that.

**Dr. Shireen Mazari:** Anyhow, I am glad that is happening and I am also glad that Ambassador Hussain pointed out that the crisis began not with the kidnapping of the soldiers but with the bombing of the picnickers at Gaza beach by the Israelis. If you really want to date an incident to this particular crisis.

I have two aspects. One is, even if we are dealing with just the Israeli aggression against Lebanon taking it at the micro level, if it is a reprisal state practice, the International Law has decreed that it must be proportionate, prompt and only against non-civilian targets and state can only be penalized for the action of the non-State actors, if the State supports and admits to supporting that non-state actor. The Lebanese State has disowned this act in any case, if you take it just

at micro level.

So, what the Israelis are basically doing, very clearly under any International Law and also Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, is state terrorism. It shows once more, why state terrorism has to be part of any UN Convention on terrorism because this has to be condemned and those who are supporting Israel are also effectively party indirectly to the state terrorism - be it the United States or the United Kingdom. Because you know, first the US floated this strange notion of "coalitions of the willing", where states will get together and intervene militarily outside the UN Charter. Now, we have this notion of collective punishment which is another very strange notion that supposing, for example, if some odd group in Afghanistan captures a Pakistani soldier or a Pakistani citizen, should the Pakistan Army then go into Afghanistan because this is collective punishment. This is a new notion.

So, you see there is no legal ground, whichever way you look at the present Israeli aggression. But what I want to draw attention to, is that, as was pointed out by my friend from Lahore, kidnapping of soldiers normally has led to exchanges and this is the pattern that has been there. Why it is different this time? It is different this time because there is a wider game now in operation. A week or so ago, there was an article by an American Peter Galbraith also and these articles have been coming about and there is now talk of sub-dividing Muslim states, especially the states that are powerful or considered to be powerful and these are not conspiracy theories. These scenarios have been painted by the US scholars and think tanks that OK you can't control Iraq, and the Kurdistan structure is already in place for a state. So, break the Shia south, weaken the Saudis, break away eastern Saudi

Arabia and create a Shia Arab State under the mis-perception that some of this will be a balance to Iran. So, there are these plans and operations and, therefore, this support given to the Israeli action has to be seen in a wider context and if we are seeing it in a wider context then it is in Pakistan's national security interest to oppose by all means possible what is happening in Lebanon because the same whimpering are coming from India. If you read the press today the headline was, "India will now decide on punitive action against Pakistan" and the Indians have stated that they will do that in Afghanistan. So, there is a link between what is happening in Lebanon and Israel and what India is trying to do within a limited framework because we are a nuclear power. Thank God for that but India's, Manmohan Singh's remarks today, that they will take punitive action against Pakistan shows that there is a wider pattern that we will act not just out of sympathy for what is happening to the Palestinians or to the Lebanese but because it is in our own security interest because India is doing the same to us this time.

Timing and the orchestration of this whole situation is, I think, very critical and we need to see that bigger picture. Today, there is another very interesting statement. The World Rabbi Council gave a statement that all civilians in Gaza and Lebanon can be killed. I don't know how our Ambassador in Beirut says that bombing of Beirut is strategic. Yesterday, I saw on the BBC a Christian Housing Colony was attacked. So, I don't think that is particularly strategic at all. Therefore, there is need for Pakistan to act and I think one of the problems has been why the Americans and the British are allowing the Israelis to play it out, is because of the Arabs differences. It is significant that Saudis basically condemned Hezbollah only. The Egyptians have

done the same. I was in Jordan when it all began. The Jordanians are so petrified. They are not prepared to say anything at all and our Foreign Ministry kept ringing up to find out that Jordanians have given a statement. They are not going to give a statement because there is the third option also. They are very worried about that. You know the Americans have been pushing them to open their borders with the West Bank so that all the Palestinians can squeeze in and Israel can annex the West Bank and effectively make a Bantu land in the Gaza Strip. I think the absurdity of having a Palestinian authority has been revealed because basically Israel is pulling the strings. If I was the Palestinian Authority or part of it, they should all resign so that the occupation is shown up for what it is and you don't have this farce of a Palestinian Authority which really has no freedom of action at all.

So, what should Pakistan do? I think, yes, call the UN and talk to all the like-minded Muslim states. Arabs are divided. So what? The Arabs are minority of the OIC. We have other Muslim countries that do feel strongly. We should talk to the Malaysians and we should talk to the Indonesians. Mushahid Hussain is also part of the Eminent Persons group that was devised to make the OIC more effective but, I think, there is a need for action beyond talk and rhetoric. Condemnation - 'yes'. But we should, for example, send in the Red Crescent. Where are our planes of the Red Crescent? Why are they not going in? Where is humanitarian assistance? Where are the medical teams from the armed forces? Why should we wait for processing of such requests? These should just go. I think we should also make a firm commitment that we are not prepared to continue to see the destruction of Muslims in Lebanon and we should demand that there should be a ceasefire and

withdrawal or else and leave it ambivalent. Let us talk about Israel being guilty of state terrorism. Yes, Foreign Office has condemned that. But they have not used the word 'state terrorism' and by any definition, we have been proposing endlessly that state terrorism should be condemned and should be dealt with. This is your opportunity to show that you are committed

OIC and if we can't do that at least, let us get together the non-Arab Muslim world of Asia and try and propose either peacekeepers of three or four countries. Our peacekeepers are going all over the world. Why shouldn't they go into Lebanon? I think we have every right to demand that they do that. Finally, I think the role of the media is very important. if you look at the way the BBC and the CNN and all portraying it. They



We should offer peacekeepers as buffers. Why not make the offer? This sends a political message that Pakistan is prepared to act and has the teeth to act. Nobody will accept your peacekeepers as buffers but does that mean you should not make the offer because the Americans and the British and the Europeans should know that not the whole Muslim world is helpless, because this violence is going to spread otherwise. Israel has also said that Hezbollah is being aided by Syria and Iran. Bush has said in that statement that Syria has to be pressurized.

There is every reason to believe that Syria and Iran will also be targeted and if the violence spreads to Syria and specially to Iran then I am afraid we cannot remain as by-standers. So, I think we need to offer peacekeepers as buffers. We need to call in emergency session of the

are not showing any casualties on the Lebanese side. They are showing the exodus of foreigners, Western foreigners and they are talking about Israeli casualties. I don't know whether we can convince other Arab countries to deny access or to restrict access of the western media. It sends a message again. We can do it, but fear it is of no use. There is a need for a condemnation of the Western media by the OIC, specially the BBC and the CNN which have a credibility that they are misusing. We need to draw attention to that. Why can't the Pakistan government immediately appoint an envoy. Why not you, Mushahid, to go to the Middle East? It is a symbolic message but it shows that somebody is active and somebody wants to take action. We don't want to be known to just talk and look at Resolutions at the UN. Send an envoy to

Lebanon and ask the Lebanese government what we can do for them? Let the envoy go to Syria, express support for Syria which is under siege. Let the envoy go to Iran, let the envoy go and meet, if possible, the Hamas leadership in Jordan. I think there is a need. What good is our capability and our military strength and our commitment to the Ummah. If we are not going to move at this time when this sheer naked state terrorism is being perpetrated and nobody else seems to be doing anything. I did not think it doesn't matter if nobody is doing anything. We don't have to do things because others are doing them. We have the strength to act on our own because we are also being threatened now by India. Let's not take the threat this morning lightly that India will do punitive action through Afghanistan against Pakistan. That is a very real threat and we need to see the linkages. Thank you.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you Dr. Shireen Mazari. I just want to correct two - three things. You mentioned international media. If you have listened to the 8.00 a.m. bulletin this morning on CNN, they gave outstanding coverage to civilian casualties of Lebanon. There was focus on a man, a Muslim by the name of Asad, who had been hit by a bomb and how he was being operated upon. They gave very graphic pictures of that. There was an interview with 13 years old girl named Anam Haider, who spoke in English and she sent out a message against terrorism. Secondly, I think we should not get in to the trap of dividing issues of the Arab or non-Arab. It is not an issue of non-Arab but an issue of humanity because Syria and Lebanon are the Arab states and other countries and public opinion is very strong in those countries.

Thirdly, about India, about trap and all that, I would just like to mention one thing that the Indian Press I have been following, has been very upset over the failure of Manmohan Singh's efforts at Saint Petersburg because there was no condemnation of Pakistan. He wanted that but since it did not happen, the Indian media, in fact, is saying, what all this hullabaloo is about - Manmohan Singh has failed to deliver.

Anyway, we have had excellent presentations from all distinguished panelists and now I will open the floor for comments and questions from the honourable members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee starting with Senator Nisar Memon.

**Senator Nisar Memon:** Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I must congratulate you for having organized this very timely meeting of the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Secondly, I think we must see Lebanon not as a country of today but Lebanon as has been mentioned in recorded history 3000 B.C. Lebanese word has come in the history even in Hebrew and various international languages. So, it is a very traditional old country. I think we must condemn as recommended and I personally condemn this act of Israel in very strong terms because it is an action not against an Arab country, it is not against a Muslim country but it is against humanity and, therefore, we must take a different approach from what has been suggested all through by various learned speakers that whether it is an Arab issue or a Muslim issue. I think it is the humanitarian issue and I think this calls for Pakistan to play a very important international role, considering that there are not only Lebanese Muslims, but also there are Christians and there are various other

religions. So, we must, in uncertain terms, say that this is a humanitarian issue, therefore, we condemn it.

There is a need for immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of Israeli forces and bringing in the UN forces and in that context Shireen Mazari's point that Pakistani peacekeepers have been deputed to many troubled spots around the world why should they not be offered in Lebanon? In addition, I suggest to what has been said that we must form a parliamentary delegation - not only the Senate delegation. That delegation must immediately take on the road and go to Lebanon and I volunteer myself to go there with the very first delegation no matter the strife there and no matter whatever route is suggested and we should go there taking with us humanitarian aid.

Secondly, we must talk to the Lebanese government regarding what is needed for the people of Lebanon from the people of Pakistan. Since parliamentarians are the representatives of the people of Pakistan they will do well to go as peoples' delegation there, taking all the necessary support. Then we should, in very strong terms, declare moral, political and diplomatic support to the people of Lebanon because I think this issue should certainly not be seen in isolation. If this is allowed to happen to Lebanon today, it certainly will not be too far to happen to any country in the world including Pakistan. But on Pakistan there will be mini sabotages and not the war that will go nothing beyond that.

Lastly, the Government of Pakistan should, unequivocally and in strong terms, condemn this Israeli act. It has been done to some extent but a strong one is needed. I think one delegation going to the OIC will help. Another delegation

of the parliamentarians or the government or of the people of Pakistan should go to the US to tell them that what is happening in the Middle East is not acceptable. Because, when you read the statement of Bush, he says Israel has the right to defend itself. I think, they don't understand at all. They are the supporter of Israel because of their internal votes. Even when Rice makes the point about restraining, I think, they both are misled. Bush and Rice's statement are not realistic and they must review these statements. I think a delegation from Pakistan to the US, one to the OIC and one to the European Union, a very well made by you that European Union has not come in and lastly one for East to China and Malaysia and Indonesia should go.

These are some of the very important factors and there is a need for Pakistan to play an international role not as a Muslim country because it's a humanitarian issue and Pakistan has a right to do this and I think this is very much in line with what President Musharraf has been doing. Israel has behaved very irresponsibly and now Pakistan should indicate that we have been a responsible nuclear power and the responsible nuclear power is trying to play a role for peace in the world.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** You talked about the media team. Some people came to me for the visas and I myself talked to the Syrian and Lebanese Ambassadors and enabled them to get their visas. Some people from the private channels have already left.

Thank you very much Senator Nisar Memon. Now I will ask Mr. Farrukh Sohail Goindi, to take the floor. Mr. Goindi's wife Reema is from South Lebanon and currently present in Lebanon and in contact with him. She is very brave like him.

What things do you want on humanitarian grounds so that at least we should immediately go for it? I have talked to the Prime Minister about this.

**Mr. Farrukh Sohail Goindi:** I have received three SMS messages from my wife in a short while saying that, immediately, they need medicines because Israel is bombing and targeting trucks loaded with medicines since the last two - three days. Secondly, they need shelters and food because Israel is targeting the food industry and yesterday they even targeted poultry farms. So Lebanese immediately need medicines, shelters and clothing because the people who are the victim of this war are the oppressed people of Lebanon especially the farmers. Israel has isolated the region especially the Rifah valley and South Lebanon from Bekaa valley. So immediately, they need medicines, doctors and all other things related to it. The second thing she is asking for is equipment to remove the rubble. People under the rubble are isolated. Israel is carrying out genocide in Lebanon. It is quite a different situation than other wars. Sir, people are isolated they need to remove the rubble.

**Senator Nisar A. Memon:** Mr. Chairman, Pakistan has experienced earthquake disaster in October 2005 so we are well versed with such situations. We know exactly what medicines, what shelters and what food and other things are required and I repeat that the first aircraft that is sent by Government of Pakistan should carry all these things. Moreover, a strong message will be conveyed when Parliamentarians also travel to Lebanon and as I said, I volunteer to go with the very first aircraft wherever it is landing.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I have received a note from GEO correspondent Ms. Asma Shirazi and I quote, "I am leaving for Lebanon but I need Syrian and Iranian visas and need your help". Sure we will help you. Earlier we enabled Dr. Shahid Masood to get Lebanese and Syrian visas, we will arrange the visas for you as well. Meet me after this. I'll talk to both the Ambassadors. Senator Nisar Memon has volunteered to go and we are also ready to go to Lebanon. I have already told the Prime Minister that I am ready to go. I had talked about it to the Prime Minister and had requested that this should not be publicized but now that you have done so it's alright. I think we will go in a C-130 plane which will save the Senate's ticket. I think we should not talk much about it. An 80 page document circulated by two professors from Havard University of Chicago wherein a review of the US - Israel relations is analyzed. They say, and it's a very important conclusion, that Muslims or Al-Qaeda are not behind terrorism. They have said that American Foreign Policy on Middle East issues is guided by Israel and is against American interests. This is a very important conclusion and gave rise to a lot of criticism of US policy. That article is on the internet. I also have a copy of it and can give it to anyone who needs it. They write that it has erupted debate which is taking place for the first time. So that is No.1 Secondly, the link made by Agha Murtaza Pooya was perhaps even more significant. Everyone is questioning Israel's actions. This is not a matter of two soldiers. It is evident that they kidnapped them and they are trying to destroy the infrastructure of the state of Lebanon. Why now? Mr. Pooya talked about Iran and America's scheduled rapprochement. We know that there were talks scheduled between America and Iran with reference to Iraq, the nuclear issue and the

regional issue. Besides these talks, Mr. Ayatollah Khamenai taking direct charge of foreign affairs almost a week or two ago was an important move made by Iran in this respect. I think it had those old people like Wilayati and Khirazi etc., the negotiating team so to say. I think that is an important element also.

Pakistan's role has been very clear. Historically, after the creation of Pakistan we have always supported the oppressed people and the liberation movements. I met the Eritrean Ambassador and according to him, we were the first to raise voice for them in the UN in 1952. Pakistan was speaking for Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco during the war of independence in the West. When the government of Algeria of Farhat Abbas was in exile they traveled on Pakistani diplomatic passports. Habib Bourguiba, junior of Tunisia, traveled on Pakistani diplomatic passport when he fought for freedom in Tunisia. First time recognition of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) took place in Lahore in April 1974 at the Islamic Summit as the sole legitimate organization of the people of Palestine. PLO as the only organization for Palestine under Arafat was decided in Lahore at the Islamic Summit and six months later at the Rabat Arab League Summit this decision was endorsed. Gen. (R) Talat Masood knows that all military, air force and navy cadets of Palestine received their training in Pakistan. Two Palestinians are still in PMA Kakul.

Agha Murtaza Pooya talked about 1982 battle of Beirut. I was then the Editor of "The Muslim" and I remember that there were three countries which offered military help to Arafat – Pakistan, Algeria and Iran. So, this has been our track record. We supported Somalia, Zimbabwe and Mandela. So, we have had a history of course

I don't talk of Afghanistan and the refugees because that is an on going issue but we have had a very strong, principled commitment to oppressed peoples and principle of freedom. I think, on Lebanon, it is very important that we take a position because there is a consensus and we should speak up on that because the issue is not Lebanon or Arab or whatever as Senator Nisar Memon has said. The issue is; will the law of jungle prevail? Will might is right prevail? Or, will there be certain principles? I think Muslim governments should bravely come forward and take initiative, like we took in Pakistan. Our Prime Minister was the first to call up the Lebanese Prime Minister and talked to him. I hope and I expect that the other Muslim states would also take an initiative.

**Senator Nisar A. Memon:** Mr. Chairman, I think on this occasion we must also support the statement made by Secretary General Kofi Annan, when he said and I quote, "I condemn without reservation the attack on southern Lebanon and demand that Israel may cease immediately". He has condemned the act. We must, therefore, support that and I think the Vatican has also condemned because they called it an attack on the sovereign state. Therefore, let me modify one of the teams that I suggested going to the US should also cover the UN. This particular team may not necessarily be a Government of Pakistan team but perhaps this is the opportunity Chairman of Senate may like to consider, to send a Senate delegation to the US and the UN as this will be more purposeful. In case there is any funding problem then those who are already in travel may divert themselves to this location. If there is a funding problem I will fund my travel to the US and the UN, if I am part of the delegation.

**Senator Talha Mehmood:** I agree with the views of all the participants and I also condemn the Israeli action and I agree that all Israeli forces should go back and peace process should be started. Since a lot of debate has taken place on this topic I will not talk much about it. As Senator Nisar Memon suggested sending a delegation to Lebanon I am also personally ready to finance my own trip. I was scheduled to go to UK, but I am willing to cancel my program and go along with the delegation. Thank you.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** There is a question from the media through me. What is the exact figure of Pakistanis in Lebanon? Does the Foreign Office have any figure?

**Mr. Manzar Shafiq:** The exact figure is not known but roughly a couple of hundred.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Almost two to three hundred Pakistanis? Mr. Manzar Shafiq, Additional Secretary, talked about evacuation. I think we are allies of the West in war on terror. We do a lot of work for them. Ask them to treat us like they treat their allies because we are allies with them and have done a lot with reference to Afghanistan for them. If the British can evacuate the French they should certainly evacuate Pakistani nationals because we are their allies in this campaign on terrorism.

**Mr. Javed Hussain:** There was Foreign Ministers' meeting of both Pakistan and Israel in Turkey in connection with the back door diplomacy, which is in process for the last few days. Should Pakistan continue this back door diplomacy with Israel in these present circumstances?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I personally

think, NO. Not in this situation, when a country is committing atrocities and killing so many people. Moreover, it was not back door diplomacy it was only that one meeting between Mr. Kasuri and Mr. Silvan Shalom in Istanbul in September last year. There is no new development after that and we don't expect or anticipate any new developments.

**Agha Murtaza Pooya:** Three - four years ago, before Mr. Natwar Singh became the Foreign Minister, he issued a statement saying India must revise and review its relations with Israel because Israel has a short shelf life. We saw what happened to him.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Dr. Shireen Mazari, I would request you to get the statement out from your archives because I have not seen that statement and I hope Mr. Natwar Singh did not lose his job because of that.

**Agha Murtaza Pooya:** I am saying he lost his job when he got it and then there is our colleague who is contemporary Prafool Bidwai who continues to write very very human oriented articles and he says I hope Pakistan does not end up committing the same suicidal mistake of recognizing Israel which India has done. This was very controversial article of his. So I think, as we all know, it is all linked up and it has nothing got to do with isolated incidents of such type but I think Pakistan is in a position and I would like to request Mr. Mushahid Hussain to convey to the President to amend his enlightened moderation to enlightened activism out of pure self-interest.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** This is such a big issue that we should educate both the parliamentarians and the media as well. And

as this is a special hearing including media as well, therefore, questions are open for media too. Identify your name and organization first.

**Mr. Ikram Abid, Sana News:** My question is through you (Mr. Chairman), with reference to the recent attacks on Lebanon and Palestine day of solidarity was observed on Friday. All parties unanimously suggested that you should call all Ambassadors to Islamabad and inform them about the suspicions. Influential parliamentary leaders were also present in this meeting. What will you say to this suggestion?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I will refer this question to the Foreign Ministry official.

**Mr. Manzar Shafiq:** It has not happen as yet.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Insha-Allah we will do it. I am meeting the Prime Minister in the evening today. I'll convey your sentiments to him. I have talked about it over the telephone as well. Don't worry, it should be done. In my own opinion, there should be a high powered meeting. Four or five high powered heads of state or government like President Pervez Musharraf, King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, Prime Minister of Malaysia, etc. should immediately go to the UN and the EU headquarters at Brussels and tell them that enough is enough. We are very concerned. Otherwise this gap between the Muslims and the Western world will widen and it will lead to further aggravation. Ms. Fauzia your question.

**Ms. Fouzia Shahid (Daily Pakistan):** I just want some explanation about the evacuation of these two to three hundred Pakistanis. Are you taking some measures in bringing them back?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I will request Mr. Manzar Shafiq, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to answer this.

