

# **RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the award of the Degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**RAJBIR SINGH**

**DIVISION OF SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES  
CENTRE FOR SOUTH, CENTRAL, SOUTH-EAST ASIAN  
AND SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC STUDIES  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI-110 067  
INDIA  
1996**



जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय  
**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**  
NEW DELHI - 110067

CENTRE FOR SOUTH, CENTRAL,  
SOUTH-EAST ASIAN & SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC STUDIES,  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

July 19, 1996

**CERTIFICATE**

Certified that the dissertation titled RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN submitted by Mr. RAJBIR SINGH in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY, has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other university. This is his own dissertation.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

**Dr. UMA SINGH**

(Supervisor)

**Supervisor**  
Centre for South, Central Southeast  
Asian and South West Pacific Studies  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067

**PROF. BALADAS GHOSHAL**

(Chairperson)

**Chairperson**  
Centre for South, Central Southeast  
Asian and South West Pacific Studies  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067

*DEDICATED TO*

*MY BELOVED*

*MAAN AND BABUQA*

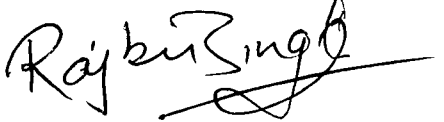
## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This dissertation seeks to study the problems of the religious minorities in Pakistan. During my research process, I accumulated many academic and personal debts. My foremost thanks go to my suave supervisor, Dr. Uma Singh whose wisdom, erudite rigour and valuable suggestions and comments on the topic inspired me throughout this investigation. I am also indebted to Prof. Kalim Bahadur, Prof. S.D. Muni, Dr. S.R. Chakravarty, Dr. M.P. Lama, Dr. Asghar Ali Engineer, Dr. Zia Mian and Karamat Ali the latter two from Pakistan who at different stages of my research have encouraged me and made incisive comments on my topic.

I am grateful for the cooperation and help that I have received from librarians of J.N.U., A.M.U., Teen Murti, IDSA, Centre for Policy Research and Institute of Objective Studies. I am also thankful to some of my senior friends in the South Asian Studies Division for suggesting and supporting me whenever I sought their help. My special thanks go to Bharat Dahiya, Ram Niwas Arya, Sowesh Patnaik and Babulal Naik who from time to time helped me in many ways during my research. Above all, I am indebted to my parents and siblings for their incessant mental and moral support throughout my research work. It is, in a large measure, due to their love and affection that saw me through this endeavour.

Finally, I must again thank my generous guide, Dr. Uma Singh for her generosity, suggestions, support and close observations without which I would have never been able to complete this work.

Date : 22/7/96

  
RAJBIR SINGH

## **PREFACE**

Religious Minorities have faced similar problems and treatment in every country, whatever may be the nature of the state and society. Pakistan which came into being on the issue of 'minority-majority antagonism' could not provide equal rights and opportunities to its non-Muslim minorities. Islam which was used to mobilize the Indian Muslims in support of the Pakistan movement was politicized by the subsequent political leaders to fulfill their personal ambitions.

Politicization of Islam brought a lot of painful problems for Pakistan in the subsequent years. Z.A. Bhutto used Islam by propagating his popular slogan of "Islamic Socialism", the same thing was done by Zia in his drive for Islamization of the entire system. But he used Islam more vigorously to legitimize his corrupt policies and to keep himself in power politics for a long time.

Inability of different political regimes to provide better and clean political system and establishment of democratic institutions further engendered the stability and integrity of Pakistan. Today, it is badly affected by internal schism. Growing religious intolerance brings further hurdles in making good relations among different communities. Religious Minorities are facing threat to their integrity and stability in Pakistan. They are maltreated and discriminated in every aspect of their lives. They can not be the head of the state, nor can they be entrusted with making and implementing the state policies. In this environment of fear and prejudices where many Muslims do not feel secure, the condition of the non-Muslims becomes the worst. They are either falsely implicated in the blasphemy cases or are murdered on fake encounters.

This dissertation seeks to find out the problems that the religious minorities are facing in Pakistan. Theoretical aspects of minority and freedom movement with some light on religion and politics in Pakistan have been discussed in the introductory chapter.

Chapter II deals with Islam and the religious minorities. In this chapter, nature and attitude of Islam towards the non-Muslims is discussed. Islamic State, religious fundamentalism and how it subsequently affected the non-Muslim interests are also discussed.

Chapter III describes Islamization and its impacts on the religious minorities. Why the political leaders used "Islamization" to accommodate their personal interests? Chapter IV goes into the problems, pains, discriminations and sorrows of the non-Muslims in Pakistan. Whether they have fought for their legitimate rights or not is also discussed. Chapter V concludes with a synoptic appraisal of the themes and contents of the preceding chapters. An attempt is also made to study religion, politics and the religious minorities.

## **Contents**

		<b>Page No.</b>
<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1-18</b>
<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>Islam and the Religious Minorities</b>	<b>19-40</b>
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>Islamization and the Religious Minorities</b>	<b>41-57</b>
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>Religious Minorities in Pakistan</b>	<b>58-88</b>
<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>89-96</b>
	<b>Selected Bibliography</b>	<b>97-104</b>

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Religious Minorities, everywhere in the world have faced similar treatment and discrimination in every aspect of their lives. They have been the regular targets of majority communities. Their constitutional rights and obligations, time and again are violated by the majorities.

Pakistan, which came into existence by raising the issue of Muslim minority's exploitation by the majority Hindus, could not provide the same treatment to the non-Muslims in independent Pakistan, as they have desired from Hindu majority in united India. They are left in the worst conditions in today's Pakistan.

Idea of separation was itself a compound of several smaller ideas like the two-nation theory, fear of Hindu rule, anxiety to save Muslim culture, wish to recreate the lost Muslim glory, desire to assert Muslim identity, determination to escape majority rule of Hindus and the aspiration to identify with the world Islamic community rather than a Hindu India.

Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan said that Pakistan was founded because Muslims of the Indian sub-continent wanted to build up their lives according to the teachings and traditions of Islam.<sup>1</sup> However, it can be said that Islam was nowhere in Indian Muslim nationalism before 1940, it entered only after 1940 and played a great role in mobilizing the Indian Muslims in support of the Pakistani movement.

-----  
1. Choudhury, G.W., Constitutional Developments in Pakistan, (Longman, London, 1969), p. 175



Jinnah's 'two-nation' theory which claimed that the Hindus and the Muslims are not only radically different in nature, but constitute two different nations. He highlighted the discriminations meted out to the Muslim minority by the Hindu majority.

The Indian Muslims were afraid that their separate culture and the way of life will be lost in an India where the Hindus could exercise the power of a numerical majority. This ultimately led them to demand an independent Muslim state consisting of those areas of undivided India where they constituted a majority. Here it is evident that Pakistan was created on the platform of majority-minority conflicts.

It can be said that Pakistan attained its freedom not through adopting any brand of nationalism or through mass-movement,<sup>2</sup> rather it was the result of a combination of British India policy and the willingness of Pakistan's leaders to play the British India government's game of majority-minority antagonism and 'Divide and Rule'.

Encouragement of political organizations within the framework of religion had become the principal British device to split the united Indian nationalism. British official and semi-official literature persisted in referring to a supposed Hindu Congress long after All-India Congress had made it a major policy to stress the unity of different religious faiths in nationalism. From here, Jinnah gave momentum to his political career by turning this British policy to his own

---

2. Kapoor, Ashok, Pakistan in Crisis, (Routledge, London, 1991), p. 2

advantages<sup>3</sup> as well as for the claim of a separate homeland for Indian Muslims.

The British divided India in response to the 'two nation' theory propagated by Jinnah to meet the demand of a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims who felt that they have been deprived of their rights and freedom by the Hindu dominated society. Secondly, Pakistan got freedom as a gift for supporting the pet British theory that the brute majority of Hindus was not acceptable to the Muslims as the basis of government in India. They must be given parity in Govt. of India services with their Hindu counterparts. Here it is evident that the British India government was acting on anti-Congress, anti-Hindu and anti-majority rule premises.<sup>4</sup>

The Hindus did not care about rights and interests of Muslims. When Muslims suggested separate electorate as a device to assuage their feeling of insecurity, the Hindus opposed it. Muslims wanted other safeguards like adequate share in the public services and protection of their cultural and constitutional rights. Again, Hindus opposed to grant these kind of measures saying that it will further create a gulf between the two communities.

The Congress, a Hindu political organization, where very less representation of Muslims was steeped into Hindu beliefs, culture and general background of Hindus. It never represented their interests. Only Bhai Parmanand and Lala Lajpat Rai showed some interest to solve the Indian Muslim problems suggesting separation of the Muslim areas from India. This was rejected by other

-----  
3. Own, Lattimore, The Situation in India (Brown & Company, Bostan, 1949), p. 184

4. Kapoor, Op.Cit, pp. 2-3

Hindu leaders.

Muslims in India, by and large were backward and poor. They were not only small in number, but lagged behind the Hindus in education, commerce and political leadership. Hindus took advantage of English language, while Muslims could not take advantage of it. Most of the Muslims in Bengal were backward, where economic divide of Hindus and Muslims created lots of disputes between them, but some Muslims were advanced in some of the north Indian states. They were deprived of their rightful share in administrative jobs. For example, in Bengal, Muslim landlords were replaced by Hindus to collect land revenue. Moreover, their legal system was replaced by the British system.

Muslims had 82 out of 250 seats in federal assembly. More than half the total seats in the council of states were for the Muslim-majority provinces. The Muslim majority states were smaller in number than the Hindu states. Kashmir, with its Hindu Maharaja, had only 3 seats and Hyderabad, which had a predominantly Muslim population and a Muslim ruler, had only 5 seats. Therefore, the Hindus had a certain majority of the representatives from the Indian states.<sup>5</sup>

After this a brief discussion on the Hindu discriminations against the Muslims and Pakistani movement, it can be said that Pakistan came through the much frenzied reference to Islam being in danger alongwith the portrayal of differences between the two rival communities. The discriminations faced by

---

5. Jalal, Ayesha, The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the ML and the demand for Pakistan, (Cambridge University Press, London, 1994), p. 38

Muslims from the Hindus paid rich dividends to Muslim League in mobilizing the Indian Muslims in support of Pakistani Movement. Secondly, the emotional exploitation in the name of religion (Islam), was further encouraged by British government to promote their vested interests to divide and rule. This enabled Muslim League to attain its cherished dream of separate homeland for Indian Muslims.<sup>6</sup>

However, Islam did not play any central role in Pakistani movement, rather it worked as a great force to mobilize the Indian Muslims. But it can not be denied that the frontiers of the new state were drawn mainly alongwith the line of religion.<sup>7</sup> Leaders of the Pakistani movement primarily appealed to the inherent religious sentiments of the people. They could not define the nature of the state in the name of religion while they highly relied on Islamic ideals in the struggle for Pakistan.

When Pakistan attained independence, had around 14% of non-Muslim population. The religious minorities, particularly the Hindus had doubts whether there will be any room for them in the state of Pakistan which infact was pre-eminently for Muslims. These doubts were cleared by Jinnah saying that the non-Muslim minorities in the state of Pakistan will have equal rights and freedoms to profess and preserve their religious faiths. Speaking to the Constituent Assembly, he said, that "their will be no discrimination on the basis

-----

6. Ray, Biswas S, Ahmadiyya Community in Pakistan Politics. M.Phil Diss., (South Asian Studies Division/SIS/J.N.U.. 1990), P.1

7. Jalal, Ayesha, Op.Cit, p. 1

of caste, creed, race or religion. Every person will be free to choose his profession. Everyone will be free to go to their worship places. The state will not interfere in the religious matters of any community. In the course of time, the Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslim would cease to be Muslims, not in religious sense, but as the citizens of one state". The non-Muslims should shed their doubts in the newly created state of Pakistan.<sup>8</sup>

After the early demise of Jinnah, the subsequent politicians not only murdered Jinnah's secular-democratic ideals, but also included many anti-minority provisions in the constitutions. First, they made Pakistan an Islamic state. Second, they introduced separate electorates, nationalization of their educational institutions, legally debarring them to head the state. Blasphemy laws were created making the minorities inferior in religious terms. Today, the religious minorities in Pakistan are facing threat to their integrity and stability. In the growing environment of religious fundamentalism, they don't feel secure. In every field, they are badly treated. For example, a minority person finds difficult to get his projects passed and he cannot marry a Muslim girl. They can't do legal practice in Shariat Courts. Therefore, the claim of Muslim leaders of Pakistani movement to provide better life to the minority peoples in the new state of Pakistan, proved to be hollow promise.

The Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Buddhists, Jews and Ahmadis constitute minority groups in Pakistan. Today they have been reduced to just 4% of the entire population. Worst affected of them are Hindus who due to the

-----  
8. Khan, Omar Asghar, (eds), Islam, Politics and the State: The Pakistan Experience, (Zed Books, Lahore, 1985), p. 136

growing environment of religious fundamentalism in Pakistan have either migrated to India or have been murdered on fake clashes. According to the 1991 Census Report of Pakistan, more than 95% people are Muslims, among them 90% are Sunnis, about 5% are Shias and only 0.001% are Ahmadiyas. Among the non-Muslim minorities, Christians constitute around 2% while Hindus constitute only 1.8% of the entire population.<sup>9</sup> Other minorities such as Parsis, Sikhs, Jews and Buddhists are in negligible number.

Religious minorities have been maltreated and discriminated against in every aspect of their lives. They have become regular targets of fanatical Muslim parties like Jamat-i-Islami and their leaders. The desecration of their temples, churches and gurudwaras, raping of their girls, looting of their properties, false prosecutions and forced conversions and marriages have become a daily affair in today's Pakistan. It is completely different from Jinnah's envisioned Pakistan as a secular, democratic and progressive state.

In order to understand the problems of minorities in Pakistan, it is desirable to understand the conceptual underpinnings of the term 'minority' and its classification. It is also desirable to understand the social, economic and political aspects which determine the fate of the religious minorities.

To begin with the term 'minority', it has been used vigorously throughout the human history. Generally, the minority is thought of as the opposite of the majority. In democratic societies, it is based on numerical ratio to the population at a particular place, but there are times when the majority is the minority and vice-versa. Minority has come to refer chiefly to a particular kind  
-----

9. The Europa World Year Book, vol. 2, edn. 36, 1995, p. 2373

of group which differs from the dominant group within the state.<sup>10</sup>

According to Louis Wirth, " a minority can be defined as a group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics are singled out from the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment. Therefore, they regard themselves as the objects of collective discrimination. <sup>11</sup>

For practical purposes, the term minority can not be explained simply by interpreting the word in literal sense. The group often defined 'minority' consisting of individuals having sense of alikeness and one feeling. It is true that the minority problems or minority groups arise only when these groups have contacts with another groups.

A minority can be racial, linguistic, religious or ethnic, different from the dominant group by one and/or features. In the traditional sense, the 'minorities' are basically of two types :-

(a) Ethnic Minorities : The concept of ethnic minority is itself problematic. It does not have very precise and widely agreed upon meaning. Ethnic minorities are complex social entities, upon whose various segments, the policies of protections, are bound to have differential impact.<sup>12</sup>

Ethnic groups are not perfectly homogeneous social units, whose solidarity can be assumed. They are often stratified and divided. They rarely act with single-minded unity.

-----

10. Chandra, Satish, (eds), Minorities in National and International Laws, (Deep & Deep, New Delhi, 1985), p.11.

11. Wirth, Louis, The Problems of Minority Group, (Columbia University Press, New York, 1945), p. 346

12. Wirsing, Robert G, (eds.), Protection of Ethnic Minorities: Comparative Perspectives, (Pergman, New York: 1981), p. 9

Ethnic minorities, like other human beings possess multiple forms of ethnic identity. For example, the inhabitants of Baluchistan in Pakistan are ethno-linguistically Baluchs, and are Muslims (mainly Sunni) in religion.

(b) Religious Minorities : who are different from the dominant group in principle by their ideas, thoughts and ideology. Discrimination on the ground of religion although forbidden by constitutions has long been practised in the different parts of the world. Most members of the religious minorities follow the religion of their parents.

Religious differences are still a main source of conflicts in the world of societies. Although in Europe, these differences are not as much as in past centuries. Perhaps the most destructive conflict over religion which can be perceived in post Second World War period has been between Hindus and Muslims in India during independence movement. Still this factor has been adding to destruction of social fabric in Pakistan.

Apart from these minorities, there are other minorities which are found within these minorities.

(1) National Minorities: It is a particular group which alongwith the modern concept of nation, serves the interests of its own group, within the boundaries of the nation.

(2) Linguistic Minorities : like national minorities, linguistic minorities are differentiated on the basis of language and also possess distinctive cultural traits.

(3) Racial Minorities : Race is a biological category. "The people of a given race have inherited some physical features that distinguish them from any



other race. People of certain races are discriminated against others, therefore they become racial minorities.<sup>13</sup>

In nearly all the countries, there are evidences of the fact that ethnic, and religious minorities preserve their own identity, culture and traditions irrespective of the length of time during which they have lived under another culture.

The minority groups have been placed in the minority position because of 'force' and 'will' relationship that largely define their identity. Laponce has categorized this relationship into two groups-

(a) Minority by will : those who do not want to assimilate with majority groups but want to preserve their distinct identity, culture and traditions.

(b) Minority by force: those minority groups who desire to assimilate with the majority people, but are forced by the latter to accept their minority status.<sup>14</sup>

The process of assimilation has different dimensions like cultural, structural, martial, identification, attitude receptional, behavior receptional and civic. A minority may wish to assimilate in the political sense to get equal status with the majority, but may not wish to undergo another dimensions of the assimilation process.

-----  
13. International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, vol. 9&10, (McMillan, New York, 1968), pp. 365-69

14. Kabir, Muhammad Ghulam, Minority Politics in Bangladesh, (Vikas Publications, Delhi, 1980), P. 9

However, it is true that most of the members of a minority group may wish to preserve their identity, but some individuals from the group will prefer to be assimilated into the majority population.

A minority can be defined as a social entity because it is a collective being, a group which manifests the feeling of groupism. According to Gerard Chaliand, "There is only a minority because there is a majority. The minority group possesses an internal life, structured by its own relationship of force. The norms, internal behaviors and unified culture play an essential role to maintain it as a unit. These norms are derived from social relations which express the contradictions within the group".<sup>15</sup>

The term 'minority' includes many elements which are changeable. In simple sense, minority is a particular kind of group which differs from the dominant group within the state boundaries. According to UN special Rapporteur(1979), "An ethnic, religious or linguistic minority is a group numerically smaller than the rest of the population of the state to which it belongs and possessing cultural, physical or historical characteristics, a religion or a language, different from those of the rest of the population".<sup>16</sup> Many countries use this method to define a minority.

