

SUFFOCATION OF THE FAITHFUL

THE PERSECUTION OF AHMADI
MUSLIMS IN PAKISTAN AND THE RISE
OF INTERNATIONAL EXTREMISM

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All-Party
Parliamentary Group for
the Ahmadiyya Muslim
Community

SUFFOCATION OF THE FAITHFUL

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AND THE RISE OF INTERNATIONAL EXTREMISM

**Report of the APPG Inquiry into the Persecution of Ahmadi
Muslims and other Religious Communities in Pakistan**

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ABOUT THE APPG FOR THE AHMADIYYA MUSLIM COMMUNITY

The APPG brings together parliamentarians from all parties who are keen to support the work of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

The group seeks to make all parliamentarians aware of the extensive positive work carried out by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community and to speak up on issues of persecution and extremism that Ahmadi Muslims face both abroad and in the UK. It also advocates for human rights more widely, particularly on freedom of religion, to engender greater societal peace.

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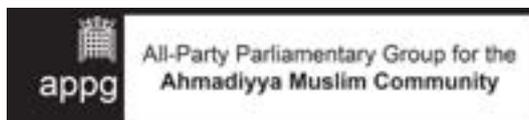
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INTRODUCTION BY THE CHAIR

As Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) for the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, I am pleased to launch the report 'Suffocation of the Faithful, The Persecution of Ahmadi Muslims in Pakistan and the Rise of International Extremism.'

This report, the first of its kind, was commissioned against the backdrop of a shocking pattern of sustained persecution against Ahmadi Muslims including killings, assaults, attacks on places of worship, hate campaigns, deprivation of jobs and denial of education.

This is severest in Pakistan and what is unique about the persecution of this peace-loving community is that the persecution is state-sponsored, with laws passed explicitly targeting Ahmadi Muslims. I cannot think of any parallel in the modern world for such persecution where a religious community has been denied – by law – the right to self-identify as Muslims. Not only that, the law then prescribes that should an Ahmadi call himself a Muslim or practice Islam then that is a criminal act punishable by imprisonment (and even death under the blasphemy laws). These are the draconian anti-Ahmadi laws that Pakistan has had on its statute books for nearly half a century.

Such is the extent of persecution that it is no exaggeration to describe the life of an Ahmadi Muslim in Pakistan as one that faces persecution from the cradle to the grave. At every step of their lives they remain ever at risk of arrest, attack or harassment. Ahmadi Muslims have been denied their fundamental right to vote, they cannot possess their religious texts and even after death their graves are targeted and bodies exhumed.

2020 was no exception and saw a further increase in hatred and violence against the community. Notably, Pakistan's State Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Mr Ali Muhammad Khan supported an anti-Ahmadiyya twitter campaign by calling for Ahmadi Muslims to be punished by death. This resulted in a tirade of abuse and hate speech against Ahmadi Muslims. Such proclamations feed a climate of hate and the most recent targets of this was Ramzan Bibi, a 55-year-old Ahmadi Muslim woman and Rohan Ahmed, an Imam of the community in Pakistan, both of whom have been arrested on false allegations of blasphemy. Over the past few years Ahmadi mosques have been demolished, homes and businesses set on fire, leaflets and hate speech has been rampant declaring Ahmadi Muslims 'liable to be killed' and Ahmadi Muslims have been subject to brutal target killings. We cannot simply let the years roll on and allow such issues to be pushed back to be dealt with at another time.

This must be of pressing concern to countries like the UK that have extensive links with Pakistan, and as a friend of Pakistan surely one cannot simply ignore such brazen violation of human rights? It is time to say that enough is enough and that is why this report calls on the UK Government, and the wider international community to take immediate action to give Ahmadi Muslims, one of the most charitable and peaceful communities I know, their basic human rights. This needs concerted, consistent effort and one must only stop when the laws that deny Ahmadi Muslims their rights are expunged from the statute books.

The report also notes how the denial of freedom of religion for Ahmadi Muslims has also led to the denial of freedom of religion of other communities such as Shia Muslims, Christians and Hindus, all of whom continue to suffer from horrific attacks and persecution by extremists.

The report notes the refugee crisis with thousands of Ahmadi Muslims stranded in camps in Thailand and Malaysia for more than seven years despite being accepted by the UNHCR as refugees in need of resettlement as they have no hope to return to Pakistan. The UK must now lead by example and play their part in resettling these refugees as part of their commitment to freedom of religion.

It was also worrying to see how anti-Ahmadi persecution has spread internationally in countries like Indonesia, Algeria, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and even in Bulgaria. Perhaps most worrying for the UK Government is that the report identified the 'overspill' of hatred against Ahmadi Muslims to the UK.

From vile attacks on social media to bullying at schools to the deprivation of employment opportunities, hatred against Ahmadi Muslims has reached the streets of Britain. This culminated in the senseless murder of Asad Shah in Glasgow in 2016 by a man enthused by what he saw in Pakistan.

The recommendations in this report make it unequivocally clear, that as an All-Party Parliamentary Group, we demand the ban of such hate preachers from the entering the UK and for hatred online and on social media to have no hiding place.

Let me thank the victims and experts who attended our five evidence sessions in Parliament. The evidence given was truly harrowing and took great courage and strength.

The All-Party Parliamentary Group for the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, will remain committed to speaking up for the equal rights of Ahmadi Muslims to have freedom of religion, to have equal opportunities and to have their religious and civil rights protected especially in Pakistan but also wherever such intolerance and brutality raises its head, including in the UK.

These are issues that must be urgently addressed by Her Majesty's Government and we pledge to continue to do all we can to ensure they are.

Your message of lasting peace: "Love for All, Hatred for None" has never been more important.

Siobhain McDonagh MP

Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group for the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Ahmadiyya Muslim Community (“the Community”) is a peace-loving religious community, that has faced persecution since its inception in 1889. Its founder, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, was unique in the Muslim World by virtue of his claim to be the Messiah and ‘Imam Mahdi’ who is prophesied in Islam and who held the status of a subordinate prophet to the Holy Prophet of Islam. Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad stated that his mission was to revive the peaceful teachings of Islam rather than bring any new law or scripture. As a result he and his community have suffered hostility and violence and the first Ahmadi Muslim was martyred in 1901. However the community has never retaliated and it has always stood firmly to its philosophy of non-violence and principle of Love for All, Hatred for None.

