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# Promises kept and broken — III

*In my opinion the achievements of a civilization can be evaluated with the help of three criteria: how it treats women, how it treats minorities and how it treats the poor. Pakistan has achieved nothing in this regard*

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In this concluding article in the series on the Objectives Resolution I shall examine the extent to which promises made to the Muslims and minorities of Pakistan have been kept and broken. Let me underscore with great emphasis that I consider the Objectives Resolution the correct and authentic representation of the idea of Pakistan. The 11 August 1947 speech can be considered a variant of the same or a deviation and aberration which Jinnah himself took care of by having it removed from public discussion. He reverted to the modernist understanding of the relationship between Islam and Pakistan in his later pronouncements on this subject.

The pledge given to Pakistani Muslims to make Pakistan a Muslim state has been kept because the republic is named as the Islamic republic; the president is to be a Muslim; and all laws are to be brought into conformity with Quran and Sunna. On the interpretation of these pledges there is of course a difference of opinion between the modernists and the Islamists.

In the Objectives resolution Liaquat Ali Khan in response to a clarification demanded from the Hindu members of the Constituent Assembly said that a non-Muslim can be the prime minister of Pakistan. The National Assembly of Pakistan in 1973 adopted a constitution requiring both the president and prime minister to be Muslims. They were to take an oath confirming the doctrine of Khatam-e-Nabuwat (finality of the prophet hood of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

**That not only disqualified conventional non-Muslims from holding that office but also Ahmadis. In 1974 the Ahmadis were declared non-Muslims by the elected members of the Pakistan National Assembly in which all the parties represented in the National Assembly voted for it.**

**Before they arrived at that conclusion the Ahmadi leader Mirza Nasir Ahmad reportedly confirmed when interrogated in Parliament that his community considered Muslims who did not accept Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as a prophet outside their idea of Islam.**

**Considering that the support and vote of the Ahmadis were sought to win the 1945-46 election, Sir Zafarulla was chosen to present the Muslim League claim to territory before the Punjab Boundary Commission; was made foreign minister and took part in the debate on the Objectives Resolution, while Nobel Prize winner Dr Abdus Salam was a prominent member of the science and nuclear policy of Pakistan Parliament and the Apex Court need to discuss if the declaration of Ahmadis as non-Muslims in 1974 is consistent with the Objectives Resolution**.

*One way to bring the situation under control is to bring all mosques under state control. If Pakistan as an Islamic republic how come mosques function independently from the state? Iran and Saudi Arabia exercise strict control of mosques*

**The background to this problem is well-known. in the late 19th century in the Punjab Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed he was a prophet who received revelation, albeit without a new Sharia. That was unacceptable to the Sunnis and even Shias. After Pakistan came into being it was unavoidable and inevitable that if the constitution were to be based on Quran and Sunna the sectarian underpinnings of interpreting the sacred sources would need to be made explicit.**

**The Munir Report (page 196-197) noted that while the Ahrar and Jamaat-e-Islami spearheaded the anti-Ahmadi agitation of 1953 demanding that since the Ahmadis did not believe in Khatam-e-Nabuwat (finality of the Prophethood of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) they should not hold key posts in Pakistan which was created for Muslims.**

**The Report also noted that the Barelvi Ulema and pirs, Deobandis, Ahle Hadith and Shia clerics too considered Mirza’s claims as heretical. It was also established that the Muslim League Government in Punjab led by Mumtaz Daultana was involved in that movement.**

**Equally, it mentioned that Ahmadi publications spoke of their conviction that the British would transfer power in Pakistan to them; that Ahmadi officers were abusing their official position to convert non-Ahmadis to their faith; and that Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad instructed his followers to use Balochistan as the base for spreading their faith. Such assertive and provocative behaviour provided their opponents an opportunity to demand them being declared non-Muslims.**

**In 1953 the central government under Khawaja Nazimuddin crushed the anti-Ahmadi movement with the help of the Pakistan Army. Ahmadi presence in the officer class was quite substantial. Since then the balance of power has shifted into the hands of Sunnis.**

It is imperative that all mosques — Sunni, Shia or any other kind are brought directly under the jurisdiction of the state; the clerics should become paid state functionaries; their function should be to lead prayers according to their respective rites and rituals, but they should be barred from making political statements. The Friday Khutba (address to the worshippers) should be issued by the ministry of religious affairs. That will greatly help in making clear what is the policy of the state on the rights of Muslims and minorities

**However, even if now Ahmadis have been placed among religious minorities they as well as Christians, Hindus and even Shias have been facing threats and attacks which can only be described as a breach of the promises of security and freedom given to them in the Objectives Resolution. The attacks on them are carried out by Muslim zealots belonging to so-called non-state actors.**

One way to bring the situation under control is to bring all mosques under state control. If Pakistan as an Islamic republic how come mosques function independently of the state? Iran and Saudi Arabia exercise strict control of mosques, so does secular Turkey though secularism is now under threat in that country.