Historical experiences have shown that the indifferences of the members of minorities towards their national origin, position and rights are the consequence of the social, political and other circumstances in which they lived.

-----  
15. Chaliand, Gerard, (eds), Minority Peoples in the Age of Nation-State, (Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, 1989), p. 45

16. Capotoriti, Francesco, Study on Minority, (UN, 1979), p. 7

In the societies with a prevailing negative attitude of 'majority' towards the 'minority', the members of the minorities are fearful that any declaration of one's national, ethnic, cultural and other characteristics might be interpreted as a 'civil-disloyalty' on his part as the citizen of the country concerned. It can be concluded that the same is true of the Hindus of Pakistan. They have been mistaken 'disloyal' to the state of Pakistan and 'loyal' to India. Muslims in India, sometimes are taken loyal to Pakistan. This factor created a lot of hurdles in making friendly relations between Hindus and Muslims in Pakistan.

Therefore, it would be inappropriate to ascribe too much importance to the need of a 'declaration of desire' by the members of any community in order to preserve their own national, ethnic, cultural and other features and to manifest their awareness about affiliation to a particular minority especially in the case of a minority which has for decades been subjected to the pressures of systematic assimilation and denationalization.

Numerical factor is of particular importance in any definition of the 'minority'. Not only the number of persons belonging to the group but also the relationship between that number and the size of the geographical area in which the group lives should be taken into account. However, the term 'minority' does not necessarily has any numerical connotation. Despite its literal meaning, the minority is not a statistical category. Although, minority groups are generally smaller in size than the dominant group, this is not always the case. Within the Union of South Africa and some areas of Southern America, the 'Negros' constitute a majority of the population. Nevertheless, despite their numerical majority they clearly occupy a disadvantageous position and experienced various

disabilities stemming from prejudices and discriminations.

A grim racial, national or religious group may be dominant group in one area and a minority in another. For example, the Jews constitute the dominant group in Israel, while the Arabs constitute as a minority group. In the Arab nations, the situation is reversed. Roman Catholics are a dominant group within Spain and Italy, but a minority within Norway. During the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Sudeten Germans secured a position of dominance over the Czeches among whom they previously had been a minority. The same case is with the Hindus, who in united India enjoyed the majority status, but in Pakistan, they suddenly became minority group. The same case was with Muslims of united India, where they enjoyed minority status, but now they are enjoying the majority status in Pakistan.

It is also said that dominant and minority group membership is not necessarily mutually exclusive.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, it is possible for an individual to have dominant and minority roles simultaneously.<sup>18</sup> For example tribals in north-eastern states of India have dominance in their respective states, but as a whole they have a minority status in India. This possibility derives from the fact that the minority- majority group classification has three fold bases viz. race, religion and nationality. Roman Catholics within U.S.A. are members of a prominent religious minority yet, many of their members may be simultaneously whites and thus racially grouped with the dominant class. Negros, on the other

-----  
17. Zenden, James W.Vander, American Minority Relations, (The Ronald Press Com, New Yark, 1963), p. 21

18. Barron, Milton L., American Minorities, (Alfred A. Knoff Inc., New York, 1957), p.p. 4-5

hand, are racially grouped with a minority yet, in terms of religion they may be members of the dominant Protestant group. Norwegians, in some areas of the Mid-West, by due to their national descent, are accorded minority status though they are members of the dominant white race and the dominant Protestant religion.

It is perceived that the dominant group in a society are considered the 'normal ones' of that society.<sup>19</sup> Members of the dominant group share a common value system, a common language and a common history. Dominant norms are historically derived. Their pre-eminence is established by customs and laws. The survival of the society is believed to depend upon these norms to such an extent that sub-groups which don't fully share them are restricted, formally or informally, from equal participation in the life of the society.

The United Nations Charter defined the criteria of the 'minority' on two broad bases:

(1) Objective and (2) Subjective

(1) Objective Criterion :- it deals with the population within the state of distinct group possessing ethnic, religious or linguistic features that differ from rest of the population. Secondly, it takes the numerical size of the group in account. Third objective criterion consists of non-dominant position of the group. The fourth criterion deals with the judicial status of members of the group in relation to the state of residence. Here it is essential that the members of the minority groups must be nationals of the state.

-----  
19. Marden, Charles F. and Mayer Gladys, Minorities in American Society, 3rd edition, (Van Nostrand Reinhold Com., N.York, 1968), p. 22

(2) Subjective Criterion:- it talks about the will or desire on the part of the members of the group in question whether they want to preserve their own distinct characteristics.<sup>20</sup>

The term 'minority' is frequently used at present in a more restricted sense. It has come to refer mainly to a particular kind of community and especially to a national or similar community which differs from the predominant group in the state.

On the basis of above discussion, the term 'minority' can be referred to as:

- (1) A minority is a group of subordinates. Its members suffer disadvantages resulting from prejudices and discriminations.
- (2) The members of a minority group have their own physique, culture, dialect etc. which the dominant group holds in low esteem.
- (3) Membership in a minority group is usually not voluntary. It is by birth.
- (4) The members of a minority group identify themselves as a part of the group. There is an in-group feeling of loyalty among these people.
- (5) Minority members are self conscious.
- (6) Minority members, by choice or by necessity, tend to marry within their group.
- (7) It is a group numerically smaller than the rest of the population of a state.
- (8) A minority group possesses a non-dominant position.

Minority people are differentiated from others in the same society by

-----

20. Capotoriti, Op.Cit, pp. 1-5

race, language, nationality and religion, who both think of themselves as a differentiated group and are thought of by others as a differentiated group with negative connotations. Further, they are relatively lacking in power and hence are subjected to certain exclusions, discriminations and other differential treatments.

The important elements in this definition are a set of attitudes, those of group identification from within the group and those of prejudices from without, and a set of behaviours, those of self-segregation from within the group and those of discriminations and exclusions from without.<sup>21</sup>

After having a long discussion on the theoretical aspects of the minority, it can be said that minorities are the group of individuals which have some distinct features different from the dominant groups. These minority groups are very much desirous to preserve their traditions, values and culture. However, among the large masses, who don't study minorities, the common tendency is to take the word 'minority' literally and simply to say that a minority is a small group of people which lives in the midst of a larger group.

Pakistan which came into being in the name of Islam, could not keep itself intact and on the issue of regional disparities, Bangladesh emerged as an independent state in 1971. Islam had never been institutionalized as a revolutionary state doctrine. On the contrary, it engendered fundamentalist forces and created misunderstanding between people of different religions. Besides, Islam is not a monolithic religion. In Pakistan, there is a substantial

---

21. International Encyclopedia of Social Science, Op.Cit., pp.365-69

Shia minority and there are continuous demands from fundamentalist parties to outcast them from the pale of Islam on the tune of Ahmadiyahs.

Today, Pakistan is dangerously weakened on account of internal schisms. Far from acting as a unifying force and promoting national integration, Islam led to cultural fragmentation of the country. There is no consensus or agreement about the form of Islam to be introduced in Pakistan. Each group stands by its own interpretation of Islam and emphasizes the doctrinal, sectarian and linguistic differences among masses separating them from each other.<sup>22</sup>

Ruling elites have never shown any inclination to accommodate the regional and political claims of the different groups within a flexible federal framework. The disharmony between democratic ideal and autocratic reality can be described as the dominant feature of Pakistani political culture. "Authoritarian rule and autocratic reality has considerably undermined the democratic spirit in Pakistani society".<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, Pakistan is not a homogeneous society. There are hundreds of sects within Islam. Pakistan is a feudal society. Communal activism, regionalism and religious intolerance has a fare hand in day to day life of Pakistan. It's leaders brutally murdered Jinnah's dreams who wanted to make Pakistan a secular-democratic state, but today it has become a religious and autocratic state.

---

22. Singh, Uma, "Challenges Before Pakistani Society and Politics", Paper presented at SIS/J.N.U., on 6/11/95.

23. Saeed, Shafqat, "Political Culture of Pakistan: Disharmony between Democratic Creed & Autocratic Reality", Asian Profile, Vol. 19, No.4, Aug'1991, p. 360



In the subsequent chapters Islam and Islamic State will be discussed. What it says about religious minorities, democracy and the state? Increasing religious fundamentalism in Pakistan and its impacts on religious minorities will be discussed.

`Islamization', what it really means? How the different political regimes used Islamization to protect and perpetuate their vested interests and how it subsequently affected the interests of the society in general and religious minorities in particular? How Gen. Zia could succeed in prolonging his autocratic rule by institutionalizing Islam for negative purposes?

`Religious Minorities' in Pakistan have been suffering throughout since very beginning. The prime objective is to find out their problems and state's discriminatory policies towards them. What led them to migrate from Pakistan? Was it state or society that really worked or discriminated against their interests?

## Chapter 2

### Islam and the Religious Minorities

Pakistan attained its independence in 1947. Islam came to play a decisive role in mobilizing the support of the Pakistani state. But, in the later stages of Pakistan, Islam was used by the successive political elites to fulfil their political scores and keep themselves in power politics for a long time. My main objective in this chapter is to find out the real nature of Islam, its attitude towards the religious minorities and the state. Some impression will be put on Islamic fundamentalism and its subsequent effects upon the religious minorities.

**What is Islam:** The word "Islam" is an Arabic word. It is a two root word. One 'Salm' means 'peace' and the other 'Silm' means 'submission'. Islam stands for commitment to surrender one's will to the will of God and thus to be at peace and harmony with the creator as well as people of different religious faiths.<sup>1</sup>

In the view of Islam, the source of the ruler's authority is neither his predecessor, nor people, but God and since God is the sole source of authority, it is 'He' who delegates and empowers the head of the state. He is sole source of law.

According to Bernard Lewis "In Islam, the sovereignty belongs to God, the Almighty Allah, but it does not mean that the laws are made by God, rather these are to be made by people in accordance to Quran".<sup>2</sup>

---

1. Choudhury, G.W., Pakistan: Transition from Military to Civilian Rule, (Essex, 1988), p. 7.

2. Lewis, Bernard, "Islam and Political Movement", Middle East Review, Summer, 1985, p.p. 47-60.

There are numbers of interpretations of the word 'Islam'. To a layman, it stands for a religion or a dogma preached by the Prophet Muhammad and practised by a large section of mankind all over the world. To a historian, it is more than a system of theology. It stands for a distinctive civilization and socio-economic order. To an ordinary Muslim, it is conceived as the name of his religion that comprises a system of life. It binds members of an Islamic state into a fraternity, which transcends the boundaries of state, language, race, colour and local traditions.<sup>3</sup>

Islam literally means submission, complete and without reservations to the will of God, the creator and the Lord of the Universe. It is a religion, a political system and a civilization, it is the way of life in which its religious aspects encompass man and women wholly.<sup>4</sup> According to a noted academician from Pakistan, Dr. I.H. Qureshi "religion is not like a Sunday suit which can be put on when we enter a place of worship and put off when we are dealing with day to day life. Islam is deeply rooted in our hearts. It is a complete religion".<sup>5</sup>

The Quran says that all true religions or real communication with God is Islam. It is entire submission to God, and the doing of good to His creatures that is the true source of salvation and that is what Islam means according to the

---

3. Birendra, S.S., Politics of Islamization with Special Reference to Pakistan, (Deep and Deep Pub., New Delhi, 1990), pp. 13-15.

4. Zaidi, A.M., (eds), The World of Islam Today, (Indian Institute of Applied Political Research, New Delhi, 1990), p.26.

5. Choudhury, G.W., Islam in Contemporary World, (Indus Thames Pub., London, 1990), p.36.

Holy Quran.<sup>6</sup>

According to some of the orthodox interpretations, Islam is fixed, immutable system of values, body of doctrines, forms of worship and behaviour in various relationships of life. They also say that Islam's teachings are unchangable. It is a unique and complete religion.

Islam is based on the teachings and life experiences of the warrior-statesman the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>7</sup> To Muslims, Islam is a complete code of life that encompasses religious, legal, moral, social and political practices. There have been contradictions in the nature of Islam. As noted Islamic scholar Asghar Ali Engineer states "Islam has been integrally associated with 'sword' that one can hardly associate it with non-violence. 'Quran' in one hand and sword in the other is the popular stereotype and this stereotype is very widely disseminated indeed.<sup>8</sup> This stereotype arose during the crusades in 12th and 13th centuries.

It is evident from the precedings that there is close relation between man and God, and God sends men to represent Him on the earth to regulate peaceful happenings. It is also evident that Islam is an integral part of Muslim masses throughout the world. It is also clear that there is no separation of religion and politics in Islam.

With this brief discussion of Islam, as far as the definition of an Islamic state is concerned, it is worth analysing as to what are it's purposes? What Islam

6. Birendra, Op.Cit, p. 14.

7. Kennedy, Charles H., and Others, (eds), Government and Politics in South Asia, (Westerview, 1987), p.171.

8. Engineer, Asghar Ali, "Islam and Non-Violence", Journal of Peace Studies, Vol. II, Issue 8, Jan-Feb, 1995, p.3.

DISS

305.80095491  
Si646 Re



TH5932

9

21

TH-5932

says about non-Muslims? What have been the ideals of Islamic statehood which led to a debate about an Islamic state in Pakistan giving the fundamentalists the right to persecute its religious minorities, particularly Ahmadiyahs and declare them non-Muslims?

**Islamic State** : A state wherein the Muslims enjoy ruling power, submitting themselves to the sovereignty of Allah, enforce and practice the injunctions of the Quran and Sunnah, and wherein the Islamic laws are held supreme to all the other laws, is an Islamic state.<sup>9</sup>

In Islam, religion is not separated from politics, An Islamic state can not be isolated from society because Islam is an integrated way of life and the state is the political expression of Islamic society. In narrow perspective, the relationship between religion and politics is linked with state power. Within Islam, both state and society has to differentiate between right and wrong, truth and falsehood and Halal and Haram.<sup>10</sup>

According to Muhammad Iqbal who is considered to be a modernist. "Islam, for the Muslims, is more than a creed. it is his community, his nation, the locus in which he will attain his true individuality. The Islamic community is a society based upon common beliefs. In an Islamic state, the doctrine of Tawhid (Oneness), rests upon two basic propositions: the supremacy of God's law and the absolute equality of its members. He believes in oneness of God. Iqbal's second basis for Islamic state and society is absolute equality, rooted in the

-----  
9. Choudhury, Op.Cit, p. 137.

10. Choudhury, S.B., The Profile of Islamic State, (Dhaka,1984), p.9.

doctrine of Tawhid and the mission of the Prophet and based upon the Quran".<sup>11</sup>

Maulana Mawdudi, who represented traditional school of thought said "The core of Islam is the belief that there is God, that is Allah, and that Muhammad was His last Prophet. On the Islamic state he speaks that it is not democratic one. Democracy permits the laws to be changed by a mere majority. Theocracy is perhaps a more opt term than democracy. Since the term usually implies rule by priests where as the whole population will run the Islamic state in accordance with the Quran, theo-democracy might be a better term".<sup>12</sup> He further states that all the administrative matters and other questions will be settled by Quran. If it fails to solve them, then they will be decided by a consensus of those of sound judgment and learning in the Shariah. He favours orthodox Islam.

The Islamic state is bound to protect the interests and rights of individuals in the state. The first characteristic of the Islamic state according to the Holy Quran is fraternity, all Muslims belong to one Ummah. Secondly, the Islamic state guarantees equality. But, equality granted is not absolute equality. It gives equality before law of civic rights and obligation of state. The third characteristic is liberty, the greatest character of individual liberty is involved in Kalima. A Muslim is free, he is not required to obey any other authority except God, i.e. he is free within the prescribed wall of the Shariah. The fourth

-----  
11. Esposito, John L., (eds), Voices of Resurgent Islam, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983), pp. 178-79.

12. Binder, Leonard, Religion and Politics in Pakistan, (California University Press, Berkeley, 1961), pp. 70-108.

characteristic of Islamic state has two-fold function, i.e., positive and negative. His positive function relates to establishment of state and negative functions consist of punishment to evil doers. The last characteristic of the Islamic state is that from Khalifa to an ordinary citizen, each is doubly responsible to God and some earthy authority.<sup>13</sup>

It should be clear that Mawdudi's conviction of the fundamental importance of the divine law requires him to believe in an all powerful, monolithic state, upholding a definite religious ideology. His further conviction of the Islamic State has both the right and the duty to suppress ideas or activities that frustrate its efforts to make Islamic ideology permeate the life of the society.<sup>14</sup> He opposed the political parties in the Islamic state.

But, Mawdudi forgets that Pakistan is not monolithic society. There are lots of religious and ethnic groups. For example, the Ahmadiyahs, Sunnis, Shias, Punjabis, Pakhtoons, Sindhis and Baluchis constitute religious and ethnic groups respectively. Punjabis, since the colonial days, has maintained economic and political superiority. Gen. Zia recruited Punjabis in military and bureaucratic jobs. State also played a good role to make Punjabis stronger than other ethnic groups. All lesser developed ethnic groups were dubbed anti-nationals. Islamization, Urduization and Punjabisation became strategic tool in the hands of the state to discriminate against Baluchis, Sindhis and Pakhtoon.<sup>15</sup> Sindhis, who

13. Qudus, Syed Abdul, Islamic Polity in Modern Times, (Lahore, 1987), p. 154.

14. Smith, Donald Eugene, (eds), South Asian Politics and Religion, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1966), pp. 390-92.

15. Singh, Uma, "Ethnic Conflicts", World Focus, vol. 13, No. 7, July 1992, p. 15.

comprises 23% of Pakistan's population, contain about 60% of its industry and has per capita income about 40% higher than in Punjab. But, there are lots of Punjabis in Sindh doing business and Sindhis are demanding their ouster from Sindh province because they are dominating and creating communal tensions.

The ideological foundation of the state lies in the doctrine of Tawhid and of human life, as comprehensive and exclusive programme of worship. Secondly, it believes in Risala (Prophet hood) and lastly has the basis of Quran.<sup>16</sup> The Islamic state is not a secular state nor it is a nationalist one, nor it is absolute or sovereign entity. Rather it is subjected to higher norms which represents the will of God. The state is not primordial. The primary institution in Islam, the form of government is determined by foregoing principles of Tawhid. The government is bound to exercise all power necessary for providing a minimum basic condition of Muslim life. The actual scope of government depends on society.

