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Ahmadiyya and secularism: Religious persecution at home affects endorsement for secular values in Canada

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Major Research Project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
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Abstract

Contrary to the common notion that Muslims are fundamentalist, anti-modern, and against Western norms (hence their opposition to secularism), this paper argues that Muslims are not homogeneous. Therefore, their approach to secularism is not a matter of their assumed fixed religiosity. One recognises that, after seeing the Ahmadiyya Muslim community endorsing secular values in Canada, the assumption that Muslims coming to the West are anti-secular is misleading. The community's persecution and loss of religious identity in Pakistan have moderated their approach toward secularism. To prove the hypothesis, Ahmadiyya teachings, addresses by living caliphs, and public statements from Ahmadiyya leaders are used to highlight changes in the community's approaches toward secularism. The argument is based on the rise of Islamic nationalism in Pakistan, which excluded Ahmadis from the fold of Islam and placed them on the path of persecution. Brief comparative case studies of Alevis and Ismailis are included to strengthen the findings of this paper.

Keywords: Muslims, Ahmadiyya, Ahmadis, homogeneous, heterogeneous, persecution, secularism, Pakistan, Canada,

1. Introduction

Canada feels proud of having the highest number of foreign-born citizens than in any other Group of Eight (G8) countries. By opening doors to immigration and any persecuted communities across the world, Canada has created a society of mixed religions. It respects the religious and cultural values of diverse segments of its society, having the separation of state and religion at the core of its policy. Among multiple religions, Islam remains part of controversial debates about the extent to which Muslims endorse secular values. After 9/11, a community-based study of Canadian Muslim women reported anger and fear of a backlash, personal safety, and the future of their children in Canada. The participants raised concerns about their sense of belonging in Canada based on their religion. The Hérouxville Code of Conduct and statements of different Canadians before Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences (Bouchard-Taylor Commission) in 2007 reflected the perception of the majority Canadians, who see Muslims as a challenge to secularism and gender equality, which are considered an integral part of “Quebec’s national identity” (Dawson and Bramadat 2014, 147-48). Liberal MP Iqra Khalid, an immigrant from Pakistan, introduced Motion 103 in 2016 for the condemnation of Islamophobia and a climate of fear and hate against Muslims. In response the motion, Iqra received over 50,000 emails, including highly offensive, Islamophobic, racist, threatening, and sexist comments (Zine, Chakroun, and Abbas 2019, 4). The perception of incompatibility of secular values with Muslim beliefs often becomes part of the discussion. Muslim beliefs are considered obstacles to their integration.

This controversial debate about Muslims in Canada aligns with the same debate taking place all over the West. Since 2001, there are calls from different quarters to limit multiculturalism in general and Islamic practices in particular for being ‘contrary’ to Western values. The French niqab ban in 2010, the U.S. ban on several Muslim-majority countries in 2017, and the Quebec ban on face coverings and religious symbols in 2017 and 2019 were steps taken by state institutions to bring some religious practices ‘in line with Western values’. Casanova (2007) points toward debates accusing Islam of being fundamentalist, anti-modern, and incompatible with democracy. These steps, like many others, reflect the concerns the West has over Muslims’ ‘inability’ to endorse secularism.

Muslims are assumed to be homogeneous. Regardless of ethnicity, religious denomination, language, race, and culture, they are given one identity: Muslims. In this paper, I am challenging this notion of Muslims ‘homogeneity’. Rogers Brubaker’s observations is very useful here. He consider Muslims not as “a homogeneous and solidarity group”. Instead, he says, they are “a heterogeneous category” (Brubaker 2013, 6). It is misleading to consider Muslim immigrants as a single group, they have different ethnic backgrounds, religious denominations, economic conditions, cultures, and languages. Many Muslims in the West consider religiosity to be part of their identity, even many of them are irreligious. Their family background, sense of belonging, and social environment, among other things, can be reasons for this identity. Casanova finds that Muslims in North America are diverse as immigrants from South Asia, Arab countries, and West Africa are unable to transform into a single Muslim *ummah* (2007, 19). There are congregational segregations and doctrinal differences among them. If they do not mix with other types of Muslims, their degree of endorsement toward secular institutions cannot be alike.

In this paper, I intend to investigate the relationship between secularism and the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in Canada, which, over time, has established a presence in almost all major cities. This study aims to answer the question of whether identity loss and belonging to a religious persecuted community affect the degree of support of secularism. I will present findings of brief comparative studies on Alevis and Ismailis, both religious communities persecuted in their countries of origin, to support my argument. I base my argument on the rise of Islamic nationalism in Pakistan that excluded Ahmadis from the fold of Islam and put them on the course of persecution. I suggest that Ahmadis' belonging to a persecuted religious community increases their support for secular institutions not only in their origin country but also in the country where they migrate to or take refuge in. I do not mean to challenge the general perception of the inverse relationship between religiosity and the support for secularism. I want to suggest that community-level religiosity can produce positive feelings toward secular values because of its belonging to a persecuted minority. I argue that victimized at the hands of religious setups and persecution on the basis of religion leads to endorse a secular view of institutions with the hope of protection. It is essential to mention that the focus of my study is on a part of the broader concept of secularism. To measure the approaches of three persecuted Muslim minorities, I have focused on the separation of state and religion, the freedom to practice religion, and the non-interference of the state in religious matters. Alfred Stepan defines this concept of secularism as "twin toleration", where democratic institutions, as well as different religions, have sufficient place to exercise their freedom without interference in each other's domain. In such a pattern, religious institutions neither have the constitutional prerogative to influence the functioning of democratically elected representatives, nor it can deny freedoms to any citizens (Stepan 2011, 114–16). Talal Asad takes this concept of twine toleration further and considers role of a democratic religion essential in

modern society. He finds democratic religion in consistence with modernity to promote public debate like in the US. Such religion plays a positive political role in democracy, but it becomes threatening if it enters political debate “on its own terms” like in Egypt and Iran (ibid 183, 185). This concept of twine toleration and interplay between secular setup and religion is what Jamaat-e-Ahmadiyya idealizes. Mirza Masroor Ahmad, the incumbent caliph of the Jamaat, in an interview in Toronto while defending Muslim *Hijab* and disapproving mixed-gatherings said: “The state should not interfere with matters which are religious” (Mansbridge 2016). It is part of Ahmadiyya religious teachings to abide by the laws and stay faithful to the country in which they live with expectation from the state not to interfere with their religiosity.

In the discussion to follow, I begin with the West’s common understanding that Muslims, being ‘anti-modern’, are ‘against secularism’. Then, I move toward Mr Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s vision of a secular Pakistan. I will explain how this vision was taken in and out of Parliament as a threat to Islam and was never let to become the state ideology. With the decline of the vision for a secular state, religious minorities in general and the Ahmadiyya community in particular were gradually pushed out of the democratic process; ultimately, this ended in their total exclusion from the Islamic fold in the process of nation-building. I then provide details about the position of Ahmadiis in India and Bangladesh to show how different state setups (religious and secular) in the region having same colonial experience and sharing borders treat this religious minority. In the next part, I will give details of pull factors for Ahmadiis in Canada and the trajectory of how their persecution increased the level of their support for secular values. To prove the change in their approach to secularism, I will provide details regarding their religiosity before and after their persecution was started. In conclusion, I will present brief comparative studies of Alevis and Ismailis to strengthen my hypothesis. I will unpack the discussion that there are different factors—

belonging to a persecuted community being one of those—that affect Muslims’ endorsement of secularism.

1.1 POSITIONALITY

Born and raised in a Sunni Muslim family in Pakistan, I was unaware of any of the discrimination Ahmadis were facing until I pursued journalism as a profession. Two members of the Jamaat-e-Ahmadiyya visited me at my office in 2006 and tried to convince me of their persecution for media coverage. Though unconvinced by them, I started paying attention and found them to be facing hardships at every step of life. After a week or so, a retired Ahmad school teacher was killed for his religion. He became my first story. Until June 2017, I wrote, as a reporter, extensively on the persecution of Ahmadis and other religious minorities.¹ Several academic studies and media reports quoted my stories.² Based on my work on religion in general and Ahmadis in particular, I received various fellowships, including one from the Alliance for Historical Dialogue and Accountability as a visiting scholar of the Institute of Religion, Culture and Public Life at

¹ These are few of my significant stories on religious minorities in Pakistan i.e. Ahmadis, Christians, Hindus, Sikhs and Jains:

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/124274/salam-family-had-reservations-over-renaming-sans-concrete-measures-for-religious-freedom/>

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/17105/over-88-killed-in-twin-gun-and-bomb-attacks>

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1401425/crosshairs-ahmadi-gunned-rahim-yar-khan-district>

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1395510/illegal-detention-policeman-booked-forced-conversion>

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1369066/youhanabad-lynching-christian-suspects-asked-convert-return-release>

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/487631/missing-businesswoman-canadian-sikh-was-killed-the-day-she-landed-in-pakistan>

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/995808/after-factory-mob-torches-ahmadi-place-of-worship-in-jhelum-over-blasphemy-allegations/>

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1419381/jain-temple-doubling-playground-cops-robbers>

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1302960/dead-bodies-hindus-helpless-graveyard-encroachment-despite-court-order>

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1262449/intolerance-ahmadi-place-worship-stormed-chakwal/>

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1255100/jamat-e-ahmadias-rabwa-office-raided-four-members-held-hate-speech/>

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1249793/assembly-session-mpas-assured-ahmadis-will-not-teach-islamic-studies/>

² <https://irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/country-information/rir/Pages/index.aspx?doc=456309>

http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00litlinks/naim/txt_naim_ferozewala_2010.pdf

Columbia University and one from the Senior Journalists Seminar of East-West Centre based at Hawaii University to observe religious diversity in three different countries. During my stay in Canada, from September 2017 to August 2019, I stayed close to the Ahmadiyya community, which gave me an opportunity to observe how their religious and social life intersect with the secularity of Canada.