Persecution against the Community intensified following the partition of the Indian Sub-Continent and the formation of Pakistan. Ahmadi Muslims played a pivotal role in the creation of Pakistan and supported those who considered the new country was best established as a secular state that enshrined freedom of religion. This put them at odds with radical religio-political movements who sought to establish Pakistan in line with their vision of a so-called Shari’ah based system of law. As such, they sought to remove Ahmadi Muslims from positions of influence, and leveraged religious differences to broaden the appeal of their campaign to make Pakistan an ‘Islamic’ state.

This culminated in the events of 1974, when Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto turned the anti-Ahmadi movement into fully fledged state-sponsored persecution. He enacted a 1974 Constitutional Amendment specifically targeting Ahmadi Muslims, declaring them ‘not Muslims for purposes of law and constitution’. It was a watershed moment in Pakistan’s history.

Ten years later, the persecution intensified when Pakistan's then military ruler, General Zia-ul-Haq, enacted Pakistan’s infamous anti-Ahmadi laws and amended its blasphemy laws. These laws made it a criminal offence, punishable by three years imprisonment (or death under the blasphemy laws), for an Ahmadi to call themselves Muslim or practice Islam. Ahmadi Muslims were denied the right, by law under Pakistan Penal Code 295-B and 295-C, to offer Islamic prayers, observe the month of Ramadan, call their places of worship ‘masjids’ (mosques) or practice any aspect of Islam ‘either directly or indirectly’. The simple act of offering the Islamic greeting of peace ‘Assalamo Alaikum’ (‘Peace be on you’) is, for Ahmadi Muslims, a criminal offence punishable by imprisonment.

Under General Zia-ul-Haq’s promise to “ensure that the cancer of Qadianism (a derogatory term for the Community) is exterminated”, thousands of Ahmadi Muslims were charged under these laws, and Pakistan developed a sickening culture of anti-Ahmadi harassment, violence and murder. All of this has been justified under the guise of ‘Khatme-Nabuwwat’ (the anti-Ahmadi movement that claims to safeguard the concept of ‘Finality of Prophethood’) and legitimised by law.

As a result, life has become intolerable for Ahmadi Muslims living in Pakistan, and many have

left Pakistan and sought refuge in other countries. The headquarters of the Community was relocated to the UK in 1984 when its Fourth Caliph, Hazrat Mirza Tahir Ahmad, migrated to London. The current (and Fifth) Caliph, Hazrat Mirza Masroor Ahmad, is also based in the UK.

In Pakistan today, anti-Ahmadi Muslim sentiment is as strong and violent as ever. Most infamously, on 28 May 2010, two Ahmadi Muslim mosques in Lahore were attacked. 86 Ahmadi Muslims and a Christian were massacred. Mobs of hundreds have attacked mosques and the grave of Pakistan's first Nobel Laureate has been desecrated and the word 'Muslim' scrubbed from his tombstone. Ahmadi Muslims have been denied the right to vote in Pakistan, and their core religious texts and websites are banned.

The APPG Inquiry heard disturbing evidence that anti-Ahmadi hatred is taught to children in schools, including in their textbooks (See Annex 1.1 and 2.1) It noted that the UK and other countries provide a large amount of aid to Pakistan that is used to support its education system, but insufficient checks are conducted on the direct spending impact of the aid. UK taxpayers' money may therefore be being used to further this campaign of hatred in Pakistan.

The APPG Inquiry noted how anti-Ahmadi Muslim hatred continues to expand, unabated, across all levels of society. In a 2018 judgment of the High Court of Islamabad (See Annex 3.3,) Siddiqui J reinforced the persecution. In that judgment, Siddiqui J wrote that "*Qadianis [a derogatory term for Ahmadi Muslims] should not be allowed to conceal their identity by having similar names to Muslims*", and he described Ahmadi Muslims as having committed acts of "*deception and disloyalty*" against Pakistan, simply for identifying as Muslims. He called for them to be removed from all senior positions in the civil service and armed forces.

The APPG Inquiry also heard how this persecution has affected other religious communities in Pakistan and how there is now wider intolerance and violence within Pakistan, including against Christians, Shi'a Muslims and Hindus. The case of Asia Bibi is well-known, but there are others, explored in this report, which demonstrate the disturbing severity of the issue.

The APPG Inquiry also noted with grave concern how anti-Ahmadi Muslim hatred is now being exported across the globe. It learned of how the same pattern of anti-Ahmadi agitation, hatred and extremism has spread to other countries such as Indonesia and Algeria, that has resulted in violence and persecution of Ahmadi Muslims in those countries.

It also noted with deep concern how this has created a refugee crisis in countries like Thailand, Malaysia and Sri Lanka where more than 6,000 refugees are stranded awaiting resettlement despite being granted UNHCR refugee status and accepted as being vulnerable and at risk.

Shockingly, the Inquiry heard evidence that hatred is now being exported from Pakistan to the United Kingdom. The same organisations and preachers in Pakistan who promote anti-Ahmadi Muslim hatred, and which have their roots in the early populist movements which were relevant at the time of the formation of Pakistan (such as Majlis-e-Ahrar and Khatme Nabuwat) have been allowed into the United Kingdom to preach. In October 2017, BBC Radio 4 broadcast a documentary examining campaigns of anti-Ahmadi Muslim hatred being run in Urdu language newspapers in the UK. In schools and universities in the UK, Ahmadi Muslims regularly experience prejudice and pressure from other Muslims students. Hate preachers with a public record of anti-Ahmadi hatred have been allowed into the UK and hate-preaching organisations in Pakistan have been allowed to set up as registered charities in the UK (for further information please see Chapter 5). In one example, Khatme Nabuwat was

investigated by the Charity Commission for distributing literature through the Stockwell Green Mosque calling for the death of Ahmadi Muslims if they “refuse to convert to mainstream Islam”.

In 2010, The Independent reported that one visiting cleric delivered a sermon in Newham, London, in which he stated:

“If the anti-Qadiani laws are touched by anyone in Pakistan then the 1952 Lahore agitation against the Qadianis will be repeated in the streets once more. The streets and roads of Lahore were filled with blood in that agitation.”