With the proper analysis of the Islamic state, it has become quite clear that politics and religion in Islam are inseparable, so is power and religion inseparable. The religion of God can not play of royal opposition, and there can be no authority against Islam. It is the state as well as government who serves the cause of Islam. With the passage of time, the Quranic concept of supernational state which was essentially republican, lost its essence as a doctrine and degenerated into authoritarian system.

In case of Pakistan, this gave birth to the problems whereby the

-----  
16. Turabi, Hasan, "The Islamic State", in Esposito, John L., (eds), Voices of Resurgent Islam, (New York, 1983), p. 157.



conservative section of the Ulemas with the help of ruling elites, in the name of Islamizing the state have tried to establish their hegemony over the state apparatus. Maulana Mawdudi had no political base in the beginning when Pakistan came into being. It did not espouse the cause of Pakistan. But, in independent Pakistan, it came forth demanding an Islamic state where only Islamic people can run the state.

There have been some political compulsions which led to extensively use and exploitation of Islam in Pakistan. First, the concept of Pakistan was rooted in the demand for a separate Muslim homeland. Second, Islam is the guiding factor in every Pakistani's life. Third, economic and political disparities between East and West wings of Pakistan. Fourth, 1965 war with India. Fifth, high proximity shown by Bhutto towards Islamic state, especially Saudi Arabia to get some financial assistance. Sixth, to overcome ethno-linguistic conflicts and influence of westernization. All these factors made Pakistani leaders to go to Islam and find out the solutions.

Instead of finding out the solutions, they used Islam only to fulfil their vested interests. They thought that only Islam and Urdu are the uniting factors in the society and ignored other factors viz. language and ethnicity. By ignoring Bengali nationalism and economic disparities between the two wings, Bangladesh emerged as an independent state in 1971.

Bhutto, while campaigning for the 1971 elections, advocated 'Islamic Socialism'. He also introduced prohibition, closing of bars and non-Muslim educational institutions and declaring Ahmadiyas as non-Muslims to frustrate the increasing influence of PNA and please some traditional Muslims.

Zia, in effect to make Pakistan a true Islamic state, introduced concrete Islamic principles. He extensively used Islam for his political career. Second, to legitimize his policies and rulings as a martial law administrator, he used Islam. Third, he was not a elected member in Pakistan Assembly. Fourth, to please some ulemas and frustrate Bhutto's supporters, he used Islamic symbols. On the mounting pressures from Khatoon-e-Nabuwat and some other right wing parties, he banned Ahmadiyas to use Islamic symbols and call themselves Muslims.

If one examines the political laws and ordinances forthcoming from the Quran and the Sunnah, it can be found that in reality, there is no specific form of Islamic state in Pakistan. The Shariat does not prescribe any definite pattern to which a state should conform, nor does it elaborate in detail a constitutional theory, but on the contrary, it allows great latitude in governmental methods and administrative procedure. The result is that, in every Muslim country, there has developed a wide gulf between the traditionalists and the modernists. This has done great harm to Islam and Pakistan.<sup>17</sup>

The picture of an Islamic state conceived by the traditionalists is not at all acceptable to the people of Pakistan. The Pakistani modernists are elaborating a new 20th century and authoritative interpretation of Islam and when they wish to see Pakistan become Islamic, their picture of an Islamic state is altogether different from that of the traditionalists. For the Pakistani modernists, the concept of an Islamic state signifies a dynamic morality. To them an Islamic state means that the Islamic principles, particularly those of equality,

---

17. Choudhury, G.W., Constitutional Developments in Pakistan, (Longman, London, 1969), pp. 49-50.

brotherhood and social-justice should be applied to guide it. They believe that the ideals preached by Islam are democratic and progressive. Their view is that the basis of the state must be the ideals of Islam.<sup>18</sup>

**Islam and the Religious Minorities** : The question of religious minorities, their status and the position in an Islamic state has always been controversial. This has been reflected in the case of Pakistan, which claims itself to be an Islamic state. In Pakistan, religion has come to play an important role in the lives of its people. Islam, though a sufficiently strong motivating force to give birth to Pakistan, has not yet been able to provide the country with either unity or order. In fact, determination of the proper political role of Islam has been a troublesome task in Pakistan.<sup>19</sup> Because of politicization of Islam by the political elites to use it for their vested interests and to further fragment the society. Bangladesh and Ahmadiyas can be sighted as suitable example for this. Their efforts to impose their own brand of Islam caused further gulf between Shias, Sunnis, Bralvis and Zikris.

The founder of Pakistan, M.A. Jinnah, much before the creation of Pakistan stated that the new state would be a modern democratic state with sovereignty resting in the people and the members of the new nation having equal rights regardless of their religion, caste or creed. After his death in 1948, there was a resurgence of the rightist parties. Lacking economic and social programmes, politicians adopted obscurantist facts and exploited religious

-----

18. Ibid, p. 52.

19. Rochter, William L., "Pakistan", in Ayub, Mohammad, (eds), The Politics of Islamic Reassertion, (Croom Helm, London, 1981), p. 141.

sentiments of the illiterate masses for the furtherance of their respective political aims. This has given birth to the problem of proper definition of a Muslim and a non-Muslim in Pakistan. It has been reflected in the case of Ahmadiyahs who being the major part of Islamic culture thrown out from the pale of Islam and declared as a non-Muslim community.

It is evident that being the non-followers of Islam, the Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and Buddhists automatically become non-Muslims. But, the Ahmadiyahs who were being a part of Islam, have been declared non-Muslim by law. But, they claim themselves to be true Muslims. This clearly indicates that whatever has been said in theory of Quran is altogether different in practical life of Pakistan. This makes the problem more complex. In order to understand this problem, it is essential to find out the attitude of Islam towards the non-Muslims and how the growing religious fundamentalism affects their interests.

### **Islam and the Non-Muslims**

Islam has vividly dealt with non-Muslims and the rights of a non-Muslim are guaranteed too in an Islamic state. Islam was a religion of Arabian society, so it touches all aspects of it. In tribal Arabia, the stronger tribe protected the weaker one and this practice was carried on in relation to non-Muslims in an Islamic state. "Members of the Islamic state who do not embrace Islam are not according to Islamic law to be deprived of life, property or freedom of religion".<sup>20</sup>

"Islam stands for the equality of all races and colours, all are alike in its

---

20. Watt, Montgomery W., Islamic Political Thought, (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 49.

great brotherhood, all can aspire to any position or vocation. Islam also provides respect and toleration for other religions".<sup>21</sup> This spirit was embodied in the charter which was granted to the Jews by the Prophet Muhammad after his arrival in Madina and neighboring territories after Islam had fully established itself in the Arabian Peninsula.

While discussing the non-Muslims in Islamic state, it should be clearly borne in mind that an Islamic state is essentially an ideological one, and is radically different from a national state. Here are the main features of an Islamic state regarding the minorities-

- (a) In an Islamic state, people are divided into Muslims (who believe in the ideology of the state) and non-Muslims (who do not believe in that ideology).
- (b) An Islamic state puts the responsibility to run the state on the shoulders of who believe in the Islamic ideology. Those who don't believe in the ideology of the state can, no doubt, be asked to cooperate, if they so like, with the Muslims in the task of administration, but they should be neither called upon to undertake nor can entrusted with the responsibility of policy making.
- (c) An Islamic state by its very nature distinguishes between Muslims and non-Muslims.
- (d) An Islamic state guarantees non-Muslims some specific stated rights. Beyond those rights, it does not permit them to meddle with the affairs of the state.
- (e) An Islamic state is bound to confer all those rights on its non-Muslim

-----

21. Choudhury, Op.Cit, p. 122.

citizens which have been conferred upon by the Islamic Shariah.<sup>22</sup>

In the Islamic state, non-Muslims are classified into three categories by the Shariah, viz-

- (a) Those, who become the subjects of an Islamic state under some treaty or agreement,
- (b) Those, who become its subjects after being defeated by the Muslims in war, and
- (c) Those, who are there in the Islamic state in any other way.<sup>23</sup> So far as the general rights of the non-Muslims are concerned, all the three groups are treated alike. However, the respective instructions relating to the first two groups being slightly different from each other as well as from those concerning the third group.

Islam has preached all Muslims to give protection to all the non-Muslims who seek it from them. It maintains that apart from war, Muslims can not under any circumstances abuse the daities of non-Muslims. It further forbids Muslims, who through divine revelation are instructed not to reveal God and Goddesses, whom other people worship.

According to some of the extremists, the position of non-Muslims in the Islamic state should be that of Dhimmis. They would not be full citizens of the state, because they would not be given the same rights as Muslims. They would have no choice in the making administering the laws and no right to hold public

---

22. Mawdudi, Abul A'la, Rights of Non-Muslims in an Islamic State, 7th edition, (Islamic Pub., Lahore), pp.1-5.

23. Mawdudi, Op.Cit, pp. 6-7.

offices. One extremist who was also a member of the constituent assembly, went on saying that the non-Muslims can not be entrusted with the responsibility of framing the general policy of the state dealing with matters vital to its safety and integrity.<sup>24</sup>

Although, Islamic ideology must be fundamental concern of the state, it is still possible for the non-Muslims to live within its boundaries in peace and stability. As Dhimmis are protected by the state, they may enjoy security of life and property and the right to practice their own religion as they see it. They may even act as servants of the state in some minor capacity. On the negative side, however, they may not propagate their religious ideas among the Muslim people, nor they may exercise any real practical power.<sup>25</sup>

Islam provides protection religious institutions of the non-Muslims. They are allowed to follow their religion and perform their religious rights in Islamic state. The non-Muslims are granted equality under law at par with the Muslims.

Since in the principle, the Islamic state is theocratic one, the non-Muslims are outside the full community of the state. They have to face certain disabilities and disadvantages. They must pay special tax and are not allowed to carry arms or give evidence against the Muslims in the court of law or marry Muslim woman of their choice.

Islamic state is ideological one, so the administration is entrusted in the hands of Muslims. Islamic state guarantees full liberty of conscience, protection

-----

24. Choudhury, Op.Cit, p. 123.

25. Adams, Charles J., "The Ideology of Maulana Mawdudi", in Donald, E. Smith, (eds), South Asian Politics and Religion, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1966), pp. 191-92.

of property, life and freedom of religious beliefs to the non-Muslims. It also provides full opportunity for growth of their cultures and traditions. As a noted academician, Ismail Faruqi maintains that the non-Muslims in an Islamic state are not obliged to protect the state, but are required to pay the tax called Jizya for their further protection.<sup>26</sup>

Islam claims to be a religion giving equality to the non-Muslims, but in reality a non-Muslim suffers from legal disadvantages. The non-Muslims are not only dealt as separate citizens, but treated as a separate community as well. They have the rights of protected community. They can not hold the office of responsibility, and as such they have the status of inferior subjects. Zakat, which is the surplus property tax levied on the Muslims for the welfare of the state, it is not levied on the non-Muslims. Rather they have to pay Jizya which is taken in return for the protection given to them and in lieu of military service, and full protection given to Dhimmis. Only those non-Muslims, who serve in the army, are exempted from the payment of Jizya.

### **Pakistan and the Non-Muslims**

When Pakistan attained independence, it was not exclusively of Muslims, but had handful population of the non-Muslims. It's founders were for a true secular democratic state where everyone would have equal rights, obligations and opportunities, irrespective of one's religion, caste or creed. The non-Muslims were provided equal rights with the Muslims in each constitution. But, there was a unity on one issue that the non-Muslims would not be allowed to lead the country, to frame and implement state policies and to have defence

26. Quddus, Op.Cit, p. 97.



services. This was agreed upon by the traditionalists as well as modernists. Maulana Mawdudi, who was nowhere and opposed the idea of Pakistan, represented the traditionalist view of Islam in independent Pakistan. He advocated that the state should be run by Islamic scholars and non-Muslims should not be entrusted to run the state or to make the state policies. He further stated that they can be protected after paying tax called Jizya.

The modernists wanted to make Pakistan a modern democratic state of 20th century. They said that Islamic principles of equality, brotherhood and social justice should be the guiding factor as to democratise the state apparatus. Where each individual can direct his life according to his faith. They affirmly stated that the basis of the state must be the ideals of Islam.

But, in the later stages of Pakistan, the views of the modernists were overpowered by traditionalists ones. Now question arises that how this aberration in the ideology of Pakistan arise? First and foremost reason for this is that Pakistan was created in the name of Islam and the people of Pakistan wanted to direct their lives according to the teachings of Islam. But, the political elites, after the initial leaders, could not apply the real teachings of Islam, instead they used those self-made versions of Islam which they found suitable for their political interests.

Being a multi-religious and multi-ethnic society, Pakistan is facing the crisis of its identity. Bangladesh, on the account of regional disparities and Bengali nationalism, emerged as an independent state. Because, West Pakistan dominated elites wanted to impose Urdu and Punjabi culture, which they sought to be dangerous for their national interests. Still it is facing the crisis of its

identity.

Today, non-Muslims in Pakistan are discriminated in every field of their lives. Now, question arises that why the non-Muslims in Pakistan are discriminated? First and foremost reason is that being a Islamic state, Pakistan is bound to discriminate with the non-Muslims. According to Islamic laws, a non-Muslim can not be the head of the state. He can't formulate or execute state policies. He can not be entrusted for defence services. Second, the non-Muslims follow different religious faiths, therefore, they are not taken as the full citizens of the state. Third, life long hatred between Hindus and Muslims puts its shadows on them, particularly on Hindus. Fourth, any conflict between Hindus and Muslims in India, the non-Muslims have to face the wrath of the society atlarge and state in particular. Fifth, the Kashmir issue deepens the scope of discriminations against the non-Muslims. Last but not the least, political elites, on their own, don't want to provide the non-Muslims equal rights in politics and religious matters. Because if they this, their own interests can not be fulfilled. Secondly, if they do provide equal rights to non-Muslims, they have to face wrath from the religious parties. As, Ms. Butto proposed to abolish the separate electorate and provide joint electorates to the non-Muslims, she had to face opposition from the Jamaat-e-Islami and other right wing parties.

### **Islamic Fundamentalism and the Religious Minorities**

After a long discussion on Islam and Islamic state, now it has become essential to have some thoughtful insights on the issue of Islamic fundamentalism and it's effects on the interests of the religious minorities in the state of Pakistan.

Religious fundamentalism of all kinds is heading its way around the

world. The failure of secular alternatives in the late 20th century has perhaps stimulated the rise of the fundamentalist movements in many post-colonial societies. While these societies continue to live in their cultural framework, the elites have not able to successfully bring economic prosperity and political freedom required for the structural transformation. With this growing sense of discontent, the people strive to seek refuge in religious roots as a panacea of prevailing evils, and this ultimately led to religious fundamentalism.

As Salla Michaelemin states "Islamic fundamentalism is an evident regeneration of culture, ideas, a produced renewal of religiosity, a political exploitation of the Islamic vocabulary by governments that use it to reinforce them legitimacy and to strengthen their power, and a use of religion by a political opposition that is often left with no other means of expression".<sup>27</sup>

Religious fundamentalism as a strategy or set of strategies by which beleaguered believers attempt to preserve their distinctive identity as people or group. Feeling this identity to be at risk, fundamentalists fortified it by a selective retrieval of doctrines, beliefs and practices from a sacred past. These retrieve fundamentals are refined, modified and sanctioned in a spirit of shrewd pragmatism. They are to fend off outsiders who threaten to draw the believers into a systematic, a religious-cultural milieu,<sup>28</sup> observed Martin and Appleby.

Islamic fundamentalism is not a clearly defined category of religio-

---

27. Michealemin, Salla, "Islamic Fundamentalism:Its Consequences for the West", Islam and Modern Age, Vol. 22(1), Feb. 1991,p. 22.

28. Marty, M., & Appleby, R.S., (eds), Accounting for Fundamentalism, (London & Chicago)

political thought.<sup>29</sup> It is more or less a general tendency among some religio-political parties and groups in modern Muslim societies. Social scientists hold it as a general response of Muslim societies to trends of Westernization and secularization. Islamic fundamentalism in all its forms is opposed to modernistic interpretation of Islamic teachings which are being attempted by liberal minded Muslims.

According to Leonard Binder "The diffuse romanticism permeated the middle-class Muslim minds to give rise to modernism, but it also gave rise to new fundamental movement".<sup>30</sup> Leaders without knowing the crux of Islam, used it to further romanticize the relationship.

The content of the fundamentalism varies from country to country.<sup>31</sup> In Iran, it is the basis of the struggle of the people against a barbarious monarch. In Pakistan, it is a tool for legitimizing the rule of the army junta which is backed by religious parties like Jamat-i-Islami. In Turkey, the conservative party leaders want to use Islam for petty partisan purposes to undermine the importance of the modernists. In Saudi Arabia, it is a plea for maintaining the status-quo and for perpetuating the institution of kingship.

On the basis of above discussion, Islamic fundamentalism can be defined as a religio-political movement. It essentially means going back to the original

---

29. Bahadur, Kalim, "Pak Elections 1993 and Islamic Fundamintalism" in Chopra, V.D., (ed), Religious Fundamentalism in Asia, (Gyan Pub., Delhi,1994), p. 152.

30. Binder, Leonard, Religion and Politics in Pakistan, (Berkeley University Press, California,1961), pp. 70-72.

31. Moin Shakir, "Politics of Islamic Fundamentalism", in Anwar Moazzam (eds), Islam and Contemporary Muslim World, (Light & Life, Delhi,1981), pp. 12-13.

sources and roots in Islam. It advocated adherence to the original beliefs of the religion in their literal interpretations as fundamental and basic principles, thus transcending all social, economic, political and cultural transformations which span a period of 14 centuries.

The rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan can be attributed to 'systematic-defects' which include the inability of the government to solve the manifold problems that have become chronic and secondly to the lack of strong political forces who can fight up with the fundamentalist forces. It is the politics of the ruling classes which dominated Islam and not vice-versa.<sup>32</sup>

Islam had never been institutionalized as a revolutionary state doctrine in Pakistan. On the contrary, it engendered fundamentalist forces.<sup>33</sup> Successive regimes in Pakistan sought to promote Islamic symbols for the furtherance of their selfish interests. Lack of a progressive ideology based on socio-economic radicalism in the agenda of mainstream political parties is believed to have aggravated the situation of fundamentalism. The PPP, by forming an alliance with the rightist Jamat-i-Islami to form the govt. has attacked the very nature of Pakistani state.