1.2 METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

This paper has benefited from secondary works on Muslim immigrants in North America; religion and politics in Pakistan, the historical trajectory of religious ideologies and persecution of the Ahmadiyya community. In addition to various academic materials, I have made use of information collected through personal experience with the Ahmadiyya community in Pakistan, the Greater Toronto Area, Ottawa, and Saskatoon. This personal experience comprises meetings with individuals and groups and participation in their religious and social events. To evaluate the shift of the Ahmadiyya approach from a religious to a secular state, I have used Ahmadi religious literature, including addresses and teachings of their Caliphs and Canadian leadership, and their newspapers and periodicals published in Pakistan and Canada. News items of some Canadian dailies are used also. To give an overview of Ahmadi exclusion and persecution in Pakistan, I have consulted some court cases, newspapers, and annual reports prepared by Jamaat-e-Ahmadiyya. I have monitored different social media accounts of Pakistani immigrants in Canada to develop an idea of the discriminatory attitude of non-Ahmadi Pakistanis toward Ahmadis in Canada.

2. Islam and secularism: Western view of Muslim homogeneity

It is a common notion in public debate and academic literature that Muslims are fundamentalists, anti-modern and against Western ‘norms’ hence oppose secularism. Particularly in North America Islam is considered as a “foreign” and “un-American” religion (Casanova 2007, 62). Secular Westerners seem welcoming each immigrant, regardless of race or religion, as long as they are able to accept and respect the Western ‘liberal and secular values’. Philips Jenkins points toward political rhetoric that terms coming of Muslim immigrants to Europe as Europe being Islamized. Part of this rhetoric is that Muslims are considered against secular values as well as against their Christian and Jewish neighbours (2009, 14). There is a common assumption among political circles of Europe that consider Muslims in the continent as a problem for being ‘barely compatible’ with liberal views. It is hard to consider Islam being idealized, secularized and harmonized in the “real world”. Liberal Europeans seem to raise questions toward Muslims, “Why do you need religion? Why can’t you live like us” (Jenkins 2002, 259)? Casanova finds today’s uniform anti-Muslim discourse in the West, similar to that against Catholicism in nineteenth-century (2007, 65). The perception of Muslims being fanatics, fundamentalists, and opposed to the secular values is based on understanding them as having fixed religious values that are considered permanently incompatible with Western values. Therefore the first question to deal with is whether all Muslims in the West are homogeneous and possessing fixed religious ethos contrary to secularism?

The heterogeneity of Muslims, observed by Brubaker, is strengthened by Casanova. His observation is useful to challenge the Western notion that finds Muslims having fixed religion. Muslim immigrants in the United States are “extremely diverse” on the basis of their geographical background, in terms of their discursive religious traditions, and in terms of their socioeconomic

characteristics (Casanova 2007, 4). It is justified to say that over time, Islam has come in many shades of practice, some much more open and tolerant than others. Majority of the Muslims in the West, in general, and in North America, in particular, consider Islam as part of their family background. After moving to the non-Muslim West, Muslims redefine their understanding of what it meant to be a Muslim (Jenkins 2009, 261). Bouman and Ling's findings is also useful to mention here. They find cultures and identities as not stable and fixed; rather they are syncretic, fluid and mixed in a modern and globalized age. Religion moves in its constant adaptation to new societal contexts, be this rapid social change or settlement in a different social-cultural environment (Bouma and Ling 2009, 351). Referring to different case studies conducted in USA, Germany and Canada, Martin finds young immigrants rarely focusing on religious customs and preservation (2009, 341–42). These findings support the hypothesis that if Muslims' understanding of Islam is not fixed and they are heterogeneous, their attitude towards secular values in the West must differ on the basis of different contextual factors in countries of their origin that proves Western view of Muslim homogeneity as incorrect.

3. Desecularisation and Ahmadiyya Exclusion in Pakistan

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908), founder of Ahmadiyya community, in 1888 had announced to be a divine person, *Mujaddid*, *Mohaddis*, Krishna, promised messiah and, ultimately in 1901, a subordinate prophet at his birthplace, Qadian, an area in Indian Punjab. He negated violent Jihad and openly expressed his support to the British government in India. The same year, he named his community as Jamaat-i-Ahmadiyya, and on his request, the British government considered his community as a separate community from other Muslims in the census of 1901 (Munir 1954, 10; Saeed 2010, 112). After Ahmad's death on May 26, 1908, his caliphate started with his close aide Hakeem Maulvi Nur-ud-Din becoming his first caliph. Din was the only caliph out of Ahmad's family lineage among five caliphs so far (see Appendix 1). On Din's death in March 1914, Ghulam Ahmad's son Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood Ahmad became the head of the Jamaat and second caliph. Mahmood introduced the structure of the Jamaat strictly hierarchical with the supreme authority of the incumbent caliph. The caliph cannot be removed or deposed as his position is for life. He has the power to excommunicate or oust members of the community for their 'objectionable' behaviours and over nonpayment of mandatory monthly *Chanda* (financial contribution) (Saeed 2010, 124). Cantwell Smith described the Jamaat under Mahmood's leadership in 1943 as "combining a purifying spirit of orthodox reform, having a tinge of the new liberalism, a mystic irrationalism, and the authoritarianism of new revelation" (1943, 324–25). It kept itself away from Pakistan movement (see Appendix 2), did not join Muslims and Hindus in the *Khilafat* Movement (1919-1924) and, unlike majority Indians, always openly supported the British Colonizers.

Ghulam Ahmad's prophecies, particularly his claim to be a prophet, and Jamaat's political stances gave rise to the feeling of hostility and hatred toward the Jamaat. Though many of Indian *Ulema* had issued join *fatwas* terming Ahmad and his followers as *kafirs* (infidels) but first organized movement against the Jamaat was initiated in 1931 with the emergence of Majlis-e-Ahrar. The conflict between the Ahrar and the Jamaat took birth largely due to political differences because both of them were carrying out 'Kashmir cause' from opposite camps. The Jamaat was continuing agitation from the platform of the All India Kashmir Committee with its caliph being chairman of the committee. Dr Allama Muhammad Iqbal, famous poet and one of the leaders of Pakistan movement, was also a member of the committee (Munir 1954, 11). The Ahrar continued mobilizing Muslims of India against Ahmadis and All India Muslim League and was opposing Pakistan movement like Jamat-e-Islami. By 1935, the Ahrar succeeded in forming a mass movement against Ahmadis, and some individuals of Jamaat-e-Islami and Muslim League also started expressing resentment against Ahmadis. Allama Iqbal in a letter to the editor of Calcutta daily *The Statesman* in June 1935 first time wrote Ahmadis as non-Muslims (Saeed 2010, 146). Punjab chapter of the Muslim League in 1938 had banned membership of Ahmadis considering them non-Muslims.

As partition of India came closer, initially Ahmadis decided to settle in India to stay close to their sacred places in Qadian. Following the violence against Muslims in areas surrounding Qadian, the Ahmadis wrote letters to Indian leaders Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Sardar Patel requesting them for protection. Having no reply from any of the leaders and following the intense rioting in Punjab, Ahmadiyya community moved to Lahore (Saeed 2010, 157–59). Before coming to Pakistan, Ahmadis wrote letters to Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan for assurance of protection but in vain. After coming to Pakistan uninvited, the Ahmadiyya community chose to

set up their own city – Rabwa – at a distance of about 100 miles away from Lahore. The community’s going away from the urban areas might be because of anti-Ahmadiyya movement which followed it to Pakistan as well. Now Rabwa is their spiritual headquarters in the world having their schools and health system. The *Ahrar* again launched an anti-Ahmadi campaign in Pakistan in 1953 but this time with active public support of key actors of the ruling party, the Muslim League, and major religious parties such as the Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamiat Ulema Islam (Saeed 2010, 7).

Majority of the scholars agree that Muhammad Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan, proposed the concept of a secular Pakistan. During his life, before and after the independence of Pakistan, two parallel narratives – secular and Islamic – had been taking place in the Muslim League. In 1938 Jinnah had disbanded Punjab chapter of the Muslim League for its banning membership of Ahmadis (Saeed 2010, 154). “Who am I to declare a person non-Muslim who calls himself a Muslim” was the reply of Jinnah in 1944 at a question of a journalist about his view on the religious status of Ahmadis (ibid 2010, 6). In his policy statement on August 11, 1947, Jinnah as first Governor-General of Pakistan categorically said there would be no relationship between the state and religion. He saw equal rights for every citizen regardless of religion. Jinnah did not just say it; he took practical decisions accordingly. He appointed Joginder Nath Mandal, a Hindu, and Chaudhry Zafrullah Khan, an Ahmadi, to his first cabinet. Keeping in mind that Pakistan has come into being as a state for the Muslim minority of the subcontinent, he proposed that every religion should have freedom of practice, but it should have no political role in affairs of the state. Based on previous experience of communal and religious clashes between Hindus and Muslims, Jinnah had a clear idea of a political religion that would “undermine civil society or individual liberties” (Asad 2003, 182), therefore he envisioned separation of religion and the state. Deviation from

Jinnah's vision has proved disastrous for minorities. There were almost 23 percent non-Muslim citizens in 1947 and now they are reduced to less than four percent including Ahmadis (Ispahani 2017a, 9).

The day Jinnah expressed the vision of a secular state, moves within and out of the parliament were initiated against it. The only segments of society to defend it were religious minorities, including Hindus and Christians. Jinnah's speech was followed by the debate to finalize the design of the flag of Pakistan. Non-Muslim members of the assembly "unanimously expressed their disapproval of the flag" saying that they had not been consulted in this regard and the proposed flag being almost identical with the party flag of the Muslim League was representing the Muslim community. Their objections were rejected, and the flag was finalized through a majority vote of Muslim members of the assembly (Saeed 2010, 174). Jinnah did not intervene in the debate. We can say that the flag debate, the first-ever debate in the Constituent Assembly, and decision on it decided a course of Muslim leaders towards religious nationalism, putting religious minorities aside.