Anti-Ahmadi hatred hit a flashpoint in the UK in 2016, when Asad Shah, an Ahmadi Muslim shopkeeper was stabbed to death in Glasgow simply for being an Ahmadi Muslim. His murderer, Tanveer Ahmad, had links to anti-Ahmadi preachers in Pakistan.

This cannot be allowed to continue unchecked and the APPG calls on the UK Government to take urgent and effective action to ensure that the overspill of hatred from Pakistan into the UK is stopped and that action is taken to press the Pakistan Government to tackle the root causes of that hatred in Pakistan. In this regard, the Pakistani Government needs to be held to account and must end its discriminatory anti-Ahmadi laws. The UK Government must also ensure that Ahmadi Muslim refugees are included in its quota for resettling refugees – their plight must not be ignored.

In addition to calling for the repeal the anti-Ahmadi laws in Pakistan, some of our key recommendations to the Government of Pakistan are to:

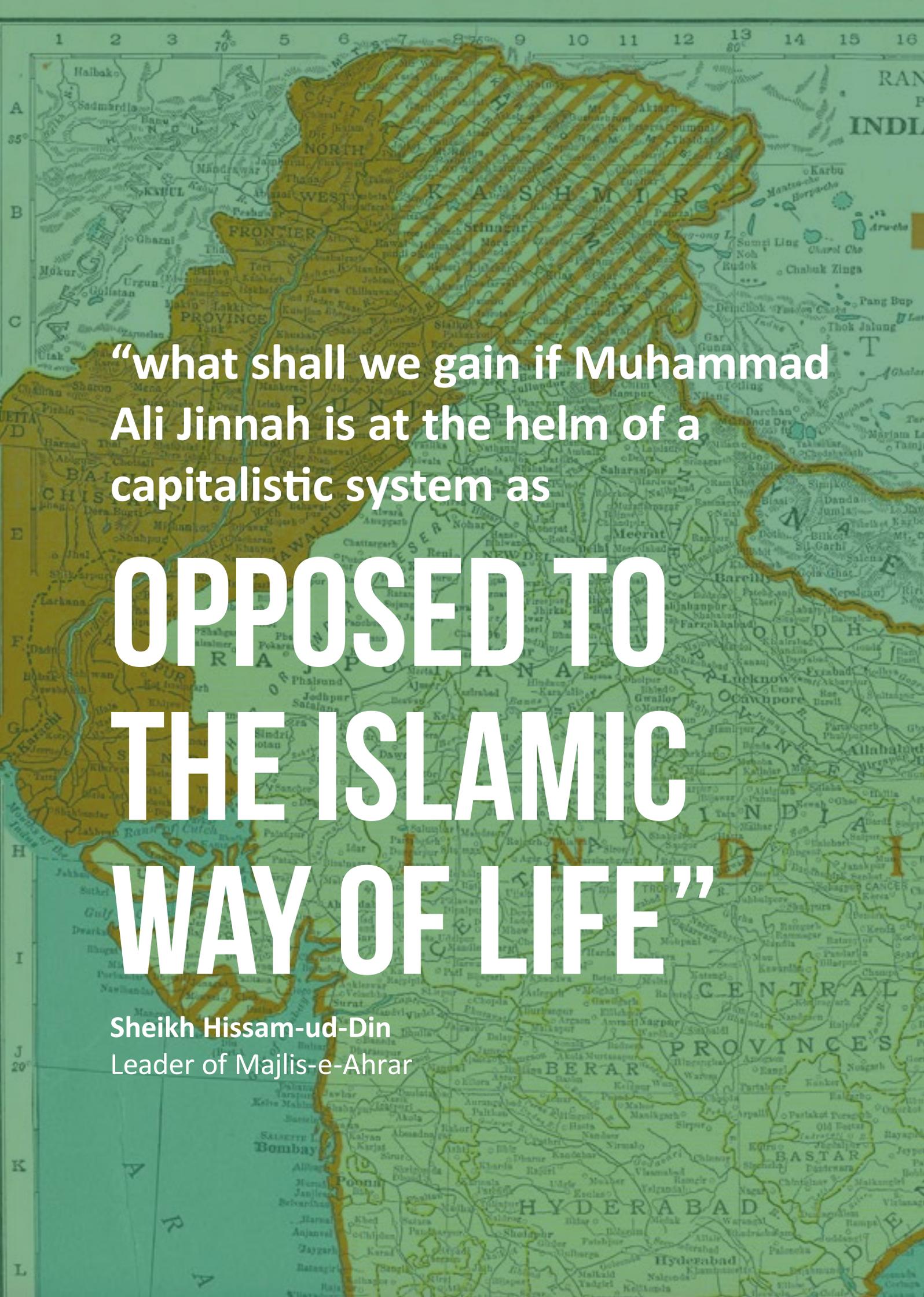
- Restore the voting rights of Ahmadi Muslims;
- Remove the publications ban on Ahmadi Muslim literature;
- Release the three Ahmadi Muslims on death row and release Ms. Ramzan Bibi booked under PPC 295-C;
- To ensure full freedom of religion for all religious communities in Pakistan.

Some of our key recommendations to Her Majesty’s Government are to:

- To press the Pakistan Government on the above issues and to repeal the anti-Ahmadi laws;
- Press the Pakistan Government to return all nationalised Ahmadiyya Muslim schools and colleges to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community (in accordance with Pakistan Government's own policy), so that UK aid is not unnecessarily subsidising these schools;
- Take action on the Ahmadi Muslim refugee crisis and include Ahmadi Muslim refugees as part of its quota for resettling UNHCR refugees;
- Ban hate speech online;
- Ban anti-Ahmadi hate preachers from entering the UK.