The ruling classes implemented only those parts of Islamic Shariah which eminently suit their political purposes. Every one knows that the penal measures like cutting off a thief's hands or lashing a drunkard or stoning an adulterer to death are not the essence of Islam. As a religious vision, Islam, stressed on the

---

32. Engineer, Asghar Ali, Islam and Liberation Theology, (Sterling Pub., Delhi, 1990), pp. 64-65.

33. Singh, Uma, "Internal Violence in Pakistan", International Studies, April-June 1995, Vol.32 (2), pp. 161-62.

concepts of brotherhood and equality,<sup>34</sup> but these teachings are seldom talked about as they would tend to change the direction of repressive, exploitative social structure and status-quoism of different regims towards a more fast end equitable one.

In none of the Islamic countries, "Islamization" of the society been the result of a people's movement. There was no popular demand in Pakistan nor in Iran and much less in Saudi Arabia to enforce the Islamic laws.

Separate electorates, inclusion of religious identity in national identity cards, reservation of seats in national and provincial assemblies and denial of becoming the Head of the state has been the main causes of religious fundamentalism that subsequently affected the interests of the non-Muslims. Even Ahmadiyas, who form a part of Islam, were excluded from the pale of Islam by a legal provision in 1973. Moreover, demands for exclusion of Shia community is gathering storm in Pakistan.

The eleven years of Zia's military rule had fuelled the Shia-Sunni tensions and encouraged assaults on the rights of Ahmadiyas, Hindus, Christians and Sikhs.

The inhuman Blasphemy Laws, which were introduced by late Zia, created the environment of religious apartheid. By this law they were made vulnerables to Muslims in legal as well as social aspects. Imposition of Hudood laws, made the minority women nothing but a thing of use and throw. If they are raped they require four persons to prove the crime, if not proved they are

-----  
34. Engineer, Asghar Ali, "Islamic Fundamentalism", in Chopra, V.D., (eds), Religious Fundamentalism in Asia, (Gyan Pub., Delhi, 1994), pp. 85-92.

nothing to do but commit suicide or marry with the same fellow who committed the crime. There is nothing left for their ijjat in blasphemy laws. All this is happening because there is Islam which has changed its shape and reaping the interests of political Ulemas.

In the subsequent chapter I will deal with the issue of Islamization and how it affected the interests of the religious minorities.

## Chapter 3

### Islamization and the Religious Minorities

When Pakistan was created in 1947, Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders wanted it to be a secular-democratic state where the Muslims could live and direct their lives according to the teachings and traditions of Islam. Until Zia seized power in 1977, the successive regimes had set themselves more or less to the secular aims in some ways or the other, but it can not totally be denied that Islam was used to fulfil some personal interests and accommodation of power. This was further fueled by the world-wide Muslim assertion to the validity of the original formulas of Islam.

Origins of Islamization can be traced in the struggle for independence of Pakistan. When created, secularism was the main objective of the then leaders. But, with the early death of Jinnah, the tide of Islamic fundamentalism began to ripe up in Pakistan. This was clearly manifested in the anti-Ahmadiyya riots in the Punjab province in 1953 and 1974. Later the Islamization policy became the characteristic feature in Pakistan during the rule of Gen. Zia. It made one thing very clear that secularism was not meant for Pakistan and from that time religion has remained a potent force in directing the politics within the state of Pakistan. Since then, it has been struggling for the meaning of its identity.

Successive regimes in Pakistan committed themselves to Islam, Islamic character and form of the Islamic state. But the question of Islam never been systematically addressed or adequately resolved. "Pakistan has remained in suspended animation between ambiguity of her founder's call to Muslim



homeland and varying expectations of the majority Muslims for religious establishment and populace for an Islamic state".<sup>1</sup> Neither Jinnah nor any of the subsequent leaders could define the true nature of an Islamic state in Pakistan. Instead of making it a progressive state, they exploited the people's sentiments in the name of Islam for the fulfilment of their own personal interests. By using this ambiguous situation, the political leaders with the help of Ulemas, appealed to the people in the name of Islam and Islamic state, being known that people are highly illiterate that can be influenced by sentimental appeals.

Before going to different government's policies on Islamization, it is pertinent to have some insight into the theoretical aspects of Islamization and linkages between religion and politics.

**Islamization in Theory and History:** Islamization as a process, has been in existence since the very inception of Islamic 'deen' in the 7th century. However, its nature and contents and objectives underwent crucial changes in due course of time. Prophet Mohammad, initiated the process of Islamization in order to convert his fellow Arabs, exploited and oppressed by the Arab rulers. Conversion took place on a high-scale in post 7th century decades. However, political and socio-economic motives remained predominant in the process of Islamization, these factors dominated the psyche of the Islamicists.<sup>2</sup>

"Islamization can be identified broadly as a holistic process of religious

---

1. Biswas, Sharmila Ray, Ahmadiyya Community in Pakistan Politics, Dissertation, (SAS/SIS, J.N.U., 1990), pp. 107-108.

2. Farid, Syed, 'Notes regarding the Islamization of the Maley Archipelago', The Muslim World, Vol. LXXV, Nov. 3-4, July-Oct 1985, pp. 162-175

socialization in accordance with Islamic norms, perceptions, values, postulates and rituals. In other words, it underlines a process of religious orientation, indoctrination and enforcement of Islamic beliefs, traditions and thought process."<sup>3</sup>

Islamization, at the global level, is initiated for mass conversions of non-Muslims, either through 'persuasion' or 'force' and to protect the interests of the Muslim minority communities in 'non-Muslim states'. In today's world, the Muslims project Islamization process as a major bulwark against the increasing impact of westernization and fear to get overshadowed by it.

Fundamentalists view the Islamization process from ritualistic angle. They tend to isolate and distinguish Islamic ideals with the other religions and sustain parochialized versions of Islamization. Techniques of "forced conversions" or the "Jihad" is idealized as the most effective means of Islamization. The Islamization process reveals mechanical and coercive trends. Furthermore, religious, social and political institutions tend to idealized the traditional and formal aspects of Islam and Islamization.<sup>4</sup>

**Religion And Politics:** Throughout the entire human history religion has played a dominant role in shaping human behaviour and development of socio-economic and political institutions. Though, the process of evolution, content, thrust and appeal of religion has undergone many changes. It is an irony, that

-----  
3. Kaushik, Surender Nath, Politics of Islamization in Pakistan: A Study of Zia Regime, (S.A. Publisher, N. Delhi, 1993), pp. 8-9

4. Tames, Richard, Approaches to Islam, (John Murray, London, 1982), pp. 58-62

parochialization of religion often resulted in fragmentation of world societies and disintegration of nations. Religious and political leaders have exploited religion for their economic prosperity and political gains. Political religions have, negatively, affected the process of modernization and secularization. In the previous decades of 20th century, almost every country has been confronted with religious and sectarian violence. Pakistan is the best example for that. The state sponsored process of religionization has not yielded positive results ever in the religion based countries like Pakistan. Some digression at this point is unavoidable.

It is extremely difficult to separate religion from politics. Secularists see politics and religion on the premises of rationality. On the contrary, traditionalists have vested interest in amalgamation of religion and politics, interpreting issues, politics and process to buttress ambivalent objectives.

Alliance between religion and state, resurgent in fundamentalism, has only added to the support base of tradition and belief. Yet, forces of secularism have not ceased to be potent. This has also led to confrontationists postures of faith and reason. The interaction between religion and politics is directly concerned with issues of social change. In fact in the name of social change, only the elite exploited the religion and exposed to Western education, developed a real comprehension of and commitment to secular-political values. The masses remained steeped in traditional modes of thought. In the name of Islam, orthodoxy and ritualism survived, and the people were not efficaciously involved in political process.

Thus, the relationship between religion and politics in the Pakistan has

been both complex and important, and is likely to remain so for a considerable time. Secularization attacks the very nature of traditionalism and erodes many form of religion, but it is clear that they are not going to disappear instantly.<sup>5</sup>

In recent times, Islamization as a slogan has been employed by fundamentalists to counter the growing impact of liberal-democratic philosophy as well as ideology of socialism.<sup>6</sup> It is commonly believed that in Islam unlike the Christianity and other religions, there is no separation of religion and politics. The separation between state and religion has existed in the Muslim world for a long time. Therefore, a fusion of religion and political power was, and remains an ideal in the Islamic tradition.

### **Islamization in Pakistan**

The first two decades of Pakistan were spent to reach some kind of constitutional consensus on the nature of the state. All the three constitutions from 1956 to 1973 had Islamic contents, but there was a divergence of opinion on the creation of Islamic state between the fundamentalists and modernists. Ayub, despite his family laws ordinance, used the same formulas in his 1962 constitution as had appeared in 1956. He did go further by providing for a council of scholars to advise him as how far legislation was in line with Islamic principles. Secondly, on the public pressure he had to include the word 'Islamic state' in the constitution by an amendment. However, Ayub is believed to have a balanced out look towards the use of religion.

-----  
5. Smith, Donald Eugeneve, Religion, Politics and Social Change in the Third World, (New York, The Free Press, 1974), pp. 1-8

6. Kaushik, Op.Cit, pp. 1-8

Bhutto, in his 1973 constitution, did not declare Pakistan as an 'Islamic Republic', but otherwise having many provisions which further accelerated the pace of Islamization. On the pressure from the religious parties, he had to incorporate the word 'Islamic' by the first constitutional amendment.<sup>7</sup> The most surprising move came in 1974, when he declared the Ahmadiyahs as a non-Muslim community. Bhutto described this as a 'decision of the people of Pakistan.'<sup>8</sup>

Bhutto himself, whose personal vision was entirely secular, was well aware of the ideological significance of Islam and Islamic symbolism. During his last weeks in power he played the religious card and took care to use Islamic symbolism wherever possible. The struggle for power between Bhutto and the opposition conglomeration on various parties reached its peak. They accused Bhutto of rigging the 1977 elections and demanded fresh elections and boycotted the provincial elections. Bhutto yielded the demand partially. He promised to hold elections in areas where complaints of rigging were launched. But the opposition refused to yield and demanded his resignation. Bhutto, in order to bring the situation under control took help of the army and three important cities Lahore, Multan and Karachi were placed under Martial Law. This incident brought back army in Pakistan's political arena.

During Bhutto's regime, the right wing parties, although remained on the

---

7. Bindra, S.S., "Islamization in Pakistan: An Overview", in Dharamdasani, M.D., (eds), Benazir's Pakistan, (Shalimar Publication, Varanasi, 1989), pp. 99-100

8. Pakistan National Assembly Debates, Vol. 5, No. 39, September 7, 1974, pp. 563-565

fringe of the political arena, but been able to successfully penetrate in the armed forces and the bureaucracy and succeeded in making various changes in Bhutto's policies. Zia after understanding the situation fully, took advantage of the turmoil and succeeded in preventing the opposition from concluding a deal with Bhutto. After making the right observation that Bhutto increasingly began depending on the army, Zia used the opportunity to strike and remove Bhutto through a blood less coup codenamed "Operation-Fairplay".<sup>9</sup>

**Islamization during Gen. Zia:** By 4th of July 1977, there was total chaos and complete breakdown of law and order situation in Pakistan. The negotiations between Bhutto and opposition failed, and by 5th of July 1977, Bhutto and his cabinet colleagues along with prominent opposition leaders were arrested.<sup>10</sup> Gen. Zia promulgated the Martial Law. Bhutto on his turn tried to play Islamic card by raising "Islamic Socialism", but Zia succeeded in evoking a response to his imposition of various measures that were intended to Islamize the country's premier institutions.

Gen. Zia announced that due to the breakdown of law and order and growing polarization within politics, there was a danger to the security, integrity and sovereignty of the country. As a result, army had to take over. Furthermore, he promised to hold elections within 90 days, a promise that he never wishfully wanted to fulfill. Rather, he began to question the process of accountability and credibility of the previous government. In order to keep people away from

-----  
9. Dixit, Aabha, "Islamization of Pakistan: An Explosive Political Myth", Strategic Analysis, Vol., 14(4), July 1991, pp. 415-416

10. The Dawn, Karachi, July 6, 1977

elections, he appointed a cabinet of ministers with the help of small religious parties and nominated himself the President of Pakistan.

Zia had realized early during his tenure that he lacked legitimacy. Politically he knew that he possesses no legal right to the head of the state as he was not elected. On the religious ground also, he failed to hold power, because he was not elected by people or by their leaders, neither he was an interpreter of law. He had realized that with the execution of Bhutto, large section of the society was alienated from him. The only option that Zia's military regime had, to gain legitimacy, was Islam and he embarked upon the process of "Islamization".<sup>11</sup>

While promulgating the Shariah ordinance on 15th June 1988, declaring it as the 'supreme law of the country', he told the countrymen that from the day he took over the reins of the government, he had always been insisting from every forum, every platform and on every occasion that justification of creation of Pakistan was 'Nifaz-e-Shariah' (rule by Islamic law). He further added that 'Nifaz-e-Shariah' is not only the basis of our existence, but also a guarantee for our survival.<sup>12</sup>

Gen. Zia claimed that he remains in power not because he is covetous, but because he is Islamizing the country. He made the argument that, since Pakistan was attained in the name of Islam, only through Islamization it can

---

11. Weiss, Anita M., "The Historical Debate on Islam and State in South Asia", in Anita M. Weiss, (eds), Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan, (Vanguard, Lahore, 1987), p.p. 9-11

12. Choudhury, Golam W., Pakistan Transition from Military to Civilian Rule, (Scorpion Publishing Ltd, Essex, 1988), p. 129

survive.<sup>13</sup>

Gen. Zia on 10th Feb. 1979 introduced the programme of 'Nizam-e-Islami' and said that purposes of his regime was to form a true Islamic state. In order to undertake measures towards Islamic democracy, he reorganized and reoriented the 'Council of Islamic Ideology'. It was brought under his direct supervision. He ordered to observe prayers and traditions and rules of Ramadhan.<sup>14</sup>

On the recommendations of the Council of Islamic Ideology, Gen. Zia promulgated judicial reforms in 1979. By the 1980, the Federal Shariat branches were dissolved in the high courts and were replaced in the supreme court.<sup>15</sup> These Shariah courts were empowered to examine the validity of any law and decide if it is repugnant to injunctions of Islam. By 1985, new measures were taken by Zia's government and he introduced 'Quazi Courts' in provinces and districts.

Nawaz Sharif introduced the Shariat Bill which was supported by Benazir's Pakistan's People's Party and other political parties as well. However, Sharif used the Islamization in making the country economically strong, but the people from religious minorities could not get benefits out of this. Benazir Bhutto on her own turn could not stop the process of Islamization, on the contrary, she took help from right wing parties to form the government.

---

13. Syed, Anwar Hussain, Pakistan: Islam, Politics and National Solidarity, (Praeger, New York, 1982), p. 142

14. Bindra, Op.Cit, p. 120

15. Kenndey, Charles H., "Islamization in Pakistan: Implications of Hudood Ordinances", Asian Survey, Vol. 28, 1988, p. 370



## **Islamization and its effects of Religious Minorities :**

In 1981, a definition of Muslim was provided. It maintained (a) a non-Muslim means 'a person who is not a Muslim' and it includes a person belonging to Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist or Parsi community, a person of Qadiani group or Lahori group or a Bohra and a person belonging to any of SC community.

(b) a Muslim means 'a person who believes in unity and oneness of almighty Allah' in absolute and unqualified finality of prophethood of Muhammad and does not believe in or recognizes any other prophet or a religious reformer. This definition gave a rise to anti-Ahamdiyya agitations because the main controversy revealed the question of proper definition of a Muslim.<sup>16</sup>

Furthermore, on April 26, 1984, Zia issued ordinance no. 20 which held any Qadianis liable to punishment and fine, who refer to , or calls his place of worship as 'masjid', recites Azan, calls himself a Muslim or refers to his faith as Islam.<sup>17</sup> In one instance, the Ahmadiyya Baitul Hamd in Quetta was attacked by an angry crowd, mobilized by the Ulamas, which led to the arrest of 85 Ahmadis by the district authorities. Two Ahmadis were killed in Sukkur on 11th May 1986, bringing their death toll upto six after the promulgation of the presidential ordinance.<sup>18</sup>

The All Pakistan Khautam-e-Nabuwat Organization pressurized the

16. Syed, Ziaullah, "Islam and Pakistan", Secular Democracy, 1983, p. 592

17. Waseem, Mohammad, Politics and the State in Pakistan, (National Institute of Historical & Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1994), p.382

18. Ibid, p. 383

government to introduce 'Jizya' against the Ahmadis as they were regarded as non-Muslims. The Ahmadis on the other hand refused to pay 'Jizya', because they regarded themselves as Muslims and paid Zakat and Ushr. Ulemas demanded action against them. Meanwhile, the Lahore High Court in 1981 prohibited a Ahmadi to inherit the property of a Muslim. This gave an upper hand to the Ulemas and they began to demand a new law punishing the Ahmadis for declaring themselves as Muslims. The government also formed some district level committees throughout the country consisting of Zilla Council members, federal counselors and officials headed by nominees of government to keep strict vigil on anti-Islamic propaganda.<sup>19</sup>

In Oct. 1984, the Ahmadiyya community challenged the decision of the federal Shariat court which had stayed the ordinance to be in accordance to Islamic injunctions. This decision posed many questions (a) since Ahmadis are non-Muslims under law in Pakistan, what is their de-facto religion, (b) is the religion of the Ahmadis to be decided by outside agency (c) if Ahmadis believe in Holy Quran and Sunnah as their Sharia and if the religion assigned to them by the said authority does not correspond to that of Shariat, do the Ahmadis have the right to decline the assignment and keep professing and practicing their religion according to Quran and Sunnah, (d) regardless of the fact that Ahmadis are not considered Muslims in Pakistan for the purpose of constitution and law and since Ahmadis feel that they are not permitted to profess any religion other than Islam under the divine commandment. As a result, the fact remains that the idea behind the demand and passing of ordinances, is repugnant to Islam, which

-----

19. The Pakistan Times, April 5, 1984

has always guaranteed religious freedom.<sup>20</sup>

The offences against property included the punishment of amputation of thief's right hand, right leg and life imprisonment. Eighty lashes were prescribed for a Muslim who consumed intoxications or drugs, foreigners and non-Muslims were allowed to consume alcoholic drinks during their religious occasions. But, they were prescribed 30 lashes or 3 years of imprisonment for consuming intoxicating beverage or drugs in public.