**Mr. Manzar Shafiq:** With the efforts of our Ambassador there, a few of them have been evacuated to Syria by road convoy. Further, as the Chairman said that we have requested the British government to take some of our Pakistanis in their convoy. May be, I think one convoy might have left till now. At the moment our efforts are restricted to this. We have no means of our own.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Ok. Your efforts are in full progress even in collaboration with Britain. By the way, you would be glad to know Ms. Fauzia that our Ambassador there is a lady and she is still there at the war front. Her name is Asma Anisa.

**Ms. Fauzia Shahid, Daily Pakistan:** Is there any causality of any Pakistani?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I read today in the newspaper that three Indians were killed in the Bekaa valley. By the grace of Allah (*Shukr Alhamdulillah*) there was no one from Pakistan.

**Mr. Muhammad Ansari, Emirates News Agency, UAE:** Allow me to speak for a few minute or one and a half minutes. I have my parental houses in Jerusalem and in Beirut. What Pakistan should do in this critical situation? Is it going to take a neutral role to succeed in the peace mission? I have suggested in different forums that Pakistan should form a peace force and I passed this also to President Musharraf in one of the forums. Had Pakistan done this peace force it would have helped in the situation in Iraq and in other places. This peace force

could help in disaster as well and in crisis. The other point is that official or government stand and just voices like Hamas, the Iranian President and others must go on parallel. We must encourage these voices and they must continue, open the door for them, and invite them. Then Ms. Mazari raised a point that you are asking for emergency meeting of OIC. Would the Foreign Office take action on this matter?

**Mr. Manzar Shafiq:** This action is to be taken by the secretariat of the OIC.

**Mr. Muhammad Ansari:** Did Foreign Office request for this?

**Mr. Manzar Shafiq:** Not yet.

**Mr. Muhammad Ansari:** But Foreign Office can request for this. The last point, Mr. Chairman, is that this is not the time, as I know of the situation both in Palestine and Lebanon, to send envoys. What they need immediately right now after this minute is assistance which has to be sent through Syria to Lebanon.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** That is what I am focusing on. I am not interested in sending any envoy because we can't send delegations. One or two people can go, perhaps, in a C-130, but the main issue is to rush humanitarian supplies and that is what I talked to the Prime Minister and that is what the Foreign Office is already working on.

**Mr. Muhammad Ansari:** At the moment, there is a feeling in Palestine and Lebanon that evil powers have gathered to gradually wipe out the nations surrounding Israel. This is a dangerous point.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I think they are trying to destroy them.

**Mr. Sohail Abdul Nasir, Nawai-e-Waqt, Islamabad:** The discussion here today is, I believe, repenting about the Muslim world especially the OIC. My particular question is to you, Mr. Chairman, as you are also on the Commission of Eminent Persons. My question is how vitality can be conferred in the governing body of the OIC. The OIC is simply not able to play any role and it has been mentioned comprehensively here.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you, Mr. Sohail. I think we did not repent. We analyzed it. That what should we do for the future and have given a roadmap. And I think you should appreciate that this is the first time that such a big voice came out from Pakistan's parliamentary committee and this hearing is being conducted openly. This is a good initiative. Therefore, it is not that helplessness. But collectively, I myself say that the Muslim establishment - let's take this name, the Muslim establishment is weak, silent and afraid and the problem will not be resolved with this state of fear. I am happy and proud that I had my hand in drafting the Report of the Commission of Eminent Persons and we have presented it as well. This Report has been adopted in Makkah. It is in the Report of the Commission of Eminent Persons that if there is aggression against any member of the OIC, the other Muslim countries should immediately rally around to express solidarity to meet on that issue. Lebanon is a member of the OIC. So your suggestion of calling an emergency session is incumbent in this Report.

I think people are very afraid but sometimes governments are left behind public. That's why

we have invited intelligentsia, think tank and people from every walk of life, Mr. Pooya, Gen. (R) Talat Masood, Ambassador (R) Javed Hussain, Mr. Farrukh Sohail Goindi, Dr. Shireen Mazari and even the Foreign Ministry is here. So, we should come out with a clear course of action. You raised the voice and I feel that there is a linkage, pattern to what Israel does in the Middle East, what India does in South Asia. Both have the way to bully, to use the stick to pressurize, no matter what the incident is. An incident took place in Mumbai and we condemned it and then it occurred in Karachi as well after Mumbai. We ourselves are victims of terrorism, but they immediately blamed us without evidence, without anything. If any incident took place in Lebanon or Bekaa, they would name Hezbollah without any evidence or if any thing happened in Mumbai they would name Lashkar-e-Tayyeba. So, the agenda is something else. Therefore, in my opinion, public opinion should be organized, parliamentarians should be mobilized and the press needs to be mobilized and we should all rise to the occasion.

**Mr. Mazhar Abbas, AFP, Karachi:** In my opinion what we should do other than OIC is that President Pervez Musharraf should directly contact President Bush and tell him his concern and there should be a critical review by Pakistan's Foreign Office of the post Hamas scenario and American policy towards Middle East. There should be a statement on the crisis in Lebanon. The statement of American State Department in the current Lebanon situation and the way their policy is, will escalate the tension. It will escalate the war in Lebanon and in the Middle East. I personally feel that it was evident that it will happen after Hamas. The situation and the intentions are very clear. That, to destroy Hezbollah to its maximum, then some peace

initiative shall be taken. When Israel will be done with maximum atrocities to destroy Hezbollah only then some peace initiative will be taken. Therefore, I think that it is very important to review our image in the situation till now by President Musharraf and he should talk to the President of Syria and the Prime Minister of Lebanon so that the image of Pakistan, as in the eyes of general public should be maintained.

We are a sovereign state and we can review our policy towards West and Europe. If this problem is not solved, I think, its very important to review our policies. I support your views for sending the heads of states of four or five countries. Lebanon should also be included in it. And if possible, can Pakistan host a special meeting? Can Pakistan invite some of the heads of states of the Muslim world - if not OIC? I think, you can invite them in a special situation as well. There can be a joint session of the Parliament. You can call the joint session of the Parliament on this issue. United stand of all the political parties can openly come at the forefront this way. You took a very good initiative today. Now this should go to a bigger forum. I think it will lead to some betterment which does not seem so.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you. You gave good suggestions. I should clarify one thing in the presence of media as well. That people talk about West's democratic policies and that Muslim world should practice democracy after 9/11. Interesting thing is that both Palestine and Lebanon are the democracies. Both have elected governments who are facing this aggression and atrocities. There is no dictatorship. There is no monarchy. They are not monarchic, there is no dictatorship. They are the democratic countries with elected

representatives of the people of Palestine. I would like to say with pride, Mazhar Sahib, that Mahmood Al-Zahar, Foreign Minister of Palestine, who is from Hamas, came to Pakistan and I hosted him here. Then we took him to the Senate where he was acclaimed and Pakistan gave him three million dollars in support, because Palestine did not have money to pay salaries. Other countries also gave them money. Hezbollah has 14 members of Parliament and three members in the Cabinet. Hezbollah is also a political movement, with the political party, with a legitimate role in Lebanon's politics, as Mr. Farrukh Sohail Goindi mentioned. So, they have a role and I agree with you, Mr. Goindi. See, a time comes when you stand up. If we won't stand for them, 'God forbid' if we would face some pressure in the future people will remain silent for us too. Mr. Mahmood you talk first.

**Mr. Mahmood Hussain, Pakistan Observer:** Pakistan's policy before its independence has been to support the cause of Palestine and after the creation of Pakistan, on each and every occasion it has supported the Palestinian and the Arab cause. As sentiments have been expressed today, we have been very warm, very cordial, very enthusiastic, very loving to the Arab world, to the cause of Arab world and we have considered that as our own cause. After having all the respect for the Arab world including the Palestinian, the Lebanese have not responded to the calls - helpful calls of Pakistani nation. The aggression which is taking place in Kashmir is the same as that taking place in Palestine but the Arab world even the Palestinians, have not been supporting the Pakistani cause.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Please leave this grousing.

**Mr. Mahmood Hussain:** No, sir, diplomacy is always based on reciprocal basis.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Have you made your point?

**Mr. Mahmood Hussain:** Yes.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you very much. We have a principled position on these issues. We have supported the West so many times but what support has been extended to us on Kashmir issue by the West? The fact is that the people of the Arab world and the people of the region look up to Pakistan. There was a survey conducted last year by an American firm, 'Zogby'. Jim Zogby is an American Christian of Lebanese origin. The survey was conducted in Egypt, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Palestine, Kuwait and Turkey. In the survey they asked, if you have a choice, which country should be the sole super power in the world? The country which got the highest approval was China. I think, 21% people said this. The second country was Pakistan. If you want, I have got the reference and I can give it to you after this meeting. So we carry a certain level of prestige. We have a role, we have a place, we have a history and we also have a commitment which we have to take along with us. It is a matter of principles. No one asked me to go for this hearing today. I am very upset on what's happening so I thought we must raise our voice on this aggression. In fact Senator Talha Mahmood was leaving for London today. He is from MMA and a stalwart leader from the Frontier. He postponed his visit for a day for this meeting. Some people were on leave. I called Maulana Sami-ul-Haq and invited him from Qatar. He did not come because his flight got delayed. So what I am saying is that we should speak up

on these issues because this is our commitment as human beings. Yes, Hafiz sahib.

**Hafiz Tahir Khalil:** Mr. Chairman, some very beneficial suggestions have come to the fore. Mr. Mazhar talked about foreign and home fronts. I think both fronts should be dealt with simultaneously. There was a very good suggestion regarding sending immediate help from our side for the injured Palestinian and Lebanese children. Secondly, it was suggested that the President may interact with the heads of states of other countries. Thirdly, that the OIC should be made vibrant. At the home front there

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** PML (N) is also here. Mr. Mahtab is from ARD. So, ARD, MMA and the Muslim League, all three parties are present.

**Mr. Ghulam Haider Khokar:** There are no members from PPP, ANP and Jamhoori Watan Party.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** We have twelve members in our Committee. Out of which five are from the Opposition. ARD and MMA are here.



*Participants and Members of the Foreign Relations Committee in discussion.*

should be a parliamentary leaders conference called by the Prime Minister, in addition to summoning a joint parliamentary session, to express solidarity with the Lebanese people. Fourthly, your ruling alliance can meet Muslim Ambassadors to express solidarity.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you. You gave good suggestions and I am already organizing a meeting with ambassadors. Mr. Khokar.

**Mr. Ghulam Haider Khokar, (Daily Ibrat):** I belong to Sindh newspaper Daily, "Ibrat". You have taken a good step but I want to clarify that there is no representation of other parties of the Parliament other than Muslim League (Q) and MMA.

**Mr. Ghulam Haider Khokar:** But the way you are working, all the parties should be invited.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** We have a unanimous view in our Committee. Senator Latif Khosa is our Peoples Party member, he is a lawyer and abroad these days.

**Mr. Ghulam Haider Khokar:** Information Minister is not here as well.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I talked to Mr. Durrani, the Information Minister. He is at the recording of the speech of President Pervez Musharraf at the PTV studio. We have unanimous views. We are very clear on this issue as well. This is an issue of national

consensus. By the way, all the work done by our Committee is above party politics. I never talked about party till today, never talked about the government. It is Pakistan's position or the people of Pakistan position so to say.

**Tanzeela Mazhar (INP News):** Sir, the UN and other countries send immediate relief whenever a natural disaster like flood or earthquake occurs. Mr. Farrukh informed that injured people are stuck under rubble. Pakistan and other countries are members of the UN. I want to ask what UN is doing regarding this problem. Will this relief be sent when a natural disaster occurs? If there is war, will they first hold talks and then send relief? What will you say in this regard?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I think you have a valid point. Has UN taken any humanitarian action?

**Mr. Manzar Shafiq:** I suppose any action can be taken once the shooting stops and the Airport is reopened.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** He is saying that there is no way of sending anything other than land routes. Airports are closed. Seaport is closed and the only route is from Egypt. This road is under air attack and presently not secure. If you have to send anything, what will be the route?

**Mr. Farrukh Sohail Goindi:** Through Cyprus by ships flying UN flag.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** That means aid can go by ships through Cyprus with a UNO flag. Evacuation is also in process through Cyprus. This means two routes are open. One is a land route through Syria, which is being

bombarded and the other route is by Cyprus through ship.

**Mr. Farrukh Sohail Goindi:** Prime Minister of Pakistan has talked to the Lebanese Prime Minister on telephone. I have a suggestion for you, Mr. Mushahid, that you should personally contact two very important and effective individuals because they are the main leaders of this coalition party. Talk to Mr. Saad Hariri. May be he is in Paris or New York and Mr. Walid Jumblatt because he has the second largest party and a very wise politician of Lebanon and very effective.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Walid Jumblatt is a Druze, his father Mr. Kamal Jumblatt was a leftist and socialist and a very famous man. Saad Hariri is the son of Prime Minister Hariri and he had played an important role in getting the deal of Mian Nawaz Sharif with Mr. Musharraf. So both of them are important. I think Saad is in Paris. Mr. Fayyaz Chaudhary.

**Mr. Fayyaz Chaudhary (APP):** Sir, what is the point of view of the Committee regarding sending of Pakistan Army peace keeping force immediately without the cognizance of other countries of the UN?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Peace! I feel that this peace keeping cannot be done unilaterally by Pakistan. It can be done within the framework of either the United Nations or the Islamic Conference. So, this is a step which can only be taken by Pakistan in consultation with and cooperation of other Muslim countries, specially, in the region. Otherwise, it would be very difficult. Right now two things should be done; ceasefire and withdrawal of Israel's troops and cessation of Israel's bombardment of

Lebanon. The first preference is ceasefire, ending the Israel's aggression. Are there any other questions? Please, Mr. Jamal.

**Mr. Jamal Ismail:** I am from Abu Dhabi Television and the Haifa Newspaper published from Lebanon and London. I think that peace keeping has to be under the umbrella of United Nations, according to United Nations Resolutions. Foreign Office may know better that any peace keeping force between the two countries should be adopted from other than the conflicting countries. Israel would never agree to any peacekeepers from Pakistan or any Muslim country without the recognition of Israel by that country or having diplomatic relation with Israel. They have taken the peacekeepers from some African and the Asian countries but not from any Muslim country.

Regarding the comments from our colleague from The Pakistan Observer, differences between....

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Please, do not respond to that. I have already responded to that. This is not an issue being discussed here. We will discuss it later. It is a democratic forum but I do not want tit for tat. The issue today is Lebanon.

**Mr. Jamal Ismail:** Yes. OK, clarification of one statement by our brother from Foreign Office. In your statement you said Hezbollah have crossed the border and abducted two Israeli soldiers which is untrue. These Israeli soldiers were inside Lebanese territory in Sheba farms which is occupied territory according to the United Nations resolutions and they have the full right, either the individuals or the State, for resistance. Therefore, there is no question that they have

crossed the border, that they have kidnapped them or abducted them from so-called Israeli border or Israeli territory.

**Mr. Manzar Shafiq:** I stand corrected.

**Mr. Mudassar:** Would you please elaborate on your suggestion of visit of President Musharraf, King Abdullah and Turkey's Prime Minister to the UN and the EU Headquarters in Brussels.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I should read this resolution in which all our members have participated. It says, "A delegation of some heads of states of the Muslim world should go to the United Nations to talk to the Secretary General and immediately seek a ceasefire and ending Israel's aggression. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held a special public hearing on this issue and unanimously condemns the aggression of Israel as a violation of all civilized norms, behaviors and International Law." We have actually mentioned three things in it. Ceasefire; end of Israel's aggression and the willful killing of civilian by Israeli in the last ten days which has resulted in deaths of over three hundred innocent children, women and men; and, immediately sending of humanitarian supplies to Lebanon. It means that it is against the International Law and all norms and behaviors of society.

Secondly, if a national of a country is kidnapped by non-state actors the state cannot justify waging war against civilians and infrastructure of any state. If a civilian of any country is kidnapped by an unofficial organization of a country the former has no right to wage war against the civilians and annihilate the whole country.

Thirdly, we have said that we deplore the dual

aggression against the two democratic states of the Arab and the Muslim world - Palestine and Lebanon. It is dual aggression against both countries.

Fourthly, we have also said that we regret the apathy and inability of the Muslim Ummah to translate its economic affluence into political influence which shows both lack of vision and the will. It means that the Muslim Ummah and the Muslim establishments have not strongly resisted the aggression and they have failed to translate their economic resources into political influence and we have deplored that and regret. We express solidarity with the people of Lebanon and Palestine and demand that the international community put principles before political interests and exert pressure on Israel to stop this aggression which has become a war against the people and infrastructure of Lebanon. We show complete solidarity with the people of Palestine and Lebanon. We have asked the international community to keep principles supreme instead of political interests and pressurize Israel to end this aggression.

Ceasefire, withdrawal of Israeli forces and humanitarian shipment to Lebanon are the three things we have immediately asked for. A high level delegation including prominent heads of states or heads of governments of the Muslim world should go to the UN and tell Mr. Kofi Annan that it's enough. Visit to the EU on their way will also be fine. I think this is the resolution of Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I am very grateful for your presence and I want to tell you that there is an arrangement for lunch as well. Here, in the Senate dining hall, so that more discussions can be done there. Please join us. The lunch is for the honorable visitors. Ambassador (R) Javed Hussain.

**Mr. Javed Hussain:** Mr. Chairman, there was also a proposal of convening of an emergency session of the OIC.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Note down the OIC name as well. An emergency session of Foreign Ministers of the OIC member states. A Participant: You have written very well but it is very important to say that you are increasing radicalism and war against extremism in the world is being aggravated by you. What Israel is doing there?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Extremism is being demonstrated by Israel and it will give further rise to it. It is evident that it will give rise to forces of extremism and radicalism.

**Senator Nisar A. Memon:** In addition to your suggestion of a high powered delegation to the UN, we should try to convey our views to the USA administration also at the highest level.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Senator Nisar Memon said that we should convey this to the US also and I think, we will convey that to USA.

**A Participant:** Especially when he said to President Musharraf that, I expect that you will play a role - you remember!

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I myself will talk to the Americans here. You must have noted down, Mr. Manzar Shafiq, that we should also convey the views of the people and government of Pakistan to the US administration. I am seeing the Prime Minister this evening at 5'O clock. I'll convey all these sentiments to him. I have already talked to him and *Insha-Allah* this will be an important issue. Mr. Hussain Baksh

Bangulzai, you want to say something.

**Mr. Hussain Baksh Bangulzai:** Mr. Chairman! I came here to meet you. It is your gratefulness that you allowed me to attend this Committee meeting. I have entered this Committee room time after sixteen years. I myself was a senator from 1985 till 1991 and I cannot resist by saying that I am glad to see that our recommendation to enable the Parliament to live through the

committee system has worked. Today, I am glad to see that you have kept this system alive in a very effective manner. I congratulate you on this. This is a view of national solidarity on all issues of Pakistan.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you and now we proceed for lunch.

**(Iftikharullah Babar)**  
Secretary Committee

**(Mushahid Hussain Sayed)**  
Chairman Committee



# **Lessons from the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.**

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Speech delivered by  
Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed  
at the Seminar on  
“Political Implications of Israel - Lebanon War”  
organized by IPRI on October 31, 2006



## Lessons from Israeli invasion of Lebanon

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I have great pleasure and privilege to be here with Dr. Pervez Iqbal Cheema, President, IPRI, Sheikh Riaz Ahmed Sahib, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, General Kamal Mateen-ud-Din Sahib, General Asad Durrani Sahib and General Shabbir Hussain Shah sahib. I also recognize Senator Sadia Abbasi; Ambassador Tayyab Siddiqui and the Ambassadors of Lebanon and Syria, the two frontline Arab countries which stood firm and demonstrated to other countries, that size does not equal strength. The strength lies in will-power, quality of leadership, morale of the people and a determination - not to bow.

I think this seminar is being held at an opportune time because we can still feel the resonance of what happened in Lebanon in those 34 days last summer. We can still feel its impact, and its global repercussions.

First, I think we should get some of the facts right. Dr. Cheema has asked a very pertinent question and I quote him, "why has Lebanon been subjected to large scale bombing and invasion for such a minor issue, namely, the release of two captured Israeli soldiers". That is a very relevant question because if you recall, in January 2004 there was a prisoners' swap between the Hezbollah and Israel. I think about a hundred plus prisoners were swapped - so this is not the first time that soldiers were captured. I think the answer to this question lies

in a story carried by San Francisco Chronicle on July 21 by Mathew Colman which is also available on the internet, titled "Israel set war plan more than a year ago". He writes that Israel's military response by air, land and sea - is unfolding according to a plan finalized more than a year ago. Quoting one professor, it states "of all Israel's wars since 1948, this was the one for which Israel was most prepared". The story was based on a briefing by a senior Israeli Army Officer on an off-the-record basis to US and other diplomats, journalists and think tanks, setting out the plan for the current operation in revealing detail. So this plan - the attack, the war - was not just linked to the arrest or the capture of two prisoners - it was already on the drawing boards; it was being prepared and rehearsed and they said this war would last for three weeks, according to this document.