It is imperative that all mosques — Sunni, Shia or any other kind are brought directly under the jurisdiction of the state; the clerics should become paid state functionaries; their function should be to lead prayers according to their respective rites and rituals, but they should be barred from making political statements. The Friday khutba (address to the worshippers) should be issued by the ministry of religious affairs. That will greatly help in making clear what is the policy of the state on the rights of Muslims and minorities.

For years I have battled with myself to convince me that Pakistan can be a secular state with equal rights for all Pakistanis. I must now climb down from Platonic idealism and instead seek help in Aristotelian realism. I don’t think Pakistan can for the foreseeable future be a secular state. However, in the light of the Objectives Resolution we can demand that progressive and tolerant policies are adopted on the rights of Muslims and minorities.

In my opinion the achievements of a civilisation can be evaluated with the help of three criteria: how it treats women, how it treats minorities and it treats the poor. There is nothing to be proud of regarding the treatment of minorities and women. Mian Iftikharuddin deplore that the Objectives Resolution had made no concrete commitments to eliminating poverty. He was right. That omission has meant that the propertied classes have been the real beneficiaries of the creation of Pakistan.

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# The degeneration of political discourse

23 HOURS AGO BY [EDITORIAL](https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/author/editorial/)

* **Bringing religion into politics**

The PML-N decided to appease the preachers of hate by making Zahid Hamid a fall guy. **As if this was not enough Captain (r) Safdar launched a virulent tirade against the already persecuted Ahmadi community in the National Assembly**. Party leaders vied with one another in declaring Ahmadis non-Muslim. The PML-N government in Punjab and at the center allowed the Tehik-e-Labbaik (TLYR) speakers at Faizabad sit-in to continue their vitriolic harangues against the community day after day.

The PTI has also decided to make use of religion to advance its politics. The result is that as we approach the elections, the two parties have introduced a non-issue into the political discourse. Instead of seeking votes on the basis of their social and economic programme and performance, each one is trying to underline its religious credentials.

Recounting PTIs services at the Difa-i-Pakistan rally in Peshawar on Sunday, KP CM Pervez Khattak said he had made a chapter relating to the finality of prophet hood compulsory in text books. Also recitation and translation of the Holy Quran till grade 12. Both measures he said were aimed at producing good Muslims. What is more his government had provided solar system to mosques and fixed honorarium for prominent prayer leaders. He criticised liberal forces for interfering in religious matters. PTI’s ally Samiul Haq maintained that Jihad was compulsory for every Muslim in the prevailing situation, adding that the DPC was formed to counter Christian and Jewish lobbies.

**The PML-N and PTI candidates fighting for a Chakwal provincial seat PP-20 have reduced the campaign to who is more opposed to the Ahmadis. The highest bidder so far is PML-N’s candidate who called for expelling the Ahmadis from Pakistan. The PTI candidate on the other hand asked the voters to decide whether they stand with those who changed the Khatm-i-Nabuwat law or with the lovers of the Prophet (PBUH).**

The Punjab government meanwhile convened a gathering of spiritual leaders where both Shahbaz Sharif and Rana Sanaullah reiterated their belief in the finality of Prophet hood. And still we wonder why the US has placed Pakistan on watch list for violations of religious freedom.

https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/01/09/the-degeneration-of-political-discourse/

[**Political parties playing the religion card to woo voters in Chakwal**](https://www.dawn.com/news/1381561/political-parties-playing-the-religion-card-to-woo-voters-in-chakwal)

[**Nabeel Anwar Dhakku**](https://www.dawn.com/authors/763/nabeel-anwar-dhakku)

January 08, 2018

CHAKWAL: Instead of any future manifesto for development or reforms, PML-N and Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI) politicians involved in Chakwal’s upcoming by-election appear to be relying on the religion card to woo voters.

The PP-20 by-election is scheduled to be held on Jan 9.