For Zina (adultery) the ordinance provided stoning to death for both men and women. It also prescribed whipping for wrongful accusation of illegitimacy. The non-Muslims were deprived of the right to testify for Muslims, neither could they act as judges.<sup>21</sup>

In order to generate Islamic spirit to the cultural life of Pakistan, Zia introduced far-reaching changes in educational spheres of Pakistan. Non-Muslim students were required to undertake a course on culture and traditions wherein the Muslim students were prohibited to take a course on any non-Muslim religions. Arabic was made a compulsory language. Separate educational institutions were opened for men and women.<sup>22</sup>

Religious Minorities have been suffering from the policy of Islamization on all fronts whether it is political, economic or social. By this policy, they have been thrown to the level of second-class citizens in Pakistan. Successive political

---

20. Ahmad, S.N., Crisis of Conscience, (Switzerland, 1984), p.7

21. Malik, Hafeez, "Martial Law and Islamization in Pakistan", Orient, 1987, p. 595

22. Hayes, Louis D., "Islamization and Education in Pakistan", Asia Pacific Community, 1984, p.p. 98-102

elites, to keep themselves in power politics, used this policy with its severest motives.

### **Blasphemy Laws and the Religious Minorities:**

Gen. Zia's blasphemy laws had played a divisive role in Pakistan society, especially against the religious minorities. According to this law, a person belonging to non-Muslim community is liable to have punishment if he/she speaks against Islam. On the other hand, it is silent on the issue that Muslim can criticize or abuse non-Muslim religions. They are rarely prosecuted under this law.

Blasphemy law is discriminatory itself, because it recognized blasphemy against non-Muslims and not against Muslims. In the case of Salamat Masih and Rehamt Masih, who were falsely implicated in blasphemy case, were given death sentence by an lower court. On this issue, Ms. Bhutto, speaking to the Associated Press of Pakistan, said that she is not opposed to the provisions of blasphemy laws as such. Further she said that matters pertaining to the lower courts were the exclusive prerogative of the provincial government.<sup>23</sup> By this statement, it is clear that ruling elites have their vested interests to continue with this inhuman law.

The blasphemy laws have raised the pertinent question as to whether these laws have much relevance in today's Pakistan. It must be made clear straightaway that blasphemy laws are not to insult the Islam, or to divine entities in any other faith. In Pakistan's case, as it would be in others, the basic issues involved are both human rights and the need for liberalism and tolerance in -----

23. The Hindu, Madras, 15 Feb, 1995

plural societies under a more flexible democratic set-up.

According to International Human Right Group `Asia Watch', due to Islamization of civil and criminal laws, serious abuses against the religious minorities have become fashion of the day in Pakistan.<sup>24</sup> It further says that the Ahmadis are the worst sufferer by the blasphemy laws promulgated by late Gen. Zia.

In another report, US State Department on Human Rights in Pakistan, pointed out that there is much discrimination against religious minorities in the employment and education sector. They have difficulties in finding jobs other than the menial ones.<sup>25</sup>

In Punjab, where most of the Christians are concentrated, are employed in low-paid jobs. The blasphemy laws have become a handy weapon to intimidate this small religious minority. Both the religious preachers and the landed gentry use the terror-stricken Christians to work for them as bonded labourers.<sup>26</sup>

On the political front, the minority groups suffer more serious blows. One of the most humiliating devices to reduce the non-Muslims to a status lower than that of second class citizens is the separate electorates for religious minorities, which bars them from active participation in national and provincial politics. The minority politicians can not choose their constituencies. They can not vote in favour of a Muslim candidate or vice-versa. They can vote only for separate lists

---

24. The Tribune, Chandigarh, 21 May 1994

25. Ibid

26. Mukharjee, Saadindu, "The Plight of Minorities in Pakistan", Indian Express, New Delhi, June 8, 1995

and can be elected from special lists for national and provincial assemblies. It is very difficult for minority politicians to contest elections, because in case of national and provincial assembly elections, the entire country and entire province has been made their constituency respectively. They have to move around whole the country in seeking the votes of religious minorities. This is very unfair thing that leads to feeling of alienation among non-Muslim minorities. Furthermore, non-Muslims can not make contacts with Muslims, nor Muslim politicians are responsible or concerned about their issues. If there is any emergency work, the people of minority communities have to chase their representatives all over the country which is the sheer wastage of time and money.

The fact that the Zakat is levied only on Muslims have added to the growing sense of many non-Muslims that Islamization is slowly making them second-class citizens. Just as the exemption of Israel's Arab population from military services symbolizes the Arab's status as an out-group. So the exemption of Pakistan's non-Muslims from the Zakat tax is taken as a sign that adherence to Islam is becoming the real basis of political community in Pakistan.

In education field, course on Islam has been made compulsory for Muslims, when non-Muslims have been disallowed to take this course. They are entitled to have a course on culture and traditions. Moreover, Muslims are prohibited to study the non-Muslim religions. This is a clear violation of one's freedom to learn about other culture, religion and ethics.

In judicial disputes, a Muslim can accuse a non-Muslim of being a 'Kafir'. In such a case, the witness of the latter would be counted half of the witness of the former. In the event of homicide, if the victim is a non-Muslim,

his/her heir is entitled to only 50% of the compensation provided for a Muslim victim in a parallel case under 'Qissa' and 'Diyar' Ordinances.<sup>27</sup>

After having a long discussion on the policy of Islamization and its consequences on religious minorities, it has become clear that policy of Islamization was kept alive by the political elites only to fulfill some vested interests. This policy has nothing to do with the welfare of the innocent public. Name of religion was used to exploit the religious sentiments of the people to deviate their mind from active participation in politics related issues. This gap of information led the consolidation of power within some hands and poverty and illiteracy in more hands.

From the very beginning, Zia never really tried to create a just social order. His attempt was to allow the Islamization to be a long drawn out affair that would give him enough political justification to continue in power and segregate the society for his own personal interests. By making the Islamization an important item on nation's agenda, he used it to the devastating effects. Whenever, a political challenge emerged to his rule, the Islamization mission was used as a juggernaut to mow down the political opponents. Gen. Zia ruled Pakistan for more than one decade with iron hand. Nothing changed during that period. But, in a decade Zia brought some significant changes. He made Pakistan from democratic state to an authoritarian one.<sup>28</sup>

Islamization in Pakistan has traveled a long road with general Zia. It had

---

27. Omar, Noman, "Pakistan: Gen. Zia's Era and Legacy", Third World Quarterly, Jan. 1989, pp. 51-52

28. Biswas, Op.Cit, p. 107

become the Islam of Zia and Ulemas in order to maintain themselves in power and kept the secularists at the bay. This process of Islamization has not helped Pakistan reaching anywhere near a Islamic state, rather Islam was misinterpreted for benefit of a few against suppression of many. On one occasion, Gen. Zia in order to legitimize his rule said that Pakistan was created in the name of Islamic State. Therefore, he is entitled to make Pakistan an Islamic state. He also maintained that the split in Pakistan was a result of abandonment of Islam.

Religious minorities, on the account of Islamization programme, received a heavy jolt in every field. They were discriminated and are discriminated on this ground. It is not only non-Muslims who suffered from Islamization, but different sects within Islam suffered too. In 1973, Bhutto by an constitutional amendment declared Ahmadis a non-Muslim community. Further, Gen. Zia banned Ahmadis to perform Islamic rituals.

The Blasphemy Law makes only non-Muslims guilty of abusing Islam, but Muslims are left free to abuse any religion. This is the most inhuman law in the world. Furthermore, it accounts a non-Muslim's weight only half that of a Muslim in legal disputes. In this environment of Islamization the people of religious communities have developed the tendency of inferiority complex and become objects of subdued personalities.



## Chapter 4

### Religious Minorities in Pakistan

Pakistan is a multi-religious and multi-ethnic society where no unified form of Islam and ethnicity is found. There are lots of conflicts within Islamic sects. Shias, Sunnis, Bohras and Zikris have different interpretations of Islam. Among ethnic groups, Sindhis, Muhajirs, Baluchis, Pakhtoons and Punjabis have a lot of differences. Among non-Muslims, Goan Christians and Caste Hindus have differences with their partners, Punjabi Christians and Scheduled Caste Hindu brothers respectively.

Pakistan's political elites could not yet define the nature of Islam and the state. They are in great dilemma over this issue. The ruling elites on the pressures from rightist parties, time and again changed the constitutional provisions to concede to their demands and included some inhuman provisions to keep the religious minorities away from power politics. Ayub, for example, opted out the word Islamic from the constitution, but on the pressure from Jamat-e-Islami and other right wing parties, he again had to include the same word in the constitution. The same thing happened in Bhutto's regime. But , he went much further declaring Ahmadiya community a non-Muslim group by a constitutional amendment.

In 1951, Pakistan declared itself an Islamic state. At the time of independence, the religious minorities constituted around 14% of the entire population of West Pakistan. Constitutionally they are given equal rights with

their Muslim counterparts, but in practical life it is entirely different. They are treated as second-class citizens and have no say in policy-framing and implementation.

In order to understand the problems of religious minorities, anti-minority policies adopted by the state and inhuman treatment from the society at large, it has become obvious to go back to history and find out the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in Islamic states. Furthermore, it is also essential to know a bit about the rights of non-Muslims in the Muslim countries.

### **Status and Relations of Non-Muslims with Muslims**

Islam stands for equality and brotherhood of all the races. It also inculcates respect and tolerance to other religions. This spirit was embodied in the charter granted to the Jews by Prophet Muhammad after his arrival in Madina. And notable message was sent to the Christians of Najran and neighbouring territories after Islam had fully established itself in the Arabian Peninsula.<sup>1</sup>

Islam defines non-Muslims in two groups. The first are those who do not possess a revealed book and the second one comprises of the people of the Book.

<sup>2</sup> In the second group, the Jews, the Christians, the Sabeans and Magians come.

Regarding the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, an agreement was made with the Jews of Khyber in 628.<sup>3</sup> At a later stage, further agreements

1. Chodhury, G.W., Islam in Contemporary World, (Indus Thams, London, 1990), p. 57

2. Yurdaydin, Hussain Gazi, "Non-Muslims in Muslim Societies: The Historical View". Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol. 3, No. 1, Sum. 1981, p. 183

3. Fattal A., Non-Muslims on Paysd Islam, (Beirut, 1958), p. 28

were made with the Jews of Fadak and Wadi'l Qura. A tax called Jizyetul land (land-tax) was levied on non-Muslims in Behrien expedition. The important point of this agreement was that non-Muslims could get all their rights and freedoms in return for some tax they had to pay.<sup>4</sup>

During the Abbasid period, Turks after becoming Muslims, met on a vast scale with non-Muslims especially Christians. Turks were very much near them. According to a Syrian Christian, the Turks never think of oppression and cruelty over them.<sup>5</sup>

During this time all the Muslim and non-Muslim merchants had the right to complain to the Seljuki Diwan and were sentenced to trial alike. The professions of doctors, money-exchangers and traders were mostly in the hands of non-Muslims. Christians were civil servants and some occupied high military positions in the state. Abbasids and great Seljuks made it mandatory for them to wear different clothes, but the Anatolian Seljuks did not impose any ban on dressing. Moreover, non-Muslims were allowed to ring the church bells and build new places of worship. The Seljuks of Anatolian, in accordance with their conception of freedom did not pursue a policy of Islamization by force. The non-Muslims at that time lived in a broader atmosphere of freedom and peace.

Ottoman society without taking into consideration of religious and sectarian differences, secured complete equality for the non-Muslims. They were not even restricted to travel and reside with Muslims. Moreover, Muslims did not interfere with the way of their dressing and building houses.

---

4. Yurdaydin, Op.Cit, p. 183

5. Ibid, p.p. 184-85

However, it is said that non-Muslims were forbidden to enter churches, monasteries and the Christian sacred places in Jerusalem on 16th June 1517. On the other hand, it is known that when Yavuz Salim conquered Egypt, he appointed a Jew as the superintendent of the Mint. They also exclusively used Dhimmis for espionage services.

It is true that Muslims consider themselves superior to non-Muslims. Because, power, religious expansion, cultural brilliance and prosperity combined to imbue Muslims with a sense of shared achievement and confidence.

As far as political subjects are concerned, all kinds of non-Muslims are accepted in a Muslim state. On the marital status, a Muslim man can't marry a non-Muslim woman except if she is of the category of Ahl-e-Kitab. Islam has chosen patriarchal pattern of family. So, it is religion of father, that can be alone imparted to the children even of a mixed marriage. A non-Muslim girl, accepting to marry a Muslim, must know before her consent that she will have no say in the matter of the religion of her children born of the Muslim father.<sup>6</sup>

As far as freedom of worship is concerned, places of worship had complete immunity. For example, when Mehmet the conquerer, was continuing his conquests in the Balkans, the king built Catholic churches all over Serbia. A census conducted in 1577 is clear and definite example of the tolerance in the religious matters. According to this census, there were 485 mosques and 743

-----  
6. Md. Hamidullah, "Relations of Muslims with Non-Muslims", Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol. 7(1), Jan. 86, p.9

churches in Istanbul.<sup>7</sup>

As far as status of non-Muslims in an Islamic state is concerned, the best status that the non-Muslims could have was that of Dhimmis. It was argued that Dhimmis will have protection for their lives, families and property but they would definitely have inferior status than that of Muslims. They could not be full-fledged citizens, but enjoy the status of protected words. They would be accorded toleration and protection, but are outside the community of the state. They must pay a special tax in return for protection. They will be free to perform their religion and rituals according to their faiths.

To begin with Quran, it seems to speak with many voices on the minorities or unbeliever's issues. It says, "fight those who believe not in Allah, nor in the last day, nor follow the religion of Truth, out those who have been given the Book, until they pay the tax in acknowledgement of their defeat".<sup>8</sup>

Here it appears that Quran is declaring general war against all unbelievers until they accept superiority of Islam and agree to pay Jizya. However, it is not possible all the times. Secondly, it strengthens the idea that Islam is the religion of sword and seems to spread its hegemonic influence over other religious communities either by force or by some other means.

In the verse quoted above, the idea is not to kill unbelievers if they do not accept Islam, but to bring them under control by making them accept defeat and pay Jizya. However, Islam does not permit Muslims to take swords against

---

7. Yurdaydin, Op.Cit, pp. 186-87

8. Engineer, Asghar Ali, "Islam and Non-Violence", Journal of Peace Studies, Vol. 2(8), Jan-Feb. 95, p. 8

those unarmed, but it permits Muslims to fight against those who are aggressors and break their pledges.<sup>9</sup>

The traditional approach of conversion, jizya and imposing Islam by the Muslim societies have been an obstacle in the way of constructive dealings between Muslims and non-Muslims. These have created suspicion among non-Muslim communities.<sup>10</sup> But, the non-Muslims played a constructive role in Muslim societies.

After having a brief discussion regarding relations and status of non-Muslims in Muslim states, it becomes clear that non-Muslims have lived in peace and cooperation with Muslims, but in some aspects they were treated inferior to the Muslims.

The real situation in Pakistan after its independence is now what elaborated, the founders of Pakistan spoke about religious minorities, their status and rights and what rights, privileges and status they have in present Pakistan.

### **Religious Minorities in Pakistan**

Minorities by and large face similar plight whatever their legal status in theory and whichever be the country.<sup>11</sup> It is also true that in democratic societies minorities enjoy equal rights alongwith the majority. On the contrary,

-----

9. Ibid, p. 9

10. Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman, "Al-Dhimmah and Related Concept in Historical Perspective", Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol. 12(1), Jan'91, pp. 193-94

11. Engineer, Asghar Ali, "Muslim Minority in India and Hindu Minority in Pakistan: A Comparative Review", Mainstream, Vol. 29, No. 21, 16 March, 1991, p-11

in an authoritarian, religious and undemocratic state they have to face discrimination and injustice.

Pakistan, being an `Islamic State', could not follow its original path showed by late Mr. Jinnah. All the secular credentials envisioned by initial leaders washed away later by some opportunist leaders. From the nomenclature of Pakistan as `Islamic Republic', the religious minorities were discriminated in every field.

In 1947, when Pakistan became an independent state, religious minorities accounted for around 14% of the entire West Pakistan population. Hindus alone accounted for around 9% of that population. Today, the religious minorities account for just 4% of the entire population. Among Muslims, around 95% are Sunnis, around 5% are Shias and 0.001% are Ahmadiyas. On the other hand, among non-Muslim religious minorities, Hindus are 1.8%, Christians 2% and others are 1% of the entire population of Pakistan.<sup>12</sup>

Starting from the speech of Mr. Jinnah who envisaged a secular-democratic and progressive state of Pakistan said, "If you change your past and work together in the true spirit that everyone of you, no matter to what community one belongs...is first, second and last a citizen of this state with equal rights, privileges and obligations. You are free to go to your worship places, belong to any religion, caste or creed, state has nothing to do with that. No discrimination on the basis of religion, caste or creed will be done. In course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each

-----

12. The Europa World Year Book, 1995, Vol. 2, Edn-36, p-2373

individual, but in the political sense as the citizens of the state."<sup>13</sup>

This secular-democratic vision of the state and society lost its significance soon after the early demise of Jinnah. Since 1986, increasing religious intolerance and exploitation of power for personal interests has led Pakistan to discriminate against religious minorities. However, Jinnah's words had been repeatedly exploited during the first decade at a time when Sindh and Punjab depended heavily upon non-Muslims for commercial and technical services, only to acquire expertise from the non-Muslims.<sup>14</sup>

Subsequent events did not cause Mr. Jinnah to retreat in any way from his intention to make Pakistan a state based on secular-democratic credentials. But hatred of Sikhs and Hindus and fear of 'New India' made it difficult for the liberal view to gain acceptance and the ulemas with the help of political leaders completely rejected Mr. Jinnah's approach.<sup>15</sup> Secondly, Jinnah and other ML leaders could not define the true nature of the state. Moreover, he had to accept some demands of Ulemas in Objective Resolution. Third, predominance of military-bureaucracy oligarchy, where ulemas had upper hand to make policies, and fourth, the intention of political leaders to politicise Islam in favour of their own interests caused disappearance of Mr. Jinnah's democratic institutions in Pakistan. Furthermore, they rejected nationalism based on secularism and democracy and went for a theocratic state where only Islam and Islamic millat

---

13. Zaidi, S. Akbar, "Religious Minorities in Pakistan Today", Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 18(4); 1988, p-444.