I was in Washington D.C. sometime back and somebody said you have a lot of holy cows in Pakistan, referring to the military and so forth. I said every country has holy cows. You have a holy cow called Israel. Pat Buchanan, a celebrated journalist and a former Presidential candidate of America, says that US Congress is Israeli occupied territory - apart from the Palestinian areas. In America nobody including the press or the politicians can criticize Israel. There can be more freedom of press in Israel than in the United States on this issue because of this holy cow status. So this was a pre-planned

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This speech was delivered on October 31, 2006 by Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed at the Seminar on "Political Implications of Israel - Lebanon War" organized by IPRI, a leading think tank of Pakistan.

war, well-rehearsed and the Israeli General staff and the Israeli Establishment had apparently thought through it or planned through it. Israel's assumption was that the war will be confined to de-linking Hezbollah from the State and people of Lebanon. Portray Hezbollah as terrorist organization because any resistance now is fashionably put under the rubric of terrorism whether it's Palestine, Kashmir or Lebanon and that this resistance would fold up within a matter of weeks. In the early days of the war most of the international community actually opposed a ceasefire. Whenever a war erupts, nations immediately talk of a ceasefire and suggest table talks. This was the first war where a State was in international conflict and a ceasefire was opposed. Ceasefire was actively opposed because they said let Israel achieve its objectives and the objectives being the demolition of Hezbollah as they perceived it. It was the first war which was not between an Arab country and the State of Israel. They tried to present Hezbollah as a non State actor and the aggression as a war against Hezbollah. One of the basic assumptions was that it will be an action replay of earlier Arab-Israel wars. The war will be between Israel and Hezbollah and the latter will be blamed for it. They were banking on a split, a cleavage, a division in the Arab world and in the Muslim world. The so-called moderates will say Ok, we blame Hezbollah and others will say 'No'.

I commend the government of Lebanon, specially Prime Minister Fuad Siniora, who showed tremendous leadership. During the OIC summit in Kuala Lumpur, which I attended with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, the Lebanese Prime Minister addressed the participants live on satellite television and I was reminded of a famous American author, Earnest Hemingway, who was

asked to define 'courage' and he said, "courage is grace under pressure. When one is under lot of pressure one shows a lot of grace. One does not fold up. One's nerves do not fold up. One shows moral courage". And I think, the Lebanese leadership, led by the Prime Minister, and the entire 3.5 million people of Lebanon, irrespective of different denominations of faith or sect or ethnicity, were united. So, I think the leadership was tremendous and we are proud of the fact that Pakistan was the first country to send four planes load of humanitarian supplies. And as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relation Committee I immediately convened a meeting of the Committee to discuss the Israeli aggression and we passed a unanimous resolution inter alia condemning the aggression, expressing solidarity with the people of Lebanon and demanded the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. I also talked to the Prime Minister for sending relief goods which were dispatched instantly. It was our duty to support Lebanon morally and otherwise. The most important impact of this war was that it changed the geo-political environment because after 9/11 and the so-called war on terror there emerged a certain kind of geo-political environment in which military might was very fashionable along with the feeling that it was difficult to withstand that might. There was lot of frustration, pessimism and fear among Muslim elites, Muslim intellectuals even Muslim masses including the Arab world regarding what is going to happen? Who is next? This war changed that mind set. It emboldened the international Islamic community, especially the Arab world. The myth of Israeli invincibility was shattered the second time around. In the October 1973 war, known as the Ramadan war, when Syria and Egypt were seeking liberation of their territories, Israelis, for the first time, got a surprise when the Egyptian army stormed the Barlev

Line and crossed the Suez Canal. Initially they had an upper hand and then there was a massive airlift of arms from the United States but Israel was shaken up by that time. Incidentally, in that war Pakistan Air Force pilots fought alongside with Syrian Air Force pilots and I believe two Israeli airplanes were shot down by them.

The geo-political environment has changed significantly and I think the far reaching impact that the Muslim world felt was that one can stand up to military might, one can stand up to State terrorism and that realities cannot be refashioned just by tanks, missiles and planes alone, which was the objective of Israel. Consequences flowed from the war on terror. After Iraq and Afghanistan, the Iranian nuclear programme and then the North Korean nuclear bomb followed because smaller countries knew they could get away with it. North Korea is a country of 25 million and they built their nuclear bomb and they have gotten away with it. So I think that the geo-political environment which changed is very significant and it reinforced Lebanon. I disagree with the contention of General Kamal Matin-ud-Din that both sides did not achieve their goals in Lebanon. I think Hezbollah had not initiated the war it was defending and resisting but Israeli goal was

certainly not achieved. So this war was a failure of Israel in that respect. Hezbollah retained and, in fact, received a boost in its status as a legitimate resistance organization rooted among its own people and society because it had support from all sections of society. I think that was extremely important.

This war, in my view, widened, at certain levels, the gap between the 'Muslim elite' and the 'Muslim street' because it was felt that at times the real aspirations, the real sentiments of the people were not being adequately reflected in the policies and pronouncements of governments. This was a feeling which we could see emanating from the media and the Muslim commentators. For us as Pakistanis, this war was very important because this was the first Middle East war which was brought live to Pakistan's public, by our own television channels. In the past, we always relied on BBC, CNN or others for coverage but in this war five Pakistani television channels AAJ, GEO, ARY, PTV, Indus TV and others were covering the war through correspondents, including two young ladies, namely Ms. Batool and Ms. Asma Shirazi - with a '*hijab*'. This is very important because it shows the linkage to the Ummah and the interest to the



enemy. The enemy had a name and a face. There was Fidel Castro in Cuba, Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam and in the old days Mao Zedong in China. So there was a geographical identity, there was a capital and there was a name. But now where do you look for Mullah Omar? Where do you look for Hassan Nasrullah? This is a new element in regional politics which complicates American efforts in the so-called war on terror. The other lesson is very clear to which General Kamal has clearly alluded to which is 'failure of military might'. The feeling that through shock

and awe, through sophisticated technology, through military might alone, you can beat an enemy and adversary, has been challenged successfully in the battlefield not just in Lebanon but also in Iraq, also in Afghanistan, also in occupied Kashmir. So, I think this is an important element that military might alone is not the answer. The third important lesson which I think has far reaching consequences is the emergence of a new world order which is politically more multi-polar mainly due to failures on the ground post 9/11.



# OIC PRESS RELEASE

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July 29, 2006

Announcing OIC emergency meeting to discuss the  
Israel's aggression against Lebanon



## OIC PRESS RELEASE

### Emergency OIC meeting in Kuala Lumpur

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The Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Prof. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu has announced that in view of the unrelenting Israeli assault on Gaza and Lebanon and dangerous escalation of tension in the Middle East, Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference Summit, has called for an emergency meeting of the OIC Executive Committee at the level of head of state/government. The meeting is going to take place in Kuala Lumpur on 3 August 2006, with the participation of the concerned and interested member states.

The Secretary General underlined the importance of demonstrating the Islamic World's collective concern for this great human tragedy and emphasized the OIC member states' willingness to assist in finding a just, durable and comprehensive peace in the region.

The Secretary General repeated his strong condemnation and denunciation of the ruthless Israeli operations targeting innocent civilians, killing hundreds of people and utterly destroying the basic infrastructure of both the Lebanon and Palestine.

The Secretary-General reiterated his call to the UN Security Council to act for an immediate cease-fire, and to the international community to mobilize for a comprehensive approach to the solution of the problems of the Middle East, taking into consideration all relevant UN Security Council Resolutions, not only 1559, in order to tackle the real causes of tension in the Middle East.

**Jeddah, 29 July 2006**



## **Pakistan Prime Minister's 8-point Formula to Resolve the Crisis**

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## Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz's 8-Point Formula to Resolve Crisis

PUTRAJAYA, Malaysia (APP) - Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz on Thursday while calling for an immediate ceasefire in Lebanon, demanded of the UN Security Council to call for Israel's withdrawal from Gaza, simultaneous release of all prisoners and deployment of a UN force in the region.

Addressing the meeting of the Friends of the Chair of the 10th Islamic Summit Conference, the Prime Minister called for high-level action for immediate cessation of hostilities in Lebanon and initiate effective steps to deter aggression

against any other member state in future.

### **Prime Minister Aziz presented an eight-point formula to resolve the crisis.**

He urged the Quartet to re-engage itself in the Middle East process more actively to ensure a solution. "The establishment of a Palestinian state, living in peace side by side with Israel, would constitute the only guarantee for durable peace in the region," he told the heads of states and governments gathered here to discuss the serious escalation in tensions in the Middle East following Israel's relentless attacks on Lebanon.



*August 3, 2006: at the OIC Summit, Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, Prime Minister of Malaysia Abdullah Badawi, Prime Minister of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.*

“Lebanon is burning. It is being once again ravaged by blatant aggression,” the Prime Minister said and added that the massacre of innocent people in Qana last week “epitomised the tragedy and the outrage in Lebanon”.

Aziz, who flew in yesterday to the Malaysian capital and met with Malaysian Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi and the Sultan of Brunei earlier in the day, presented an eight-point formula to tackle the situation. The Prime Minister expressed his shock over the “relentless targeting” of thousands of people and destruction of their homes and property worth billions and said the issue could have been resolved through dialogue.

“The carnage continues, as the world looks on

helplessly,” Aziz said and pointed that even the UN peacekeepers were not spared. He described the Israeli attacks as a flagrant breach of the Geneva Conventions and International Humanitarian Law.

The Prime Minister also regretted the failure of the international community, especially the United Nations and the major powers to halt this outrage and warned that this was adding to popular anger in the region and around the world.

“The Security Council has failed to enforce a ceasefire despite repeated appeals by the UN Secretary General. This paralysis is dangerous and can have incalculable consequences for long-term peace and security in the sensitive Middle East region and in the world,” he added.



*Prof. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, Secretary General of the OIC, Prime Minister Shuakat Aziz and Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed at an occasion during OIC Summit meeting held on August 3, 2006.*



*Accompanied by Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed and Senator Tariq Azeem Khan, Mr. Shaukat Aziz, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, talking to the media during his visit to Kuala Lumpur for the OIC Summit held on August 3, 2006.*

Prime Minister Aziz said it would also serve a severe blow to the international campaign against terrorism.

“As the Israeli outrage continues unchecked,” he said, “those responsible for ensuring peace and upholding international norms, sit in conference rooms debating why this should not happen.”

Prime Minister Aziz pointed at the role of the 57-member Organisation of Islamic Conference in this regard, terming it a challenge to adopt an effective response to help Lebanon. He said people in the Muslim world had great expectations from the OIC, which was bound by a solemn commitment made at the Makkah al Mukkaramah

Summit and the OIC Charter to demonstrate solidarity and support a member state under threat.

The Prime Minister warned that in the face of flagrant breach of Geneva Convention, “international norms and morality and the credibility of international institutions responsible for peace and security are being put to a severe test”. “We need to engage the West and the United Nations at the highest level for bringing the Israeli aggression in Lebanon to an immediate end,” he added.

Giving his proposals to end the crisis, he said the UN Security Council should be pressed to ensure an immediate ceasefire in Lebanon so

that more human sufferings and further casualties could be stopped, and relief assistance can be sent to the affected people. All sides must honour the ceasefire, he added.

He said the Security Council should also call for an Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, and an end to the physical and economic blockade, with a

humanitarian law,” the Prime Minister said and added, “to ensure that the ceasefire holds in Lebanon, a UN force should be mandated, with the consent of all parties concerned.”

He proposed that the OIC countries should consider contributing to a UN force which had the approval of the concerned parties. Pakistan



August 2006, Kaulala Lumpur: At the OIC Summit: Prime Minister of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz and Senator Mushahid Hussain.

simultaneous end to any armed action on the part of either side.

Simultaneously, he added, all prisoners - Lebanese, Palestinian and Israelis - should be returned. The ICRC can provide a neutral mechanism to achieve this. “There should be no impunity from violations of international

can contribute to peacekeeping in Lebanon, if asked. Talking to newsmen soon after the first of the two closed door sessions to discuss the situation in Lebanon following the attacks by Israel, the Prime Minister said Pakistan was the largest contributor to international peace keeping operations and if requested, it could contribute for the peace keeping operations. “We desire a

peaceful negotiated settlement to the crisis without the use of force as no civil society can allow killings of its women and children.” The Prime Minister, to a question, described the situation in Lebanon as “great human tragedy” and said Pakistan fully supported the peace keeping efforts.

He said the OIC could play an important role as it represented the Muslim Ummah. To a question, he said the solution to the crisis, which killed around 600 people in Lebanon, required an immediate ceasefire. He said Pakistan had already dispatched relief goods for Lebanon. The Prime Minister also called for addressing the fundamental causes that lead to violence. Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz on Wednesday held a series of meetings on the sidelines of the OIC’s extraordinary summit and shared with them Pakistan’s position on the grave situation in Lebanon and role of Ummah in countering these challenges besides discussing bilateral matters. Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz held separate meetings with Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Sultan of Brunei Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah, Prime Ministers of Malaysia Abdullah Badawi, Bangladesh Begum Khalida Zia and Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan besides Secretary General of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, Prof. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, besides the calls on by the Foreign Ministers of Syria and Lebanon.

The Prime Minister in his meeting with the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad called for unity amongst the Muslims to meet the challenges facing the Ummah.

Regarding the bilateral matters, the two leaders agreed on a “fast track conclusion” of talks on the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline project. Prime

Minister Aziz expressed optimism that the project would create the necessary linkages and inter-dependencies in the region towards peace and security. Iranian President noted that Pakistan and Iran enjoyed excellent relations and these would expand in the days ahead.

Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz held an exclusive half-an-hour long meeting with his Turkish counterpart where they deliberated in length on major international issues. On the issue of Lebanon, they agreed on immediate ceasefire and the need of rebuilding the cities devastated by Israeli bombing. In his meeting with the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Prime Minister Aziz discussed the role of OIC and the regional situation and bilateral matters, the future of SAARC and called for further strengthening their economic and trade ties.

On the Middle East crisis, Prime Minister Aziz said Pakistan has strongly condemned the Israeli attacks and the barbaric killing of young children and innocent civilians in Lebanon and said there was a need to immediately halt the military operations.

Prime Minister in his discussions with the world leaders also talked about the need of addressing the issue of terrorism by tackling its root causes that lead to acts of violence. The Prime Minister said there was a need to remove misperceptions about Islam and said there was absolutely no linkage between Islam and terrorism. He also dismissed the theory of the clash of civilisations and said there should be more focus on dialogue and settlement of matters through peaceful means rather than the use of force.

*Courtesy: APP/Daily, The Nation.  
August 4, 2006.*



# OIC anger at UN over Lebanon

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## NEWS ARAB WORLD

العالم العربي

### OIC anger at UN over Lebanon

Thursday 03 August 2006, 14:38 Makka Time, 11:38 GMT

**Islamic leaders have called for an immediate ceasefire in Lebanon and expressed anger at the UN over what they say are international double standards on Israel's offensive in the country.**

A statement from an emergency meeting of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in Malaysia said the United Nations must act immediately.

"We demand that the UN Security Council fulfill its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security without any further delay, by deciding on and enforcing an immediate and comprehensive ceasefire."

The statement said Israel was guilty of "blatant and flagrant violations of human rights" after attacks at Qana and Khiam in southern Lebanon that drew heavy international criticism.

It added, "We strongly condemn the relentless Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the serious violations of the latter's territorial integrity and sovereignty and in this regard charge Israel with full responsibility for the consequences of its aggression."

The meeting also called on the international community to provide support for Lebanon, including through a donors' conference to help the nation cope with the "human, social and economic tragedy" it was facing.

#### Double standards

Earlier, Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, the Secretary General of the OIC, had said that the "Islamic Ummah (community) is outraged" over international "double standards" because they do not understand how the human tragedy has been allowed to continue.

"The failure of peace initiatives will endanger not only the peace efforts in the Middle East, but peace and stability in the whole world... another failure in this regard can instigate further violence and terror," he said.

Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, Malaysia's prime minister and chair of the 57-nation body, said that Muslim countries had to commit troops for a proposed UN peacekeeping force in Lebanon.

He said, "We must play a more proactive role in the present conflict. We must show preparedness to contribute forces for peacekeeping operations under the UN banner. Malaysia is ready to do that."

Badawi said the UN had failed to act in Lebanon and that "the Security Council could not even muster the moral courage to condemn Israel for

the attack on Qana, or the killing of UN observers at Khiam".

### 'Incalculable consequences'

Pakistan echoed Ihsanoglu's comments, warning that continued inaction by the international community over the Middle East conflict would have "incalculable consequences" for regional and world security.

**Shaukat Aziz, Pakistan's prime minister, said:** "The failure of the international community, especially the UN and the major powers to halt this outrage, is adding to popular anger in the region and around the world.

"This paralysis is dangerous and can have incalculable consequences for long-term peace and security in the sensitive Middle East region



*From right: Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz at the OIC Conference, Kuala Lumpur.*

and in the world.

"It will also serve a severe blow to the international campaign against terrorism."

About 100 Malaysian Muslim activists demonstrated outside the summit venue as the leaders arrived, chanting anti-Israeli slogans and holding banners that read, "Israelis are real

terrorists" and "Don't allow Muslims to be slaughtered".

Lebanon, Egypt, Jordan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Senegal, Indonesia, Iran and Yemen, and the Palestinian Liberation Organization were amongst the countries represented at the meeting.



*Prof. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, Secretary General of the OIC, Prime Minister Shuakat Aziz, Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed and Senator Tariq Azeem Khan at an occasion during OIC Summit meeting held on August 3, 2006.*



## **UN Resolution: 1701 (2006)**

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August 11, 2006

Security Council calls for end to hostilities  
between Hizbollah, Israel - unanimously  
adopting Resolution 1701 (2006)





Security Council  
SC/8808

11 August, 2006

**Department of Public Information • News and Media Division • New York**

Security Council  
5511<sup>th</sup> Meeting (Night)

**SECURITY COUNCIL CALLS FOR END TO HOSTILITIES BETWEEN  
HIZBOLLAH, ISRAEL**

**UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTING RESOLUTION 1701 (2006)**

**Permanent Ceasefire to Be Based on Creation  
of Buffer Zone Free of Armed Personnel Other than UN, Lebanese Forces**

Expressing utmost concern at the spiralling deadly violence and destruction in Lebanon, the Security Council today called for a full cessation of hostilities in the month-long war between Israel and Hizbollah, mapping out a formula for the phased withdrawal of the Israel Defence Forces from southern Lebanon, while up to 15,000 United Nations peacekeepers help Lebanese troops take control of the area.

The Council's concern over the hundreds of deaths and injuries on both sides, the extensive damage to civilian infrastructure and massive internal displacement triggered by the 12 July abduction of two Israeli soldiers in a cross-border raid, led the 15-nation body to unanimously adopt

resolution 1701 (2006), which calls for "the immediate cessation by Hizbollah of all attacks and the immediate cessation by Israel of all offensive military operations" in Lebanon.

Aware of its responsibilities to help secure a permanent ceasefire and a long-term solution to the conflict, the Security Council created a buffer zone free of "any armed personnel" – both Hizbollah militants and Israeli troops – between the United Nations-drawn Blue Line in southern Lebanon and the Litani River (12 miles from the Israeli border), and called for both Israel and Lebanon to support a permanent ceasefire and comprehensive solution to the crisis.

Tonight's action caps a week of intense negotiations on the French and United States-negotiated text, which had been introduced this past Saturday but met with stiff resistance from Arab leaders, who said it disregarded key Lebanese concerns in favour of Israel. It sparked an urgent visit to New York by senior Arab League officials who pleaded Lebanon's case in a closed-door meeting with United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan and presented to the Council an Arab-backed deal which, included the Lebanese Government's demand for a broad ceasefire and, among other things, called for a prisoner exchange between Israel and Hizbollah.

In a lengthy address ahead of the Council's action, the Secretary-General said he was greatly relieved that the resolution provided for a full and immediate cessation of all hostilities. "It is absolutely vital that the fighting now stop", he said, adding: "Provided it does, I believe this resolution will make it possible to conclude a sustainable and lasting ceasefire agreement in the days ahead. And I hope that this could be the beginning of a process to solve the underlying political problems in the region through peaceful means."

But Mr. Annan said he was profoundly disappointed that the Council had not reached this point much earlier, and that he was convinced that his disappointment and sense of frustration were shared by hundreds of millions of people around the world. For weeks now, he had been calling repeatedly for an immediate cessation of hostilities, for the sake of the civilian population on both sides. "All members of this Council must be aware that this inability to act sooner has badly shaken the world's faith in its authority and integrity", Mr. Annan said, adding

that "War is not politics by other means", but "represents a catastrophic failure of political skill and imagination."

He said that, with the Lebanese Cabinet meeting tomorrow, and the Israeli Cabinet on Sunday, to review the resolution, he would work over the weekend on the task entrusted to him under the text, namely to establish with both parties the exact date and time at which the cessation of hostilities would come into effect. He would also begin working with the parties on proposals to delineate the international borders of Lebanon, especially in those areas where the border is disputed or uncertain, including by dealing with the Shebaa Farms and report to the Council within 30 days.

The new resolution emphasizes the need for an end of violence, but at the same time emphasizes the need to urgently address the causes that have given rise to the crisis, including the unconditional release of the abducted Israeli soldiers. "Mindful of the sensitivity of the issue of prisoners", the text also encourages the efforts aimed at urgently settling the issue of the Lebanese prisoners detained in Israel.