After the death of Jinnah, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Objectives Resolution in 1949 (see Appendix 3), which provided the basis of Islamization in Pakistan. Three out of its eleven clauses, give explicit reference to Islam. It begins with "sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Allah Almighty". Clause four says "the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed". The resolution, providing the aims and objects of the Constitution, became the preamble of the future constitutions of Pakistan and proved to be a Muslim nationalist discourse. It provided the basis of Islamization in legal codes of Pakistan. It is worth mentioning that Zafrullah Khan vehemently defended the Objectives Resolution in and out of the parliament. Encouraged with the passage of the Objectives

Resolution, by 1953 the clerics started demanding inclusion of Islam in law and state policy. To spearhead their move for Islamization, they took anti-Ahmadi elements with them and ended up initiating a mass movement against Ahmadis. By the end of February 1953, riots began. Ahmadis were attacked, their properties were destroyed, and some lives lost (Feldman 1967, 41–42). The army had to intervene, and the country witnessed the first martial law to quell this religious movement. As a result of this move, the vision for a secular state had become anti-secular. A judicial commission was formed to determine responsibility for the riots. The commission, while recording statements of the anti-Ahmadi clerics, asked them whether Jinnah’s concept of secular Pakistan was acceptable to them and every one replied in negative. Maulana Amin Ahsan Islahi, representing the Jamaat-e-Islami, responded that “a state based on this idea is the creature of the devil” (Munir 1954, 203). The state’s policy of accommodation towards Ahmadis in 1954 turned out to be a policy of exclusion in 1974. The state gave in to the demands of the protesters and through a constitutional amendment declared Ahmadis as non-Muslims under article 260(3a, 3b) of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan.³ There was not a single member in the parliament to represent the interests of minorities, especially Ahmadis.

Ten years later, in 1984, religious freedom of Ahmadis was further curtailed through a presidential Ordinance (see Appendix 4). Section 298-B and 298-C were inserted into Pakistan Penal Code 1860 through this ordinance. Under these sections, “misuse of epithets, descriptions and titles, etc., reserved for certain holy personages or places” was prescribed as punishable for

³Article 260 of the Constitution:

(3a) “Muslim” means a person who believes in the unity and oneness of Almighty Allah, in the absolute and unqualified finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him), the last of the prophets, and does not believe in, or recognize as a prophet or religious reformer, any person who claimed or claims to be a prophet, in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever, after Muhammad (peace be upon him); and

(3b) “non-Muslim” means a person who is not a Muslim and includes a person belonging to the Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist or Parsi community, a person of the Qadiani Group or the Lahori Group who call themselves ‘Ahmadis’ or by any other name or a Bahai, and a person belonging to any of the Scheduled Castes.

Ahmadis and their right of self-identification was taken away by barring them from “posing like Muslims”. The state policy of accommodation, which was turned into the policy of exclusion in 1974, ended up to be a policy of criminalization in 1984. During General Zia’s tenure, apart from several anti-Ahmadi and Islamic provisions, a controversial set of blasphemy law was introduced. The most controversial part of the blasphemy law is section 295-C of Pakistan Penal Code, which was introduced in 1986 providing life imprisonment for derogatory remarks in respect of Prophet Muhammad. In 1991, during the premiership of Nawaz Sharif, the punishment of life imprisonment was replaced with capital punishment.⁴ As section 295-C exclusively deals with respect of the prophet of Islam, Ahmadis and other religious minorities in Pakistan become victims of it. This gradual process of desecularisation and rise of religious nationalism has not only strengthened the religious sentiment in successfully dictating the religious content of state policies but also excluded the religious minorities from political life. Now there are countless religious organizations across the country carrying out anti-Ahmadi or anti-blasphemy agenda with special focus on non-Muslims.

Legal steps taken by the state give a sense of legitimacy to violence against Ahmadis, who have been continuously victimized at the hands of the state and vigilantism. According to the annual Ahmadiyya Persecution Report 2019, in Pakistan since 1984, 262 Ahmadis have been killed, and 388 have been assaulted. Meanwhile, 28 of their mosques have been demolished, 39 sealed by the state, 23 set on fire or partially damaged, and 17 forcibly occupied by mainstream Muslims. Fifty-eight incidents occurred in which the government barred Ahmadis from

⁴ Section 295-C of Pakistan Penal Code:

Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation or by any imputation, innuendo, or insinuation, directly or indirectly, defiles the sacred name of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) shall be punished with death, or imprisonment for life, and shall also be liable to fine.

constructing mosques. Additionally, the dead bodies of 39 Ahmadis have been forcibly exhumed from common cemeteries, and 69 of their burials have been halted by anti-Ahmadi elements (Ahmadiyya 2019, 165). All Ahmadi publications, including weeklies, periodicals, and religious books are banned in Pakistan (Tanveer 2013). Police arrest staff and confiscates printed facilities whenever it finds them printing Ahmadi material (ibid. 2016). They cannot perform their religious practices openly, and neither say call for prayer nor call their place of worship as a mosque (Ispahani 2017b, 5).

This rise of Islamisation as a state policy is a systematic “desecularisation” that shows how distinct notion of citizenship, national identity and religious politics have become part of the state (Saeed 2013, 62). This process of desecularisation and rise of Islamisation has led to make the religious front as a pressure group in dictating the state policies and to the slow and gradual exit of all religious minorities in general and Ahmadis in particular from organized political life. Ahmadis cannot cast their vote nor contest election at any level. These steps have given way to the politics of street-power that help the charged mobs to target religious minorities with impunity under the pretext of blasphemy allegations. Politics of fear and exclusion of voices of dissent are another outcomes of this historical process. Any politician, rights activist or journalists who speak in favour of Ahmadis come under hot waters. Former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif came under severe criticism for condemning attacks on two Ahmadi mosques in Lahore in 2010, which left more than 88 worshippers dead (Dawn 2010). Apart from bad economic conditions, scarcity of better jobs, and better education opportunities, the above mentioned ouster of Ahmadis from the nationalist discourse have become a major factor to push them out of the country. To understand the historical process of desecularisation in Pakistan and the treatment of the Ahmadiyya Muslim community, studying Bangladesh and India, which comprised one country before 1947 and share

the borders and history of colonialism, will be helpful. Therefore before discussing Ahmadiyya arrival in Canada, I will discuss the interplay of religion and secularism and situation of Ahmadis in rest of these two countries of the subcontinent.

4. Religion, Secularism and Ahmadis in the Subcontinent

Supporters of secularism say that a state having secular democratic values has an advantage over one which is based on the religious notion. They consider secularism to have nothing to do with ideological clashes which theological opinions have. It is considered objective, neutral and much more palpable to diverse people living together at one place. How the legal codes of a state should deal with society having highly religious people, they ask. The critics of secularism say it has nothing to do with ethics. It takes ethics from religion but does not acknowledge. The study of some of the countries of the subcontinent seems an excellent location to understand how religious minorities are being treated under theocracy and secularism. The aim here is not to prove secularism better than the religion or vice versa but to present a true picture by comparing countries with similar historical and socio-economic contexts that have adopted one option or the other. A comprehensive study of Pakistan can be significant in understanding the state of affairs, but comparing it with India and Bangladesh would provide a more robust and proper understanding with a focus on violation or provision of minority rights particularly those of Ahmadis. As Pakistan and Bangladesh (East Pakistan from 1947 to 1971) were separated from India for the religious freedom of the Muslim minority, a study of minorities' rights in these all three countries shows that new border lines created new minority and majority groups with religious clashes staying there, with some variations.

4.1 INDIA

India has a secular identity and an outstanding record as a functioning liberal democracy in South Asia, if not in the Third World. At least in its legal codes and as part of its state policy, it has put

several steps in place for protection of the minorities. Various articles of its constitution guarantee different freedoms. Apart from the state assistance to minority institutions, under article 30, they are given right to establish and administer their educational institutions while article 26 deals with the freedom to manage religious affairs. Secular image of its constitution also reflects in other legal and policy codes of the state. There are various institutions like National Commission for Minorities, Ministry of Minority Affairs, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, National Minorities Development and Finance Corporation, and National Commission for Scheduled Tribes to empower and to protect the minorities. Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir (at least in documents), animist and Christians in the northeast are provided autonomy (Manchanda 2009).

India has witnessed severe communal clashes, including a series of riots in almost all over India after 1992-demolition of historic Babri Mosque in Ayodhya. Most of the riots were among Muslims and Hindus, which took thousands of lives. In its northeast areas, minorities lack protection. Rise of Narendra Modi as Prime Minister since 2014 has become synonymous with the rise of Hindu nationalism in India which put a serious question mark over the protection of minorities, especially Muslims, and India's claim to be a secular state. Legislations in different states to ban cow slaughter, revocation of the autonomous status of Jammu and Kashmir in 2019, and approval to build Ram Mandir, where Babri Mosque once was, are a few among many steps to polarize the India society and to undermine its identity of a secular state. The incidents like demolition of Babri mosque by Hindu hardliners and the subsequent decision of the High Court in their favour demonstrated that state and judiciary, when necessary, find it justified to give priority to the majority religion in taking decisions over their commitment to the secular legal codes and promises made under this umbrella (Mufti 2007).

Ahmadis are recognized as Muslims by the state of India, but they face threats and violence from different Muslim groups. They face calls for social boycott, physical attacks, and threats to limit their religious activities. Jamaat-e-Islami, Majlis Tahaffuz-e-Khatam-e-Nabuwwat, and Majlis-e-Ahrar are major Muslim organizations carrying out a campaign to declare Ahmadis as non-Muslims in India. However, Ahmadis express a sense of satisfaction toward Indian authorities. “[I]n order to avoid conflict with Indian authorities”, the community tend to downplay acts of violence against it (Immigration and Refugee Board Canada 2015). When there are anti-Muslim riots in India, Ahmadis are lumped together with other Muslims. Due to countrywide protests over anti-Muslim Citizenship Amendment Act, Jamaat-e-Ahmadiyya postponed its annual convention scheduled for December 27 to 29, 2019. As India is the birthplace of the founder of Jamaat-e-Ahmadiyya and the origin of their movement, annual convention India has status of a pilgrimage for Ahmadis.

Despite all these anti minority circumstances, it is not justified to term India as a religious state. Its vibrant civil society is what differentiates it from Pakistan and Bangladesh. Last year’s countrywide protests participated by every segment of society against Citizenship Amendment Act are an indication of a spirit instilled among the citizens by the secular identity of the state. No doubt India’s strong and continuous democracy is also a fruit of secularism unlike in Pakistan and Bangladesh. Mahendra Lowati is rightful to say that Hindu nationalists would become more encouraged and violent to repress minorities in India if Hinduism is given the status of a state religion in India like Islam in Bangladesh and Pakistan (2017, 274). Secular identity of the state provides a sense of belonging to its minorities which would have been taken away by giving Hinduism status of the state religion in India. The Ahmadiyya issue has its roots in India since the late nineteenth century, but India did not take any serious discriminatory steps against them despite

repeated demands from some significant groups of its more than 172 million Muslim citizens. However, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan excluded them in less than three decades by providing a sense of superiority to its majority Muslims who are now in a position to dictating the state. No doubt, it is the secular status of India that makes Ahmadis have a sense of satisfaction towards state institutions.