14. Callard, Keith, Pakistan: A Political Study, (George Allen & Uniwin, London, 1958), p-233.

15. Ibid, pp-233-4.



can alone be the determining factor in state's activities.<sup>16</sup>

On these issues, some of the leaders called the ulemas as fanatics. But on the issue of power sharing, all Muslims unhesitatingly said that no non-Muslim should be the Head of the State. Speaking before the Constituent Assembly, Maulana Shabir Ahmad Osmani said that the state should be run by those who have faith in its ideology. However, ideas of non-Muslims can be considered, but neither they become the Head of the State, nor they can be entrusted in policy making process or dealing with matters vital to its safety and integrity.<sup>17</sup>

In today's Pakistan, religious minorities have become regular targets of bigots instigated by fanatical Muslim political leaders.<sup>18</sup> They are regularly kidnapped, murdered, prosecuted and converted into Islam. Their worship places are either converted into mosques or destroyed. Their daughters are raped and forcefully converted to Islam or married to Muslims. In legal cases they have less weightage to that of Muslims. Blasphemy laws restrict them to profess their religions freely. Separate electorate system makes them lame in power politics. In education they have to take a compulsory course on 'culture and tradition' regarding Islam, but Muslims are not allowed to take a subject other than Islam.

With this little overview of the religious minorities, the discrimination meted out upon them in social, political and economic fields is exposed in a more detailed way. The main objective in this chapter will be to highlight their

---

16. Munir Commission Report, on Anti-Ahmadiyya disturbances occurred in Punjab in 1953, p-203.

17. Pakistan Constituent Assembly Debates, March 9, 1949, Vol. 5, p-45.

18. Zaidi, Op.Cit, p. 445

socio-economic and political status and state-sponsored discriminatory policies against them. Effort would be made to find out the roles played by them in consolidating their due rights and obligations.

### **1. Socio-Political Status of the Religious Minorities:**

#### **(i) Social and Demographic Status**

According to 1951 census of Pakistan, the West wing of Pakistan had 3% non-Muslims population. Among them were 5,31,000 (1.5%) Hindus, 4,32,987 (1.3%) Christians and 0.1% other non-Muslims.<sup>19</sup> Now, the situation is different. Today Christians constitute 2%, Hindus around 1.8%, Ahmadiyas 0.001% and 0.1% are other non-Muslim minorities.<sup>20</sup> Regarding the decrease in Hindu population, life long hatred between Hindus and Muslims and ambiguous nature of state and society played a great role.<sup>21</sup>

#### **Province wise population of the non-Muslims is as follows:**

Sindh and Punjab provinces have more than 85% of the share of non-Muslims. Hindus overwhelmingly reside in Sindh (Karachi and Hyderabad) where they account more than 75% of the total population. Christians are predominantly living in Punjab where they constitute 81% of the total population. Other non-Muslims are predominantly residing in Sindh (Karachi), Lahore and some areas of Baluchistan where they have their own business.

**The Hindus:-** Before 711 A.D., the Hindus were predominantly in the areas where present Pakistan is situated. Over the years, invasion after invasion

-----

19. Census Report of Pakistan 1951, Karachi

20. The Europa World Year Book, Op.Cit, P.2376

21. Zaidi, Op.Cit, p. 449

from Central Asia and long dynasty of Mughals, millions of Hindus were either voluntarily or forcibly converted into Islam. It can not be denied that the same process in today's Pakistan is in practice.

Majority of Hindus reside in Sindh where they constitute 1.221 million (6.4%). Within Sindh, the Hyderabad division alone constitutes 81% of Hindus in the country. They are divided between the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Caste Hindus. They are predominantly living in Karachi and Hyderabad respectively. Since Hyderabad is a barren area, the scheduled caste Hindus are not better off economically compared to the caste Hindus.

The caste Hindus are mainly businessmen, landlords and educated whereas the scheduled caste Hindus are landless and illiterate. They are doing menial jobs and deputed as child labourers either in the big Muslim houses or caste Hindus business establishments. Their situation is worst because they have to face the wrath from both within their religion and from Muslims as well.

The Hindus, because of the fear from Muslims, are obliged to maintain a low profile so as not to attract the notice of the majority community. If they speak against the state policies, they are blamed as 'Indian Agents'. Therefore, they are the subjects of 'subdued personality'. Communal riots in India are known to have invariably spelt trouble for the Hindus in Pakistan.<sup>22</sup> In the wake of Babri Masjid debacle, lots of Hindu temples, houses and churches were either blown away or damaged. In Loralai, a house was set on fire where five children

---

22. Inderjit, "Minorities in Pakistan", The Tribune, Chandigarh, Oct. 20, 1983

died and many suffered injuries.<sup>23</sup>

Some of the temples have been taken over by the Muslims and converted into mosques, houses and hostels. Prominent among them are Uderolal, Amarapur Darbar Sahab and the Jind Pir shrine in Hyderabad.<sup>24</sup> Mandi Motilal at Shah Alam Chowk, a temple at Anarkali and Ravi Road were also converted into mosques. Same was the fate of some temples in Sindh and Punjab. One historical gurudwara, Shahid Ganj and other two were destroyed. In Gujranwala, the 'holy warriors' put an idol of a Hindu deity on a donkey-cart with a garland of old shoes around its neck and beating it with shoes, went around the town.<sup>25</sup>

Baluchistan's Hindu community, which for long lived in peace with the Muslims, but after the Babri Masjid incidents, their shops, temples and houses in Kalat, Sibi, Noski, Dera Bugi, Dahder and Mustung were destroyed. Desecration of Babri Mosque in Ayodhya has posed a threat to the security and stability of the Hindu minority in Pakistan.<sup>26</sup>

It is not only some fanatical Muslims who were behind the desecration of Hindu temples, but state's role can not be denied in it. For example state minister, Raja Nadir Pervez personally participated in pulling down of Sita Ram Mandir at Faislabad and laid down the foundation stone of a mosque on that place. In Lahore, the Lahore Development Authority sent the bulldozers to

---

23. Kudni, Mansoor Akbar , "Baluchistan's Hindu Minority: Perilious Existence", The News, Lahore, Dec.18, 1992

24. Inderjit, Op.Cit, Oct.20,1989

25. Ahmad Bashir, "Heap of Broken Images", The Frontier Post, Peshawar, Dec. 16, 1992

26. Kudni, Op.Cit, Dec.18, 1992

demolish the Hindu temples.<sup>27</sup>

Not only the Hindu temples that were made mosques, but a lot of Hindu hospitals' names too were changed. For example Ganga Ram Hospital to Babri Hospital and Gulab Devi Hospital to Amina Hospital.<sup>28</sup>

Raping, conversions, prosecutions, kidnappings and killings of Hindus is a common practice in Pakistan.<sup>29</sup> Hundreds of young 'Kohli' Hindu girls have been kidnapped and forcibly converted into Islam in Tharparkar district of Sindh. Sita, a 14 year old minor girl was kidnapped by Noohani, a zamindar. She was raped and later was married to the same person. On the regular threats from some fanatics, 405 Hindu families from Sukkur, Karmpur, Khairpur, Kandhkot and Jacobabad migrated to India.<sup>30</sup> Marru Ram's family was robbed and women were raped. The same fate is of Bhagwan Das from Meerpur Matheloo village, his daughters were raped before his eyes and his two sons were brutally beaten and kidnapped. Marru Ram further claimed that he was witness to the incident in 1986, when four Hindu girls were gang-raped in Jacobabad district of Sindh. Here, the police remained a mute spectator.<sup>31</sup>

In this environment of fear, prosecution and insecurity, lots of Hindus sold their properties on very cheap rates and migrated to India. Thakur Jatmel Singh in June 1993 sold his 1800 acres of land and came to India. The worst

27. Ahmad Bashir, Op.Cit, Dec. 16,1992

28. Ibid,

29. The Times of India, New Delhi, March 24, 1988, & The Statesman, Calcutta, Jan.28, 1993

30. The News Time, Hyderabad, May 6, 1991

31. Indian Express, New Delhi, Oct. 16, 1995

situation is in Lahore where they have been reduced to just 40 to 50 and forced to go either to India or to Sindh. Moreover, they don't have a crematory in the city and have to take the dead bodies to Sindh<sup>32</sup> because Muslims are making business complexes on the sights of their graveyards.

Since the Hindus are neither a demographic threat nor are in competition with Muslims in any field, they are not in a position to put any threat to majority Muslims. They are largely passive to their rights. In an Islamic state, the status of the Hindus remained undefined except as 'idolaters' and 'kafirs'.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the Hindus are not perceived as the honest citizens of Pakistan and remained out of the mainstream politics.

**Christians:** Christians are not original inhabitants of Pakistan. They are mostly from Portugal, Britain and Armenia. By the end of 19th century, mass conversion took place amongst the lower castes of Hindus. The second wave of mass conversion began in Punjab in 1930 and 1937. After the independence, most of the Christians migrated to India.

In present Pakistan, the Christians are the single largest non-Muslim minority. They constitute 2% of entire population of Pakistan.<sup>34</sup> As regards the provincial distribution of Christians, they constitute 2.2% of the entire Punjab population which is 81% of the total Christian population in Pakistan. In Sindh, they also have good a share in population. As far as the urban and rural

---

32. Report, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 1994

33. Omar, Khalidi, "Lotous and Crescent: Hindus in Islamic World", Islam and the Modern Age, Vol.24(3), Aug.1993, p. 120

34. The Europa World Year Book-1995, Op.Cit, p. 2373

distribution of non-Muslims is concerned, they are predominantly rural based except the Parsis who are urban based. 55% of the Christians live in rural areas.<sup>35</sup>

Christian minority is not a homogeneous.<sup>36</sup> Punjabi Christians are ethnically very near to Punjabis and are mostly Dalit Hindus converted to Christianity. The Goan Christians are distinct from Punjabi ones in terms of ethnicity, culture and linguistics. They constitute around 5% of entire Christian population. Unlike, their Punjabi brothers, the Goan Christians did not assimilate in any of Pakistani culture.<sup>37</sup> They are highly Anglicized and speak, read and write English. They predominantly live in cosmopolitan city of Karachi whereas, the most of Punjabi Christians live in rural or semi-urban areas. Punjabi Christians are mostly agriculturists and are not well off economically. On the other hand, Goans are economically better off due to their access to good education. They are predominantly professionals and businessmen. Like caste Hindus, the Goan Christians do have superiority and discriminatory feelings against their own brothers, but the Christians are intact by umbilical cord of their religion.

**Ahmadiyas**:-Ahmadiyas, the followers of Mirza Ahmad, were considered just another sect of Islam. In 1974, they were declared non-Muslim minority by an act of parliament.<sup>38</sup> But, they don't accept the status of non-Muslims. They say that  
-----

35. Zaidi, Op.Cit, p. 449

36. Ibid, pp. 451-52

37. Ibid, p. 452

38. Sayeed, Khalid Bin, Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Dimension of Change, (Praeger, N.York, 1980)

Prophet Muhammad was not the last Prophet, it was Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who appeared in the late 19th century to reform and renovate the original nature of Islam.<sup>39</sup>

In the early 1950s, the Ahmadiyas were around 2,00,000 and mainly located in central and eastern parts of Punjab with their headquarter at Rabwa. They are predominantly rural based. In present day Pakistan, they account just 0.001 % of the entire population.<sup>40</sup>

Ahmadiyas have been the worst affected people in Pakistan. There have always been an emotive basis for attacking the Ahmadiyas.<sup>41</sup> It was in 1953 that leaders of Khatoon-e-Nabuwat along with some fanatical leaders attacked Ahmadiyas and their property was set ablaze. Again in June 1974, anti-Ahmadiya riots broke out in Lahore and Faislabad and their property was looted. Hundreds of Ahmadiyas were murdered in these riots. Peace was restored only when Bhutto Government in Sep. 1974 declared them as non-Muslim religious minority.

Although an Islamic sect, Ahmadiyas were thrown out of the pale of Islam because they don't believe in the finality of Prophet Muhammad. In present day Pakistan, they are socially boycotted and restricted to use utensils, dresses and rituals of majority Muslims. Moreover, they have been denied to call

---

39. Pakistan After Marial Law, Report of a Mission of ICJ Judges, 1987, Karachi, pp. 103-104

40. The Europa World Year Book 1995, Op.Cit,p. 2373

41. Zaidi, Op.Cit, p. 454



their worship places as 'mosques' and are banned to perform 'Kalima'.<sup>42</sup>

Of all the religious minorities in Pakistan, the Ahmadiyas are the most hated and prosecuted people, because they don't consider Muhammad as the last prophet. Secondly, they accept Ghulam Mirza as the last prophet. Third, they don't consider themselves as non-Muslims. That is why they are hated in Pakistan. They are the most suffered from Islamic laws. For example, Mubarak Ahmad Nasir, Ensanullah Cheema and Asif Javed of Quetta were first tried by a tribal court and then, on Sep. 21, 1993 were sentenced by the Assistant Commissioner to one year jail and Rs. 5,000 fine was imposed to each under section 298-C of PPC for displaying Kalima.<sup>43</sup>

In schools, colleges, and universities, Ahmadiyas are forced to live separately from Muslims and are discriminated in checking their answer sheets.<sup>44</sup>Hafiz Mohammed Akbar of Govt. T.I. School was expelled for reciting the Holy Quran. Khurram Javed had to eat separately and in separate utensils. Munis Ahmad of Govt. Elementary College of Faislabad had to suffer the similar treatment. More interestingly, a Punjab University female student was transferred for a separate room and asked not to mix up with other students.

By these instances, it would not be wrong to say that Ahmadiyas are the worst suffers among non-Muslim minorities. Muslims and the right-wing political parties in general and government in particular think that there is only -----

42. Kennedy, Charles H., "Towards the Definition of a Muslim in an Islamic State", in Dharendra Vajpayee and others, (eds), Religious and Ethnic Minority Politics in South Asia, (Manohar, New Delhi, 1989), pp. 71-108

43. Pakistan Human Rights Commission Report, 1994

44. Ibid

one religion in Pakistan that is the Islam of their choice.

**Parsis and other Non-Muslim Minorities** Parsis, Buddhists, Jews and Sikhs constitute just 0.1% of the entire population of Pakistan.<sup>45</sup> Though Parsis constitute only 7007, their economic strength is a force which needs to be reckoned with. A number of leading industrialists and financiers are Parsis and in general, they are well off among all non-Muslims in Pakistan. More than half of the Parsis reside in Karachi where they own their business. They are closely knit community and never considered as 'trouble-makers' and have never been the target of fanatics as often as other non-Muslims. It is their high economic position which acts as a buffer and insulates them against possible aggression.<sup>46</sup> Among other non-Muslim minorities 65% Buddhists are concentrated in Sindh Province. Sikhs, Jews and others are very less in numbers and are predominantly rural based.

(ii) **'Separate electorates'** and **'Blasphemy laws'**: both these laws have largely defined the socio-political status and discrimination against the religious minorities.

(i) **Separate Electorate System**: Under the 1956 Constitution, West Pakistan had separate electorate <sup>47</sup>, but it was provided only for the provincial governments. Later on in 1975, it was extended to the National Assembly too. Very interestingly, in the beginning the members of the religious minorities were

-----  
45. The Europa World Year Book-1995, Op.Cit, p. 2373

46. Zaidi, Op.Cit, p. 453

47. Bahadur, Kalim , 'Children of a lesser God', The Pioneer, New Delhi, Feb. 27, 1995.

directly chosen by the elected members of the assembly concerned and there was no bar on anyone from minority taking part in direct elections whether as a candidate or voter.

It was Zia who in 1978, by the Presidential Order No. 16 and 17(1978), the Delimitation of Constituencies (Amendment) Ordinance (1978) and the Electoral Roles (Amendment 1978), introduced the separate electorate system for the religious minorities and was given constitutional validity in the Revival of Constitution of 1973 Order in 1985 Art. 51(4-A) and 106(5&113).<sup>48</sup>

By this constitutional order, the religious minorities were constituted into entirely separate electorates from those of Muslims. Henceforth they were to vote only for their non-Muslim candidates in the assemblies.

There are 237 seats in National Assembly, 207 are for Muslims and 10 for the non-Muslims. Break-up of the seats for the religious minorities is as follows-4 each for Christians and Hindus, one for Ahmadiyas and 1 for Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsis and other non-Muslims. As far as representation in provincial assemblies is concerned, the Ahmadiyas have been allocated 1 seat in each assembly except Baluchistan and NWFP, Christians have 5 in Punjab and 2 in Sindh, Hindus have 1 each in Punjab and Baluchistan and 5 in Sindh where as Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsis and other non-Muslims have 1 seat in every assembly.<sup>49</sup>

Though it is true that the representation provided for non-Muslims is

---

48. Paul, Aftab James , 'The Plague of Separate Electorates-I', The Frontier Post, Peshawar, May 7, 1993.

49. Pakistan: Human Rights After Martial Law, Op.Cit, p-40.

slightly greater than their share of population, but they feel that the existence of separate electorates not only set them apart as communities but also made the representation of their interests less effective particularly at national level.<sup>50</sup>

**Effects of the Separate Electorates:**

The religious minorities by the separate electorate system have been reduced to a status lower than that of second-class citizens because it bars the minorities to take part in active politics.<sup>51</sup> The entire nation in case of national assembly elections and entire province in case of provincial assembly elections, has been made a minority constituency. This makes the election process much more difficult for them as they have to campaign over a larger area than to the Muslim candidates. Secondly, the electorates from which they seek support may be twice in size of that in a Muslim constituency. Indeed, in national assembly elections they fare badly.

In a situation where even a rich candidate cannot cover his constituency, how can a poor candidate go to the voters spread all over the country. Thus, only feudal landlords and big capitalists can afford to contest elections. This is highly inhuman trick to make the poor non-Muslims less consequential.

Large number of non-Muslims remain passive and unaware of the national issues. Because it is very difficult to approach a minority representative in troubled times. Secondly, Muslims no more consider and accommodate their problems.

-----  
50. Ibid, p. 40.

51. Mukharji, Saradindu, 'Minorities: The Kafirs of Pakistan', Organiser, Vol. XLVI, No. 35, New Delhi, April 2; 95, p-75.