The key PML-N supporter in the district is the Tehreek Khuddam Ahl-i-Sunnat Waljamaat (TKASW), founded by the late Maulana Qazi Mazhar Hussain. The TKASW is the main representative of the Deobandi sect in Chakwal, and is currently led by Qazi Zahoorul Hussain Azhar, the founder’s son.

The hardliner organisation regularly holds religious gatherings in various parts of the district, to which PML-N leaders are invited as chief guests. PML-N Chairman Raja Zafarul Haq also frequents Madni Mosque, the headquarters of the organisation located in the heart of the city.

With the PML-N under criticism from Barelvi leaders over the controversial amendment to the Election Bill, the TKASW has decided to back the ruling party’s candidate, as it has done for years, but at a price.

The organisation has decided to back PML-N candidate Chaudhry Sultan Haider Ali Khan, who arrived at Madni Mosque a few days ago with MNA Tahir Iqbal, MPA Zulfiqar Ali Khan and others, and was presented a written statement by the TKASW that he was asked to read out.

**By reading the statement, he assured the audience: “By the grace of Allah I am a Muslim belonging to the Sunni sect. I admit Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as the last prophet. I declare Mirza Ghulam Ahmed Qadiani and his followers as non-Muslim. Furthermore, I condemn the recent amendment regarding Khatm-i-Nabuwat, although I think it was not done intentionally.”**

Mr Khan vowed that he would consider it is his obligation and honour to quit the government if it dared to introduce any legislation against Islam or against the finality of the Prophet and the sanctity of his companions.

After reading the statement, the 32-year-old aspirant for the provincial assembly seat went a step ahead to appease the leaders and workers of the TKASW.

**“As my brother Zulfiqar Ali Khan highlighted that Ahmadis are currently holding key posts, I feel proud that our party’s Capt (retired) Safdar sahib talked about this issue on the floor of the National Assembly for the first time.”**

He said if Allah gave him an opportunity to reach the assembly, he would also raise this issue.

**“The need of the hour is to remove Qadianis from public posts; rather they should be banished from the country,” Mr Khan added**, as he sought guidance from the TKASW chief.

**Earlier, MPA Zulifqar Ali Khan also called to remove Ahmadis from public posts. Leaders and workers of the TKASW hailed their speeches.**

Unfortunately, it is not just the PML-N that is playing on religious sentiments.

The PTI is also using religion as a key weapon to woo voters. In every corner meeting, party leaders say the PML-N intentionally introduced the controversial amendment.

“The voters have to decide whether they stand with those who changed the Khatm-i-Nabuwat law or with the lovers of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH),” said PTI’s candidate Raja Tariq Mehmood Afzal at a recent corner meeting in the Chak Umra village.

“Yes, religion is being used as a card,” a PTI leader admitted.

The PTI has also managed to win the support of Shia voters, as the PPP withdrew its candidate in its favour. The Shia community has been voting for the PPP or for Sardar Ghulam Abbas, the former district nazim, who is now a key leader of the PML-N.

**Published in Dawn, January 8th, 2018**

**Qadianis are the open enemy of Islam and Pakistan, Tahir Umer Shah**

**Will continue to do safeguard of the honor of the Prophet, and will continue to do the constitutional and accountability according to the law of Qadianiat at every place**

Mandi Shah Jewna (Representative Khabrain ) Peer Syed Tahir Umer Shah Sialvi said in his statement that the residents of Pakistan for the safeguard of khatm e Nabuat and the Honor of the Prophet, and will do the accountability of the Qadainis according to the law and constitution. Qadainis are the open enemy to Islam and Pakistan. Qadianis according to the Holy Quran, Sunnah, and the consent of the Ummah and the constitution of 1973 are excluded from the circle of Islam. That is the reason why the one considering the Qadianis as Muslims are rebellion to Islam and the constitution. The one responsible for amendment in the Khatm e Nabuat Oath-Declaration should be revealed. The leaders are playing with the sentiments of the Muslims; the belief of khatm e Nabuat is the base of faith. Qadianiat is the self-planted plant of the British. The support of the government for the Qadianis is unbearable. The truthful persons will continue to persuade the deniers of khatm e Nabuat. On the order of Sajjada Nasheen Sial Shareef Khuaja Hamid Uddin Sialvi will come to Lahore with Clerics, Mashaiqs and followers. The Code of conduct prepared by Sajjada Nasheen Sial Shareef Khuaja Hamid Uddin Sialvi, we will stand with him. We are ever ready for khatm e Nabuat and the honor of the Prophet.