It also calls for Israel and Lebanon to support a long-term solution based on, among others, full respect for the Blue Line by both parties; full implementation of the relevant provisions of the Taif Accords; no foreign forces in Lebanon without the consent of its Government; no sales or supply of arms and related materiel to Lebanon except as authorized by its Government; and provision to the United Nations of all remaining maps of landmines in Lebanon in Israel's possession.

Welcoming the 7 August decision of the

Lebanese Government to deploy 15,000 armed troops in Southern Lebanon, the Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) through the end of August 2007, and increased its troop strength - currently at some 2,000 – to a maximum of 15,000. In addition to carrying out its original mandate under Council resolutions 425 and 426 (1978), UNIFIL would, among other things, monitor the cessation of hostilities; and extend its assistance to help ensure humanitarian access to civilian populations and the voluntary and safe return of displaced persons.

The text emphasizes the importance of the Government of Lebanon extending its control over all Lebanese territory in accordance with the provisions of Council resolutions 1559 (2004) and 1680 (2006), and calls upon that Government to secure its borders and other entry points to prevent the entry, without its consent, of arms or related materiel. It further decides that all States shall take the necessary measures to prevent, “by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft” the sale or supply of arms and related materiel of all types, to any entity or individual in Lebanon.

Lebanon’s Acting Foreign Minister Tarek Mitri told the Council that, while his country is eager to see a cessation of hostilities, the nature of the cessation must be the same for both sides. “The Lebanese are not confident in [an] Israeli distinction between ‘defensive’ and ‘offensive’.” The end to military operations should be unqualified”, he said, adding that “the obscenely disproportionate and unjustifiable Israeli retaliation” has already led to the deaths of more than 1,000 Lebanese.

Israeli Ambassador Dan Gillerman said the way

to avoid the crisis between Israel and Lebanon had been clear: implementation of the unconditional obligations set out in resolutions 1559 and 1680, which had set out issues for resolutions between Syria and Lebanon. The clear path forward was by disarming and disbanding Hizbollah and other militias, as well as by Lebanon’s exercise of authority over all its territory. But the will to implement such actions had been lacking, leading the people of Israel and Lebanon to pay a heavy price. The resolution adopted this evening represented “an opportunity to correct the mistakes of the past and to create a genuine new reality in our region”.

“Finally, the Security Council of the United Nations is deciding to halt war in Lebanon and Israel”, said the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, Philippe Douste-Blazy, adding that, by adopting the present resolution, the world community was shouldering its responsibilities to put an end to the destruction for hundreds of thousands of displaced people on both sides of the border, and to an economic and humanitarian situation that had grown more tragic by the day. He called on all countries to contribute to a reinforced UNIFIL, and said France, which was already part of the Force, was examining the additional supplementary support that it might be able to provide.

“Now, the hard and urgent work of implementation begins”, said United States Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, stressing that the resolution would allow a new, stronger Lebanon to emerge, with the world’s help. She urged the Governments of Israel and Lebanon to commit to ending large-scale violence, adding that “Hizbollah now faces a clear choice between war and peace, and the world should help to ensure that the choice is the right one”. The

most pressing challenge was to help thousands of displaced people, she said, pledging the support of the United States in that effort.

Also speaking this evening were the Foreign Ministers of Qatar, Greece, United Kingdom, Denmark and Ghana.

The representatives of China, Slovakia, Russian Federation, Argentina, Japan, United Republic of Tanzania, and Peru also spoke.

The meeting began at 7:04 p.m. and ended at 9:15 p.m.

## Resolution

The full text of Security Council resolution 1701 (2006) reads as follows:

“The Security Council,

“Recalling all its previous resolutions on Lebanon, in particular resolutions 425 (1978), 426 (1978), 520 (1982), 1559 (2004), 1655 (2006) 1680 (2006) and 1697 (2006), as well as the statements of its President on the situation in Lebanon, in particular the statements of 18 June 2000 (S/PRST/2000/21), of 19 October 2004 (S/PRST/2004/36), of 4 May 2005 (S/PRST/2005/17), of 23 January 2006 (S/PRST/2006/3) and of 30 July 2006 (S/PRST/2006/35),

“Expressing its utmost concern at the continuing escalation of hostilities in Lebanon and in Israel since Hizbollah’s attack on Israel on 12 July 2006, which has already caused hundreds of deaths and injuries on both sides, extensive damage to civilian infrastructure and hundreds of thousands of internally displaced persons,

“Emphasizing the need for an end of violence, but at the same time emphasizing the need to address urgently the causes that have given rise to the current crisis, including by the unconditional release of the abducted Israeli soldiers,

“Mindful of the sensitivity of the issue of prisoners and encouraging the efforts aimed at urgently settling the issue of the Lebanese prisoners detained in Israel,

“Welcoming the efforts of the Lebanese Prime Minister and the commitment of the Government of Lebanon, in its seven-point plan, to extend its authority over its territory, through its own legitimate armed forces, such that there will be no weapons without the consent of the Government of Lebanon and no authority other than that of the Government of Lebanon, welcoming also its commitment to a United Nations force that is supplemented and enhanced in numbers, equipment, mandate and scope of operation, and bearing in mind its request in this plan for an immediate withdrawal of the Israeli forces from southern Lebanon,

“Determined to act for this withdrawal to happen at the earliest,

“Taking due note of the proposals made in the seven-point plan regarding the Shebaa farms area,

“Welcoming the unanimous decision by the Government of Lebanon on 7 August 2006 to deploy a Lebanese armed force of 15,000 troops in South Lebanon as the Israeli army withdraws behind the Blue Line and to request the assistance of additional forces from UNIFIL as needed, to facilitate the entry of the Lebanese

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armed forces into the region and to restate its intention to strengthen the Lebanese armed forces with material as needed to enable it to perform its duties,

“Aware of its responsibilities to help secure a permanent ceasefire and a long-term solution to the conflict,

“Determining that the situation in Lebanon constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

“1. Calls for a full cessation of hostilities based upon, in particular, the immediate cessation by Hizbollah of all attacks and the immediate cessation by Israel of all offensive military operations;

“2. Upon full cessation of hostilities, calls upon the Government of Lebanon and UNIFIL as authorized by paragraph 11 to deploy their forces together throughout the South and calls upon the Government of Israel, as that deployment begins, to withdraw all of its forces from southern Lebanon in parallel;

“3. Emphasizes the importance of the extension of the control of the Government of Lebanon over all Lebanese territory in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1559 (2004) and resolution 1680 (2006), and of the relevant provisions of the Taif Accords, for it to exercise its full sovereignty, so that there will be no weapons without the consent of the Government of Lebanon and no authority other than that of the Government of Lebanon;

“4. Reiterates its strong support for full respect for the Blue Line;

“5. Also reiterates its strong support, as recalled in all its previous relevant resolutions, for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized borders, as contemplated by the Israeli-Lebanese General Armistice Agreement of 23 March 1949;

“6. Calls on the international community to take immediate steps to extend its financial and humanitarian assistance to the Lebanese people, including through facilitating the safe return of displaced persons and, under the authority of the Government of Lebanon, reopening airports and harbours, consistent with paragraphs 14 and 15, and calls on it also to consider further assistance in the future to contribute to the reconstruction and development of Lebanon;

“7. Affirms that all parties are responsible for ensuring that no action is taken contrary to paragraph 1 that might adversely affect the search for a long-term solution, humanitarian access to civilian populations, including safe passage for humanitarian convoys, or the voluntary and safe return of displaced persons, and calls on all parties to comply with this responsibility and to cooperate with the Security Council;

“8. Calls for Israel and Lebanon to support a permanent ceasefire and a long-term solution based on the following principles and elements:

- full respect for the Blue Line by both parties;
- security arrangements to prevent the resumption of hostilities, including the establishment between the Blue Line and the Litani river of an area free of any armed personnel, assets and weapons other than

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those of the Government of Lebanon and of UNIFIL as authorized in paragraph 11, deployed in this area;

- full implementation of the relevant provisions of the Taif Accords, and of resolutions 1559 (2004) and 1680 (2006), that require the disarmament of all armed groups in Lebanon, so that, pursuant to the Lebanese cabinet decision of 27 July 2006, there will be no weapons or authority in Lebanon other than that of the Lebanese State;
- no foreign forces in Lebanon without the consent of its Government;
- no sales or supply of arms and related materiel to Lebanon except as authorized by its Government;
- provision to the United Nations of all remaining maps of land mines in Lebanon in Israel's possession;

“9. Invites the Secretary-General to support efforts to secure as soon as possible agreements in principle from the Government of Lebanon and the Government of Israel to the principles and elements for a long-term solution as set forth in paragraph 8, and expresses its intention to be actively involved;

“10. Requests the Secretary-General to develop, in liaison with relevant international actors and the concerned parties, proposals to implement the relevant provisions of the Taif Accords, and resolutions 1559 (2004) and 1680 (2006), including disarmament, and for delineation of the international borders of Lebanon, especially in those areas where the border is disputed or uncertain, including by dealing with the Shebaa

farms area, and to present to the Security Council those proposals within thirty days;

“11. Decides, in order to supplement and enhance the force in numbers, equipment, mandate and scope of operations, to authorize an increase in the force strength of UNIFIL to a maximum of 15,000 troops, and that the force shall, in addition to carrying out its mandate under resolutions 425 and 426 (1978):

- (a) Monitor the cessation of hostilities;
- (b) Accompany and support the Lebanese armed forces as they deploy throughout the South, including along the Blue Line, as Israel withdraws its armed forces from Lebanon as provided in paragraph 2;
- (c) Coordinate its activities related to paragraph 11 (b) with the Government of Lebanon and the Government of Israel;
- (d) Extend its assistance to help ensure humanitarian access to civilian populations and the voluntary and safe return of displaced persons;
- (e) Assist the Lebanese armed forces in taking steps towards the establishment of the area as referred to in paragraph 8;
- (f) Assist the Government of Lebanon, at its request, to implement paragraph 14;

“12. Acting in support of a request from the Government of Lebanon to deploy an international force to assist it to exercise its authority throughout the territory, authorizes UNIFIL to take all necessary action in areas of deployment of its forces and as it deems within

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its capabilities, to ensure that its area of operations is not utilized for hostile activities of any kind, to resist attempts by forceful means to prevent it from discharging its duties under the mandate of the Security Council, and to protect United Nations personnel, facilities, installations and equipment, ensure the security and freedom of movement of United Nations personnel, humanitarian workers and, without prejudice to the responsibility of the Government of Lebanon, to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence;

“13. Requests the Secretary-General urgently to put in place measures to ensure UNIFIL is able to carry out the functions envisaged in this resolution, urges Member States to consider making appropriate contributions to UNIFIL and to respond positively to requests for assistance from the Force, and expresses its strong appreciation to those who have contributed to UNIFIL in the past;

“14. Calls upon the Government of Lebanon to secure its borders and other entry points to prevent the entry in Lebanon without its consent of arms or related materiel and requests UNIFIL as authorized in paragraph 11 to assist the Government of Lebanon at its request;

“15. Decides further that all States shall take the necessary measures to prevent, by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft:

“(a) The sale or supply to any entity or individual in Lebanon of arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary equipment, and spare parts for the aforementioned, whether or not originating in their territories; and

“(b) The provision to any entity or individual in Lebanon of any technical training or assistance related to the provision, manufacture, maintenance or use of the items listed in subparagraph (a) above;

except that these prohibitions shall not apply to arms, related material, training or assistance authorized by the Government of Lebanon or by UNIFIL as authorized in paragraph 11;

“16. Decides to extend the mandate of UNIFIL until 31 August 2007, and expresses its intention to consider in a later resolution further enhancements to the mandate and other steps to contribute to the implementation of a permanent ceasefire and a long-term solution;

“17. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council within one week on the implementation of this resolution and subsequently on a regular basis;

“18. Stresses the importance of, and the need to achieve, a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East, based on all its relevant resolutions including its resolutions 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973 and 1515 (2003) of 18 November 2003;

“19. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.”

## **BACKGROUND**

The Security Council met this evening to consider the situation in the Middle East.

### **Statement by Secretary-General**

KOFI ANNAN, United Nations Secretary-General, welcomed the resolution ahead of the Council's adoption, saying he was greatly relieved that it provided for a full and immediate cessation of all hostilities. "It is absolutely vital that the fighting now stop", he said, adding: "Provided it does, I believe this resolution will make it possible to conclude a sustainable and lasting ceasefire agreement in the days ahead. And, I hope that this could be the beginning of a process to solve the underlying political problems in the region through peaceful means."

"But, I would be remiss if I did not tell you how profoundly disappointed I am that the Council did not reach this point much, much earlier", he said. He was convinced that his disappointment and sense of frustration were shared by hundreds of millions of people around the world. For weeks now, he had been calling repeatedly for an immediate cessation of hostilities, for the sake of the civilian population on both sides who had suffered such terrible, unnecessary pain and loss. All Council members must be aware that its inability to act sooner had badly shaken the world's faith in its authority and integrity.

Since 12 July, when Hizbollah launched an unprovoked attack on Israel, killing eight Israeli soldiers and kidnapping two, both Lebanon and Israel had been thrown back into the turmoil of war, death and destruction. According to the Lebanese Government, more than 1,000 Lebanese had been killed and more than 3,600

injured. Around a quarter of all Lebanon's inhabitants - close to 1 million people had - been displaced. Israeli bombing had turned thousands of homes to rubble. Such devastation would be tragic at any time. That it had been inflicted on Lebanon's people just when they were making real progress towards political reform and economic recovery made it all the more so.

For its part, the Israelis had been newly awakened to a threat, which they had hoped, with good reason, to have escaped. Some 41 Israeli civilians had died, and hundreds of thousands had had their lives disrupted - being forced into shelters or to flee their homes - by rocket attacks from Hizbollah, which had launched its fire indiscriminately to sow the widest possible terror. Nor had the damage been limited to Lebanon and Israel. "A region that could ill-afford another chapter of violence, and another source of instability, has inflamed further still", the Secretary-General said.

Extremists have been given new ammunition, he said. The United Nations itself had been the target of violence and protest, despite the Organization's humanitarian efforts, including those of valiant peacekeepers of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), to reach people trapped in the crossfire. He noted with pride and admiration the courage of UNIFIL staff and all other humanitarian workers. Since July, the intense fighting had injured 16 United Nations staff, and tragically caused the death of five.

"So this resolution comes none too soon, and it marks a vital step forward", he said, adding that he was glad the Council members had been able to resolve their differences. Now, relief convoys and workers must be given a real

guarantee of safe passage and access to those who needed help. The resolution had rightly had at its core Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity, consistent with Council resolutions 425 (1998), 1559 (2004), and 1680 (2006). The international community must give the Lebanese Government all possible support, so that it could make that sovereignty effective.

The Government, acting through its regular Armed Forces and police, must be able to assert its authority throughout the country and on all its borders, particularly to prevent illegal and destabilizing arms flows, he said. Only when there was one authority, and one gun, would there be a chance of lasting stability. That implied, of course, a full and swift Israeli withdrawal from Lebanese territory. "We now have a clear scenario for achieving that", he said.

He said that, while Lebanon's decision to deploy 15,000 of the country's Armed Forces to the south was a significant development, ready and willing as that Army might be to undertake that task, the Government itself had acknowledged the need for help. That made the Council's decision to strengthen the mandate and the numbers of UNIFIL a vital ingredient of the package.

"Now, UNIFIL faces a new task, perhaps even more difficult and dangerous than its previous one. It must be robust and effective, and ensure that no vacuum is left between the Israeli withdrawal and the deployment of Lebanese forces", he said. Obviously, if it was to carry out its new mandate, it needed to be augmented with the utmost urgency, and provided with sophisticated military capabilities.

"The Council cannot afford to relax for one

minute", he said, urging its members to consult closely, and at once, with both existing and potential troop contributors, with a view to generating the additional forces needed as quickly as possible, "before the situation on the ground once again spins out of control". He urged the Council to make sure the forces had the equipment they needed. He also appealed to all potential donors to respond swiftly to requests from the Lebanese Government for financial help, as it struggled to reconstruct its devastated country.

He said he would lose no time in taking up the role assigned to him in the resolution: "We have just had a terrible lesson in the dangers of allowing problems to fester. We must by now all know that unless we address unfinished business, it can and will take us unawares." The Lebanese Cabinet would meet tomorrow, and the Israeli Cabinet, on Sunday, to review the text. Over the weekend, he would undertake to establish with both parties the exact date and time at which the cessation of hostilities would come into effect.

Lebanon had been a victim for too long, he said. Mired in an incomplete political transformation since the end of the civil war, it had remained an arena in which both domestic and regional actors could play out their self-interested schemes. Such exploitation of a vulnerable country was shameful and had undermined the laudable effort of many Lebanese citizens to consolidate their country as a sovereign, independent and democratic State. The country and its people deserved better. They deserved the full support of the United Nations, in their effort to cast off the chains of external interference and domestic strife.

Doing so would require both the establishment

of national consensus among Lebanese and constructive cooperation, based on mutual goodwill and sustained dialogue, by all relevant parties and actors on the regional level, including the Governments of Syria and Iran.

He said that the last five weeks had reminded the world yet again what “a fragile, tense and crisis-ridden region the Middle East has become - probably now more complex and difficult than ever before”. It was now undergoing changes, shifts and realignments on a scale, and of a strategic significance, not seen since the colonial Powers withdrew at the end of the Second World War. Perhaps even more ominous than the physical destruction were the changes in perception that had been occurring, both inside the region and beyond it.

The resolution was only one step towards the comprehensive approach that was needed. Other steps would need to be taken - many others, he said. In order to prevent yet another eruption of violence and bloodshed, the international community must now be prepared to offer sustained support and assistance for the political and economic reconstruction of Lebanon, and also to address the broader context of crisis in the region, he declared.

In particular, he urged the world community not turn its back on the bloodshed, suffering and hardship that continued to afflict Palestinian civilians in Gaza and the West Bank, or the danger from Qassam rockets that continued to threaten the Israeli communities bordering the Gaza Strip. Progress in the Middle East peace process would undoubtedly facilitate the resolution of conflicts elsewhere in the region, and vice versa. The various crises in the region, therefore, must now be addressed, not in isolation

or bilaterally, but as part of a holistic and comprehensive effort, sanctioned and championed by the Security Council, to bring peace and stability to the region as a whole.

“We must spare the people of Lebanon, of Israel, and of the wider region any further bloodshed - both now and in the months and years ahead”, he said.

Speaking before the vote, CONDOLEEZA RICE, Secretary of State of the United States, said the democratic leaders of both Lebanon and Israel worked tirelessly on behalf of their people, with the wider international community, to achieve the result of the Council’s efforts. With the adoption of the resolution, the international community had opened a path that would lead to lasting peace between both Lebanon and Israel. The United States had long called for a ceasefire, but one that was durable and sustainable. The resolution would allow a new, stronger Lebanon to emerge, with the world’s help. “Now the hard work begins”, she said, noting that the text set several key elements, including full cessation of hostilities and the unconditional release of prisoners. The United States also believed that all parties should take actions to protect civilians and expected both Governments to take steps to end all violence.

She was pleased that the resolution set out the way forward for UNIFIL. Though it bore the same name, it was not the same force. It would be enhanced and have an expanded mandate, better equipment and a sevenfold increase over its current number of peacekeepers. The renewed Force would deploy into the south of the country to ensure that no armed groups such as Hizbollah would move into the area. The resolution also set out the blueprint for Israel’s withdrawal, and

it made clear that this would be a parallel process. She also stressed that the text called on the international community to impose an arms ban on all weapons entering the country and she called specifically on Iran and Syria to respect the sovereignty of the Lebanese Government in that regard. Hizbollah also had a choice to make in the wake of the resolution's adoption. The text provided for no weapons, no armed forces and no authority held or operating in the country other than that of the Government of Lebanon.

The international community must ensure the resolution bolstered the shared drive for a just and lasting peace in the region, including Israel's right to live in peace and security. But today in no way marked the end of the international community's common efforts. "In many respects the hard work is just beginning", she said, stressing that no one could expect an immediate end to all acts of violence. Trust between the parties must be nurtured over time with the goodwill of both the Governments and the sustained commitment of the international community. So, going forward, the focus should first be the return of displaced Lebanese citizens and, at the same time, jump-starting efforts to rebuild the country.

The United States would continue to work with the Governments of Israel and Lebanon to rebuild Lebanon and provide humanitarian relief. Indeed, she said, her country had already committed resources to the humanitarian effort and in the coming days would do more. Today, it had increased its initial assistance package to \$50 million. Through common efforts, the international community must help the people of Lebanon become more prosperous than ever before. She said that the past month had been one of heartache, suffering and loss for both Lebanon

and Israel.

The resolution made it clear that the hostilities began when Hizbollah crossed an international boundary and captured and killed Israeli soldiers and began indiscriminately firing rockets into Israel. Hizbollah had dragged the people of Lebanon into a war that had nothing to do with them. But it was now time to end the violence and exploitation of the people of the Middle East. The time had come to transform tragedy into opportunity and to change old patterns of violence. The international community must see this through, she said, in order to ensure that all the people of the Middle East achieved the peace they deserved.