Non-Muslim candidates unlike Muslims can not choose their constituency by their choice. Moreover, a non-Muslim can not vote for a Muslim and vice-versa. Even they are barred from Upper House.<sup>52</sup> Since the non-Muslim voters cast their votes after the third day of general elections, the chances of casting their votes remain bleak. New administration can disrupt the voting. For example in 1990, in a small village near Lahore Christians could not take part in voting because of lack of voting lists and improper arrangements for polling.

Ahmadiyas have been badly affected by separate electorates. The seats which have been allotted to them remain vacant. It is because if they contest elections they have to accept the status of non-Muslim which they do not consider for themselves.<sup>53</sup>

One of the most dehumanizing impact of this system is that the non-Muslims have developed a tendency to think only in terms of their own interests irrespective to national ones.<sup>54</sup> A non-Muslim member does not have any value in national assembly because separate electorate divides society between Muslims and non-Muslims. Non-Muslims do not have any say in policy making process. Moreover, Pakistan is not a unified society. In this context, separate electorates sharpen this contradiction more.<sup>55</sup> However, in wake of coming general elections, Ms. Benazir Bhutto proposed drastic changes in separate

---

52. Mukharji, S., "The Horror Story of Pakistan's Minorities", The Times of India, Delhi, March 14, 1995

53. Paul, A.J., "The Plague of Separate Electorates-II", The Frontier Post, Peshawar, May 9, 1993

54. Paul, A.J., Op.Cit, May 7, 1993

55. Paul, A.J., Op.Cit, May 9, 1993

electoral system and considering the dual voting system for the religious minorities.<sup>56</sup> But Ms. Bhutto's proposal smells of politics in it.<sup>57</sup> Because the large chunk of non-Muslims are in Sindh and Punjab she wants to strengthen her position in both the provinces and further wants to lessen the strength of PML (Nawaz) in the Punjab. However, the right-wing parties have started to mobilize people against this move of Ms. Bhutto.

### **(ii) Blasphemy Laws**

Blasphemy laws are not the creation of Pakistan but are the legacies of British rule. These laws deal with injuries or defiling of religious places and religion of any clan and provide punishment for deliberate acts intended to outrage religious beliefs of any religion. But between 1980 and 1986, the PPC was drastically changed to include punishments for blasphemy of insulting the feelings of Muslims.<sup>58</sup> The most inhuman section 295C was added in 1986 which carries blasphemy only against Islam and imprisonment for life. Later Mian Nawaz Sharif changed the punishment "for life imprisonment" to 'death penalty'. However, he followed the judgment delivered by the federal Shariat Court in Oct. 1990 saying that punishment for blasphemy in Islam is 'death'. Thus, the words "imprisonment of life" were deleted from the statute and the

---

56. Khan, Aamer Ahmad , "A Winning Combination", Herald, Islamabad, March, 1996

57. Dixit, Aabha, "Wooing Minorities", Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 17, 1996

58. Maheshwari, Anil, 'Blasphemy Laws in Pakistan', The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, March 9, 1995

'death' sentence was made mandatory under section 295C from May 1, 1991.<sup>59</sup>

Blasphemy laws are discriminatory in itself. They are enacted to please the Ulemas and cow down the religious minorities. The worst affected from these laws have been Ahmadiyas and Christians. However, some Muslims have been also affected by these laws. From 1947 to 1980, there were only six cases registered under this law. Since the enactment of section 295C, as many as 106 Ahmadiyas and some Christians were charged between 1987 to 1992.<sup>60</sup>

The blasphemy laws itself are discriminatory as it penalizes blasphemy against Islam and not against other religions which might be insulted by Muslims. Moreover, these laws have been practised largely by village Maulvis and landlords to settle down their personal and property disputes. Dr. Akhtar Ahmad Khan, a social worker and the Magasaysay awardee, was charged with blasphemy by his junior under the 'Korangi Pilot Project'. The only fault of Dr. Khan was to stop him mishandling the funds and position. In a similar case, two Shias were given the death penalty for trying to photocopy a pencil sketch of the Prophet.<sup>61</sup>

It is a fact that most people implicated in blasphemy laws, die in mysterious circumstances.<sup>62</sup> Both, Tahir Iqbal and Mukhtar Masih were killed under some mysterious circumstances. Mukhtar's death was not natural one and was committed by some heavy blows on the head, post-mortem report confirmed

-----

59. Ibid

60. Maheshwari, Op.Cit, March 9, 1995

61. The Observer, New Delhi, Feb. 27, 1995

62. POT, Vol. 23, No. 270, Nov. 22, 1995, pp. 2372-73  
Vol. 23, No. 286, Dec. 11, 1995, pp. 2517-18

this.

Blasphemy laws are misused to harass or detain the non-Muslims for their political or religious beliefs. Lots of cases are fabricated on fake grounds. For example, in the international acclaimed case in which two Christians, Rahmat Masih and Manzoor Masih were implicated by a landlord in a village to settle down the property issue, even when they did not commit any crime. Later inquiry revealed that Rahmat did not know even to write or read.<sup>63</sup>

Regarding the death penalty in Islam on blasphemy, it is a dubious proposition forwarded by some fanatic Muslims. Nowhere in Quran or Islam death is prescribed for blasphemy. However, it declares punishment only for murder, theft, unfair accusation and fornication. The Quran declares that 'there is no compulsion in religion'.<sup>64</sup>

**2. Economic Status:-** Majority of the non-Muslims are poor and engaged in menial jobs or are agricultural labourers. Some are working as bonded-labourers in big Muslim houses. The Scheduled Caste Hindus, who are predominantly living in desert area of Hyderabad are mainly landless labourers and are engaged in low paid menial jobs. Same is the case with Punjabi Christians and 'Kohli' Sikhs. They are mostly engaged in menial and clerical jobs. However, caste Hindus, Goan Christians and Parsis are economically better off and are engaged in their personal businesses or are professionals. Most of the rich persons from non-Muslim communities are concentrated in Karachi, the business capital of

---

63. The Pioneer, New Delhi, Feb. 27, 1995

64. Engineer, Asghar Ali, "The Law of Blasphemy", The Hindu, Madras, March, 17, 1995



Pakistan.

Regarding their representation in civil or armed services, there is hardly any minority representation.<sup>65</sup> Ahmadiyas are said to have over-representation in the bureaucracy by a factor of three to eight times more than their share in population.<sup>66</sup> They have around 1% share in civil bureaucracy in Pakistan but in armed forces, there was only 1 Ahmadiya General and only a handful of other senior officers in the military as reported in 1984. Other non-Muslims in bureaucracy are as follows:-

Hindus 304 (0.2%), Christians 1759 (1.15%), Buddhists 42 (0.03%), Jews 9(0.01%), Parsis 9(0.01%) and others 356 (0.23%). The overall non-Muslims representation is just 2.01% in strict terms.<sup>67</sup>

Christians and Ahmadiyas are overwhelmingly represented in civil bureaucracy where Hindus are discriminated. Reacting on this question, one of the officials in Pakistan High Commission said that since Hindus have their own business and big farms so they did not require to go in for govt. jobs. If that is true then what about the scheduled caste Hindus who are engaged in menial jobs and are employed in small numbers in government jobs.<sup>68</sup>

Regarding private sector representation of the non-Muslims, only 5 Ahmadiyas, 8 Christians, 2 Parsis are earning Rs. 6500 or above or employed at

-----  
65. Bahadur, Kalmi, Op.Cit, Feb. 27, 1995

66. Kennedy, Op.Cit, p. 101

67. Federal Government Civil Servants Census Reports, Islamabad, January 1983, p. 134

68. Interview, Under Secretary, Pakistan High Commission, New Delhi, May 14, 1996.

top posts. Only 31 Ahmadiyas, 6 Hindus, 23 Christians and 13 Parsis are earning between Rs. 4500 to 6500. Interestingly, no Buddhist is reported to have access to any of the aforesaid jobs. Most of the non-Muslims are engaged in low paid jobs, for example between the income group of Rs. 500 to 1400, there are 7123 non-Muslims, Ahmadiyas account 570, Hindus 929, Buddhists 12, Christians 5507, Jews 6, Parsis 7 and others are 52. Here it is important to note that Parsis are employed in only middle level jobs where Jews are engaged only in low paid jobs. The overall representation of the non-Muslims in private sector is just 8859(0.37%) compared to Muslims who constitute 3,25,170(97%).<sup>69</sup>

#### **State-Sponsored Discriminatory Policies and the Non-Muslims:-**

Throughout its history, state of Pakistan adopted various discriminatory policies to keep the Ulemas happy. From the very beginning in the Objective Resolution, some Islamic provisions were adopted and it is very interesting to note that various schools of thoughts were agreed upon only one issue that non-Muslims could not be given the same civilian rights as Muslims in Islamic State.<sup>70</sup> Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan which opposed the idea of Pakistan demanded that Pakistan should be made an Islamic state after its independence. The religious leaders well read the confusing situation of Jinnah and other ML leaders in defining the nature of state in Pakistan and pressurised the ruling elites to include Islamic provisions in the Constitution. Secondly, the creation of Pakistan appeared in the name of Islam, therefore, the political elites were

-----  
69. Census of Employees of Private Sector, Federal Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986, p. 74

70. Justice Munir Commission Report, Op.Cit, pp. 201-205

endeavouring to implement the Islamic provisions in the constitution. Last but not the least political elites wanted to exploit Islam in accommodation of their political interests and keep themselves in power politics for a long time.

Separate electorates made the non-Muslim minorities lame in politics. The Islamization process started by Zia made non-Muslims unable to perform their duties satisfactorily. Hudood laws (1979) imposed an exclusive Islamic code on non-Muslims. The Muslims can give evidences against non-Muslims and not vice-versa, but an appeal regarding non-Muslim will be heard by exclusively Muslim Judges. Zia by the Revival of the Constitution of 1973 order gave validity to the Hudood Laws and made them non-challengeable in any of the court.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, these laws offend the constitutional guarantees of religious freedom and equality.

Under the 9th Amendment Bill, the Holy Quran and Sunnah were made the 'supreme law' and 'source of guidance'. Moreover, the word 'freely' was deleted from the Objective Resolution. Both these acts made the position of non-Muslims worse than before. Introduction of the 'National Identity Card' in which inclusion of one's religion was made mandatory; the non-Muslims suffered a lot by this. They have been discriminated in job opportunities within Pakistan as well as in other Muslim countries.

### **Other Areas of Discriminations and the Non-Muslims**

In the field of education, minorities are largely discriminated. Z.A.Bhutto, under his nationalization programme nationalized most of the minority educational institutions and denied them teaching of their religions.

-----

71. Pakistan Human Rights After Martial Law, Op.Cit,pp. 98-102

There is no provision in public schools to teach any religion other than Islam.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, non-Muslims are required to opt for a course on 'culture and tradition', whereas Muslims are not required to do so.

In judicial disputes, a Muslim can accuse a non-Muslim. In such a case, the witness of the latter would be counted for half of the witness of the former. In the event of half of homicide, if the victim is a non-Muslim, his heir is entitled only to 50% of the compensation. In the case of rape, a non-Muslim woman has to provide four witnesses if unable to produce the required witnesses she has to face forgery charges where rapist can go scotfree.<sup>73</sup> However, in this case a Muslim woman too has to face the same fate. If a non-Muslim woman gets married to a Muslim (forcibly), her family loses all legal power to claim her freedom.

Non-Muslims and women have no right to give evidence in cases where maximum punishment can be awarded to the accused unless the accused is himself a non-Muslim.<sup>74</sup> Delays in the administration of justice by the courts have caused apprehensions among non-Muslims.<sup>75</sup> For example, if a Christian seeks divorce through courts, he can not do so easily. But if one partner

-----  
72. Mukharji, Op.Cit, March 14, 1995

73. 'Plight of Minorities in Pakistan', Indian Express, New Delhi, June, 8, 1995

74. Jahangir, Asma, 'Protection of Religious Minorities and Women: The Impact of Islamic Law in Pakistan', in Claude E. Welch, (eds), Asian Perspectives on Human Rights, (Westview, USA, 1990), p. 213

75. De Souza, Achilles, 'Non-Muslims in Pakistan: Leaven in the Dough', Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, London, Vol. 7(2), July 1986, p. 310

embraces Islam, he/she can easily get it. In this case, another set of Islamic Law will be applied.

### **Role Played by Non-Muslims in Pakistan Politics:**

Minorities, everywhere in the world have played a very decisive role in consolidation of their constitutional rights and obligations. In case of non-Muslims in Pakistan, neither they are united nor they constitute a demographic threat to the majority Muslims. They are more or less passive except Christians. Though in the initial stages of Pakistan, Congress and SCF fought for joint electorates in both the wings of Pakistan.<sup>76</sup> They termed it as an 'unfortunate piece of document'. Ahmadiyas challenged the blasphemy laws in the courts so many times but with limited success.<sup>77</sup>

Reacting to the objective Resolution, which makes 'Allah' the sovereign entity not the people. Some Hindu leaders such as B.K.Dutta and Raj Kumar Chakravarty demanded to make 'people' the 'sovereign' authority instead of Allah.<sup>78</sup>

Of all the non-Muslims, Christians, due to their access to good education, are more vocal and reactionary than other non-Muslims. Aftab James Paul, a Christian leader demanded for immediate amendment in blasphemy laws saying that these are usually used to prosecute the non-Muslims to fulfill their personal scores.<sup>79</sup>

---

76. Kabir, Md. Ghulam , Minority Politics in Bangladesh, (Vikas, New Delhi, 1980), pp. 16-19

77. Kennedy, Op.Cit, p. 101

78. Kabir, Op.Cit, p.27

79. Indian Express, New Delhi, Oct. 16, 1995

On the anti-Sectarian Bill, Christians expressed their apprehensions and fears that this bill will be used against them to arrest and suppress as PPC (298C) is being used.<sup>80</sup> On the destruction of historical Babri Masjid all non-Muslims criticized the act of vandalism, but conveyed their concerns in looting and destruction of their worship places in Pakistan. Salim Khokhar, Michael Javed and Hari Ram introduced three individual motions in Pakistan National Assembly criticizing destruction of Holy places in both the countries.<sup>81</sup>

However, there are some non-Muslim candidates who don't see any harm in any of the laws adopted by different leaders.<sup>82</sup> Mr. M.P. Bhandara, a non-Muslim representative, said that the 'Hudood Ordinance' does not in any sense diminish the status or credibility of a non-Muslim's witness. He cited the 'law of evidence' of 1984 that provides 'equality' of all citizens to bear witness irrespective of caste and creed. Art. 20 and 25 of the fundamental laws guarantee this right.<sup>83</sup>

After having a long discussion on the religious minorities, it has become clear that in ancient times they lived with peace and harmony with their Muslim counterparts. But at later stages, the relations between them eroded. In today's Pakistan, the religious minorities are living in a constant fear of their lives. Failure in defining the nature of the state, political elites in place of lowering  
-----

80. Paul, David , "Anti-Sectarian Bill and the Minorities", The Frontier Post, Peshawar, Feb. 3, 1993

81. The Frontier Post, Peshawar, Dec. 14, 1992

82. Journal Institution of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol. 10(1) Jan. 89, p. 116

83. Dawn, Karachi, Nov. 7, 1988

down the differences between one sect and another and one community and another further strengthened these differences among different communities.

Re-emerging religious fundamentalism, not only affects the religious minorities alone but also casts its shadows on Islamic communities too. This is not a healthy practice for a country like Pakistan where different communities of different religions are living. If Pakistan has to survive in the present world circumstances, she will have to provide equal opportunities to everybody living inside its boundaries and will have to find a mutually acceptable solution to the prevailing difficulties. For all this to happen, Pakistan will have to make the system more transparent and democratic so that non-Muslims can have a say in the active politics of the state.

In conclusion, it can be said that the non-Muslims faced lots of difficulties, pains and discriminations in state of Pakistan. They are constitutionally denied in leading the country or to make any state policy. By the state-sponsored discrimination and growing religious fundamentalism, they have to migrate either to India or have to face wrath of fellow Muslims. They are reduced to just 4% of the entire population and have to live in tensions and frustrations. Above all, it can be said that the non-Muslims are subdued personalities in Pakistan.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

Religious minorities everywhere in the world have faced similar treatment whatever may be their status and whichever is the state. In case of Pakistan, the religious minorities throughout its history have faced very inhuman and discriminatory treatments. Jinnah and other initial leaders envisioned Pakistan as a democratic and secular state where the religious minorities will have equal rights, obligations and opportunities to develop and direct their lives according to their religious faiths.

However in the subsequent phases of Pakistan, there seems a wide gulf between liberal ideology and that of traditional one. Traditional ideology found a secure place in the political and social affairs of Pakistan. Maulana Mawdudi who opposed the idea of Pakistan in united India became a staunch supporter of an Islamic state soon after Pakistan came into existence. The Islamic state that he advocated was to run by the Muslims and the non-Muslims to be granted the status of the Dhimmis. They can not be entrusted either to lead the state or to formulate and execute the state policies regarding defence and administration.

This aberration in the ideology of Pakistan can be attributed to some political, economic and social factors. First of all, Islam was propounded as the guiding factor in the Pakistan's movement. Secondly, the people of Pakistan wanted to guide their lives according to the teachings and traditions of Islam as



this was stated by the first PM of Pakistan, Liaqat Ali Khan. Third, Islam mistakenly sought at to be the solution of each and every problem arising from within and outside. Therefore, the political elites whenever found themselves in trouble, appealed to the inherent religious sentiments of the people to sort out the existing problems. Emergence of Bangladesh can be attributed to this. Political elites never tried to solve the problems of the people in flexible democratic manner. Further, they tried to impose their own version of Islam on the wishes of different religious and ethnic communities. Islamization, Urduization and Punjabization of the Pakistani society led to Pakistan to dismantle into two parts.

Islam, which was used to mobilize and activate the Indian Muslims in support of Pakistani movements, could not provide sufficient political, social and economic bases for creation of viable political institutions. Moreover, it hastened the internal conflicts among different ethnic groups. However, it can be said that Islam in Pakistan is highly distorted and extensively used by some leaders to fulfil their vested interests and remain in power politics for a long time. The real nature of Islam can not be blamed for disintegration of Pakistani society, rather it is the Islam of political leaders who politicized it for their further gains. They never provided people their basic needs. They only exploited their religious sentiments to appease some people who do not believe in Islamic ideology.