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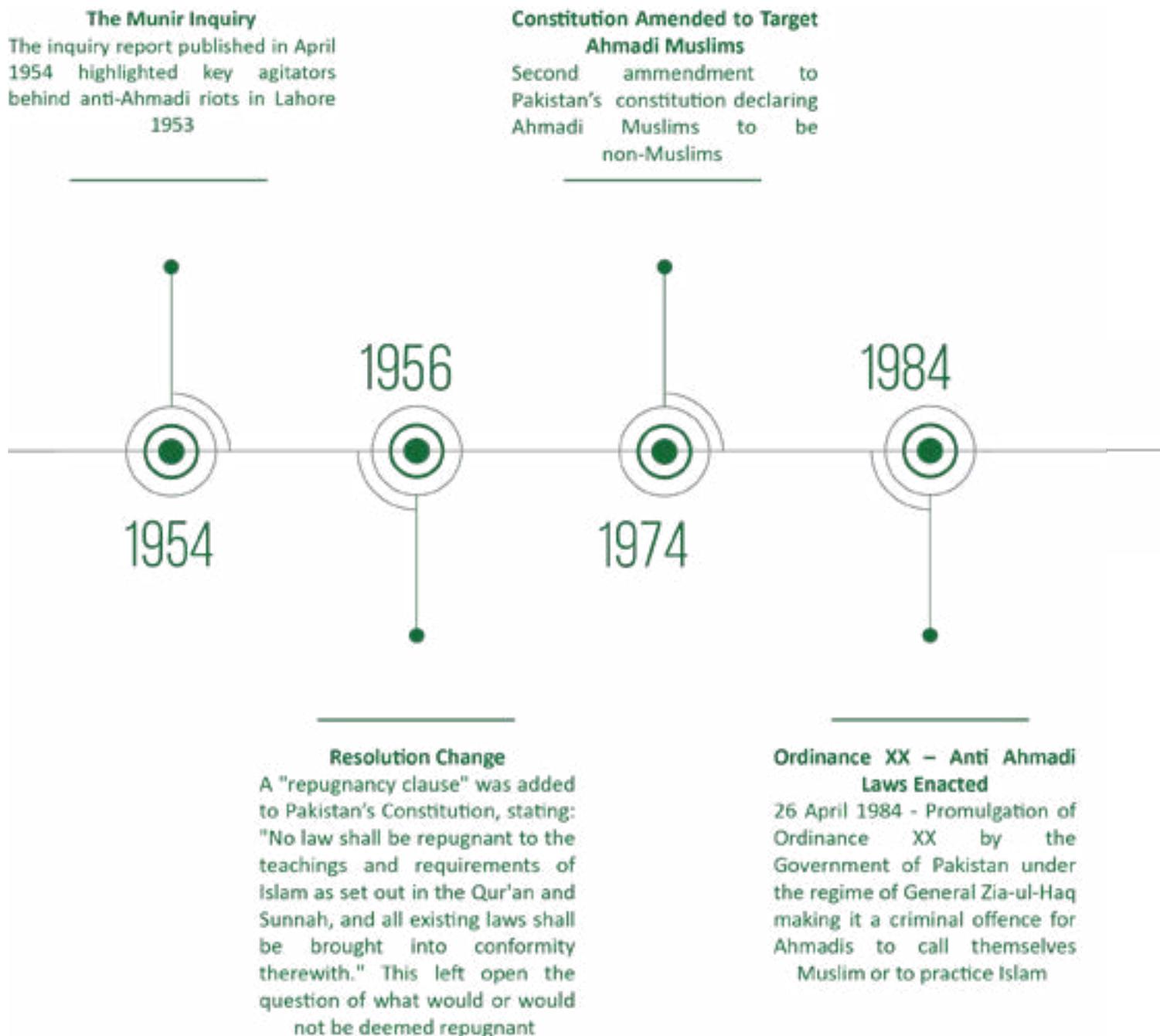


“what shall we gain if Muhammad Ali Jinnah is at the helm of a capitalistic system as

**OPPOSED TO
THE ISLAMIC
WAY OF LIFE”**

Sheikh Hissam-ud-Din
Leader of Majlis-e-Ahrar

Timeline of State-Sponsored Persecution



Blasphemy Laws Introduced

Inherited from Raj's Indian Penal Code. Amended and Islamicised. Section 295-C introduced life imprisonment or death for those found guilty of blasphemy

Publications Ban

Punjab Provincial Government bans the published works of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community

1986

2015 [JANUARY]

2015 [FEBRUARY]

2018

National Action Plan (NAP)

Introduced to crackdown on terrorism but also has been misused to target religious communities for simply practicing their faith

Voting Rights Denied Again

Ahmadis have been denied the right to vote since 1985. Pakistan's electoral rules in 2018 again targeted Ahmadi Muslims to deny them the right to vote in national and local elections

Introduction

The Ahmadiyya Muslim Community has faced hostility and persecution ever since its inception in 1889 in Qadian, Punjab, India. Its founder, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, made the claim to be the Promised Messiah and Imam Mahdi, who was prophesied in Islam to appear in the latter days. He claimed to bring no new laws or scriptures, and was a prophet subservient to Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) with a mission to revive the true teachings of Islam and to remove misconceptions about the faith. For example, he stated that Jihad was to be waged by the pen, by presenting rational arguments, and by self-reformation. He also argued for separation of "Mosque and State," and he championed the promotion of human rights and freedom of religion for all. He emphasised education for all and called on his followers to develop a strong bond with God and to serve humanity. He also revived the institution of Khilafat (Caliphate), which he stated was a purely spiritual form of leadership that had no worldly or political ambition.

His claims attracted many, but they were also met with strong opposition that resulted in persecution. One of the first martyrs of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community was Sahibzada Abdul Latif, who was executed in Afghanistan in 1903. Many Ahmadi Muslims have been persecuted and murdered since, but this took a dramatic turn for the worse during the time of emergence of independent India and the creation of Pakistan, when religious difference became a political tool for extremists.

The idea of Pakistan, as a new and separate homeland for Muslims sparked a debate over the whether the governance of Pakistan would be secular. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, along with others, including the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, favoured a secular model, whereas Majlis-e-Ahrar and others called for a model that would enforce a Shar'ia based system, giving clerics political power.

Jinnah's vision prevailed, but the perceived setback fuelled a rise in anti-Ahmadi hatred at the hands of religio-political groups such as Majlis-e-Ahrar, Jamaat-e-Islami, and Khatme Nabuwat. A violent anti-Ahmadi movement sought to remove Ahmadis from key prominent positions accusing them of being anti-Pakistan, despite the Community's evident service to the creation of and support for the country.

The APPG Inquiry heard how, with each decade the persecution of Ahmadis became a favoured political tool to gain power and popularity. This resulted in the Government capitulating to the demands of extremists in return for short term political support. As a result, Ahmadi Muslims were explicitly targeted by both the country's constitution and federal laws simply on the grounds of faith. The process continues to this day, with the anti-terror laws and the judiciary also setting their sights on the Community, further eroding their rights.