4.2 BANGLADESH

Bangladesh, being a Muslim majority country, has Islam as its state religion. It was formerly known as East Pakistan until separation in 1971. After its independence, first Constitution of 1972 adopted the secular status of the state in lines with Jinnah's vision. However, the first constitutional amendment of 1979 revoked the secular status, and in 1988 Islam was declared as the state religion. High Court and Supreme Court of Bangladesh declared the removal of secularism from the Constitution as illegal, respectively in 2005 and 2011, but the status of the state remained Islamic (Bhuiyan 2017, 1). These constitutional steps toward the rise of Islam in Bangladesh, set the tone of the majority Muslims. These steps provided ground for reemergence to Islamic political parties including Islamic Okye Jyote and Jamaat-e-Islami. Religious minorities, including Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, which are 11 percent of the total population, and sect within Islami like Ahmadis, start facing discrimination at state and social levels. More than one million cases of the land grabbing from Hindus are pending adjudication. Incidents of discrimination against minorities are increased since the state became Islamic. Millions of Hindus and Buddhists have emigrated to India for life (Lawoti 2017, 272).

Ahmadis, who are 0.1 percent of the population in Bangladesh, have been facing hate campaign and movements to declare them as non-Muslims in lines with Pakistan. Anti-Ahmadi movement in Bangladesh started in 1977 with an attack on their annual convention in Barahmanbaria, a district of Chittagong division, by anti-Ahmadiyya extremists. A fresh spate of attacks and threats took rise against Ahmadis in the 1990s. At least 12 Ahmadis were injured in 1992 when a procession of more than 1000

charged affiliates of Khatam-e-Nabuwwat attacked Ahmadiyya complex in Dhaka. Rooms were ransacked, valuables were damaged, and books and other literature were set on fire. Some of their mosques have been demolished or grabbed, and they continuously face calls for social boycotts. Conferences, public meetings and processions organized by the Khatam-e-Nabuwwat and often participated by speakers from Pakistan and India have a significant contribution to spreading hate against Ahmadis (Watch 2005).

The discussion shows that the state's religious status becomes a tool for discrimination within the hands of the majority. In contrast, countries with secular identity try to protect minority rights or at least minimize violence. Though Ahmadis of India left for Pakistan in 1947 because of a lack of protection, it is the secular setup in India that gave them a sense of security and satisfaction over the time, unlike Pakistan. A lot of Sikhs emigrated from India after operation Blue Star in 1984, but at the state level, they were not facing any exclusion. In India, communal riots have been occurring ever since their independence and have taken thousands of lives. The representation of high-caste Hinduism mediates the nation's public image, and those who do not fit into that high-caste position are considered religious minorities (Chatterjee 1992). No doubt these characteristics undermine the claim of secularism in India but do not remove it altogether. A secular state does not and cannot guarantee peace and toleration; it puts into play some legal frameworks to regulate violence with an ambition to eliminate it (Asad 2003, 8). Several institutions in India that protect minorities keep the state from following the exclusion course like Pakistan. Giving religious status to a state hampers equality and undermines tolerance towards religious minorities. State institutions based on secular ideas are more likely to strengthen democratic institutions like those found in India. Contrarily, Pakistan presents a bleak picture of its democracy with multiple coups and military influence, even during democratic setups. In Pakistan and Bangladesh, religious orientations are to blame for the shrinking democratic space for minorities. Prioritizing any one religion means undermining others. It provides an underlying

justification for making biases against minorities a part of legal and state policies, whereas this is not likely the case with a secular state.

Going through studies of Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh, one could say that the post-enlightenment era often encounters a precarious block of minorities. The situation in these dominions draws attention towards the challenges posed to the minority question under the agenda of modernity and globalization, which Amir Mufti calls “treacherous and heavily policed oceans that separate the narratives and figures of modernity in Europe from their reappearances in the colonies” (Mufti 2007, 10). I do not mean to find reasons why secular narratives in the sub-continent, the former British colony, are missing, unlike in the West, but to draw attention toward the similarities in how these former colonies ruled by one colonizer are dealing with minorities. One thing is clear – although the situation of Ahmadis is more favourable in India than in Bangladesh and Pakistan, the factors attracting them towards the West are missing in India too. The protection and the sense of belonging that Ahmadis feel in the secular setup of Canada and the factors allowing them to establish a distinctive identity and religious freedom form the central themes of the next part of the paper.

5. Ahmadis arrive in Canada and make it home

Ahmadi missionaries have been coming to Canada since 1966; however, when Pakistan declared them non-Muslims in 1974, they started migrating to Canada. After the 1984 ban on their religious practices, a massive wave of Ahmadi emigrants began moving to western countries. Attracted by Canada's religious and cultural diversity, a large number of Ahmadis, fleeing persecution, have made it home. Their religious body was registered as Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama'at Canada Inc. in Canada with the arrival of its first missionary in 1966. The community purchased a 25-acre piece of land in 1985 at Vaughan, GTA, where they built a mosque and the Canada mission house. Now they have built their locality comprising 260 homes at a 50 acre piece of land adjacent to the mosque. Its nine streets are named after Ahmadi religious leaders and notables (Malik 2013).

There are about 30,000 Ahmadis in Canada, and they have a very closely-knit and organized setup, like in other more than 200 countries of the world. They have one administrative head in Canada who is called *Ameer*. Under his leadership, there are 11 regional and local *Ameers* supervising 116 chapters functioning across Canada. Other than several mosques operating in existed structure, it has constructed eight prominent mosques in different cities. The biggest mosque in North America is Baitul Islam, an Ahmadi mosque in Maple, Ontario, which was inaugurated in 1992 (Gualtieri 2004, 7). Other major Ahmadi mosques are in Brampton, Scarborough, Calgary, Vancouver, Lloydminster, Regina and Saskatoon. Ahmadis are educated, using modern technologies and in good books of mainstream political parties. Local and national politicians willingly participate in their religious activities, which continue throughout the year. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and many members of the parliament participated in their annual

convention on July 09, 2019, and virtual *Iftar* (Muslim fast-breaking) organized by Ahmadis on April 23, 2020. Majority of the Ahmadis in Canada have a sense of satisfaction and support toward the system yet keep on trying to seek special attention by distancing themselves from fanatic, terrorist, and radical assumptions associated with Islam. Michael Nijhawan explains different aspects of Ahmadi identity in Canada as saying that they consider their community different from other Muslim groups, a model minority deserving special attention for being, what they say, fully integrated into the Canadian society. They appreciate Canada for being “welcoming society for ethnic and religious diversity” where they can perform their religious practices freely and can build their religious institutions (Nijhawan 2016, 237).

The state of Canada through different steps make them realize that they are accommodated. In 1990, the Ontario government built a 14-story building in Toronto for Ahmadiyya refugees. The building, comprising 166 apartments and a prayer hall of 2500 square feet, was handed over to Ahmadis for their exclusive use. The government has been facing criticism for this exclusive project for any ethnic community as no non-Ahmadi can live there (“Muslims Only” 2015). The secular judicial system of Canada accommodates Ahmadi refugees in deciding their refugee claims. The quasi-judicial tribunals of the Immigration and Refugee Board functions in consultation with the Jamaat’s administration to deal with cases of Ahmadi refugees (Soennecken 2009, 2). The IRB officials are well aware of the situation of Ahmadis in Pakistan as some of them have visited Pakistan to have a better understanding of their persecution. Before going to the question of violence, the IRB members ask the claimant to prove his religious identity. The IRB verifies the religious identity of any Ahmadi refugee claimant from Jamaat-i-Ahmadiyya, which issues certificates of authenticity in this regard (Nijhawan 2016, 114). In this course of the assessment of religious identity, justifiably, it can be said that Jamaat-i-Ahmadiyya has proved

itself as an integral component of the secular system. Along with its efforts to build its image of a community able to assimilate into Canadian culture, the Jamaat has successfully recognized itself as a persecuted and peaceful community in comparison with its opponent Muslim groups hailing from its perpetrating society.

While trying to differentiate themselves from other Muslims and trying to establish their separate identity as Ahmadi Muslims and racialized subjects, they face a sense of heretic otherness that pervades Muslim diasporic politics. Allegations of being close to the Ahmadiyya community are enough for any Pakistani immigrant politician to lose Muslim vote. Hifza Musa, a Pakistani-Canadian, lost elections for the nomination of Liberal Party MPP for Mississauga Erin Mills riding on March 17, 2018. Her rival candidate, Imran Mian, also hailing from Pakistan, through social media and corner meetings propagated against her of being a supporter of Ahmadis. Resultantly Mian won, and Musa lost with a margin of 736 votes. Nijhawan points out discrimination against Ahmadi students at the hands of Muslim students at York University. They are not allowed to attend the function of Muslim students' organization, and anti-Ahmadiyya leaflets are circulated at the campus. Posters that advertised political events organized by Ahmadiyya students disappeared mysteriously only a day after they were put up on the campus (ibid, 238). Members of the Jamaat also face hate campaigns through social media (see Appendix 5). Ahmadis usually ignore such hate campaigns or respond logically. They avoid clash while some individuals prefer not disclosing their religious affiliation fearing social alienation or loss of a job. They find *Taqiyya* as Islamic justification for not disclosing their real belief. *Taqiyya* is a practice performed by “minority or otherwise disadvantaged groups of Muslims who fear negative repercussions should their real faith become known” (Virani 2011, 99).

Canada has a special status for accommodating Ahmadi refugees. After attacks on two Ahmadi mosques in Lahore on May 28, 2010, which left more than 80 worshippers dead, former immigration minister Jason Kenney offered and accepted families of all victims as refugees in Canada. There are various statements of Ahmadi caliphs in appreciation of Canada and its inclusive values. In June 1987, their fourth caliph termed Canada as his home. Impressed by its being welcoming, he said: “It is my prayer that Canada becomes the world and the world becomes Canada”. He advised his followers to keep up Canadian values and defend them for these are very precious (Tahir Ahmad 1986). Other than freedom of religion, better employment opportunities, options for a good education, and cultural liberties can be significant pull factors.