PHILLIPE DOUSTE-BLAZY, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, said that, by putting forward the present resolution, the international community was shouldering its responsibilities to put an end to the destruction of hundreds of thousands of displaced people on both sides of the border, and to an economic and humanitarian situation that had grown more tragic by the day. For its part, France, being linked to Lebanon by deep historical and cultural ties, and similarly linked to other countries of the region, had called for two requirements to be respected: that of allowing Lebanon's sovereignty to be restored; and of reaffirming Israel's right to security.

He said that the Lebanese Government's announcement of its intention to deploy its Army in South Lebanon, with the help of UNIFIL, was a "historic turning point for the country". It was one of the decisive elements that had made the current result possible. Indeed, the decision was a response to a recurring request on the part of the international community, and it was the world's duty to respect it.

The main objective was to immediately begin a process involving the deployment of the Lebanese Army, concurrently with the gradual, progressive withdrawal of the Israeli Army south of the Blue Line, he said. It also appeared essential to initiate a process to resolve the question of the delineation of the border, including the Shebaa Farms question, which was at the heart of the conflict. For the first time, a process was being initiated under the auspices of the Secretary-General to deal with that issue.

He specified that the mandate given to UNIFIL by the Council was not a mandate to impose peace. Rather, UNIFIL would assist the Lebanese Government in deploying its Army, providing humanitarian aid and helping displaced people return home. It would also be charged with monitoring the cessation of hostilities and observing the parties' respect for the permanent ceasefire and the Blue Line. As such, France called on all the parties to strictly respect United Nations personnel, materials and premises - their security must be assured in all circumstances. Already represented within UNIFIL, France would examine, with its European partners, the possibility of providing additional support for that force.

SHEIKH HAMAD BIN JASSIM BIN JABR AL-THANI, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Qatar, said that, while his country's position had always been in support of a resolution providing for an immediate ceasefire, it did not mean his Government was satisfied with the adoption of a resolution "that lacked balance and overlooked the accumulated, complicated historical, social and geopolitical factors that gave rise to the current situation in the region". The current resolution failed to take adequately into consideration the interests of

Lebanon, he said.

For instance, he said, the resolution did not address clearly and explicitly the horrors and destruction caused by the Israeli aggression against the innocent civilians and Lebanese infrastructure, and did not clearly indicate Israel's legal and humanitarian responsibility for the destruction. Nor did it deal in a balanced manner with the question of Lebanese prisoners and detainees, and abducted persons, in Israeli prisons. Nevertheless, Qatar had accepted the resolution in its present form, so that the bloodshed of innocents was stopped.

He said it was in his understanding that the resolution would compel both parties to halt hostilities, and that any breaches would be dealt with according to "The April Understanding of 1996". Also, the resolution would lead to the reopening of Lebanese ports and airports, and the return of displaced persons to their homes.

He welcomed the fact that the resolution had confined itself to augmenting UNIFIL, and that its mandate would continue to be in the context of Chapter VI of the Charter. Also, he welcomed the fact that any reference to the international forces in the text, as assured by the draft's sponsors, referred to UNIFIL.

Finally, he singled out paragraph 18 of the text, which emphasized the need for achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Failure to deal effectively and objectively with root causes of the conflict had led to a great deal of turbulence and tension in the region, which had manifested itself in the events unfolding in Lebanon and Palestine. Indeed, continued aggression against Gaza and its inhabitants was still being experienced. The Council of the League of Arab States had

unanimously adopted a decision to resubmit the question of the Arab-Israeli conflict to the Council after it was realized that the peace process, in its present form, had failed. As such, an official request for convening a high-level meeting of the Security Council next September would be submitted.

DORA BAKOYANNIS, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, said that history had proved time and again that neither victories in the battlefield nor blind violence against innocent civilians would ever solve the problems of the Middle East. Those problems needed political solutions, channelled through diplomatic means, in a spirit of compromise, mutual respect and acceptance. The adopted resolution offered the basis for a political solution and a framework, with concrete goals, and specific benchmarks and timeframes.

She said that full respect for Lebanon's sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity was the first and foremost of those benchmarks. Council resolutions 425 (1978), 1559 (2004) and 1680 (2006) must be fully implemented. It was imperative for the Lebanese Government to take effective and immediate control of the Lebanese territory in its entirety, through the withdrawal of the Israeli military forces and the deployment of the Lebanese Army. It was also imperative to proceed with the delineation of the international borders, including the Shebaa Farms. Israel's legitimate security concerns also needed to be properly addressed. While the right to self-defence must be preserved, Israel must respect its obligations under international law, including international humanitarian law.

The resolution was a first, but important, step towards a lasting and sustainable peace, she said. It must be ensured that the text be fully

implemented. Now that the end of hostilities was in sight, her country, together with the rest of the international community, stood ready to help in the enormous efforts needed to reconstruct a shattered Lebanon and help with the immediate return of refugees. She called upon the parties to set aside their fears and disappointments and, difficult as it might be, take the necessary commitment and effort to overcome the current crisis and build a better future for their people.

At the same time, he said, no one should forget the plight of the Palestinian people. As long as the Palestinian issue remained unresolved, there would be no peace in the region. The necessary conditions must be created for a genuine relaunching of a peace process, aimed at the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East, based on all relevant Council resolutions, the Madrid terms of reference and the principle of "land for peace".

MARGARET BECKETT, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, said that the objectives of the resolution just adopted had been clear: to bring about a full cessation of hostilities; to create a space for urgent humanitarian efforts; and to begin a process leading to a permanent ceasefire and a durable peace.

She said that last point was crucial and spoke to why it had taken long and intensive deliberations to arrive at this evening's decision. The Council had needed to hammer out a text that looked to the long term and took into account the views of all concerned, particularly the Governments of both Israel and Lebanon. It had taken some time, but the United Kingdom believed it was the right decision. The text was a comprehensive one that required actions on both sides. With its adoption,

there could be no going back to the way things had been.

The immediate concern was to alleviate the humanitarian situation on the ground, she said, adding that, hopefully, the immediate cessation of hostilities would allow space for United Nations and other humanitarian organizations to deploy into the region as soon as possible. The United Kingdom had a humanitarian team already on the ground, and it had increased its aid package to some £'a36.5 million.

She said that the heart of the agreement was Israeli Security and Lebanese sovereignty. There could not be one without the other; for too long, Lebanon had suffered from conflict and instability. The international community must also acknowledge that the people of Israel could no longer live under the shadow of indiscriminate rocket attacks and other violence. Indeed, after today, Hizbollah faced an historic choice, whether to continue on a path of violence and destruction or to pursue a path of political dialogue, which was itself the path to peace. And, Hizbollah's backers, namely Syria and Iran, must also look at their positions: would they choose to work with, or against, those who sought peace and stability in the Middle East. Here, she could not help but mention the recent comments of the President of Iran. Such comments were wholly unacceptable in themselves, and had the capacity to promote further violence.

The international community must also not lose sight of the situation in Gaza, where the humanitarian conditions of the Palestinian people was a cause for continued concern, she said. Real peace throughout the Middle East could only come on the basis of a lasting and comprehensive settlement. The international

community's priority must be to promote the Quartet-backed "Road Map". Tony Blair had today announced that he would visit the region shortly, namely the Occupied Palestinian Territory and Lebanon. The United Kingdom would do all it could to help bring about a lasting peace in Lebanon and the wider Middle East.

PER STIG MfLLER, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, said that several parties were responsible for the conflict. "Hizbollah was the main cause. We have also called on Syria and Iran to act responsibly, and we have called on Israel to show utmost restraint, avoid disproportionate action and warned against destroying Lebanon in their fight against Hizbollah", he added.

He said that the world must not return to the status quo ante; as long as armed forces outside the control of the Government operated in and around Lebanon, instability would prevail. Denmark stood firmly behind Prime Minister Siniora of Lebanon to meet the challenge of safeguarding a stable and democratic future for that country, and to avoid strengthening extremism in the region. Indeed, one of the main objectives of the resolution was to ensure the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of Lebanon in line with resolution 1559 (2004).

His country welcomed the decision to deploy 15,000 Lebanese troops in southern Lebanon and supported the enhancement of UNIFIL, he said. It was also imperative that United Nations humanitarian organizations and other relief organizations be guaranteed safety and unhindered access. Denmark had contributed to those efforts and the United Nation's humanitarian appeal, and it stood ready to extend

further assistance.

LIU ZHENMIN (China) said his country had repeatedly called on all parties in the conflict to practice utmost restraint since 12 July - the day the conflict broke out - and condemned excessive use of force and attacks against civilians, civilian facilities and United Nations personnel. In the course of consultations on the present resolution, China had repeatedly emphasized that the text reflect the concerns of all parties, especially those of Lebanon and Arab countries. He believed the resolution on the table embodied important elements, having absorbed the seven-point proposal of the Lebanese Government, such as calling for the full cessation of hostilities and upon the Lebanese Government to deploy its Armed Forces, together with UNIFIL, as the Israeli Army withdrew behind the Blue Line.

He said that the resolution also laid out detailed provisions for UNIFIL's new mandate, which would contribute to forming a good foundation for future efforts to achieve long-term political solutions to the Lebanon-Israel issue. He had voted in favour of the resolution, having taken note that Lebanon, Israel and Arab countries hold no objections to it.

Nevertheless, the text was the first step. Concerned parties were faced with more arduous tasks, such as reaching consensus on a comprehensive, lasting and fair framework for the political settlement of the conflict. At the same time, the international community should intensify their humanitarian relief efforts, while not forgetting the ongoing suffering of the Palestinian people. Hopefully, the Middle East peace process would be revitalized, through joint efforts of Israel and Arab countries, on the basis of United Nations resolutions and the principle of "land for peace".

PETER BURIAN (Slovakia) said that, as a co-sponsor of the resolution, he supported its adoption. The text provided an important basis for the cessation of hostilities and the start of a comprehensive settlement of the Lebanese crisis. It was also a first step in fully and urgently addressing the causes that had led to the current situation.

He said that there was no military solution to the Lebanese crisis or to the Middle East conflict in general. A lasting solution could only be reached through peaceful negotiations and full implementation of all relevant Security Council resolutions. The territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon could best be achieved by implementation of the resolutions calling for the Government to assume full control over all its territory. That meant taking the appropriate measures against illegal movements of arms and people through Lebanon's borders and illegal attacks against the territory of neighbouring States. The international community should assist the Lebanese Government to achieve that goal. The strength and mandate of UNIFIL should be expeditiously enhanced to cope with the tasks. The international community should also immediately address the extremely difficult humanitarian situation of the thousands of refugees and internally displaced persons and assist their return home.

The resolution could not substitute for agreement by parties on the basic principles for a long-term and lasting solution, he said. All parties should extend their full cooperation in achieving a sustainable and lasting solution to the Lebanese crisis.

VITALY I. CHURKIN (Russian Federation) said

that, for almost a whole month, hundreds of thousands of people in the region had been subject to peril. During the same time, much damage had been done to Lebanese infrastructure and the personnel of UNIFIL, too, faced casualties, inflicting wounds to both regional and international memory that would require a long time to heal. Throughout the crisis, the Russian Federation had always insisted on immediate ceasefire.

He then remarked on the familiarity of the chain of events that struck the Middle East, as well as the familiar lack of a comprehensive settlement following those events. Until decisive action was taken to resolve the region's fundamental problems, the world would doubtlessly face a similar outbreak of hostilities in the future. To avoid such a recurrence, all aspects of the situation must be dealt with without exception, and must be done on the basis of Security Council resolutions.

He said the present resolution had taken an unjustifiably long time to complete, with Russia doing everything it could to accelerate the process. In fact, in an attempt to speed up the process, Russia had proposed a draft resolution for a humanitarian ceasefire in Lebanon. However, in view of the fact that it was possible to produce the present text, Russia had decided to lend its wholehearted support to it. This was especially true since the resolution included Russia's demand for an immediate cessation of hostilities, and was able to accommodate both Lebanon's other interests, as well as Israel's security interests.

CEASAR MAYORAL (Argentina) said his country had voted in favour of the draft and had stressed the need to bring an immediate end to the

violence and an immediate beginning to broad humanitarian efforts on the ground. Still, Argentina, which continued to be concerned with the fate of civilians on both sides, regretted that it had taken the Council a full month to act. He stressed the need to adhere to the principles of proportionality and differentiation, and reiterated Argentina's condemnation of all violent acts committed against civilians. He hoped that with a cessation of hostilities, the focus would now quickly shift to alleviating the humanitarian situation on the ground.

He stressed that this was not the end of the road but the beginning, and that additional efforts would be needed to ensure peace and stability, starting with a strong call from the Council for the implementation of all previous resolutions on the situation in Lebanon and the Middle East. Here, he stressed the need for the Council to continue to monitor the situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Indeed, the deepening humanitarian crisis in Gaza and the wider occupied territories was part of the overall problem. The related crises fed off of each other. It was Argentina's hope, therefore, that, in the coming days, the Council would act to alleviate the suffering there.

KENZO OSHIMA (Japan) said the fighting had caused heart-rending bloodshed and the destruction of infrastructure on both sides. Hostilities were still ongoing, which meant that the number of casualties continued to increase every day. Such fighting only threatened the region's stability.

He said the package of solutions - a baby of political compromise, born of arduous exchange - could not satisfy all parties 100 per cent. Nevertheless, it provided a viable framework for

the avoidance of further destruction, long called for by the international community. But a sustainable solution to the conflicts besetting the region could only be reached if it was backed-up by political will and support from the international community. Indeed, a complete implementation of the points in the resolution was vital, and the Governments of Lebanon and Israel were called on to realize an immediate ceasefire, and to exercise the utmost restraint, as they carried out their efforts to restore calm and stability in the region.

He said Japan was concerned by the dire humanitarian situation, particularly in Lebanon. There was a need to address the problem of internally displaced people and of refugees, as well as the rehabilitation of the country at the earliest possible time. He paid tribute to all humanitarian relief workers, UNIFIL observers and troops for their perseverance. While all due attention and speed was required to deal with the issue of Lebanon, members of the Council must not forget the problem of Palestine and the increasingly dire plight of the Palestinian people.

TUVAKO N. MANONGI (United Republic of Tanzania) said stopping further humanitarian casualties had always been an objective. Indeed, it was still the Council's primary objective tonight, in addition to a second objective: to achieve a political solution. Meanwhile, any expectation that military action would bring about a political solution could only engender grave humanitarian consequences and render it harder to promote a political solution.

He said he was relieved that it had been possible to complete the draft of the present resolution, and subsequently to vote for it, since it had always been Tanzania's view that the crisis need

not escalate further. The Government of Lebanon was to be commended for its seven-point plan, augmented by an offer to deploy 15,000 troops in southern Lebanon to control its territory in collaboration with UNIFIL. The Government of Israel was also to be commended for giving the proposal due consideration.

For its part, the international community had an important supportive role in the resolution's implementation, he said, praising potential troop-contributing countries for their actions so far and urging them to act with urgency. He also appealed for assistance towards the return and resettlement of displaced persons, and the reconstruction of Lebanon.

Mr. PEREYRA (Peru) said he hoped that the resolution just adopted would mark the beginning of the end of the violence, which had wreaked so much havoc on both sides. The cessation of hostilities should also allow the humanitarian relief effort to begin without delay. He called for the speedy strengthening of UNIFIL, so that the Lebanese Government could deploy its authority throughout the country.

NANA AFUKO-ADDO, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, whose delegation holds the Security Council presidency for the month, said it was an honour to preside over a meeting at which the Council had adopted a text on Lebanon, which the world had been awaiting. The anxiety that had gripped the world since the outbreak of the conflict and led some to accuse the Council of inaction could now be laid to rest. He hoped that today would mark a true beginning, not only for the people of Lebanon and Israel, but for the entire region.

He welcomed the presence of the many high

political officials that had been present for the vote and stressed that their participation underscored the fact that no other body could surpass the Security Council in the force of its moral authority and sheer diplomatic clout, when it acted in unity, and remained faithful to its responsibilities. “We expect nothing less when we come to grapple with the fundamental question of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the long-standing Middle East question”, he said. Clearly, the solution was within the Council’s grasp. Now, all delegations must resolve to work together in a spirit of compromise, to bring a speedy end to the pain and suffering of the peoples of that troubled region.

He echoed the wish of others that the adoption of the resolution would lead to an immediate cessation of hostilities between Israel and Lebanon, and begin to bring prompt relief to the 1 million displaced people in dire need of humanitarian assistance. The passage of the resolution should also be seen as an important step in the search for a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Towards that goal, Ghana intended to work closely with the Council members to implement the two-State solution. Indeed, in that quest, the international community, and especially the Council, should leave no stone unturned.

TAREK MITRI, Minister of Culture and Special Envoy of the Government of Lebanon, said that, while Israel claimed the war was against Hizbollah and not Lebanon, their strategy of terror was, in fact, inflicted on all Lebanese. The “indiscriminate murder” of more than 1,100 Lebanese civilians, a third of them children; the massacres and “cleansing” of villages; the destruction of infrastructure and economy was

“nothing short of criminal”. In addition, one quarter of the population had been displaced, with many desperately low of fuel, food and medical supplies. Homes, hospitals, factories and warehouses had been demolished.

He said the direct cause of the thousands of deaths and injuries were the “obscenely disproportionate and unjustifiable” Israeli retaliation. There had been many cases documented by human rights organizations revealing a systematic failure by the Israeli army to distinguish between combatants and civilians. In many cases, the timing and intensity of the attack, the absence of a military target and strikes on rescuers suggested that Israel’s forces deliberately targeted civilians. Even today, a convoy of evacuated civilians escorted by the Red Cross had been targeted, killing 4 and injuring 16.

He added that Lebanon had offered a seven-point plan developed through a process of national consensus that received unanimous approval of the Lebanese Council of Ministers, and political and religious leaders, and received support from the Arab League, the Organization of Islamic Conferences and the Non-Aligned Movement. But, a ceasefire that retained for one side the right “not to cease firing” was not a ceasefire, and for that, Lebanon had urgently requested a ceasefire that had the possibility of being implemented, so that all hostilities should immediately cease, and do so for good.

The persistent invasions of Lebanon demonstrated Israel’s continuing belief that military actions would remedy the causes of the region’s crises, he continued. A political resolution rooted in international law was needed, rather than a solution based on the use of force, and

the seven-point plan was an example of such a solution. Indeed, the people and Government of Lebanon were deeply appreciative of the international effort to bring to an immediate end the “ravaging of Lebanon”. The Council’s acknowledgement of the Shebaa Farms problem was also appreciated and, hopefully, steps would be taken by both the Council and the Secretary-General to resolve the issue, thereby removing of the conflict’s underlying causes.

Further, he said, the Lebanese were not confident in the Israeli distinction between “defensive” and “offensive”. The end of military operations should be unqualified, and the lifting of the blockade should be immediate upon cessation of hostilities so that humanitarian aid was no longer prevented from reaching people in need. As for the deployment of Lebanese Armed Forces in southern Lebanon as the sole military force in the area, to be assisted by the United Nations forces, he called for troop-contributing countries to act swiftly on the strengthening and enhancement of UNIFIL.

He said Israel would realize that the peoples of the Middle East could not be cowed into submission. The 2002 Arab Summit in Beirut had called for a just, comprehensive and lasting peace based on the principle of land for peace, which was the way forward. However, a political solution could not be implemented as long as Israel continued to occupy Arab land in Lebanon, Gaza, the West Bank and the Syrian Golan Heights. For the Lebanese people and, indeed, the world at large, the stakes could not be higher, and the Lebanese Council of Ministers would convene urgently tomorrow to consider the resolution.

DAN GILLERMAN (Israel) said that, but for the

alertness of the British security authorities, the world could have been sitting in the aftermath of a terrorist atrocity greater even than “9/11”. “The world would have mourned, but in the streets of Tehran, Damascus, Gaza and parts of Lebanon, there would be rejoicing, just as there was on 9/11”, he said, adding that though the plan was foiled, the threat - and genocidal ideology that inspired it - remained. For the past month, Israel had been confronting that same fanatical terrorism, which was quick to cross continents. Hostage-taking, suicide bombers and hijackings knew no boundaries, as many States around the table, among them Argentina, United Kingdom, Greece, Japan, Qatar, Russian Federation and the United States, knew only too well.

He said that whether the world would succeed in defeating that threat depended on the resolve demonstrated today. The way to avoid the crisis between Israel and Lebanon had been clear: implementation of the unconditional obligations set out in resolutions 1559 and 1680, which had set out issues for resolutions between Syria and Lebanon. The clear path forward was by disarming and disbanding Hizbollah and other militias, as well as by Lebanon’s exercise of authority over all its territory. But the will to implement such actions had been lacking, leading the people of Israel and Lebanon to pay a heavy price.

He said the failure to ensure the implementation of those resolutions meant Israel had no choice but to do what Lebanon had failed to. As a result, Hizbollah’s lethal capability had been dealt a major blow; bases had been dismantled; and stockpiles of Iranian missiles had been destroyed, showing terrorists and their sponsors that campaigns of terrorism would meet with the



forceful response they deserved. However, Israel was ready to respond to calls from the Council, and to give the Lebanese Government another chance to create a new reality on the ground.