Described by human rights organisations as one of the most persecuted communities in Pakistan, this chapter explores the origins of the persecution, the motivation behind it and its rapid evolution into a deadly movement.

Pakistan under Jinnah was inclusive and multi-religious, but it was the Ahmadi Muslims who bore the brunt of the rise of the religious right. To seek political power the religious right used the emotive power of faith to drive a wedge between Ahmadis and other Muslims on the grounds of the unique claim of the founder of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

Founding Principle – Separation of Mosque and State

“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.”^[1]

Pakistan was born out of a desire for greater tolerance and freedom. Just three days before the country was born, Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s historic speech at the Pakistan Assembly on 11 August 1947, captured the essence of Pakistan: a country that would guarantee freedoms for all citizens irrespective of their religious status. Jinnah stated:

“...in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.”^[2]

It was a vision of a secular state where civic affairs would be conducted for the betterment of all citizens regardless of religion, cognisant only of the need to propel Pakistan to the fore. Pakistan would protect human rights and enact justice to make the emerging nation a leading light on the international stage by empowering all citizens to work for the good of the whole nation rather than any particular segment of society. This vision of Pakistan was also shared by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community (amongst others), as these principles offered a solid foundation for a country in which all citizens could strive for the peace and prosperity of the nation.

However, this vision faced fierce resistance and emerging extremist voices in opposition played a divisive role in the pre and post partition periods.

Opposition from the Religious Right

The APPG Inquiry heard that the most prominent amongst opponents was the Majlis-e-Ahrar (the "Ahrar")^[3]: a political party that vehemently opposed Jinnah’s vision. The Ahrar believed that a secular state would not allow Islam – or more specifically their interpretation of Islam – to be the driving force in the law. They fundamentally opposed the idea that all denominations and faiths, without distinction, could have equal opportunities.

The Ahrar had formalised their position in a meeting in Delhi on 3 March 1940^[4] when they passed a resolution rejecting Jinnah’s vision for Pakistan and referring to it as ‘palidistan’^[5], meaning the land of the impure (in contrast to the term Pakistan, which means the land of the pure.) According to their views Jinnah was not a true Muslim and, therefore, the Muslim League^[6] (led by Jinnah) did not represent Muslims. Thus, a number of years before Pakistan’s independence, the seeds of intolerance, division and extremism had already been sown by the religious right.

"MAULANA MAUDUDI OF JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI SAID THE PAKISTAN OF JINNAH OR THESE WESTERN PEOPLE WILL NOT BE A MUSLIM COUNTRY, IT WILL NOT BE AN ISLAMIC COUNTRY IT WILL BE A MUSLIM COUNTRY RUN BY THESE WESTERN EDUCATED PEOPLE"

The Ahrar's attitude towards Jinnah's Pakistan movement was described by one of its leaders, Sheikh Hissam-ud-Din, as follows:

"We shall every time prefer the Hindu India against Pakistan, the renegade of Islam, [in terms of] the government administration... So, what shall we gain if Muhammad Ali Jinnah is at the helm of the regime of a capitalistic system as opposed to the Islamic way of life. On the other hand, what shall we lose, as Muslims, if Jawaharlal [Nehru] and Gandhi, walking in the footsteps of the Upright Caliphs^[7], do decimate all traces of inequality and iniquity in the society?"^[8]

The Ahrar leader viewed Jinnah's vision of Pakistan as antithetical to their hard-line vision of Islam and they labelled him Kafir-i-Azam (the greatest of all disbelievers). This was a play on his common epithet Qaid-e-Azam (great leader). Another vociferous opponent of Jinnah was Maulana Maududi, leader of Jamaat-e-Islami^[9]. Referring to the Muslim League, Maududi wrote^[10]:

"...the crowd called Muslims is full of all sorts of rabble. There are as many types of characters in this as in any (other) heathen people."^[11]

On this the APPG Inquiry heard that:

"Maulana Maududi of Jamaat-e-Islami said the Pakistan of Jinnah or these western people will not be a Muslim country, it will not be an Islamic country it will be a Muslim country run by these western educated people...all of them [the religious right] opposed Pakistan, and we Ahmadis supported the struggle of the creation of Pakistan against very heavy odds."

Mujeeb-ur-Rehman, First Session of the APPG Inquiry

Despite growing hostility, Jinnah's vision prevailed and on 14 August 1947 Pakistan was founded on the precepts of a secular state. This was a bitter setback for the likes of the Ahrar, and as a result they sought every opportunity to revive their influence in the new country. Jinnah's death in September 1948 gave the Ahrar an opportunity to reopen the debate and to reinvigorate their political aspirations; with religious freedom being their primary target.

The Seeds of the "Islamic Republic"

The Ahrar set their sights on the work underway to draft Pakistan's Constitution and sought to weave in their religious interpretation into the laws and governance of the country.

They seized on the fact that the provisions of the 1949 Objectives Resolution (the founding document of Pakistan's constitution) referenced 'Islam' and 'Muslims'. Using this they instigated a debate as to who was or was not a Muslim. This allowed the religious right, such as the Ahrar and Jamaat-e-Islami, to gain considerable influence by using Islam as a divisive tool. Many politicians took advantage of the right-wing religious parties' influence, as they wielded considerable street power during elections and at times of national crisis.

By the 1950s, the aim of the religious right to create an Islamic republic with clerics at the helm was in full flow. A country that was founded on the principle of the separation of religion and state, was now heading towards becoming a republic driven by sectarian ideology. Against the backdrop of growing hostility, the distinction between who was or was not a Muslim may have seemed an academic question to some, but for Pakistan's Ahmadi Muslim and Shia Muslim citizens, this would have serious and fatal consequences.

The Rise of the Anti-Ahmadiyya Movement in Pakistan

Despite many challenges, the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community had risen in prominence to serve Pakistan in every sphere of public life (see 'Leading Lights' section). This rise was perceived by the Ahrar as a threat to their vision of Pakistan, so they responded by targeting Ahmadis and seeking to remove them from senior positions.