6. Ahmadiyya religiosity and their move toward secularism

No doubt, the Jamaat-e-Ahmadiyya is peaceful, law-abiding, non-violent, anti-Jihad, cooperative to the state, and moderate but looking at its past shows some contrasts. In its initial days, it had been changing its stances as per requirements. During its initial few decades, it had realised the necessity to build an image of a liberal movement. Cantwell Smith's observation is very useful. He said, "its propaganda in Europe and America omits much of the backwardness which is evident at home and includes a large share of liberal ideology" (Smith 1943, 326). Jamaat's literature of pre-1970s, when they were still constitutional Muslims in Pakistan, showed their tendency toward fanaticism. Their second caliph Mirza Bashirudin Ahmad Mahmood in April 1944, in an address to his followers said: "with the grace of God, there would be a day when countries of the world would be under our control" (Ahmed 1944, 285). Urging his followers for the aggressive stance, he said, "Blood of the Muslims who died fighting in Spain is demanding us for revenge. Only true Muslims will go and raise the Islamic flag there" (Ahmed 1944, 268). It was the time when he started raising voice for all Muslims of the subcontinent (Saeed 2010, 154), unlike his previous stance when he was siding with the British colonizers.

Jamaat's tendency of theocracy became more evident after the independence of Pakistan when it started campaigning to make Pakistan as an Islamic state. They had been highlighting news stories and opinion pieces in their weeklies and dailies to establish a public opinion in favour of an Islamic system. The headline of the lead story of Jamaat's daily *Al-Fazal* February 15, 1948, said: "Democracy in Pakistan would be based on pure Islamic principles" (see Appendix 6). The lead story of *Al-Fazal* January 10, 1948, said: "Politics in West Punjab would be based on Sharia" (see Appendix 7). Such propaganda newspapers carry out "for political, economic, or social

policies” (Riegel 1935, 204). Ahmadi newspapers were carrying out propaganda by giving relatively more space and prominence to typical stories they liked. They were applying editorial discrimination by including analysis in the news stories in a bid to influence the policymaking. It does not mean that a newspaper cannot prioritise some information over the other. However, giving a particular angle and space to one kind of stories, one after the other, and making the analysis part of the story shows that the media outlet is striving to bring into existence a state of society which it believes to be most advantageous to the people it serves.

When the British government gave Kashmir, a Muslim majority area, to a Hindu ruler in 1946, Muslims ended up facing severe discriminations. Most of their worship places were gone under the state control, they had no right to preach, cow slaughter was banned, and their representation in government services was next to nothing. These factors, among others, gave birth to Muslim agitation (Jalal 2000, 353–55). Jamaat-e-Ahmadiyya aggressively participated in that agitation. Ahmadiyya caliph became chairman of Kashmir Muslim Conference, a Muslim platform to struggle for Kashmir, on the recommendation of Allama Muhammad Iqbal. To support the Kashmir cause, Ahmadis not only spent money but also sent their lawyers as volunteers to help Muslim inmates. In 1948, when Kashmir conflict remerged, Ahmadis took a drastic step in the negation of their basic ideology against violent Jihad. The Jamaat’s caliph established a militia – *Furqan* Battalion – and gave it at the disposal of Pakistan Army to fight for Kashmir (Khan 2015, 115–16). Apart from showing loyalties to Pakistan and Islam, there is another reason behind Ahmadis being interested in Kashmir. It is a place of reverence for them because their founder claimed that Jesus was buried there, and it is part of their ideology that the founder of the Jamaat was the second coming of Jesus. Since the beginning, Kashmir has been a central place in the sub-continent for Ahmadi missionary activities (Lavan 1973, 146). Hakeem Nur-ud-Din, a close aide

of the founder of the Jamaat and his first caliph, had served as chief royal *hakeem* (physician/herbalist) to two predecessors of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, Hari Singh, for fifteen years (Khan 2015, 97).

It is justified to say that Ahmadis, among other Islamists, played their role in providing Islamic basis for future constitutions of the newly liberated dominion by supporting the Objectives Resolution. Their approach towards blasphemy was not different than that of the other Muslims of Pakistan. Sir Zafrullah Khan, the first foreign Minister of Pakistan and a devout Ahmadi, expressed his protest against a statement of UN Assistant Secretary-General Benjamin Cohen in October 1950 considering it blasphemous and outrageous. Cohen apologised (see Appendix 8).

Their exclusion from the folds of Islam in 1974 and the declaration of their religious services of being criminal in 1984 brought a significant shift into their approach. They started raising voice for human rights and democracy. After 1984 ban on the public performance of their religious practices, Ahmadiyya Gazette Canada in its June 1984 issue published the relevant part of Jinnah's August 11 speech and termed the ban contradictory to it (see Appendix 9). The editorial board of the Gazette termed the ban as "suicidal course" for Pakistan and "a blot on the true Islamic teachings of tolerance and humanity". During the initial months of the ban, Ahmadis seemed accepting Jinnah's vision for a secular state halfheartedly. They were terming the ban as a negation of Jinnah's vision as well as against teachings of Islam. They still were thinking of Pakistan to be an Islamic state for which they had already struggled. Paragraph on page 3 of the Gazette is suitable to quote here.

"Any state which claims to be a[n] 'Islamic' has additional obligation to guarantee the fundamental rights provided under the

injunctions of the Holy Qur'an and teachings and example of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. In the 37 years of Pakistan's history, all of her constitutions have contained statements intended to protect and safeguard "freedom to profess religion and to manage religious institutions."

With the intensity of discrimination, persecution and target killings of Ahmadis, their ideology of having an Islamic state system faded away, and they started taking refuge under secular systems. After 1985, there is not an instance of their demand for an Islamic state. They started adopting West's definition of human rights and raised the slogan of "Humanity *Zindabad*" (long live humanity) on June 8, 1989, in Canada. On October 9, 1980, their third caliph announced Jamaat's slogan as "Love for All, Hatred for None" in Spain while inaugurating a mosque (Farhat 2013). This was the Spain against which Jamaat's second caliph had been calling for Jihad in 1944. In 1995, they set up their non-governmental organization Humanity First with headquarter in Vaughan, GTA. It is functioning successfully in more than 50 countries. They claim to have the greatest food bank in Canada for the needy under this charity. Though 99 percent of its staff are Ahmadis, they say it has nothing to do with the Jamaat.

With coming closer to the secular values, they distanced themselves from fanatic views associated with some Muslim groups. Their views toward blasphemy were altogether changed by 1989 from those expressed by Sir Zafrullah Khan in 1950. In 1989 almost all over the Muslim world there were bad feelings against Salman Rushdie for his Satanic Verses after Khomeini's killing fatwa. At a public forum, Jamaat-e-Ahmadiyya Canada leader Nasim Mehdi on behalf of the Jamaat openly expressed disagreement with demands for Rushdie's killing (see Appendix 10).

It is clear to suggest that with the increase of the level of persecution in the country of origin and sense of acceptance, belonging and protection under the secular setups in the West, brought gradual increase on their support for secularism. Though after 1984's ban on their public religious practices, Ahmadis started making demands for a Pakistan in accordance with Jinnah's vision but in 1996 their caliph not only supported Jinnah's vision for Pakistan but also termed secularism as the best system for the world (M. T. Ahmad 1996). In his book "Relationship between Religion and Politics in Islam" published in 1991, the caliph termed secular system suitable for the world. Moreover, he said Sharia would be discriminatory to the non-Muslim citizens in Pakistan as well as in the rest of the world (T. Ahmad 2018, 21–23).

Alfred Stepan defines this concept of secularism as "twin toleration", where democratic institutions, as well as different religions, have sufficient place to exercise their freedom without interference in each other's domain. In such a pattern, religious institutions neither have the constitutional prerogative to influence the functioning of democratically elected representatives, nor it can deny freedoms to any citizens (Stepan 2011, 114–16).

As already mentioned, I have focused on the separation of state and religion, freedom to practice religion and non-interference of the state with religion, which is a portion of the broader concept of secularism appealing to the Ahmadiyya community. Jamaat-e-Ahmadiyya leader's saying about Canada that "being a multi-ethnic community it has to be tolerant" and "the government should not interfere with the matters which are religious" is exactly in line with Stepan's concept of twin toleration. Not only Ahmadis but also all other religious minorities get their legal demands fulfilled under Canada's policy of toleration. Selby, Barras and Beaman term this situation, particularly for Muslims, as "accommodation on demand" in Canada having the latent empowered position of Christian norms (2018, 123–24). Presence of this underlying

empowered position of Christian norms is given importance in the public sphere which can be measured through different indicators, one of which is different mandating paid public holidays on Christmas and Good Friday for the majority religion, unlike the minority religions. Another contradiction to Canadian equality, being practised toward non-religious citizens, is in its Criminal Code 1985. Section 319(1) of the Code criminalizes hate speech, but its sub-section 3(b) gives an exception to hate speech “based on a belief in a religious text”. So, on the basis of religious text, any religious person has the right to carry out hate speech, unlike an irreligious person. These potential differences can demand attention in future to be aligned with Canadian equality and diversity.

7. Conclusion

Religious freedom, a crowning achievement of secularism and guaranteeing peaceful coexistence of religiously diverse population (Mahmood 2012), attracts the persecuted communities by guarantying them protection as well as the freedom to practice religion. The secularism disapproves preference of one religious group over the others as well as discourages intolerance. Persecuted under religious ideologies, Ahmadis over the time distanced themselves from hardline ideas of religion and strengthened their identity as a democratic and inclusive community in Canada. They are in good books of the state system and are accommodated accordingly. Just as they are persecuted in countries of their origin, they face discrimination and hate in Canada too, but here they do not accuse the state system of having any role in it. This factor of discrimination helps them in defining their course of political, social and religious life. In trying not to follow the perpetrators' suit, Ahmadis try to exhibit secular values to prove themselves more Canadian than the other Muslims. They usually prefer not to mix with their non-Ahmadi countrymen. They do not vote for a political candidate who has the support of the other Muslims. There is no possibility of Ahmadis to vote for a Muslim candidate either. Therefore they do not support any single political party; they choose suitable candidates instead. Priority for a suitable candidate is to be favourable for Ahmadis; otherwise, they prefer a non-religious candidate. In Brampton mayoral elections of 2018, Ahmadis did not support Patrick Brown, the incumbent mayor, for him being close to Pakistani immigrants. They supported Liberal Party candidate Linda Jeffery for two reasons. First, she was not much favourite to Pakistani diaspora and second, she had promised Ahmadis to try to get the parking space for their newly constructed mosque – Masjid Mubarik – in Brampton. Local hate campaigns are also a factor which urge them to establish their separate

identity as liberal Muslims by distancing themselves from Muslims facing stereotypes like violent, conservative, anti-democracy and bearers of fixed religious ideas.