He went on to say that the resolution adopted today would establish a binding arms embargo requiring all States to prevent the supply of arms and weapons to militias and terrorists in Lebanon. It provided for a radically different international force with a mandate and capability to use all necessary means to create a new situation in Lebanon, in which the borders would be secure. Hizbollah would not rearm, and Lebanese armed forces would deploy throughout Lebanese territory including along the Blue Line. However, the resolution would do nothing unless the tools provided in it were used with resolve and decisiveness.

The stakes for the region were high, he said, as the last few weeks had given a “chilling glimpse” at what the region could be like if Iran were to

succeed in achieving its goal of adding weapons of mass destruction to its arsenal. But the resolutions adopted by the Council today and last week had sent Iran a clear message: it could not develop weapons to threaten the region on its own territory, and it could not fight proxy wars on the territory of others.

He said there was no quarrel with the Lebanese people, and that Israel wished to live next to a peaceful Lebanon that was able to exercise its independence and sovereign responsibility like any other State. The people of Lebanon had a choice: to develop agriculture and make deserts bloom, or to turn towns into bases of terror and barren lands. They had a choice between working to advance medicine to bring health to body and limb, or to manufacture weapons of destruction for tearing limb from limb. It was a choice between those who invested in industry and trade, and those whose only export was terror.

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*For information media · not an official record.*



# The Lebanon Conflict: Chronology of Events

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## Timeline of the July War 2006

### Key events in the latest crisis between Israel and Lebanon

#### Timeline of the July War 2006

Israeli offensive killed 1,287 in Lebanon: official tolls

The Israeli offensive on Lebanon has left at least 1,287 people, nearly all civilians, dead and 4,054 wounded, according to an AFP count based on official figures on Saturday 19 August 2006:

- At least 1,140 civilians -- 30 percent of them children under 12 -- have been killed along with 43 Lebanese army and police troops in the month-long offensive that ended on Monday, the state High Relief Committee said. The HRC tolls do not count people still believed to be under the rubble in various locations across the country.
- The Lebanese Shiite militant group Hezbollah has announced the death in action of 74 combatants while the allied Amal movement lost 17 militants.
- The radical pro-Syrian Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) of Ahmad Jibril said two of its militants were killed in Israeli raids.
- Israeli strikes also killed four United Nations observers and one member of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).
- Six people were killed and 13 others wounded by the explosion of Israeli bomblets since the cessation of hostilities between Israel and Hezbollah went into effect on Monday, police said.

Events on Monday 14th of August, the 34th day of the conflict in Lebanon between Israel and Hezbollah (last day):

- Cessation of hostilities comes into effect at 0500 GMT.
- Israeli air strikes around Baalbek in northern Lebanon kill seven people, 30 minutes before truce.
- Israel says a Hezbollah fighter was killed in a clash after the ceasefire. At least 1,150 people, mainly civilians, have died in Israel's bombardment of Lebanon.
- Israel says it will maintain its air and sea blockade of Lebanon because of alleged Hezbollah arms smuggling.
- Israeli army says some of its troops are withdrawing from Lebanon. A UN aid convoy heads to southern port of Tyre, the first such delivery of aid for several days.
- Displaced Lebanese start to return to their homes.
- Northern Israeli residents emerge from shelters. Lebanon's UN ambassador says he thinks his country will be the last state to sign a peace treaty with Israel.
- The Israeli army announces the deaths of two soldiers, bringing the total of Israeli troops killed to 117.

- Israel drops leaflets over Beirut blaming Hezbollah for the destruction in Lebanon and warning it would respond to any future strikes.
- Hezbollah distributes posters claiming « divine victory ».
- The UN warns of the danger of unexploded ordnance, estimated to be one in 10 of every shell, bomb and rocket fired and dropped on Lebanon.

#### August 14:

- Cessation of hostilities comes into effect at 0500 GMT, with seven killed in Israeli strikes minutes before deadline.
- Israel maintains Lebanese air and land blockade and ban on road traffic as displaced Lebanese start to return home.
- Hezbollah fighter killed by Israeli troops, the first post-truce casualty.

#### August 13:

- Israeli cabinet accepts Resolution 1701.
- Hezbollah backers Syria and Iran voice support for resolution.
- At least 13 civilians are killed as Israel pushes Lebanon offensive.
- An Israeli man is killed by a Hezbollah rocket.

#### August 12:

- The UN Security Council unanimously adopts a resolution calling for an end to the month-old war.
- Israel expands its ground offensive in south

Lebanon losing 24 soldiers in its heaviest single-day toll.

- Despite the continued fighting, Lebanon and Israel appear set to accept the resolution.
- Lebanese cabinet accepts Resolution 1701.
- Annan says Israel and Hezbollah agree to end fighting 0500 GMT on August 14.

#### August 11:

- Twelve civilians killed and 15 wounded in Israeli raids.
- One Israeli soldier reportedly killed and 16 wounded in clashes with Hezbollah.
- Opinion polls show sharp drop in support among Israelis for government handling of the offensive.
- UN peacekeepers evacuate hundreds of Lebanese security forces and civilians from barracks occupied by Israelis in southern Christian town of Marjayun.
- Olmert orders army to prepare to launch expanded ground offensive after diplomatic efforts stumble.

#### August 10:

- Israeli tanks thrust into Lebanon as troops seize southern border town of Marjayun and occupy Lebanese army barracks.
- Israel says it has put wider offensive on hold to give diplomacy chance.
- One Israeli soldier killed in southern Lebanon, and two people killed by Hezbollah rocket in northern Israel.

- Annan calls for UN Security Council resolution on conflict by the end of week.

### August 9 :

- Israel's security cabinet decides to expand ground war.
- Israeli warplanes kill 11 people, including a Hezbollah official and his five children, in raids across Lebanon.
- Israeli casualties now stand at 65 military and 36 civilian dead.
- Kiryat Shmona is first Israeli town to be evacuated since the creation of the Jewish state in 1948.
- France and the United States hold new talks to overcome divisions on a Security Council resolution calling for an end to hostilities.
- Aid agencies say relief supplies are paralysed by Israeli bombing of roads and bridges.

### August 8:

- One Israeli soldier killed in clashes which leave 15 Hezbollah fighters dead, Israel says. Official Israeli army toll now 62.
- Defence Minister orders contingency plans for larger ground offensive.
- Israeli air force drops leaflets on south Lebanon, threatens to attack any moving vehicle. Aid agencies warn of threat to relief supplies.
- Olmert says Lebanon's troop deployment proposal "interesting," but other officials say it could be "smokescreen" for Hezbollah.

- At least 50 people dead after raids on previously-spared Beirut district (Shiyah).

- UN Secretary General Kofi Annan urges Israel and Hezbollah to "respect their obligations under international humanitarian law." Arab ministers meet with UN Security Council.

### August 7:

- Israeli raids kill 69 Lebanese civilians; official Lebanese toll now more than 1,000 dead and around 3,500 wounded.
- Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert says "no limits" imposed on army.
- Three Israeli soldiers die in clashes in Bint Jbeil.
- Arab League ministers meet in Beirut.
- Lebanese Prime Minister Fuad Siniora demands changes to UN draft, seeks backing for his own peace plan including Israeli withdrawal, boosted UN force, Lebanese army deployment in south and disarmament of Hezbollah.
- Lebanon calls up reservists, offers to deploy 15,000 troops at border.

### August 6:

- Israel's bloodiest day so far: 12 soldiers die in rocket attack on Kfar Giladi near border, three civilians killed and 160 wounded in Haifa.
- Israeli raids on Lebanon kill at least 12 civilians, one soldier and one pro-Syrian Palestinian militant.
- Hezbollah says three fighters killed, taking

its announced toll to 51.

- UN Security Council debates Franco-US draft resolution demanding "full cessation of hostilities", but Lebanon reject it and Hezbollah says it will stop fighting only if Israeli troops leave Lebanon.
- Damascus warns of regional war if Syria is attacked.

#### August 5:

- Day 25 -- Israel pounds Lebanon in heaviest bombardment yet.
- One Israeli killed near Taibe and eight commandos wounded in raid Israel says killed four senior Hezbollah members in Tyre.
- Warplanes strike Beirut's southern suburbs for third straight night.
- The UN, US and France at odds over the first UN resolution on the conflict.

#### August 4:

- At least 23 people, most Syrian, killed in Israeli raid at Qaa on Lebanese-Syrian border.
- Israel hits Sohmor power station, cutting electricity to Bekaa Valley and south Lebanon.
- Official Israeli now 43 soldiers killed in Lebanon and 31 civilians dead in rocket attacks.
- Hezbollah fires 220 rockets at Israel, including one at Hadera 40 km north of Tel Aviv in deepest strike so far.

#### August 3:

- Israel launches fresh air strikes on Beirut after a lull of several days.
- Muslim nations demand immediate ceasefire in the Middle East.
- Eight Israeli civilians and four soldiers killed on bloodiest day for Israel so far.
- Hezbollah chief threatens to rocket Tel Aviv.
- Lebanese official toll over 900 civilian dead and 3,000 wounded.

#### August 2:

- Israeli commandos swoop 100 kilometres (60 miles) inside Lebanon in raid near Baalbek, seizing five men they allege are Hezbollah militants and killing 16 civilians, including seven children.
- One man was killed and 19 were wounded as 160 rockets hit the north of Israel -- the biggest single-day barrage of the conflict. Some rockets struck near Beit Shean, some 60 km (37 miles) from the Lebanese border, the deepest strike so far by Hezbollah.
- The devastation caused by three weeks of Israeli bombardments in Lebanon has created losses of 2.5 billion dollars, says most recent official figures.

#### August 1:

- Israel's security cabinet gives army green light to push up to 30 kilometres (19 miles) into southern Lebanon. Defense Minister Amir Peretz says goal is to pave the way for deployment of international force.

- Israel concedes it will be unable to completely wipe out Hezbollah's rocket arsenal .
- Israeli ground troops expand south Lebanon offensive and engage Hezbollah guerrillas in fierce fighting around flashpoint border town of Bint Jbeil.

### July 31:

- Israel declares 48-hour halt to air strikes on Lebanon as Rice leaves Israel.
- One Lebanese soldier is killed by Israeli naval fire.
- Israel vows to expand its offensive in Lebanon and predicts its war on Hezbollah will "change the face of the region."
- Israeli warplanes strike the southeastern Lebanese border village of Taibe.

### July 30:

- At least 52 Lebanese civilians killed in Israeli air strike on Qana.
- Lebanon calls it a "war crime" and demands immediate ceasefire.
- Israel blames Hezbollah and says it is in "no rush" for a ceasefire.
- Hamas warns "all options open" against Israel after Qana.
- Israel attacks Masnaa border crossing into Syria.
- Israeli ground troops fight Hezbollah outside Taibe in new cross-border incursion.

### July 29:

- Israel rejects UN call for three-day humanitarian truce as US.
- Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice returns for conflict talks.
- Israel air strikes kill 14 Lebanese civilians.
- Lebanon coast polluted with oil after Israel air strike.

### July 28:

- Israel blasts south Lebanon for 17th day as more reservists mobilised.
- US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice mulls Middle East return.
- Israeli army to deploy Patriot anti-missile batteries near Tel Aviv.

### July 27:

- Israel decides to step up air assault and mobilize extra reserve troops.
- EU says could contribute peacekeeping forces if UN resolution allows.

### July 26:

- Israeli air raid kills up to four UN observers on the Lebanese border in what UN chief Kofi Annan calls "an apparently deliberate targeting".
- Fifteen-nation summit on the Middle East conflict begins in Rome with Annan calling for an "immediate cessation of hostilities".

Fighting intensifies with 13 Israeli soldiers reported killed fighting Hezbollah in southern Lebanon.

- First UN aid convoy heads from Beirut to war-torn southern Lebanon.
- Rome summit ends with no commitment to ceasefire.

### July 25:

- Olmert vows to press on with Israel's two-week-old offensive in Lebanon.
- Israel says it has taken control of the border town of Bint Jbeil, a Hezbollah military stronghold. No independent confirmation.
- US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, holding talks with Israeli and Palestinian leaders, says it is "time for a new Middle East".

### July 24:

- Rice visits Beirut in "show of support" for Lebanese people and calls for a ceasefire as soon as viable.
- Two Israeli soldiers are killed in battles with Hezbollah, while two airmen die in a combat helicopter crash in northern Israel.
- The army says two Hezbollah militiamen are captured by troops and brought to Israel.
- Egeland launches an urgent appeal for 150 million dollars to help 800,000 civilians made homeless by Israeli raids on Lebanon.

### July 23:

- Syria warns that it will respond if Israel invades Lebanon.

- Defence Minister Amir Peretz says that Israel supports the deployment of an international force in southern Lebanon, possibly sponsored by NATO.

### July 22:

- Israel masses thousands more reservists on Lebanese border.
- Israeli aircraft hit transmission towers for television stations and mobile telephone networks.

### July 21:

- Israel calls up thousands, warning of possible invasion of Lebanon.
- Lebanese civilians flee from south; foreign nationals' exodus continues.
- Hezbollah rejects UN plan for halt to hostilities and release of Israeli soldiers.

### July 20:

- Foreigners pour out of Lebanon by land, sea and air, heading for safety in Cyprus, Syria and Turkey.

### July 19:

- At least 70 civilians killed on deadliest day of Israel's Lebanon offensive.
- Two Israeli soldiers killed in border clashes.

### July 18:

- Helicopters and ships dispatched to evacuate foreigners.

### July 17:

- Israeli strikes kill 43 Lebanese.

- Hezbollah rejects Israeli ceasefire terms.
- Annan calls for end to hostilities, suggests UN "stabilisation force" along Lebanon-Israel border.
- UN Security Council fails to agree on ceasefire call.

#### **July 16:**

- Eight Israelis killed by Hezbollah rockets on Haifa.
- Syria warns it will respond by all means necessary to any Israeli attack.

#### **July 15:**

- Hezbollah attacks Israeli warship, killing four sailors.
- Eighteen civilians killed in Israeli attack.

#### **July 14:**

- Israel bombs Beirut home of Hezbollah chief Hassan Nasrallah, who declares "open war".

- Israel sets conditions to end offensive: halt rocket attacks, release its soldiers, and Lebanon to implement UN resolution on Hezbollah disarmament.

- Two Israelis killed by rocket fire from Lebanon.

#### **July 13:**

- Israel bombs Beirut airport, kills at least 44 civilians in air strikes across Lebanon.
- Two Israelis killed by Hezbollah rockets.
- Russia, France, Britain and Italy criticise "disproportionate" use of force by Israel. US blames "terrorists who want to stop the advance of peace".

#### **July 12:**

- Hezbollah captures two Israeli soldiers and kills eight.
- Israel launches air strikes and sends ground troops into Lebanon for the first time since its 2000 pullout.

-AFP



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## How to interpret the war in Lebanon?

### Our Analytical Perspective Determines Our Political Options

by

Volker Perthes

Political events are naturally subject to competing interpretations. This is especially true for those events that are accompanied by a significant degree of violence, relayed to the world by international media, as has been the case with the recent war in Lebanon. Many ostensible observers in reality are in one way or another party to such events. Some offer their services as objective analysts and experts of regional affairs, while being formally associated with one of the warring parties. Usually, political decision-makers are aware of such antics. They might however be less attuned to the extent to which their own frame of reference and analysis shapes their perception of a problem, and hence also their political options. This is equally the case for professional observers of politics.

The faultlines and events of the war in Lebanon can be perceived through – at least – five different frames of reference. While not mutually exclusive, these frames give different emphasis to individual aspects of the issue, and favour certain decisions and solutions over others. Each of these perspectives is sustained by a different theory of how the world works, and each can be identified by a central concept that informs its respective theory: the Global War on Terror, Islamic fundamentalism vs. modern Israel, asymmetrical wars, weak statehood, and finally, power struggles in the Middle East. Let us consider each of these

frameworks in turn and discuss their respective strengths and weaknesses, as well as their policy implications, while asking ourselves what might be options for political action.

*Global War on Terror (GWOT):* U.S. President George W. Bush and many of his fellow warriors have perceived the war in Lebanon to be a local manifestation of the Global War on Terror, fought by the United States and its allies. Friend and foe, good and evil are clearly distinguishable from each other according to this framework, which indeed only conceives of these two camps. Israel is fighting the same war in the Middle East that the United States fights on a global scale. The Lebanese Hizballah and Jihadists of the al-Qaeda persuasion are collapsed into the same enemy category. According to this perspective, U.S. national interest dictates support for Israel in its attempt at destroying Hizballah. The main weakness of this framework is its inability to distinguish between global Jihadists on the one hand, and national groups such as Hizballah and the Palestinian Hamas on the other. This, however, is a necessary distinction to make. The latter organisations possess a local agenda and a constituency who expect tangible services and benefits. It is possible to engage Hizballah or Hamas in *realpolitik* bargains. Forfeiting this option not only makes fighting global terror more difficult, it also hinders the search for stability

and for viable solutions in the Middle East.

*Islamic fundamentalism vs. modern Israel:* A number of Israeli as well as European politicians have understood the war set off by Hizballah as a confrontation between radical Islam and an Israeli state that represents modernity. According to their arguments, the war was not about gaining territory or self-determination, as had been the case with previous conflicts. Instead, Hizballah allied itself with the Palestinian Hamas – which denies Israel’s right to exist –, mobilised hatred of Israel on a regional scale and attempted to existentially weaken the Jewish state. Occasionally, this line of argument will suggest that Israel represents a Western model of modernity in the Middle East, and that therefore the war in Lebanon carries elements of a clash of cultures between Islamic fundamentalism and Western civilisation. This analysis may help explain why Sunni Islamists in Egypt carry flags of the Shia Hizballah at demonstrations. However, it remains inappropriate for adequately grasping the situation. It disregards the fact that the Hamas-led government in the Palestinian territories was by no means happy about the way Hizballah tried to instrumentalise the Palestinian agenda. Such an analysis also marginalises important faultlines in the conflict. The real dividing line in any cultural clash, if one is willing to consider it as such, does not run between “the West” and “Islam”. Instead, the faultline is situated within the Arab-Muslim civilisation itself and divides those that want to integrate their countries and societies into a globalised world from those that seek to prevent this from happening. Hizballah, too, knows that it is not in a position to threaten Israel’s existence by firing rockets at it. The “Party of God” was apparently aiming for a limited confrontation, but actually started a war that, above all, existentially threatened the experiment

of an independent, multi-confessional and democratic state of Lebanon.

*Asymmetrical wars:* Many observers have stressed the fact that the war in Lebanon, as an asymmetrical war fought between a highly armed nation-state and a guerilla movement, holds many lessons for future wars of this type. Although tight, this frame of reference allows some inferences for the study of war and peace. For instance, it demonstrates the impossibility of vanquishing a guerilla movement by way of destroying civilian infrastructure. This perspective also shows that a guerrilla force can claim victory merely by holding out long enough against a state enemy with superior arms, and stresses the importance held by a “war of images” in an age of media globalisation. As Lothar Rühl has pointed out in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the asymmetrical-war analysis also shows that during this type of conflict it is not just guerilla movements – while hardly being expected to do so – who disregard humanitarian international law. Even state actors involved in such confrontations tend to ignore the rules. Politically, this poses the question of the development of humanitarian international law, and of the protection of human security in the context of non-traditional wars.

*Weak states:* This analytical frame focuses on the risks inherent in a weakening of state institutions in the Arab world. After all, a non-state actor, Hizballah, initiated a war single-handedly. The leaderships of a number of Arab states were challenged politically by the transnational support attracted by Hizballah leader Hassan Nasrallah. In the Middle East, non-state actors who fight wars are hardly a novelty. Usually, they struggle to achieve statehood, with the PLO being the most prominent

example in this regard. This is different in the case of the most recent war in Lebanon: Hizballah is not asking for its own state, it is represented as a party in the Lebanese parliament and has two ministers in the current government. Nonetheless it presumed to independently initiate acts of war, and even to declare war on a neighbouring country. The result was a triangular confrontation in which Hizballah fought Israel, Israel fought the state of Lebanon, and the latter was reduced to asking for international help and an end to the fighting. Focussing on Lebanon should not obscure that other states in the region are also at risk. In the Palestinian territories, we are witnessing a process of state failure without a state, as it were. In Iraq, state authorities cannot even stand up to militias, criminal gangs and terror organisations in the nation's capital. At the same time sectarian tensions are mounting throughout the entire region, mainly between Sunni and Shia. Anywhere state institutions have been undermined by corruption, bad governance and despotism, the appeal of ethno-nationalistic and confessional identities is on the rise, and is in turn further weakening the state. If external actors are interested in stabilising the region, they will have to consider ways in which institutions can be strengthened again, mainly in the Palestinian territories and in Lebanon. Only if citizens witness that state institutions can deliver basic public goods such as security, welfare and reconstruction, will they align themselves with state policies rather than confessional or tribal communities and parties.