The Ahrar's strategy was to capitalise on

the key difference between Ahmadis and all other Muslims – namely the claim of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the founder of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, to be the Promised Messiah and Imam Mahdi^[12]. By declaring the founder of the Community to be false, they also asserted that his followers were non-Muslims and they then used the emotive power of religion to seek mass support for their cause.

"...ANTI-AHMADI DISTURBANCES SHOOK PAKISTAN AND THE SUBSEQUENT RIOTS RESULTED IN THE DEATHS OF A NUMBER OF AHMADIS, INCLUDING THOSE OF PROMINENCE. AHMADIS WERE ATTACKED, THEIR HOUSES AND SHOPS SET ALIGHT AND MOSQUES RAIDED"

The most prominent Ahmadi public servant at the time was Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, who was appointed by Jinnah as Pakistan's first Foreign Minister. His formidable presence as an international statesman was widely acclaimed. His sharp intellect, judicial mind and political insight won him praise not only in Pakistan but also across the world. He also became the primary target of the religious right, during the call for Ahmadis to be declared non-Muslims, Sir Zafrullah was used by the religious right as a case in

point^[13]. They argued that whilst Ahmadis occupied leading positions, the future of Pakistan as an Islamic republic was under threat. This was an issue reinforced with violence by the Ahrar who used protests, public rallies and riots to drive home their demands.

From 1951-53, the Ahrar maintained pressure on the government with rallies across Pakistan, focussing on the Punjab provincial government. The Ahrar were emboldened by the patronage they received from the Chief Minister of the Punjab, Mian Mumtaz Daultana. On 5 March 1953, Maulana Maududi published *Qadiyani Maslah* (The Qadiyani Issue)^[14], and used his theological influence to position himself at the centre of the debate on Ahmadis. The Ahrar described Ahmadis as:

'...a great danger for Islam and we [the Ahrar] are in the vanguard of the defence of Islam.'^[15]

The ensuing anti-Ahmadi disturbances shook Pakistan, and the subsequent riots resulted in the deaths of a number of Ahmadis, including those of prominence. Ahmadis were attacked, their houses and shops set alight and mosques raided^[16]. As the Prime Minister of Pakistan was unable to contain the violence it led to the country's first martial law by Governor General Ghulam Muhammad. He instructed General Azam Khan to lead the crackdown in Lahore, where scores of anti-Ahmadi agitators and rioters were arrested. Maulana Maududi and Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi, the lead agitators of the riots, were sentenced to death in 1953 (later commuted to life sentences). Notably since, Government protection for Ahmadi Muslims has been all but absent.

The Munir Inquiry — Spotighting Intolerance

In the wake of the nationwide agitations an inquiry committee was established under the aegis of Justice Munir and the ensuing Munir

Report^[17] is perhaps the most balanced and comprehensive indictment of religious parties produced in Pakistan to date.

The year-long inquiry took evidence from all parties and sought to identify the cause of the disturbances. **Its findings revealed the shocking injustices done to Ahmadis of which the Ahrar were found guilty.** When the report was finally made public, attention was focused on the issue that had been spearheaded by the Ahrar and others – that of seeking to declare Ahmadis non-Muslim.

"IN AN EFFORT TO GAIN POLITICAL POWER JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI AND SUBSEQUENTLY KHATME NABUWWAT SWEEP UP SUPPORT FROM ACROSS PAKISTAN BY TARGETING RHETORIC AND VIOLENCE AT THE AHMADIYYA MUSLIM COMMUNITY AND ITS MEMBERS"

The report decisively found that no two Muslim scholars could agree on the definition of a Muslim. Each had their own interpretation which they believed to be true, and in so doing each had issued fatwas declaring the other a Kafir or disbeliever. Justice Munir specifically noted:

'Keeping in view the several definitions given by the ulama, need we make any comment except that no two learned divines are agreed on this fundamental. If we attempt our own definition as each learned divine has done and that definition differs from that given by all

others, we unanimously go out of the fold of Islam. And if we adopt the definition given by any one of the ulama, we remain Muslims according to the view of that alim but kafirs according to the definition of everyone else.'^[18]

The report concluded that this issue was something that was best left to the individual and certainly not something that could be defined in law. The Munir Report reinforced the notion of freedom of religion and led to the disbanding of the Ahrar in 1954.

However, this was not the end of anti-Ahmadi agitation. In place of the Ahrar, others took up the mantle of anti-Ahmadiyya activities in an effort to gain political power. Jamaat-e-Islami and subsequently Khatme Nabuwat^[19] swept up support from across Pakistan by targeting rhetoric and violence against the Community and its members.

Anti-Ahmadiyya Constitutional Amendment in 1974 — A Watershed Moment

After the clamp down on the Ahrar, opposition against Ahmadi Muslims continued to simmer in the background. The 'Islamisation' of Pakistan received its next major boost when the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology, a constitutional body of Pakistan responsible for giving legal advice on Islamic issues, added a 'repugnancy clause' to the 1956 Constitution, stating:

'No law shall be enacted which is repugnant to the Injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah [sayings and actions of Prophet Muhammad], hereinafter referred to as injunctions of Islam, and existing law shall be brought into conformity with such injunctions.'^[20]

This would prove to be a crucial springboard for further legislative changes in subsequent years targeting Ahmadi Muslims.

However, between 1962 and 1972 the issue was subdued as Pakistan underwent a period of martial law and fought several wars with India.

As the country emerged from this difficult period, the Ahmadi issue resurfaced as a tool for political populism. In 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the country's fourth President and then in 1973 its Prime Minister. Bhutto saw himself as a political leader not just for Pakistan but for the wider Muslim world and he sought to consolidate his power in Pakistan by courting the religious parties.

To this end, on 22 February 1974 Bhutto hosted a summit of the political leaders of Islamic countries through the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) which Pakistan had been instrumental in forming. The attendees included King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Yasser Arafat of Palestine and Muammar Gaddafi of Libya. The purpose of this summit was to unite Muslims under a central authority under the stated intention of protecting Muslim interests^[21]. Some saw this as a further attempt by Bhutto to gain political support from Islamic countries and internal support from right-wing clerics.



Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1973-1977)^[41]

The summit led to a new wave of disturbances across Pakistan as religious parties saw this as an opportunity to regroup and expand their power base. Further anti-Ahmadi riots ensued and members of the orthodox clergy pressured Prime Minister Bhutto into declaring Ahmadis non-Muslim in exchange for ending the anti-Ahmadi violence. The right-wing

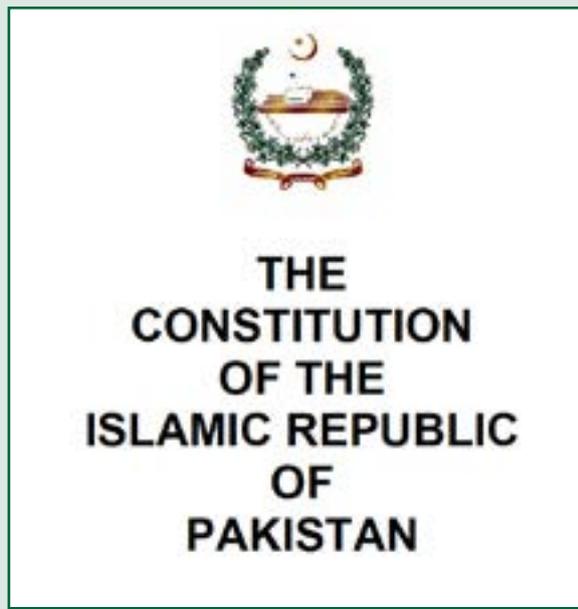
clerics reiterated the demand that Ahmadis be removed from key positions whilst spearheading violent attacks on innocent Ahmadi Muslims, particularly in Gujranwala and Sargodha.

The strategy paid off and Bhutto acceded to this demand bolstered by the Saudi Arabian World Muslim League, calling on Muslim governments worldwide to take action against Ahmadis^[22]. **Bhutto moved swiftly and formed a parliamentary committee that passed a bill targeting Ahmadis and declared them to be non-Muslims.** The bill brought into law in the form of the Second Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan took effect on 7 September 1974.

"PAKISTAN MADE HISTORY BY BECOMING THE FIRST (AND ONLY) GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD TO USE THE COUNTRY'S CONSTITUTION TO DECLARE AHMADIS NON-MUSLIMS"

Various reliable sources later revealed that the anti-Ahmadi riots and consequent surge in demand to declare Ahmadis non-Muslim, and the parliamentary debate to amend the constitution were all preplanned to implement the decision made on King Faisal's bidding at the Islamic summit of 1974.

**THE (CONSTITUTIONAL)
AMENDMENT WAS A
WATERSHED MOMENT IN THE
COUNTRY'S HISTORY, AS IT
CONSTITUTIONALISED AND
FORMALLY LEGITIMISED THE
PERSECUTION OF AHMADIS. FROM
THIS MOMENT, AHMADIS WERE
SYSTEMATICALLY TARGETED AND
PERSECUTED NOT ONLY BY NON-
STATE ORGANISATIONS BUT ALSO
BY THE STATE ITSELF**



The Constitution (Second Amendment) Act, 1974 specifically targeted Ahmadis, featuring an amendment to Article 260 of the Constitution in the following terms:

'In the Constitution, in Article 260, after clause (2) the following new clause shall be added, namely--

(3) A person who does not believe in the absolute and unqualified finality of The Prophethood of MUHAMMAD (Peace be upon him), the last of the Prophets or claims to be a Prophet, in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever, after MUHAMMAD (Peace be upon him), or recognizes such a claimant as a Prophet or religious reformer, is not a Muslim for the purposes of the Constitution or law.'^[23]

This led to the introduction of Articles 260(3) (a) and (b) as interpretation clauses explicitly depriving Ahmadis of their identity as Muslims under the Constitution of Pakistan. It defined the terms 'Muslim' and 'non-Muslim' and then listed groups that were, as a result of the amendment, deemed non-Muslims in law.

Article 260(3) of the present Constitution of Pakistan reads:

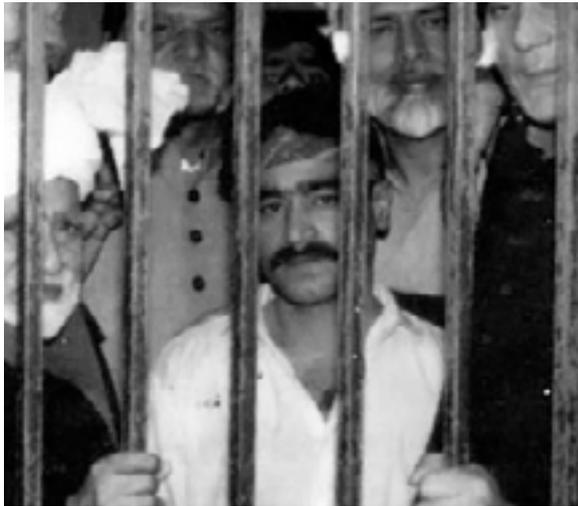
'In the Constitution and all enactments and other legal instruments, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context (a) "Muslim" means a person who believes in the unity and oneness of Almighty Allah, in the absolute and unqualified

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

(b) "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.'^[24]
[Emphasis added.]

Pakistan made history by becoming the first (and only) government in the world to use the country's constitution to declare Ahmadis non-Muslims. The amendment was a watershed moment in the country's history, as it constitutionalised and formally legitimised the persecution of Ahmadis. From this moment, Ahmadis were systematically targeted and persecuted not only by non-state organisations but also by the state itself.

Ordinance XX — The Criminalisation of Ahmadi Muslims



Ahmadi Muslim prisoners of conscience (1994)

GENERAL ZIA ALSO REVERSED UNIVERSAL VOTING RIGHTS IN 1985 THAT HAD THE UNPRECEDENTED EFFECT OF ELIMINATING AHMADIS FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

The 1974 constitutional amendment was the first in a series of legislative and regulatory measures in Pakistan which systematically persecuted Ahmadi Muslims. The climate of anti-Ahmadi intolerance had a knock-on effect on other religious minority groups with the ‘gradual “Talibanisation of society”, with growing influence of hard-line Islamism.’^[25] Although Ahmadis had been declared as not Muslims for the purposes of the law and constitution, crucially this did not restrict Ahmadis from practicing their religious rites and practices as Muslims. However, this was to change dramatically when General Zia-ul-Haq took power after seizing control through a military coup on 5 July 1977. In seeking

to consolidate his position, General Zia sought to use the religious parties and their street power. He initiated his ‘Islamisation’ programme that, together with the aftermath of the Afghan war, further fuelled a rise of extremism in Pakistan^[26].