As a consequence of Ahmadis belonging to a persecuted minority, it is justified to say that endorsement for secular institutions among persecuted communities is more than other Muslims. To strengthen this finding, the situation of two other Muslim persecuted communities – Ismailis and Alevis – is worth mentioning. After decades of persecution, Ismailis and Alevis have distanced themselves from religious setups and strengthened their identity as democratic communities not only in the host countries but also in countries of their origin. Particularly Ismailis, like Ahmadis, have influenced certain lobbying groups in the West with their portrayal of liberal interpretation of Islam. In Canada, they are in good books of the state system.

7.1 ISMAILIS

The Nazari Ismaili community commonly referred to as the Ismailis, has a long history of facing oppression, genocide, and persecution at the hands of Muslim dynasties and rulers either they were Ottoman, Safavid, Umayyad, Abbasid, Ayyubid, Seljuq, Mongol or Timurid. After a long history of persecution, in large number, they move to the West and live in security and enjoy full religious freedom (Gnosis 2015). First Ismaili arrived in Canada in 1952 from Pakistan. Like to Ahmadis, Canada has a special status for Ismailis too. In the 1970s when Uganda's Muslim president Idi Amin expelled Ismailis, Canada's then-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau promised Agha Khan that they would accept 5000 Ismailis. Canada has the largest Ismaili settlement in the West, with its population between 70,000 and 80,000. Agha Khan has also set up a museum in Toronto dedicated to Muslim culture and art. He has opened the Global Center for Pluralism in Ottawa (Dewji 2018, 81–84). Khan's views about Canada being accommodating are similar to those of the Ahmadi

caliph. He advised his followers to consider Canada as their home. Impressed by its accommodation of different persecuted communities, Agha Khan referred to Canada as a model for the world (Dewji 2018, 93). Ahmadis and Ismailis equally consider the secular setup of Canada important to them and their leaderships keep on stressing on assimilation.

7.2 ALEVIS

Resentment against Alevis, continuing since the early 20th century, was resumed after the death of Kamal Atatürk in the late 1970s when the state of Turkey accused some of the community's youngsters of carrying out anti-state activities. Apart from persecution, the state was not even ready to give them the identity of a minority (Grigoriadis 2006). In the last three decades, which can be termed as the rise of religiosity in secular Turkey of Atatürk, Alevis in search of identity became urban and secular (Shankland 2003). This helped them get a democratic identity both in their country of origin and in countries where they had immigrated. Sehiban Sahin, in her dissertation, says that massacres like the Corum pogrom of 1980, which left more than 50 Alevis dead, instilled intense cultural and religious consciousness in Alevis, and they started demanding religious neutrality of the state institutions (Sahin 2001). Unlike other Islamic sects, Alevis, who self-identify as non-traditional Sunni Muslims, are excluded from the financial support of the state (Stepan 2011, 120). Having Atatürk as their ideal, they identify themselves as secular and modern (Shankland 2003, 5). Various studies suggest that Alevis are now distinguished from other Muslims, not only in Turkey but also in Europe, because of their open acceptance of democratic values. Casanova says that the contentious debates in Europe over the potential integration of Muslim Turkey into the European Union are overshadowed by the debates on the alleged failure

to integrate second- and third-generation Muslim immigrants into European culture (Casanova 2007, 63). Of course, this notion of non-integration does not apply to Alevis.

Apart from being welcoming to secular values, there are some other similarities between Ahmadis and Alevis which have developed after their spending many decades under oppression. Like Ahmadis in Pakistan, Alevis in Turkey are reluctant to talk about their religion (Shankland 2003, 3). Both groups wish to avoid theological debate that could turn into a religious clash. They do not share details of their religion or persecution, or some of them do not disclose their religious identity until they believe that the researcher or journalist is not against them. Another similarity between the two communities is that they make themselves look different from other Muslims. They give particular shapes to their beards to look like their fellows and to distinguish them from other Muslims. Generally, Kizilbash to describe Alevis and Qadiani to refer to Ahmadis are pejoratives, but they both use these terms with a sense of pride and reaction. These self-labels seem to defy the public perception and to be an assertion of their identity. The current rise of Islamism in Turkey, like conversion of Hagia Sophia museum into the mosque, construction of a big mosque in historic Taksim square, and increase in the number of Imam Hatip Schools, might add into the miseries of Alevis and other religious minorities in Turkey and undermine its claim of being secular.

These communities conceive secularism as a state instrument contrasting state repression in the name of the majority's religion. Particularly in the case of Ahmadis and Ismailis, with the increase of the level of persecution and exclusion in the country of origin, secular Canada provided them with a sense of acceptance, belonging and protection. The growing level of persecution and an increase in their sense of protection brought a gradual increase in their support for secularism.

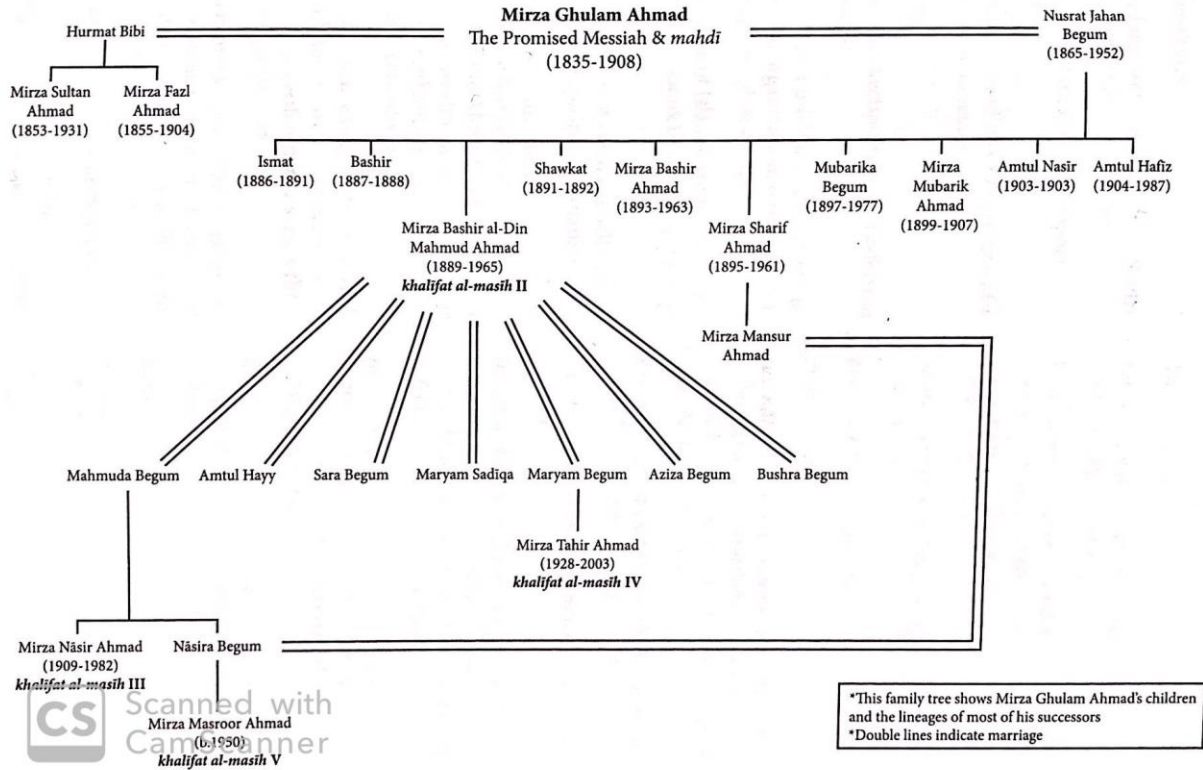
Their belonging to religious persecuted communities significantly affects their supports to religious neutrality.

With these findings, considering all Muslims as fundamentalists, antimodern, and incompatible with secularism seems misleading. In studying Muslims' attitudes towards the democratic values of the West, they must not be considered a homogeneous group. Religiosity is a multifaceted phenomenon. When studying Muslims' approaches toward secular values, factor of persecution must be kept in view. The study of the Ahmadiyya community in Pakistan and Canada and comparative studies of Alevis and Ismailis, supported by academic scholarship, confirm my hypothesis that certain Muslim immigrant groups, based on their belonging to persecuted communities in the countries of their origin, support secular values in their countries of origin and their host countries. Alongside these findings, several other questions have relevance about Muslim persecuted communities in the context of their endorsement of secular values and they remain unanswered: Do level and duration of persecution and ethnic background of these communities also affect their level of endorsement of secular values? Is being peaceful a condition for these heterodox communities' endorsement of secularism? Does the level of accommodation also affect the level of the endorsement? Does their endorsement of secular values as community affect their individual religiosity? What does it mean to be an orthodox Muslim investigating the approaches of heterodox Muslim communities toward secular values?

8. Appendices

Appendix 1

Family tree of Ghulam Ahmad to show four out of five caliphs from his family (Khan 2015, 183).



Appendix 2

Two clippings of Ahmadiyya daily Al-Fazal. It carries statement of second Ahmadiyya caliph dated April 10, 1944. The text highlighted with red pen, he says Pakistan cannot come into existence. Ahmadis do not need to endorse or negate the idea of formation of Pakistan, he adds.