*Power struggles in the Middle East:* Finally, the war in Lebanon can be interpreted as a further episode in a series of unresolved Arab-Israeli conflicts about power, territory, sovereignty and resources. In terms of International Relations theory, this is a realist perspective that focuses

primarily on the interests of the states involved. It illuminates why Israel reacted so disproportionately to a Hizballah commando mission, out of concern for maintaining its own deterrence power. It also explains why an internationally isolated Syria, with few hopes of new peace negotiations that might enable it to win back the occupied Golan Heights, opted for ostentatious support of Hizballah and celebrated the cease-fire as a victory for the "resistance" against Israel. This frame of analysis also remains the most important one for international actors who seek viable diplomatic solutions in the Middle East. We know that a cease-fire dictated by the UN Security Council and an international peace-keeping force, as crucial as they may be, will not bring about long-term trade-offs and by implication, long-term stability. These can only be attained if the tangible, legitimate interests of the states and quasi-states involved are taken into account. These basic legitimate interests of the various parties (leaving out illegitimate ones, which would include the annihilation or domination of a neighbouring state) are not even irreconcilable. Somewhat simplified, they can be characterised as follows: Israel primarily demands security. The Palestinians want their own state. Lebanon wants to keep its sovereignty. Syria wants to regain the occupied Golan in order to reinstate its territorial integrity. The most important actors within the international community would be well-served by seeking a reopening of negotiations between Israel and the three neighbours with whom it has not yet signed peace treaties. This should take place by way of a conference modeled on the 1991 Madrid meetings, and it would help each party realise their legitimate interests.

A number of other frames of analysis can, of course, be imagined for the purpose of explaining

events and developments in the Middle East. Particularly, actors in the region itself could do so. Should the international community – especially the United States and the European Union – fail to work towards a comprehensive settlement of conflicts in the Middle East, those forces in the Arab-Muslim world that have a differing interpretation of events would gain in strength: they would interpret events according to a theory of non-negotiable conflicts, in which Western imperialism can solely be met by means of an Islamic resistance.

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**Prof. Dr. Volker Perthes**  
born 1958

Director of the *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)*, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin. Received his Ph.D. from the University of Duisburg in 1990 and his habilitation in 1999. Assistant professor at the American University of Beirut from 1991-1993; joined SWP in 1992 and headed the Research Group "Middle East and Africa" for several years. Taught at the Universities of Duisburg, Münster und Munich; currently at Humboldt University, Berlin.

*Recent selected writings:* Orientalische Promenaden. Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten im Umbruch (2006); Syria under Bashar al-Assad: Modernisation and the Limits of Change, Adelphi Paper (2004); Arab Elites: Negotiating the Politics of Change (2004); Geheime Gärten: Die Neue Arabische Welt (2004); Germany and the Middle East – Interest and Options (2002).

## Israeli invasion of Lebanon - hidden agenda

*Tayyab Siddiqui*

Never in contemporary history has an aggression been committed with such cynical motives and defended so brazenly as the continuing carnage in Lebanon. Enough has been written and debated on the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, but there has been scant attention to the real motives, both Israeli and the US. An 'insight' into the background and the forces at play in the Middle East would provide a more realistic framework to appreciate the situation fully.

The pretext of kidnapping of the two Israeli soldiers by Hezbollah as the cause of war doesn't fool anyone, nor does Bush's contention that the war is in self-defence. The current aggression indeed is part of a well-thought policy dating back to 1970.

The oil embargo imposed by the Arabs in the wake of the 1973 Ramadan war and its debilitating impact on the Western economies made them painfully conscious of their vulnerability and made them realize that their future was hostage to Arab oil. The policy planners then decided not to let that happen again, whatever the cost or consequences.

To ensure Arab dependence on the West, the US engineered and encouraged Iraq to launch an aggression against Iran. It successfully exploited the mortal fear of the Arabs that regarded the Islamic Revolution of Iran as a threat. The Gulf War raged for 10 years, resulted in more than a million deaths, and dealt an

irreparable blow to the growing economies of the region.

Not content with the devastation wrought by the Iran-Iraq War, Saddam was again manoeuvred to launch an aggression against Kuwait in the early 1990s. Operation 'Desert Storm' led to near bankruptcy of the Gulf economies, as billions of dollars were squeezed from these states in the name of the US having secured their future from a megalomaniac dictator.

The war chest amounting to \$ 42 billion was contributed by the Gulf rulers, which consumed all their savings and for the first time since the 1970s, they all had a deficit which led to heavy borrowings and the consequent dependence on the US. This background is essential to the understanding of the present context of the US agenda in the region. The US strategy, however, was not just economic domination, but also the political stewardship of the Middle East.

The second objective owes its origin to the ascendancy of the rightist political forces in Europe and of the neo-cons in the US. 9/11 provided a perfect cover in the name of the 'war against terror' and promoting democracy in the Middle East and a new blueprint has been prepared to achieve this objective. The neo-cons' agenda is to establish Israel's hegemony in the area, and continuing stability in the neighbouring countries could be a counter to this strategy, hence the bogey of self-defence.

The invasion of Iraq was also a part of this sinister agenda of neutralizing any country or power on the borders of Israel strong enough to challenge Israel's expansionist designs. The support to Israel and the threatening statements against Iran and Syria are part of this grand design to establish US hegemony in the region through its surrogate Israel.

The most dangerous aspect of the US agenda on the Middle East is Bush's ideological identification with evangelical Christians like Billy Graham and Pat Robertson, who believe that the defeat of the Muslims by Israel will create the situation for the second coming of Christ.

Bush portrayed the war against Iraq as a moral battle between good (freedom, democracy) and evil (tyranny, dictatorship). The manner in which the US has embraced the evil dictatorships in various parts of the world has exposed the contradictions in the US's avowed preference for democracy. Unfazed by international criticism of the 'illegal' war on Iraq, and the 'disproportionate' response by Israel in Lebanon, the administration in total contempt of world reaction has proceeded with its policy of eliminating any neighbours of Israel with economic potential or military might that could act as an impediment to the fulfillment of the Zionist agenda.

It merits repetition that the US and the UK made a deliberate decision to delay the Security Council action on a ceasefire in Lebanon, and in pursuit of their economic and ideological agenda, will not let any human suffering come in their way.

The calculus of blood has no meaning for the invaders. They must secure their future energy needs. The hope for any letup in the bloodbath in Lebanon is a delusion.

A recent study titled 'US Strategy in the Muslim World after 9/11' by Rand Corporation suggested that the Arab- non-Arab divide, as also Shia-Sunni differences can be exploited to promote the US agenda in the Muslim world. The report concludes that the "future direction of the Muslim world will profoundly affect vital security interests." It is precisely this concern to control the future direction of the Muslim world that is guiding neo-con policy planners to politically dominate the Middle East in the name of 'democratic change' and the 'war against terror'.

Fears have been expressed that the indiscriminate bombing and destruction of Lebanon may incite divisions among the Lebanese and the Christians might turn against Hezbollah if death and destruction by Israel were to continue unabated. The confessional divide and religious differences have always remained highly combustible. The 15-year civil war (1975-1990) devastated Lebanon and led to the virtual division of Beirut along the Green Line. It was the deployment of 36,000 Syrian troops, as per the Taif agreement, that brought stability to Lebanon. The withdrawal of these troops from Lebanon, under extreme US pressure last year, has left a huge security void. The Lebanese army is only 10,000 strong and primarily to maintain internal peace and security.

The fragility of the religious balance in Lebanon has elements of extreme vulnerability. Israel will fail in destroying Hezbollah, but may achieve its objective by pushing Lebanon again into a civil war and thus secure its objective of ensuring its security.

The tragedy is that the Arab and Muslim leaders are watching this spectacle with passivity and resignation, encouraging the neo-cons to pursue their agenda with impunity. Little do they realize

that the consequences for them would be equally catastrophic, as their incapacity and paralysis will provoke extreme public reaction and give rise to a new and more virulent generation of terrorists.

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## Lebanese tragedy and the OIC

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by

*Tayyab Siddiqui*

*An Islamic renaissance can be brought about only by sincere, sustained and collective efforts through genuine, committed and representative leadership, which sadly is lacking among the present leaders of the Ummah. Indeed, some of them are part of the problem and not the solution.*

The continuing carnage in Lebanon and the international community's shameful silence, endorsement of Israeli barbarity and escalating aggression by the US and G-8, has been the most sordid development in recent times. An aggression has never been encouraged in such a blatant fashion. The incident has left international rules and conventions and the UN Charter in tatters. The manner in which Israel rejected the UN Secretary General's appeal for a ceasefire and paralysis of the Security Council in the face of the US's threatened veto, have further exacerbated the situation, exposing the true intentions of the world powers. The achievement of national goals has been allowed to override any legal, moral or international constraints and naked aggression approved in a distorted version and interpretation of 'self-defence'.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon has entered the fourth week and despite massive aerial attacks and land advances by the Israeli armed forces, the realization of its objective remains a dream. The greatest tragedy is that while the world remains silent as Beirut is burning, the OIC, the representative organization of Muslim countries has also failed to react in time and effectively. Under mounting pressure from the Muslims, the OIC met in Kuala Lumpur in an emergency session on August 3. It issued a declaration expressing its solidarity with the people of Lebanon "in their legitimate and heroic resistance against the Israeli aggression" and included a Pakistan-proposed eight point plan to defuse the situation:

A United Nations Security Council (UNSC) demand for an immediate ceasefire honoured

by all sides;

A UNSC demand that Israel withdraws from Gaza and ends its physical and economic blockade of the Palestinian territories;

A UN-mandated force be deployed in Lebanon with the consent of all parties concerned to ensure a ceasefire;

The OIC countries should consider contributing to a UN force if approved by all parties concerned; A simultaneous exchange of all prisoners, Lebanese, Palestinian and Israeli, be conducted under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC);

Those responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity be brought collectively and individually before the international criminal system;

The Quartet for Middle East Peace (the UN, US, the EU and Russia) re-engage more actively in the peace process to ensure a solution is reached to end the conflict, that is, the establishment of a Palestinian state living side by side with Israel;

The OIC should extend the much-needed humanitarian and other assistance to the people of Lebanon and the Palestinian territories.

What impact such a declaration would have on the situation, is still too early to say. However, the fact remains that there was no justification for such a delayed response to the Lebanese tragedy. The Kuala Lumpur meeting was not a meeting of all members. The OIC extraordinary summit in Makkah on December 9, 2005 had advocated “a joint Islamic action” in “countering foreign threats that jeopardize the security of

any OIC member state in a collective manner”. To respond immediately to such a situation, an Executive Committee comprising six members – Malaysia, Senegal, Qatar, Azerbaijan, Yemen and Pakistan – was set up. Later, it was made an open-ended group, and that explains the participation of Iran, Turkey and Bangladesh in the meeting.

Since the establishment of the OIC in 1969, the Islamic world has suffered five major catastrophes, which have reduced it to almost a non-factor in international politics. The break-up of Pakistan through armed intervention by India in 1971, the invasion of Lebanon by Israel in 1982 that led to yet another Palestinian diaspora, the Iran-Iraq war, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the US occupation of Iraq, all have dealt a mortal blow to the unity, dignity and image of the Muslim world.

The OIC failed to respond meaningfully to any of these crises or demonstrate any unity of thought and action, except issuing high-sounding declarations at the end of each summit. Nothing was done to contain the crisis at hand or avert one. In some cases, it even remained a silent spectator. This attitude not only disappointed the Muslims, but also encouraged their adversaries to pursue their hostile designs against the Muslim countries with impunity.

The all-pervading feeling that OIC has failed to live up to its members’ expectations, prompted the last summit in 2003 in Kuala Lumpur to revise and revitalize OIC. A committee of 10 eminent persons was set up, to suggest ways and means to achieve the objective.

The recommendations were submitted in an extraordinary summit held in Makkah in

December 2005. It was convened at the initiative of King Abdullah to take stock of the situation and respond effectively and immediately to address the global challenges and changes confronting the Ummah.

The Kuala Lumpur participants agreed that the Muslims are at a defining moment in history. We can either seize the moment and define history, or let the moment define our destiny. The Ummah is in a state of siege, gripped by ignorance, apathy, disarray and discord.

These feelings were expressed most eloquently by King Abdullah: "It bleeds the heart of a believer to see how this glorious civilization has fallen from the heights of glory to the ravine of frailty, and how its targets were hijacked by devilish and criminal gangs that spread havoc on earth."

Despite soul stirring speeches and the declaration at Kuala Lumpur, there is little evidence that the OIC would succeed, in any meaningful manner, to impact on the Lebanese situation. The OIC stands at the crossroads of history, as there is nothing to warrant the optimism that the decisions of the summit could change the destiny of the member states in any meaningful way.

An Islamic renaissance can be brought about only by sincere, sustained and collective efforts through genuine, committed and representative leadership, which sadly is lacking among the present leaders of the Ummah. Indeed, some of them are part of the problem and not the solution.

The Lebanese situation is the last chance for the OIC to finally determine its relevance to the Islamic Ummah. The growing outrage and frustration among the Muslims across the world on the bloodletting in Lebanon and its leaders' incapacity and paralysis would not only give rise to a more virulent and extensive terrorist attack, as feared by the Malaysian Prime Minister, but may also consign the OIC to the dustbin of history.

*The writer is a former ambassador*

## Fallout of Lebanese crisis

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*By  
Tariq Fatemi*

EVEN by the standards of the callous disregard that Israel has demonstrated for international law over the years, its current campaign in Lebanon is unprecedented, both in scale and ferocity. While both Israel and the US have succeeded in convincing large sections of public opinion, even in Muslim countries, that Hezbollah's kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers on July 12 triggered the current crisis, European sources, as early as February this year, said that the two countries had already drawn up plans to discredit Hamas and destroy Hezbollah.

For the Bush administration, their victory in elections recognised as free and fair, was a serious rebuff that only strengthened its resolve to cut both down to size. These two organisations, however, evolved into effective political parties in their respective constituencies, with strong grassroots support and the ability to provide clean and efficient municipal services. The Bush administration refused to engage with them, not because it failed to appreciate their importance, but precisely because it feared that Hezbollah and Hamas would remain major impediments in the way of American plans for the region.

Israel's unprovoked attack on a group of picnicking Palestinian civilians on a Gaza beach in early June, was staged primarily to provoke Hamas to retaliate and thereby break the unilateral 16-month ceasefire it had observed. This gave Israel the pretext to kidnap dozens of Palestinian ministers and legislators, with not a

whimper of protest from any quarter. Israel knew full well that Hezbollah would have to demonstrate solidarity with the Palestinians, which took the form of capturing two Israeli soldiers. Israel was now free to unleash its military campaign against Lebanon and demanded that the world support its efforts to wipe out this "terrorist" organization.

Though there were few takers for this line of argument, Israel only wanted the support of the US, and here the Bush administration was more than willing to do Israel's bidding. Since then, we have witnessed the world expressing its horror at the massive destruction unleashed by Israel, but the US proclaims that Israel can continue on this course for as long as it needs to achieve its war aims. It is also using its diplomatic clout to prevent the Security Council from calling for an immediate ceasefire. Ironically enough, at the same time it announced a \$30 million aid package for relief and rehabilitation of Lebanese victims whose homes were destroyed by the advanced weapons that America provided to Israel.

It is now clear that Hezbollah's destruction was the first step in plans drawn up by the US and Israel to turn Lebanon into an Israeli protectorate and then work for a regime change in Syria. Thereafter, Iran's expected refusal to compromise on its nuclear programme would have been used as a casus belli to unleash massive aerial bombardment to facilitate a regime change in Tehran as well.

The anxiety of the pro-Israeli lobby in the US is evident from what Dr Henry Kissinger, the guru of the US foreign policy establishment, wrote in the Washington Post recently. He warned western powers not to permit Iran to use the Lebanese crisis to weaken their resolve against its nuclear weapons programme.

It may appear strange, but the Bush administration was so confident of its plans that it was prepared to start a new crusade, while still stuck in two major conflicts. This is evident from the obvious delight with which US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice characterised Israel's invasion of Lebanon as "the birth pangs of a different Middle East, a new Middle East".

True, the Israeli onslaught on Lebanon is the first step in the unfolding drama to usher in a new Middle East. But will it be one drawn up by the neo-conservatives of the Bush administration, or will it become the centre of renewed conflict and greater turmoil and eventually a graveyard for American plans? That this is not as far-fetched as it sounds is obvious from the increasing hostility to America all over the globe.

To understand this, it is important to look beyond the death and destruction in Lebanon, massive and awful though it has been. The after-effects of this conflict are already being felt in the region and beyond. Such committed allies of the US as Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan, are experiencing tremors that are frightening the regimes, forcing them to change their public postures.

Though the Saudi foreign minister had held Hezbollah responsible for the crisis, the monarchy is now encouraging religious leaders, including

the imam of the Kaabah, to praise Hezbollah and appeal to Muslims to "unify their ranks". In Egypt, too, many political figures have declared solidarity with the freedom fighters in Lebanon. Similar is the shift in Jordan, where King Abdullah is appealing to the world to assist "the victims of Israeli aggression".

New and powerful forces have been unleashed that are creating both uncertainty and concern in all capitals. These could have a long-lasting impact in unpredictable ways. Some observers fear that if one of these pro-US regimes were to fall, the entire American-crafted edifice could come crumbling down.

But even in the current uncertainty, one can discern which way the wind is blowing. For one, the myth of Israeli invincibility has been shattered — an extremely rude awakening for Israel. This false sense of over-confidence and euphoria has already caused it much grief. Israeli generals are admitting that they are astonished, not only with the skill with which Hezbollah fighters are conducting the battle, but more importantly, with their willingness to lay down their lives.

Israelis simply cannot fathom this phenomenon. This has given rise to a furious debate in Israel, with many politicians claiming that Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, with no military background, has permitted the armed forces to call the shots. This, and his desire to prove his leadership, has added to many of its miscalculations in the Lebanon operation.

Bret Stephens of the Wall Street Journal, a paper known for its pro-Israel slant, warned that if Israel maintains its current policy, "it was headed for

the greatest military humiliation in its history”, as it was “losing the war both militarily and politically”.

Uri Avnery, a highly regarded Jewish political analyst, has expressed his fear that the Israeli army’s failure against Hezbollah, will lead to demands for further expansion of the theatre of operations, till it finally extends to Syria, which would engulf the entire region. He has warned that the Israeli leadership is deluding itself if it thinks that it can control the war: “the war controls them”. His advice is short and simple. Israel should “declare victory and get out”.

Former US President Jimmy Carter has pointed in an article that Israel’s “devastating response” to Hezbollah’s provocations had resulted in worldwide support for these groups, “while condemnation of both Israel and the US has intensified”. He also warned that “there will be no substantive and permanent peace for any peoples in this troubled region as long as Israel is violating key UN resolutions”.

Hezbollah’s courage and Hamas’s refusal to compromise has introduced a totally new element in Arab politics. This has given rise to genuine admiration amongst Arab masses, who feel that for the first time after Egypt’s Nasser, they have an Arab leader in Hezbollah’s Hassan Nasrallah, who has both the skill and determination to defy the West. The established order is losing ground, while the non-state actors are occupying centre-stage.

America’s goal of promoting democracy in the Middle East lies in tatters, its lack of morality exposed. No amount of rhetoric or propaganda can convince people in the Arab world or even

in Western Europe and places as distant as the Far East that this administration has regard for human life or respect for international law.

The much touted propaganda of a permanent Shia-Sunni divide and their portrayal as implacable foes has turned out to be a gross exaggeration. The manner in which Sunni Syria has been assisting Shia Hezbollah and Shia Iran has been expressing its solidarity for Sunni Hamas is a remarkable development. This could change the political landscape in many of the Arab countries, especially those with substantial Shia minorities.

The forthright manner in which Iran has come to the assistance of Hezbollah and Hamas is also creating a tremendous fund of goodwill for Tehran in the Islamic world. This is likely to reduce considerably the millennium old Arab-Ajam hostility, which would be a healthy development for the Islamic world. Iran’s standing and influence in the region has also gone up.

Finally, unrepresentative and authoritarian regimes, which are dependent on the support of foreign masters, have been put on notice. All these governments will have to either abandon their subservience or accept the inevitable march of history.

The US is making a fatal mistake by its refusal to rein in the Israelis. It is making life extremely difficult for moderate forces in Muslim states, which are becoming marginalised. This will give greater credibility and acceptance to radical parties, which appear more in tune with the sentiments of the masses. The call for moderation is now a cry in the wilderness.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, what is currently happening in Lebanon will not leave us untouched either. We have so far been prudent and cautious in our approach. But we now risk appearing too sensitive to American interests and too oblivious to the sentiments of the Muslim masses. We need to impart greater vigour to diplomatic efforts to bring about an end to the fighting and at

least give the appearance of conducting an independent foreign policy.

*The writer is a former ambassador*

**(DAWN, August 05, 2006)**



# ANNEXURE



Political profile of Lebanon



## Lebanon: a political profile

Lebanon republic is a in which the three highest offices are reserved for members of specific religious groups:

- the President must be a Maronite Catholic Christian
- the Prime Minister must be a Sunni Muslim, and
- the Speaker of the Parliament must be a Shi'a Muslim.

This arrangement is part of the "National Pact" (*al Mithaq al Watani*), an unwritten agreement which was established in 1943 during meetings between Lebanon's first president (a Maronite) and its first prime minister (a Sunni), although it was not formalized in the Lebanese Constitution until 1990, following the Taif Agreement. The pact included a promise by the Christians not to seek French protection and to accept Lebanon's "Arab face", and a Muslim promise to recognize independence and legitimacy of the Lebanese state in its 1920 boundaries and to renounce aspirations for union with Syria. This pact was thought at the time to be an interim compromise, necessary until Lebanon formed its own sense of a national identity. Its continued existence and the fallout from subsequent civil wars continue to dominate politics in Lebanon.