Bhutto who is understood to be a secular leader, declared Ahmadiyas a non-Muslim group in 1974. This was done to appease the Ahmadiyas because they don't believe in finality of Prophet Muhammad. They think that Mirza

Ghulam Ahmad is the last Prophet who was sent to liberate the society from injustice. Secondly, it was done to please the ulemas who throughout the history worked against this group. In 1953, they looted their properties, houses and prosecuted them on large scale. Gen. Zia barred them to apply Islamic symbols and traditions. Moreover, They were prohibited to call themselves as Muslims. Conflicts between Hindus and Muslims in India reflect its wrath on these people. Their worship places come under attacks, their daughters were raped and converted to Islam.

The term 'minority' is a distinct ethnic, cultural, racial or religious group which is dominated by the majority group but has a strong desire to preserve and go along with its dominant culture and character. If this term is applied to Pakistan's non-Muslims, it becomes clear that except Christians none other non-Muslim group united and have internal conflicts, for example Caste Hindus never treat SC Hindus their own brothers and discriminate against them in every field. They have to face double wrath from within their community and from Muslims as well. Therefore, they are the most humiliated, suppressed and discriminated people in Pakistan. They don't think of preserving their culture and traditions.

Minorities are suspected subjects in Pakistan. Whenever any Hindu oppose any state policy, he is suspected as 'Indian Agent' and subsequently has to face state prosecution. Today, they are facing threat to their integrity and dignity.

They are vastly maltreated and discriminated in every aspect. Their projects can not be cleared easily. Their cases are not heard on their turns and their answers copies are not checked. They could not get compensation easily if their worship places or houses are destroyed by the majority people. False prosecutions, forced conversions and marriages, and abductions of the non-Muslims have become the daily practice in Pakistan. They have lost all hopes to get justice from either government or from courts.

Zia's Islamization policy and mounting religious fundamentalism can be termed as the most problematic devices which made the non-Muslims a deprived lot. His hudood laws, blasphemy laws and Islamic reforms in economic field further developed the feeling of alienation among these groups. In religious field, they are liable to speak blasphemous things against Islam. In economic field, they are prohibited to pay Zakat, in legal cases their witness is counted half that of a Muslim and in education field, they have to take a compulsory course on Islamic culture and tradition. All these policies discriminate only against non-Muslims. By these policies, they think that they are nothing but second-class citizens.

Non-Muslims are the most hated people in Pakistan. They can't run their educational institutions. They are prohibited to practise in federal Shariat Courts. They can't marry with a Muslim girl. This obstruct the assimilation process between the two groups. In economic field, they have around 1% representation in government as well as private sector jobs.

However, Ahmadis and Christian have upper hand in this regard, while the Hindus are mainly engaged in menial jobs.

Pakistan declared itself an Islamic state but there has been a confusion among the leaders as to what should be the nature of the state. This prevailing confusion in not defining the nature of the state and society according to the Islamic ideals provided an open platform to the political leaders to accommodate their vested interests. Subsequent leadership after Jinnah applied their own version of Islam for their political gains.

Islamization which makes them politically, socially and economically very backward and unnoticed is a very cunning device to reduce their identity in every aspect. National Identity Card which needs inclusion of one's religion further discriminated in getting jobs either in Pakistan or any Islamic countries.

Islam that stands for brotherhood, equality and peace among individuals, has been hijacked by the political leadership in Pakistan. Instead of applying true nature of Islam they went for distorted versions of it so that they could fulfil their personal interests. Islam was politicized to counter the internal ethnic conflicts and appease the non-Muslims communities.

The religious minorities in Pakistan are not united. They have lack of political will to fight against the discriminatory state's policies. Secondly, they are not a demographic threat. Third, their own leadership is unwilling to solve the existing problems of their fellow friends.

State in Pakistan is not only passive to their rights and demands but also adopts various inhuman and discriminatory policies to keep them apart from the amalgamation in the Islamic society. Failure of political elites to bring about secular alternatives, economic prosperity and political freedom stimulated the rise of religious fundamentalism in Pakistan. Secondly, the lack of political will on the part of leadership to fight against the fundamentalist forces and the domination and politicization of Islam by the ruling elites created the problems that subsequently affected the interests of the non-Muslims.

The main cause that created troubles for the non-Muslims is the politicization of Islam. In Pakistan, there is a clear difference between the Islam of the ruling classes that seeks to legitimize the unrepresentative character of the government to justify unjust and corrupt rule and to perpetuate the inequalities whereas Islam of the masses aims at eradicating all these evils. In Pakistan, it is the politics of the ruling elites which determines the instrumentality of religion. Whether it is the "Nizam-e-Mustafa" or Zia of "Islamic Socialism" of Bhutto, none has spared using religion for their own interests.

The ruling elites introduced penal measures, separate electorates and blasphemy laws to appease the non-Muslims. Islam never stands for death sentence for blasphemy. The political Islam further endangered the stability of Pakistan. It could not provide regional and political claims of different ethnic and religious groups within a flexible federal system. Zia's attempt to impose a

Sunni interpretation of Shariat and the Punjabization of the society alienated not only the Muslims, but also the non-Muslims as well. His Islamization further aggravated sectarian and religious conflicts among different groups.

In a democratic state which Pakistan claimed to be, all the basic questions affecting the governance of the country are decided by the majority people. But it is equally important principle of the democratic institution that the minorities must be safeguarded. Their culture and rights should not be open to attack or assaults by the majority people. Pakistan throughout its history has faced the crisis of its identity. Pakistan's political leadership has failed to provide smooth democratic system. It is ironical that Islam instead of providing the needs of different ethnic groups served only lip service to the state of Pakistan.

In a multi-religious and ethnic society like Pakistan, one particular religion should not impose its own values on the followers of other religions and ideologies. The state, as a protector of all the religions should guarantee the freedom in which every religious community can establish its own religious set-up. State should establish a just and flexible society where continuous dialogue among every person and community should be maintained.

Introduction of an ideological Islamic state in Pakistan must also take into account that people who don't believe in state imposed ideology but are still full citizens of the state by virtue of the constitution should not be graded as second-class citizens. While respecting a "Nizam-e-Islam" in implementing laws relating to the economic and welfare aspects of life, there must not be created any ill-

feeling in the minds of non-Muslims in application of these laws on them.

The state should provide necessary framework and a sympathetic atmosphere. This certainly does not mean that the state needs to be religious or secular. It should be the protector of all the religious communities giving them full rights to profess, practice and propagate their religious faith. The reason for stressing this is that all people of that state together constitute one `Ummah'.

Cooperation between Muslims and non-Muslims through common efforts in social projects from local village upto the national level will help to foster a spirit of unity, friendship, acceptance and better understanding. The non-Muslims should cooperate with Muslims in finding out the solution of existing problems and in establishing a just socio-political order in Pakistan.

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

Europa World Year Book, Vol. 2, edn 36, 1995

Mission Report of ICJ Judges on Religious Minorities in Pakistan, Karachi, 1987

Pakistan Census Report, Government of Pakistan, Karachi

Pakistan National Assembly Debates, Vol.5, March 9, 1949

Public Opinion Trends (POT), Pakistan Service

Report of Court of inquiry, Punjab Disturbances 1953, Submitted by Justice Munir, 1954

Reports, Pakistan Human Rights Commission, 1993 & 1994

### Secondary Sources (Books)

Abbott, Freeland, Islam and Pakistan, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1968)

Ahmad, Akbar S, Discovering Islam: Making Sense of Muslim History and Society, (Routledge, London, 1988)

Ahmad, Akbar S, Religion and Politics in Muslim Society and Conflict in Pakistan, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987)

Ahmad, Istihaq, The Concept of an Islamic State - An Analysis of Ideological Controversy in Pakistan, (Francis, London, 1989)

Allan, Douglas, (eds), Religion and Political Conflicts in South Asia, (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1993)

Ashworth G., (eds), World Minorities, Vol. 1, (Gresham, Sunbury, 1977)

Bahadur, Kalim, (eds), South Asia in Transition: Conflicts and Tensions, (Patriot, New Delhi, 1986)

Banuazizi A, and Weiner, Myron, (eds), The State, Religion and Ethnic Politics in Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan, (Vanguard, Lahore, 1987)



- Bindra, S.S, Politics of Islamization with Special Reference to Pakistan, (Deep and Deep, New Delhi, 1990)
- Binder, Leonard, Religion and Politics in Pakistan, (California University Press, Berkeley, 1961)
- Brohi , A.K, (eds), Muslim Communities in Non-Muslim States, (Islamic Council of Europe, London, 1980)
- Burki, S.Javed, Pakistan : A Nation in the Making, (Oxford University Press, Lahore, 1986)
- Burki, S. Javed, Pakistan Under Bhutto 1970-77, (McMillan, London,1980)
- Capotoriti, F, The Study on Rights of Persons Belonging to Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, (United Nation, New York, 1979)
- Chaliand G, (eds), Minority Peoples in Age of Naion-State, (Pluto, London, 1989)
- Chandra, Satish, Minorities in National and International Laws, (Deep and Deep, New Delhi, 1985)
- Carre, Oliver, (eds), Islam and State in the World Today, (Manohar, New Delhi,1987)
- Chatterji, R, (eds), Religion, Politics and Communalism: The South Asian Experience, (South Asia Pub., New Delhi, 1994)
- Chopra, V.D, (eds), Religious Fundamentalism in Asia, (Gyan Pub. New Delhi, 1994)
- Choudhury, G.W, Constitutional Developments in Pakistan, (Longman, London, 1959)
- Pakistan: Transition from Military to Civilian Rule, (Scorpion, Essex, 1988)
- Choudhury, S.B, The Profile of Islamic State, (Halem & Sons, Dhaka, 1984)
- Engineer, Asghar A, Islam and Muslims, (Rupa, Jaipur, 1984)
- The Islamic State, (Vikas, New Delhi, 1980)

——— Islam and Liberation Theology, (Sterling Pub., New Delhi, 1990)

——— Islam in South and South East Asia, (Ajanta Pub., New Delhi, 1985)

Esposito, John L, Islamic Threat or Reality? (Oxford University Press, New York, 1992)

——— Voices of Resurgent Islam, (Curzon Press, New York, 1988)

Gardezi H, and Rashid J, (eds), Pakistan: Roots of Dictatorship, (Zed Press, London, 1983)

Hilali, S.G, Maqsd, Islamic Attitude Towards Non-Muslims, (Rajshahi Printers, Rajshahi, 1952)

Hourani, A, Minorities in Arab World, (Oxford University Press, London, 1980)

Hussain M, and Hussain A, Problems of Governance in Pakistan, (Knorak Pub., New Delhi, 1993)

Jalal, Ayesha, The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, Muslim League and Demand for Pakista, (Cambridge University Press, London, 1994)

Kabir, Muhammad G, Minority Politics in Bengladesh, (Vikas House, New Delhi, 1980)

Kapoor, Ashok, Pakistan in Crisis, (Routledge, London, 1991)

Kaushik, Surendra N, Politics in Pakistan with Special Reference to Bhutto, (Alekh, Jaipur, 1985)

Kennedy, Charles H, and others, (eds), Government and Politics in South Asia, (Westerview, 1987)

Khan, Asghar, Islam, Politics and The State, (Selected Books, New Delhi, 1986)

Klaus, F, and Mehdi M, Islam, State and Society, (Curzon Press, New York, 1988)

Maududi, Abul A, Rights of Non-Muslims in an Islamic State, 7th edition, (Islamic Pub., Lahore, 1958)

- The Islamic Law and Constitution, (Islamic Pub., Lahore, 1980)
- Milton, Baron L, (eds), Minorities in a Changing World, (Alfred A. Knoff, New York, 1967)
- American Minority Relation, (Alferd Inc, New York, 1957)
- Munir M, Jinnah to Zia, (Akbar Pub., New Delhi, 1981)
- Piscatori, J.P, (eds), Islam in Political Process, (Cambridge University Press, London, 1983)
- Rose, Arnold M, and Rose, Carolina B, (eds), Minority Problem, (Harper and Row Pub., New York, 1965)
- Samad, Yunas, A Nation in Turmoil: Nationalism and Ethnicity in Pakistan 1937-1958, (Sage Publications, London, 1995)
- Sayeed, Anwar H, Pakistan: Islam, Politics, and National Solidarity, (Praeger, New York, 1982)
- Sayeed, Khalid B, Pakistan: The Formative Phase (1857-1948) 2nd edition, (Oxford University Press, New York, 1968)
- Smith, Daniel E, South Asia Politics and Religion, (Princeton University Press, Princtor, 1978)
- Vajpayee, Dhirendra and others, (eds), Religious and Ethnic Minority Politics in South Asia, (Manohar, New Delhi, 1989)
- Walter, H.A, The Ahmadiyya Movement, (Associated Press, Calcutta, 1918)
- Watt, W.M, Islamic Political Thought, (Edunburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1968)
- Weiss, Anita M, (eds), Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan, (Vanguard, Lahore, 1987)
- Whitakar, Ben, (eds), Minority Question of Human Rights, (Pergman Press, New York, 1984)
- Wilbur, Donald, Pakistan- Its People, its Society, its Culture, (Harfan Press, Haven, 1963)

Wink, Andre, (eds), Islam, Politics and Society in South Asia, (Manohar Pub., New Delhi, 1991)

Wirth, Louis, The Problems of Minority Group, (Columbia University Press, New York, 1945)

### Articles

Alavi, Hamza, "Pakistan and Islam", Strategic Digest, Vol. 17 (18), Aug. 1987

Ayoob, Mohammad, "From Islamic Republic to Islamic State in Pakistan", Asian Survey, 1985

——— "Two Faces of Political Islam: Case of Iran and Pakistan", Asian Survey, Vol. 19, 1979

Bahadur, Kalim, "Martial Law and the Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan", Secular Democracy, Feb., 1989

Dixit, Aabha, "The Islamization of Pakistan: An Explosive Political Myth", Strategic Analysis, Vol. 14(4), July 1991

Engineer Asghar A, "Islam and Non-Violence", Journal of Peace Studies, Vol. 2(8), Jan-Feb. 1995

——— "A New Interpretation of Islam", EPW, Oct. 4, 1980

——— "Muslim Minority in India and Hindu Minority in Pakistan: A Comparative Review", Mainstream, Vol. 29(21), March 16, 1991

Esposito, John L, "Islamization, Religion and Politics in Pakistan", Muslim World, Vol. 72, 1982

Faruqui, Istnail, "The Rights of Non-Muslims Under Islam", Islamic Quarterly, May 1980

Gafur, Abdul, "Non-Muslims in Pakistan", JIMMA, Vol. 9(2), July 1988

- Hayes, Louis D., "Islamization and Education in Pakistan", Asia Pacific Community, Winter, 1984
- Hasan, Riyaz, "Islamization: An Analysis of Religion, Political and Social Change in Pakistan", Middle Eastern Studies, Vol., 21(3), July 1985
- Hayes, Louis D., The Struggle for Legitimacy in Pakistan, (Vanguard, Lahore, 1986)
- Iqbal, Afzal, Islamization in Pakistan, (Vishal, New Delhi, 1984)
- Kabir, Humayun, Minorities in Democracy, (Ghosh Printers, Calcutta, 1968)
- Kennedy, Charles H, "Islamization in Pakistan: Implementation of Hudood Ordinances", Asian Survey, Vol. 28, 1988
- Khalidi, Omar, "Lotus and Crescent: Hindus in Islamic World", Islam & the Modern Age, Vol., 24(3), Aug. 1993
- Khan, Anwar A., "A Winning combination", Herald, Islamabad, March, 1996
- Khan, Omar A, "Islam and State", View Point, April 26, 1984
- Lavan, Spencer, The Ahmadiyya Movement: Past and Present, (Manohar, Amritsar, 1968)
- Malik, Hafeez, "Martial Law and Islamization in Pakistan", Orient, 1987
- Malik, Iftikhar H., "Governability Crisis in Pakistan: Politics of Authority, Ideology and Ethnicity", Round Table, Vol. 332, 1994
- Moazzam, Anwar, Islam and Contemporary Muslim World, (Light and Life, New Delhi, 1981)
- Nayak, Pandav, (eds), Pakistan Society and Politics, (South Asia Pub., New Delhi, 1984)
- Noman, Omar, "Pakistan: Gen. Zia's Era and Legacy", Third World Quarterly, Jan. 1989
- Pipes, Daniel, "Understanding Islam in Politics", Middle East Review, Winter 1983

Rizvi, Gowher, "Democracy, Governance and Civil Society in South Asia", Pakistan Development Review, Vol. 33(3), 1994

Shafqat, Sayeed, "Political Culture of Pakistan" Disharmony between Democratic Creed & Autocratic Reality", Asian Profile, Vol. 19(4), Aug. 1991

——— "Politics of Islamization: The Ideological Debate on Pakistan Political System", Asian Profile, Vol. 15, Oct. 1987

Sikand, Yogender, "Helpless Minorities of Pakistan", Secular Democracy, Aug. 1995

Singh, Uma, "Internal Violence in Pakistan", International Studies, Vol. 32(2), April-June 1995

Syed, Ziaullah, "Islam and Pakistan", Secular Democracy, 1983

Syed, Anwarul H., "Contemporary Relevance of Quranic Concept of State", Islam and Modern Age, May, 1988

——— "Islamization: Pakistan Style", Democratic World, Jan, 1987

Fariq Ali, Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power, (Jonathan Cape, London, 1970)

Vatikotis, P.J., (eds), Islam and State, (Croom Helm, London, 1987)

Watt, W.M., Islam and Integration of Society, (Routledge, London, 1961)

Wirsing, Robert, G., (eds), Protection of Ethnic Minorities: Comparative Perspectives, (Pergman Press, New York, 1984)

Wignaraja and Hussain A., (eds), Challenges in South Asia: Development, Democracy and Regional Cooperation, (Oxford University Press, London, 1990)

Zaidi, Akbar S, "Religious Minorities in Pakistan Today", Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 18(4), 1988

## News Papers

Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta

Financial Express, New Delhi

Frontier Post, Peshawar

The Hindu, Madras

Hindustan Times, New Delhi

Indian Express, New Delhi

Muslim, Islamabad

National Herald, New Delhi

Observer, New Delhi

Pakistan Times

Patriot, New Delhi

Pioneer, New Delhi

The Dawn, Karachi

The Nation, Islamabad

The News, Lahore

The Times of India, New Delhi

The Tribune, Chandigarh