روزنامہ افضل قادیان ۱۶ جمادی الثانی ۱۳۶۳ھ

ملفوظات حضرت امیر المؤمنین خلیفۃ المسیح الثانی ایدہ اللہ تعالیٰ

پاکستان اور مسلم لیگ

فرمودہ ۱۰ اپریل ۱۹۴۴ء بعد نماز مغرب

(مرتبہ مولوی محمد یعقوب صاحب مولوی فاضل)

ایک صاحب نے پاکستان کے متعلق سوال کیا۔ کہ اس بارہ میں حضور کا کیا خیال ہے؟ حضور نے فرمایا۔ میں اصولی طور پر اس کا قائل نہیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں۔ خدا تعالیٰ نے حضرت مسیح موعود علیہ الصلوٰۃ والسلام کو ہندوستان میں اسی لئے پیدا کیا ہے۔ تاکہ سارا ہندوستان اسلام کے جھنڈے کے نیچے آجائے۔ اور وہ احمدیت کی ترقی کے لئے ایک عظیم الشان بنیاد کا کام دے۔ حضرت مسیح موعود علیہ الصلوٰۃ والسلام کا ایک نام ہے۔ "آریوں کا بادشاہ" (تذکرہ صفحہ ۸۸) اگر ہم آریوں کو الگ کر دیں اور مسلمانوں کو الگ۔ تو حضرت مسیح موعود علیہ الصلوٰۃ والسلام کا یہ الہام کس طرح پورا ہو سکتا ہے؟ پس ضروری ہے۔ کہ ہندوستان کے سب لوگ متحد رہیں۔ اگر ہندوستان نے الگ الگ ٹکڑوں میں تقسیم ہو جانا تھا۔ تو حضرت مسیح موعود علیہ الصلوٰۃ والسلام پاکستان کے بادشاہ کہلاتے۔ آریوں کے بادشاہ نہ کہلاتے۔ پس بے شک مسلمان زور لگاتے رہیں۔ پس مادی قسم کا پاکستان وہ چاہتے ہیں۔ وہ

کبھی نہیں بن سکتا۔ ان اللہ تعالیٰ ایک ایسا ہندوستان ان کو ضرور دے گا جس میں اکثریت مسلمانوں کی ہوگی۔ اور اسی جیسے ہم کو شاں ہیں۔ ہمارے نزدیک اللہ تعالیٰ نے ملک کا اتحاد بلا وجہ نہیں کیا۔ اس میں ضرور کوئی بہت بڑی حکمت ہے۔ البتہ ہم پاکستان کی مخالفت بھی نہیں کرتے۔ کیونکہ ہندو قوم اتنی تشدد پسند ہو گئی ہے۔ کہ اس کے لئے کوئی نہ کوئی ہتھوڑا ضرور چاہیے۔ پس ان کے دماغوں کو درست کرنے کیلئے پاکستان کا ہونا ضروری ہے۔ ورنہ ذاتی طور پر ہمیں نہ پاکستان کی تائید کرنے کی ضرورت ہے نہ اس کی مخالفت کرنے کی ضرورت ہے۔ کہتے ہیں۔ کسی بزرگ سے کوئی بات پوچھی گئی۔ تو انہوں نے جواب دیا۔

نہ انکار سے کہتم نہ ایسکار سے کہتم
یہی پاکستان کا حال ہے۔ ہم نہ اس کا انکار کرتے ہیں۔ نہ اس کی مادی شکل کیلئے کوئی کام کرتے ہیں۔ بلکہ ہم ایک معنوی پاکستان کے لئے کوشش کرتے ہیں۔ جس کا نام ہندوستان مسلمان ہو جائے گا اور آہندہ ہندوستان ہی

پاکستان کھلائے گا۔ اس طرح ہم ہندوؤں اور مسلمانوں کی موجودہ سیاسی الجھن کو دور کر دیں گے۔ اور دونوں کی باتوں کو پورا کر دیں گے۔ ہندوؤں سے کہیں گے۔ لو اکھنڈ ہندوستان اور مسلمانوں سے کہیں گے کہ لو پاکستان۔ مگر چند صوبوں کا نہیں بلکہ سارے ہندوستان کا۔

پاکستان کی طرح ہمارا رویہ اردو کے تعلق بھی ہے۔ اردو کی بڑی مخالفت کی جاتی ہے۔ مگر ہمیں اس کا کوئی فکر نہیں۔ وہ بے فک زور لگاتے رہیں۔ اردو کو کبھی مٹا نہیں سکتے۔ کیونکہ اس زمانہ میں کلام الہی کثرت سے اس میں نازل ہوا ہے

یاد رکھنا چاہئے۔ کہ جب سے ہندوستان کی تاریخ کا آغاز ہوا ہے یہ کبھی نہیں ہوا۔ کہ یہ سارا ملک ایک جھنڈے کے نیچے آیا ہو۔ مگر اب اس کے ٹکڑے ٹکڑے کرنے میں ناکامی ہو رہی ہے۔ اس کی کیا وجہ ہے اس کی بھی وجہ ہے۔ کہ اللہ تعالیٰ نے آریوں کا بادشاہ بھیج دیا ہے۔ اور اللہ تعالیٰ جو پہلے ہندوستان کا اتحاد پسند نہ کرتا تھا اب سارے ہندوستان کو ایک جھنڈے کے نیچے لانا چاہتا ہے۔

فرمایا۔ مثلاً کی یہ بات بڑی صحیح اور معقول ہے۔ کہ کوئی حکومت دنیا میں عالمگیر نہیں ہو سکتی جب تک اس کی بنیاد وسیع نہ ہو۔ وہ کہتا ہے۔ برطانوی چارکر وٹھیں یہ چارکر وٹھیں ساری دنیا پر کس حکومت کر سکتے ہیں۔ اس کے مقابلہ میں جسٹس ۹ کروٹھیں۔ پس جرمین بنیاد پر رکھی ہوئی

حکومت انگریزوں سے تین گنا زیادہ پھیل سکتی ہے۔ تو دنیا کی فتح کے لئے یہ ضروری ہوتا ہے۔ کہ فاتح قوم ایسے ملک سے تعلق رکھتی ہو جس کی بڑی بھاری آبادی ہو اور احمدیت چونکہ سب جگہ پھیلے گی۔ اور تمام دنیا پر احمدیت کا غلبہ ہوگا۔ اس لئے احمدیت کی تعلیم کا مرکز اللہ تعالیٰ نے ہندوستان بنا دیا۔

اسی لئے حضرت مسیح موعود علیہ الصلوٰۃ والسلام نے تحریر فرمایا ہے۔ کہ جماعت کا مرکز ہمیشہ قادیان رہے گا۔ آخر یہ تو خیالی نہیں کیا جاسکتا۔ کہ اسلام اور احمدیت کے مسائل کی باریجیاں انگلستان کے رہنے والے زیادہ سمجھیں گے۔ یا امریکہ کے رہنے والے زیادہ سمجھیں گے۔ یا چین اور جاپان کے رہنے والے زیادہ سمجھیں گے۔ بہر حال وہ لوگ۔

ان مسائل کو سمجھنے کے لئے فتادیان کی طرف ہی رجوع کریں گے۔ پس قادیان چونکہ تمام دنیا کا مرجع بننے والا ہے۔ اس لئے ضروری ہے۔ کہ اس کا ماحول بھی نہایت وسیع ہو۔ تا زیادہ سے زیادہ استفادہ مل سکیں۔ اگر چھوٹا ماحول ہوگا۔ تو وسعت کم ہوگی۔ اور اگر بڑا ماحول ہوگا۔ تو وسعت زیادہ ہوگی۔

اگر سارا ہندوستان احمدی ہو جائے۔ اگر سارے ہندوستان کا اتحاد ہو جائے۔ اگر سارا ہندوستان میں تمدن کا اتحاد ہو جائے۔ اگر سارا ہندوستان میں تعلیم کا اتحاد ہو جائے۔ اگر سارا ہندوستان میں تربیت کا اتحاد ہو جائے۔ تو یہ لازمی بات ہے۔ کہ ہندوستان کے رہنے والے احمدیت کو ان لوگوں سے بہت زیادہ اور بہت جلد

APPENDIX 3

The Objectives Resolution was unanimously passed by Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly on 12 March, 1949. It was inserted into the Pakistan's Constitution of 1973 by a Presidential Order in 1985. The text of the Objectives Resolution is reproduced below.

Objectives Resolution 1949

Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Allah Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan, through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;

This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a Constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan;

Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;

Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed;

Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities to _____¹ profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures;

Wherein the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed;

Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;

Wherein adequate provisions shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;

Wherein the independence of the Judiciary shall be fully secured;

Wherein the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honored place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity.

¹ The 1949 text had the word "freely" at this point which was omitted from the 1985 text.

APPENDIX 4

Ordinance no. XX of 1984

April 26, 1984

In the Pakistan Penal Code (Act XLV of 1860), in Chapter XV, after section 298A, the following new sections shall be added, namely:

“298B. Misuse of epithets, descriptions and titles, etc., reserved for certain holy personages or places.

(1) Any person of the Qadiani group or the Lahori group (who call themselves ‘Ahmadis’ or by any other name) who by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation;

(a) refers to, or addresses, any person, other than a Caliph or companion of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), as ‘Ameerul Mumineen’, ‘Khalifatul-Mumineen’, ‘Khalifa-tul-Muslimeen’, ‘Sahaabi’ or ‘Razi Allah Anho’

(b) refers to, or addresses, any person, other than a wife of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) as ‘Ummul-Mumineen’

(c) refers to, or addresses, any person, other than a member of the family (Ahle-bait) of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), as ‘Ahle-bait’; or

(d) refers to, or names, or calls, his place of worship as ‘Masjid’;

shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine.

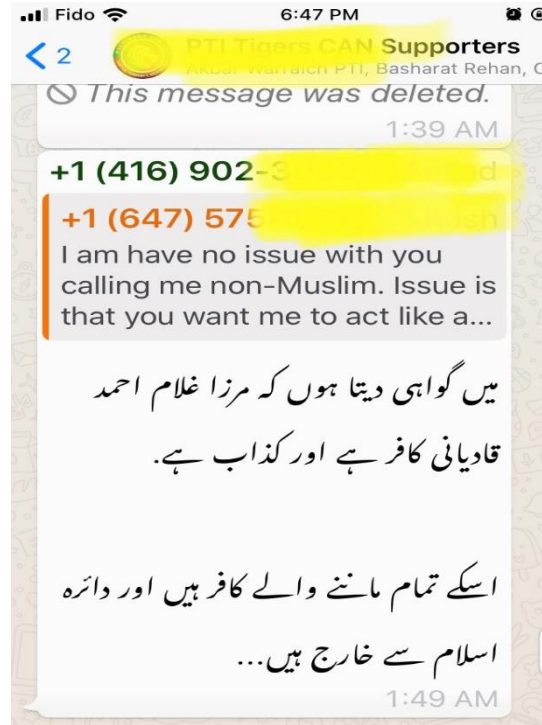
(2) Any person of the Qadiani group or Lahori group (who call themselves Ahmadis or by any other name) who by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation, refers to the mode or form of call to prayers followed by his faith as ‘Azan’ or recites Azan as used by the Muslims, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

(3) **298C.** Person of Qadiani group etc., calling himself a Muslim or preaching or propagating his faith.