The pact also stipulated that seats in the Parliament would be allocated by religion and region, in a ratio of 6 Christians to 5 Muslims, a ratio based on the 1932 census, which was taken at a time when Christians still had a slight majority. The Taif Agreement adjusted the ratio to grant equal representation to followers of the two religions.

The Constitution grants the people the right to change their government. However, from the mid-1970s until the parliamentary elections in 1992, civil war precluded the exercise of political rights. According to the constitution, direct elections must be held for the parliament every four years. The last parliament election was in 2000; the election due to be held in 2004 was postponed for one year.

The parliament composition is based more on ethnic and religious identities rather than ideological features. The distribution of parliament seats has been modified recently.

Parliament of Lebanon Seat Allocation		
Confession	Before Taif	After Taif
Maronite	30	34
Greek Orthodox	11	14
Greek Catholic	6	8
Armenian Orthodox	4	5
Armenian Catholic	1	1
Protestant	1	1
Other Christians	1	1
<b>Total Christians</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>64</b>
Sunni	20	27
Shi'a	19	27
Druze	6	8
Alawite	0	2
<b>Total Muslims</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>128</b>



## MAP OF LEBANON



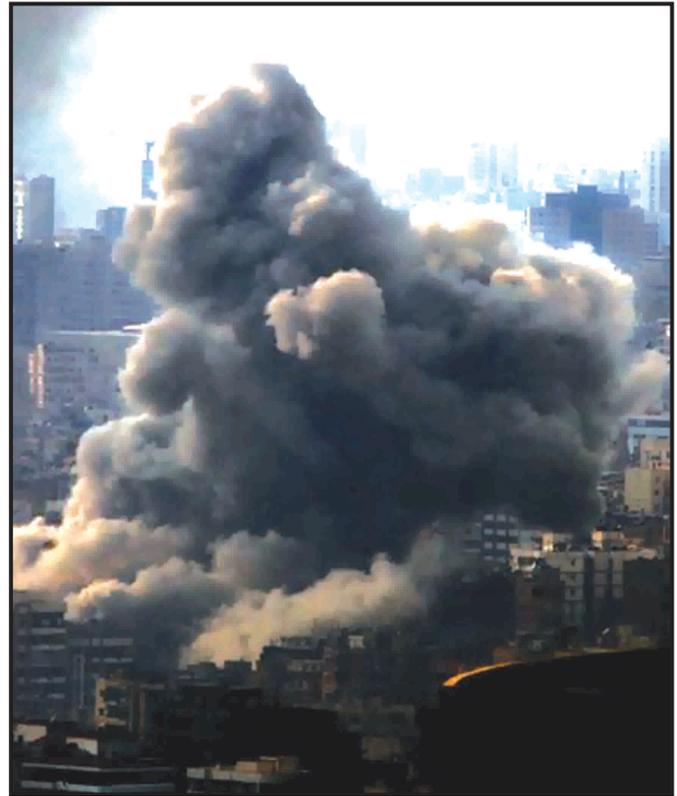


# PICTURE GALLERY

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- Pictures of Israeli aggression on Lebanon and miseries of the bombing victims.
- Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah,  
The Secretary-General of Hizbollah





















*Hundreds of thousands of Lebanese gathered in south Beirut, heavily bombed by Israel, for a rally to celebrate Hezbollah's self-proclaimed victory.*



SENATE OF PAKISTAN  
FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

*Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah*

*The Secretary General of Hizbullah*





# PROFILES

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- Profiles of the Chairman & Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee
- Profiles of the Committee Officials





## Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed

(PML - Federal Capital)  
Chairman

Mushahid Hussain Sayed is currently a Senator and Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. He is also Secretary General of the ruling party, Pakistan Muslim League. He has been a Cabinet Minister, Journalist, university teacher and political analyst. As Information Minister from 1997 to 1999, Mushahid Hussain was the country's principal spokesman and appeared frequently on international television and radio channels to present Pakistan's position on issues ranging from nuclear weapons to Islam and foreign policy. He was also Leader of Pakistan's Delegation to the UN Human Rights Commission at Geneva in 1993. After October 12, 1999, Mushahid Hussain was held without any charges as a political prisoner for four-hundred and forty (440) days, including a period in solitary imprisonment. The world's leading human rights organization, Amnesty International, declared him a 'Prisoner of Conscience' making him the first such Pakistani to be so honoured for the year 2000.

Mushahid Hussain has a Master's degree from the School of Foreign Services in Georgetown University at Washington. While studying in the US, he was President of the Pakistan Students Association and was awarded a Congressional Internship to work in the United States Congress. In Pakistan, he studied at the F.C. College in Lahore, from where he received a BA.

After completion of studies in the United States, he returned to Pakistan and became Member, Directing Staff of the country's prestigious training institution for civil servants, the Pakistan Administrative Staff College. He then joined Pakistan's oldest seat of learning, the Punjab University, as Lecturer on International Relations in the Political Science Department, from where he along with three other teachers was removed on political grounds during Martial Law.

In 1982, at age 29, he became the youngest Editor of national English daily, The Muslim, published from capital Islamabad, which was respected for its independent positions.

As a specialist on international political and strategic issues, he has lectured widely and his articles have been published in various national and international publications including The New York Times, The Washington Post, International Herald Tribune, and Middle East International. He was elected Co-Chairman of the NAM Media Conference of 100 countries, held in New Delhi in December 1983 and he is the first Pakistani journalist to have a syndicated column in the Indian media, writing regularly in the 'Time of India' and the 'Hindustan Times'.

Mr. Mushahid Hussain is the author of three books. He is also Chairman of the Board of Governors of Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), a leading Think Tank.

He is also the Vice President of the Centrist Democrat International (CDI) Asia – Pacific Chapter. On January 27, 2006, he was awarded Congressional Medal of Achievement by the House of Representatives of the Republic of the Philippines.

### Membership of the Senate & Parliamentary Committees:

- Committee on Foreign Relations, Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas (**Chairman**)
- Committee on Defence and Defence Production.
- Functional Committee on Government Assurances.
- Functional Committee on Human Rights.
- Finance Committee
- Parliamentary Committee on Kashmir.
- Joint Parliamentary Committee on Balochistan.

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**Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri**  
Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Ex-Officio Member

Mian Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri is a member of the National Assembly from NA-140 (Kasur-III) constituency. He is currently Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Mian Khursheed Mahmud Kasuri graduated with a B.A (Hons.) degree from University of the Punjab in 1961, followed by a tripos degree from Cambridge University and qualified as Barrister-at-Law at Gray's Inn London. During his political career, Mr. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri was elected as First Secretary General of Peoples Democratic Alliance and was appointed Federal Minister for Parliamentary Affairs in the interim government of Prime Minister Mir Balakh Sher Mazari.

Mr. Kasuri is an ex-officio member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

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## Senator Wasim Sajjad

(PML - Federal Capital)  
Member

Mr. Wasim Sajjad was born on 30th March, 1941. He went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar in 1964 from where he obtained the Degrees of M.A. (Jurisprudence) and B.C.L. He is a Barrister-at-Law from the Inner Temple London and an Honorary Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.

He has a highly distinguished career in politics and public service and has held the office of :-

**President of Pakistan** (July to November, 1993 and December, 1997 to January, 1998).

**Chairman Senate of Pakistan** (24th December, 1988 to 12th October, 1999). Elected in 1988 and re-elected in 1991, 1994 and 1997.

**Federal Minister for Law, Justice & Parliamentary Affairs** (September, 1986 to December 1988). Has also held the portfolio of the **Federal Minister for Interior & Narcotics Control**.

**Leader of the Opposition in the Senate of Pakistan**, 1988.

Elected as **Senator** from Punjab on a technocrat seat in 1985. Re-elected in 1991, 1994, 1997 and 2003. Presently he is the **Leader of the House in the Senate of Pakistan** and is a Member of the Pakistan Muslim League.

As a **Lawyer** by profession, he is presently heading his own law firm (**Sajjad Law Associates**) having its Head Office in Islamabad.

He is the **President** of the **Foundation for Advancement of Science & Technology** and **Chancellor of the National University of Computer and Emerging Sciences**.

He has travelled extensively and visited over fifty countries. He is married and has three children.

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**Senator S. M. Zafar**  
(PML - Punjab)  
Member



Senator S. M. Zafar is a prominent lawyer and former Federal Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Pakistan. He is involved with various aworks and is Chairman of the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency - PILDAT's Board of Advisors, Chairman of the Human Rights Society of Pakistan as well as of the Senate Committee on Human Rights. He was President of the High Court Bar Association Lahore (1975) and President of the Supreme Court Bar Association (1979). He is also Chairman of the Cultural Association of Pakistan. Senator Zafar has visited the US, Canada, UK, France and Germany. He enjoys farming and has three sons and a daughter.

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**Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmad**  
(MMA - NWFP)  
Member



A world renowned research scholar, an educationist, an economist, a versatile writer and a preacher of Islam, Prof. Khurshid Ahmad was born on March 23, 1932 at Delhi, India. He holds a Bachelors degree in Law and Jurisprudence, Masters degrees in Economics and Islamic Studies and an Honorary Doctorate (Ph.D) in Education. Prof. Khurshid Ahmad has held the portfolio of the Federal Minister of Planning and Development and has been Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission in the Government of Pakistan from 1978 to 1979. He has written around 30 books in English, over 20 in Urdu and contributed to a large number of magazines. Senator Ahmed was elected as member of the Senate in February, 2003, and is a member of the Senate's Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Northern Affairs. He previously served as member of the Senate from March 1985 till March 1997. During that tenure he was also Chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs from 1991 till March, 1997. He is Vice President (Naib Ameer) of Jama'at-e-Islami Pakistan and Founder and Chairman of both Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad and the Islamic Foundation, Leicestershire, UK.

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**Senator Sardar Mahtab Ahmed Abbasi**  
(PML-N - NWFP)  
Member

Senator Sardar Mahtab Ahmed Abbasi is former Chief Minister of the NWFP and a Federal Minister. He is an experienced politician and one of the prominent leaders of the PML-N.

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**Senator Maulana Sami-ul-Haq**  
(MMA - NWFP)  
Member

Senator Sami-ul-Haq completed education from Jamia Darul Uloom Haqqania Akora Khattak, and received a degree in Tafseer from spiritual leader Maulana Ahmad Ali Lahori. He was awarded an honorary degree from Darululoom Deoband India and Jamia Makka Muazzama, serving as Chancellor and Teacher of Hadith. Senator Maulana Sami-ul-Haq is a central leader of MMA and runs Dar ul Uloom Haqqania, a religious seminary at Akora Khattak, NWFP. He is also the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Religious Affairs and Minorities Affairs, and has been serving in the Senate of Pakistan since 1985. Senator Sami-ul-Haq is the Secretary General of the JUI-S, and Senior Vice President of the Islamic Democratic Alliance. He is Founder and Secretary General of the National Uniformity council (A common council of all religious political parties). He is the also the founder of the monthly Jamia Haqqania Al-Haq, and has authored several religio-political books in Urdu.

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**Senator Muhammad Ali Durrani**  
(PML - Punjab)  
Member



Senator Muhammad Ali Durrani, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, is a leading political activist and grass roots organizer of his party who founded the youth movement “Pasban”. He was Secretary General of the National Alliance, a coalition partner of the ruling party. He is also the President of the Wise Education Society and Women Welfare Society. He is the Founder of the Institute of Afghan Affairs (1985) and Education for All (EFA). He has launched campaigns for the Kashmir cause, free employment (1997), Shaukat Khanum Memorial Trust Hospital, collective marriage ceremony, true freedom (2000), and for relief on foreign debt (2001). He played a leading role in the establishment of IJI (1988), Millat Party, National Alliance and the Grand National Alliance. Senator Durrani has visited Europe, Asia and Africa and is married with three sons and a daughter.

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**Senator Nisar A. Memon**  
(PML - Sindh)  
Member



Senator Nisar A. Memon is the former Minister for Information and the former Chief Executive of the IBM Pakistan. He is also Chairman of the Standing Committee on Defence & Defence Production. He previously served as Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting twice (1993 and 2002); as President of the Overseas investors chamber of Commerce & Industry Pakistan (1994); and as Chairman Board of Directors, Engro Chemicals Limited, Pakistan (2001-2002). He is a Syndicate member of Karachi University and President of The Reformers. Senator Memon has visited Europe, USA, Canada, Middle East, Africa and Central Asia. He is married with two daughters and enjoys reading and playing Golf.

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**Senator Sardar M. Latif Khan Khosa**  
(PPPP - Punjab)  
Member

Senator Sardar Muhammad Latif Khan Khosa is one of the country's leading lawyers who has actively defended constitutional and political cases of his party leadership. He was President of the High Court Bar Association thrice (1981-82, 1987-88, 1995-96), Member Pakistan Bar Council since 1995, Chairman Executive Committee P.B.C. (1995-96), Chairman Appeal Committee Punjab-1 (1996-2000) and Member Tribunal P.B.C. (1995-2000). He is a Life Member of the High Court Bars of Lahore, Multan and Rawalpindi. He is also Life Member of the Supreme Court Bar Association, and Chairman of Khosa Law Chambers. Senator Khosa has visited the USA, Canada, France, UK, China, Ireland, Dubai and Saudi Arabia. He is married with four sons and two daughters and enjoys cricket, debating and music.

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**Senator Muhammad Talha Mahmood Aryan**  
(MMA - NWFP)  
Member

**Membership of the Senate Committees**

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- Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas.
- Functional Committee on Government Assurances.

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**Senator Babar Khan Ghori**  
(MQM - Sindh)  
Member



Senator Babar Khan Ghori is currently the Minister for Ports and Shipping. He has served as Member of the Sindh Assembly from 1993-1996, and as Member National Assembly from 1997-1999. He has visited the UK, USA, Holland, UAE, Saudi Arabia and France. Senator Ghori is married with two sons and three daughters.

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**Senator Gulshan Saeed**  
(PML - Punjab)  
Member



Senator Gulshan Saeed, Chairperson, Senate Standing Committee on Ports and Shipping, is a long-standing political activist and she runs an NGO called Roshan Pakistan. She was a member of the Punjab Social Welfare Board from 1998-2002. She has visited the UK, Thailand, Saudi Arabia, France, Holland and USA. Senator Gulshan Saeed is married with two sons and two daughters.

She is currently the Vice President of the Women's Wing of Pakistan Muslim League, and member of its General Council. She has held assignments of Punjab Social Welfare Board, Bait-ul-Mal Punjab and Chairman Zakat Committee Lahore.

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# PROFILES OF THE COMMITTEE OFFICIALS

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**Mr. Iftikhar Ullah Babar**  
Secretary Committee

Mr. Iftikhar Ullah Babar is Additional Secretary at the Senate of Pakistan and is currently working with the Parliamentary Committees of the Senate.

Mr. Babar completed his Secondary School and Higher Secondary School from Burn Hall School Abbottabad and Abbottabad Public School respectively. He attended Edwardes College Peshawar for his Bachelor's Degree and University of Peshawar for a Master's Degree in Economics. He also holds a Master's Degree in Development Studies from the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, The Netherlands.

Mr. Babar attended the 13<sup>th</sup> Advance Management and Development course at the National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA) Peshawar and the 76<sup>th</sup> National Management Course at the Pakistan Administrative Staff College (PASC) Lahore.

Mr. Babar has authored a number of research articles on wide ranging topics namely, the Eighth Constitutional Amendment, Research support to Parliamentarians, the Parliamentary Committee System in Pakistan and Parliament and Financial Control. He has written numerous reports for the Committees, which were presented in the Senate.

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**Mr. Tayyab Siddiqui**  
Consultant  
Ambassador (R)

Mr. Tayyab Siddiqui joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1967 and served as Ambassador of Pakistan to Zimbabwe (1986-1990), with concurrent accreditation to Zambia, Botswana and Namibia; to Indonesia (1992-1996), with concurrent accreditation to Papua New Guinea; to Egypt (1997-1999); and to Switzerland (1999-2003), and also to the Holy See and Liechtenstein.

In a 35 - year career as a diplomat, he also served in Pakistan missions in Amman, Beirut, Colombo, Berlin (GDR), Athens, Dhaka and Washington D.C. He was a member of Pakistan delegation to the UNGA for four years (1977-1980).

Ambassador Siddiqui is currently a regular analyst on international affairs with Radio Pakistan and PTV and other private channels. He is a regular contributor to English dailies - 'Dawn', 'The Nation' and 'The Post' on current international issues. He also contributes a regular column entitled "Harf-e-Haq" to the Urdu daily, 'Ausaf'. The selection of his columns was published in March, 2005.

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## About the Hanns Seidel Foundation

The Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSF) is a non-profit organization established in 1967 with its headquarters in Munich. Its activities, financed by the Federal Republic of Germany, by the Free State of Bavaria, and by private donations, are organized through four main departments, the Academy for Politics and Current Affairs, the Institute for Adult Civic Education, the Scholarship organization and the Institute for International Contact and Cooperation.

In accordance with the overall mission statement of the HSF, the Institute for International Contact and Cooperation is working in the service of peace, democracy and development with projects in currently 60 countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe. In Pakistan the HSF has established and supported Technical Training Centers in the province of Balochistan from 1983 to 1999. Since 1993, when an office of the HSF was opened in Islamabad, its activities have included technical support and staff training for the Secretariats of both houses of the Parliament and cooperation with a number of Institutes, Think Tanks and University Departments, all of which are doing research mainly on issues of current international and regional politics. HSF has assisted in the organization of hundreds of public seminars with its partners in Pakistan, as well as non-public dialogue forums on foreign policy and security matters with experts from neighbouring and European countries.

The HSF is pleased to be associated with the production of **Report No. 12: "The Lebanon Conflict"**, under the auspices of Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

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## Reports published by the SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE 2004 - 2006

### Report No. 1 (July 2004)

**The Global & Regional Scenario in the aftermath of 9/11:** Deals with the visit of the members of British House Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, to Islamabad in May 2004. The major issue was "to discuss matters of mutual interest, particularly the global and regional scenario in the aftermath of 9/11 incident".

The Report covers the proceedings of the meeting and explains the viewpoint of the two countries.

### Report No. 2 (August, 2004)

**General Elections in India - its impact and the regional implications:** It relates to the meeting held on May 28, 2004 on the subject of General Elections in India, its impact on Pakistan and their regional implications. Recognized experts on South Asia were invited to present their assessment and perspective, including former Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar and Foreign Secretary Riaz Khokhar.

### Report No. 3 (October, 2004)

**Special Report on Enlightened Moderation – The Post 9/11 Scenario:** This Report is a well-documented treatise on post 9/11 issue of terrorism and the counter strategy – "Enlightened Moderation" advocated by President Musharraf.

The US point of view, both official and nonofficial, is also reflected in the articles and statements by renowned US experts to provide a broader view of the problem, as also perspectives from Pakistan.

### Report No. 4 (March, 2005)

**Occupied Kashmir and Relations with India:** The report is a unique document as it contains the eye-witness account of the visit of Pakistani journalists to Occupied Indian Kashmir – the first ever by any Pakistani in last 57 years.

### Report No. 5 (April – May, 2005)

**Visit to Germany, Belgium and the UK:** It is an account of the visit of Foreign Relations Committee to Europe, in particular, Belgium, Germany and the UK. The Report covers meetings with the counterparts in these countries and interaction with the resident Pakistan community in the containment.

### Report No. 6 (September, 2005)

**Pakistan and the OIC:** The Report titled "Pakistan and the OIC" records the developments of Organization of Islamic Conference since its birth in 1969 and is a record of last 35 years of OIC.

### Report No. 7 (November, 2005)

**Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Balochistan:** Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Balochistan" is the first informative and detailed account of problems facing Balochistan and the proposals to overcome them, as reflected in the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee on Balochistan established by Chaudhry Shujat Hussain, then Prime Minister of Pakistan and its Sub-Committee on Current Issues headed by Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed.

### Report No. 8 (December, 2005)

**Pak – Africa Relations:** Report on the state of relations between Pakistan and African countries based on informal dialogue of the Committee members with African envoys based in Islamabad.

### Report No. 9 (December, 2005)

**Pakistan – UK Relations:** This Report is an account of the interaction with Sir Michael Jay, Permanent Under Secretary, UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office which covers viewpoints of both countries on issues of terrorism, Afghanistan and Iraq Wars, Iran's nuclear issue, and the difference between struggle for the legitimate right of self-determination and terrorist activities.

### Report No. 10 (January, 2006)

**Visit to Japan and South Korea:** This is an account of the visit of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to these two east Asian countries.

### Report No. 11 (August, 2006)

**Dialogue with the Dutch and Pakistan - Russia Relations:** A detailed account of the Committee's meetings with the Dutch Foreign Minister and the International Affairs Committee of the State Duma of the Russian Federation covering issues of bilateral relations as well as the regional and global scenario in the wake of terrorism after 9/11.



SENATE OF PAKISTAN

Foreign Relations Committee

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<http://www.foreignaffairscommittee.org>