**Daily Khabrain, Lahore, 8th January, 2017**

**Worldwide Khatm e Nabuwat Movement urged government to make Qadianis abide by the constitution and take notice of their anti-country activities.**

**With a support of Muslim community, we will hand over defeat to America and other enemies at every forum to protect Bait Ul Muqaddas: Scholars**

**Meeting was held to review the preparations for 10th March conference. To make advertising campaign more effective, it was decided to publish flyers.**

Lahore (Correspondent) President of JUI district Lahore, Maulana MohibIlahi presided over the meeting of scholars and workers of Khatm e Nabuwat at Dar UlAloomMadnia, Rasool Park Multan Road Lahore. Aziz Ur Rehman Sani said in his address that protection of Khatm e Nabuwat is a primary responsibility of every Muslim. He urged government to fulfill its constitutional and religious duty by making everyone abide by Qadianiat act. He further urged to fail all internal and external conspiracies against the faith of Khatm e Nabuwat. Various committees were formed to review the preparations of upcoming conference. He asked government to forget its plan to amend the law of blasphemy.

**(Daily Ausaf. Lahore, Monday, 8th January, 2018)**

**We would continue to play our role for peace and harmony among different sects. Ulema Convention; Trump insulted our sacrifices: Shehbaz Sharif**

**Politicians, judges and generals ought to decide if they wish to live with honour or prefer disgrace; or else they would continue to face sarcasm: Chief Minister**

**Those who do not believe in Khatme Nabuwat do not belong in Islam: Rana Sanaullah. We would make our beloved nation a country of peace and tranquility: Ulemas**

Lahore (Special Correspondent): Under the supervision of the Chief Minister of Punjab Shehbaz Sharif, an Ulemas convention was held at the parliament house. Intellectual and religious bodies of the country partook in the convention. The controversial situation in Pakistan demands that Ulemas and the religious elders and spiritual bodies ought to show nationwide solidarity and play their role for peace and harmony among different sects. We assure you that we are well versed in tactics to protect and guard the foundations [of Islam] and this nation. We will stand united with people of this country like a strong wall in time of need. The belief in the finality of the Prophetsaw is a part of our faith and the faith of 200,000,000 people of Pakistan. The current parliament and government is bent on protecting and safeguarding the aforementioned tenet. The country is passing through a crucial time. We intend to make it stronger and provide a safe haven and a serene abode. Shehbaz Sharif added that Ulemas had played a vital role to remove sectarianism and discomfort among the populace. Ulemas still need to play important part in creating a calm environment and remove restlessness. President Trump has insulted our sacrifices which are upsetting. Politicians, judges and generals ought to decide if they wish to live with honour or prefer disgrace. Only Ulemas can eradicate the hatred and disorder created as a result of sectarianism. National unity is at danger owing to numerous conspiracies. Foreign powers are behind these ploys. Sarcastic remarks from the American President are a failed attempt to put a price on our sacrifices. Those who attempt to do so ought to be aware that we would stop all their conspiracies. If we would not stand up to change the destiny of our country [our future generations] would always hold us responsible till the Day of Judgement. Rana Sanaullah has clearly stated his opinion pertaining to Qadianis and has left no room for further discussion. He has inferred that those who do not believe in the finality of the Prophet Hood saw do not belong in Islam. Qadianis are disbelievers and non-Muslims who create disorder within our religion. Riaz Najfi and Maulana Ilyas Chinioti said that government’s quick response has solved the issue pertaining to Khatme Nabuwat. Allama Syed Charaghdin, Maulana Muhammad Khan, Maulana Muhammad Amjad, Mufti Intikhab Ahmad Noori and Allama Hussain Akbar stated that Khatme Nabuwat is being used for politics. Ministers and members of the assembly, Allama Ghulam Muhammad Sialwi, Abdul Wahab Ropri, Hussain Akbar, Allama Riaz Najfi, Ragib Naeemi, Peer Mahfooz Mashhadi, Abdul Mateen Khan (Zahid al Rushdi), Peer Charag ud Din, Syed Agha Sibtain Haider, Maulana Afzal Haidari and various other Ulemas also partook in the conference. Chief Minister distributed honorary certificates to the supervisors, officers and the team who showed great performance at the completion of first phase of PKLI project and also to those responsible for the ceremony on Quaid’s Day. He also expressed remorse over the demise of children who died in an incident where the roof collapsed on them; and expressed sadness over the demise of a renowned poet Mirza Rasa Chugtai.

**Daily 92 News, Sunday, January 7th, 2018**