Any person of the Qadiani group or the Lahori group (who call themselves ‘Ahmadis’ or by any other name), who, directly or indirectly, poses himself as Muslim, or calls, or refers to, his faith as Islam, or preaches or propagates his faith, or invites others to accept his faith, by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representations, or in any manner whatsoever outrages the religious feelings of Muslims, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine.”

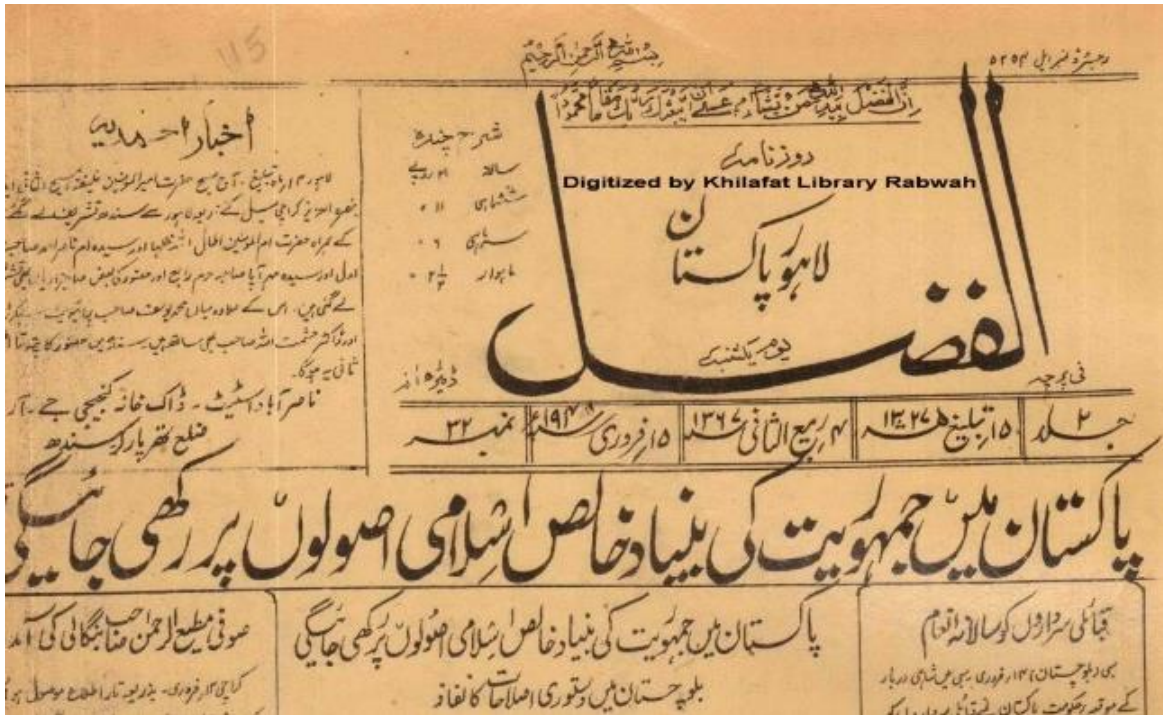
APPENDIX 5

Screen shot of an anti-Ahmadi discussion taking place at a WhatsApp group in June 2019 having more than 170 members from Pakistani diaspora at GTA. Some Ahmadis are also members of this group. It says, “I witness that Mirza Ghulam Ahmed Qadiani is a liar and infidel. His follower are also infidels and non-Muslims.”



APPENDIX 6

Front page of Ahmadiyya daily Al-Fazal February 15, 1948



APPENDIX 7

Front page of Ahmadiyya daily *Al-Fazal* January 10, 1948



APPENDIX 8

Picture of daily The Civil & Military Gazette, Lahore, October 20, 1950. Published in Jamaat-e-Ahmadiyya's Majallah Majlis-e-Ansarullah, Canada, Jan-June 2006.

THE CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE
FRIDAY OCTOBER 20 1950

ZAFRULLA REPENTS REFERENCE TO
"MOHAMMAD & MOUNTAIN" STORY

UN Assistant Secretary-General apologises

NEW YORK, Oct. 19 (APP).—On September 24, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan, witnessed a television programme called "The People's Platform", the speakers being Mr. Ely Culbertson, the noted bridge player, and Mr. Benjamin Cohen, Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations.

Mr. Culbertson, talking of the U.N. success, said that in certain respects the U.N. had travelled to his point of view and not he to the U.N.

To this Mr. Cohen replied: "Like Mohammed going to the mountain when the mountain would not come to him."

Pakistan's Foreign Minister, in a letter to the Secretary-General of the U.N., protested against this statement and labelled it as calumnious and deeply offensive to Muslim sentiment, especially when it came from a high, responsible and enlightened dignitary of the greatest international organization, claiming to represent the conscience of the civilized world.

The letter further pointed out that there was not the slightest foundation for the alleged incident on which the saying—which has almost become a proverb in the West—has been based.

Sir Mohammad made it clear in his letter that Islam taught respect and reverence of all the prophets, and the offence against Muslim sentiment by the utterance of Mr. Cohen, though committed inadvertently, was grievous.

Mr. Cohen, in his reply, assured the Foreign Minister that, as already anticipated by him, (Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan), it was not his intention to cause offence to Muslims whose lofty religious spirit he fully honoured and respected.

Mr. Cohen also profusely apologised and thanked the Foreign Minister for dispelling his ignorance and offered to correct the unfortunate effect of his quotation in the next television programme.

(انبارسول ایڈیٹری گزٹ لاکھنؤ)


مجلس انصار اللہ کینیڈا

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APPENDIX 9

Front page of monthly Ahmadiyya Gazette Canada, June 1984

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MINARAT UL-MASHI OADIAN

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
تَجَرُّدًا وَصِدْقًا عَلَى رَسُولِ الْكَرِيمِ

**AHMADIYYA
GAZETTE** Canada

EDITOR: M.D. SHAMS

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**NEW PAKISTANI ORDINANCE PROTESTED
STATEMENT OF THE AHMADI MUSLIM COMMUNITY, USA
PROTESTING DRASTIC HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BY GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN**

The Martial Law decree described below is not only:

- ▶ A violation of fundamental human rights,
- ▶ a denial to Ahmadiyya Muslim Community to profess and practice its faith and coercing its members to disown their beliefs and lie about their faith under threat of imprisonment and fine,
- ▶ an infringement of clear provisions in the Constitution of Pakistan agreed to and promulgated by the elected representatives of the country in 1973,
- ▶ but also against the policy laid down by the Founder of the State, Qaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in his address to the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947. This is reproduced below:

"You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State. As you know, history shows that in England conditions some time ago were very much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some states in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are all citizens and equal citizens of one State."

The suicidal course in which Pakistan has embarked poses a threat to its stability and is a blot on the true Islamic teachings of tolerance and humanity and the fair name of Pakistan

The Government of Pakistan has recently issued laws which are a flagrant and grievous violation of the basic human rights of Ahmadi Muslims in the country. There are about ten million Ahmadi Muslims worldwide with an estimated four millions in Pakistan. The international center is located at Rabwah in Pakistan. The Ahmadi Muslims faithfully adhere to and abide by the laws of the countries where they live. It is an article of faith that they live in peaceful obedience to the laws of their place of residence. The Ahmadi Muslims have in the past been subject to persecution, but have always responded with strong self-discipline. There is not a single instance anywhere in the world that the Ahmadi Muslim community has ever responded with other than obedience to the laws of the land. It is a reformist community dedicated to the mission of bringing a better understanding of the faith of Islam to the world. Their beliefs in the continuation of divine revelation and Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908) as the Promised Messiah and a reformer of the modern age are resented by the extremist elements.

Unfortunately General Zia ul Haq's military regime seems to believe that it can gain popularity among the masses by using force in matters of religion, and by supporting those fundamentalists who have been carrying on a slanderous campaign against the Ahmadi Muslims since 1950s. In 1953, the extremist anti-Ahmadiyya campaign led the masses to wide-spread persecution of the Ahmadiyya sect, many of whose members were killed, their properties looted and their homes and places of worship burnt or demolished.

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APPENDIX 10

News clipping of Calgary Herald, March 09, 1989.

Muslims disagree over death order

By Phillip Jang
(Herald writer)

Thurs., March 9, 1989

Muslims politely clashed Wednesday over whether Islamic doctrine condones the killing of someone who insults their religion.

Leaders of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, one of more than 70 Muslim sects, told a public forum that it's wrong to call for the killing of Salman Rushdie, author of *The Satanic Verses*.


The movement, which sponsored the forum at Alberta Vocational Centre, believes violence and killing are not condoned in Islamic teachings, said Naseem Mahdi.

"This is a religion which means peace," said Mahdi, the Ahmadiyya's leader in Canada.

Muslims who say killing is acceptable have misinterpreted the Koran, Islam's holy book, he said.

Rushdie insulted Muslims by using his pen and "it's with the pen that we have to reply," said Mubarak Ahmad Nazir, the movement's missionary in Calgary.

Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's order that Rushdie be killed for insulting Muslims "has defiled Islam," he said.



MAHDI: Koran misinterpreted

But several members of the audience, who identified themselves as Muslims, disagreed with Mahdi and Nazir.

"Fighting with the pen is useless," said Lubna Saleem. A death sentence is acceptable for someone who insults Islam, she said. Outsiders "don't understand Islam. They don't have the same emotions and the same feelings."

Rushdie should withdraw his words and his publishers should withdraw the book. If that doesn't happen, "then he has to be killed," she said.

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