General Zia led a relentless campaign against Ahmadis and other religious minorities in Pakistan. Right-wing clerics ratcheted up their demands to stifle and suffocate ordinary Ahmadis.

‘He [General Zia-ul-Haq] was a martial law dictator, [he] had come into power by force, and after a few months his rule became illegitimate so to gain legitimacy he said “I want to make the country an Islamic country” so he introduced a series of amendments to the constitution and framed many laws he thought were Islamic laws.’

Mujeeb-ur-Rehman, First Session of the APPG Inquiry

The demands of the right were met when, on 26 April 1984, a draconian amendment to the Pakistan Penal Code was enacted by General Zia. Ordinance XX was the first ever legislation to specifically and directly criminalise religious activities of Ahmadi Muslims, outlawing their rights and Islamic practices.

It became a criminal offence, punishable by three years imprisonment (or by death under the blasphemy laws), for any Ahmadi “who directly or indirectly poses himself as a Muslim or calls, or refers to his faith as Islam”.^[27] This meant that Ahmadis could no longer profess or practice their Islamic faith in any way, in public or private, without the risk of prosecution. Ordinance XX took away the right of Ahmadis to self-identify as Muslims and left them with a stark legal choice: either deny your faith or face imprisonment and death. General Zia also reversed universal voting rights in 1985 that had the unprecedented effect of eliminating Ahmadis from the democratic process^[28] as Ahmadis could now only register as non-Muslims. With their votes no longer relevant, politicians and political parties could target and persecute Ahmadis for political gain with

impunity. And that is exactly what unfolded.

ORDINANCE XX TOOK AWAY THE RIGHT OF AHMADIS TO SELF IDENTIFY AS MUSLIMS AND LEFT THEM WITH A STARK LEGAL CHOICE: EITHER DENY YOUR FAITH OR FACE IMPRISONMENT OR DEATH

The penal code added a new dimension to the hostility against Ahmadi Muslims as it offered a legitimate route for Ahmadis to be arrested, charged and face prosecution for practicing their Islamic faith.

Ordinance XX made the following acts a criminal offence:

298-B. 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 "Ameer-ul-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 a "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.

298-C. 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 a 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.

Thousands of Ahmadis were charged under Ordinance XX as General Zia promised that the Government of Pakistan:

***'will persevere in our effort to ensure that the cancer of Qadianism [a derogatory term referring to Ahmadiyyat] is exterminated.'*^[29]**

General Zia-ul Haq's regime used Ordinance XX to oversee the systematic persecution of Ahmadi Muslims. The religious right was given carte blanche to discriminate, harass, vilify, attack and kill Ahmadis. Even graves of Ahmadis were dug up by extremists, under the supervision of police authorities, to remove the bodies from 'Muslim' cemeteries^[30].

The Pakistani passport was also changed and for the first time the words 'Islamic Republic' featured on its front cover. The enactment of Ordinance XX resulted in the new passport featuring the passport holder's religion. In order to have Islam recorded as one's faith, the applicant would need to declare in their passport application that they 'consider Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani to be an imposter and also consider his followers to be non-Muslims'. Ahmadis refused to sign such a declaration, thus resulting in their religion being recorded as 'Ahmadi' instead. This had the devastating impact of denying Pakistani Ahmadi Muslims the right to perform Hajj (Holy Pilgrimage) – the sacred fifth pillar of Islam – as the Saudi Arabian government would deny Ahmadis entry into Mecca as they were deemed non-Muslim.

Leading Human Rights Advocate Karen Parker states that:

'General Zia singled out Ahmadis in an open and vicious hate campaign of persecution. He and members of his administration made numerous public speeches urging Pakistanis to seek out, expose and even to kill Ahmadis. One such speech was broadcast on television when I was in Pakistan: in that broadcast one of Zia's Ministers urged Pakistanis that it was their sacred duty to eliminate Ahmadis. On May 5, 1986, I had a meeting with General Zia at which he declared "Ahmadis are heretics and they offend me. I have a sacred duty to Allah to rid Pakistan of these impostors. I intend to drive them out." At the same meeting, in discussion [about] the United Nations Sub-Commission resolution 1985/21, General Zia told me "Ordinance XX may violate human rights but I don't care".^[31]

Ordinance XX made it impossible for the Caliph (Spiritual Head) of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community to remain in Pakistan as he was at constant risk of arrest for practicing and advocating for Islam. Thus, on 29 April 1984 His Holiness Hazrat Mirza Tahir

Ahmad, the Fourth Caliph of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, migrated to London. The Ahmadiyya Muslim Caliphate has since been based in the United Kingdom and is currently led by His Holiness Hazrat Mirza Masroor Ahmad, the Fifth Caliph of the community. **Thirty-six years on, these laws remain on Pakistan's statute books, thereby making it impossible for the Caliph and tens of thousands of Ahmadis to return to their homeland.**

In 2018, further measures to isolate and target Ahmadis were taken when the Islamabad High Court issued a judgment in response to an amendment in the Election Act 2017 (See Annex 3.3 for further information) which stated:

Declarations by the Candidate:

1. I (nominated candidate), hereby declare on oath that,-

(iii) "I believe in the absolute and unqualified finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him), the last of the prophets and that I am not the follower of anyone who claims to be a Prophet in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever after Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), and that I do not recognize such a claimant to be Prophet or a religious reformer, nor do I belong to the Qadiani group or the Lahori group or call myself an Ahmadi"

The amendment triggered nationwide protests that brought Pakistan's capital to a standstill for several weeks, until the Government capitulated to the protesters' demands and reversed the amendment. A shocking reflection of the street power of anti-Ahmadi clerics. **The 2018 judgment by Shaukat Aziz, called for the targeting and persecution of Ahmadis to be much more extensive, so that Ahmadis could no longer "hide" as Muslims anywhere, especially in public services.** In Pakistan, neither the laws nor the authorities offer any hope of respite, instead they are ratcheting up the persecution.

CONSTANT RISK OF ARREST FOR PRACTICING ISLAM



Gross Abuse of Pakistan's Anti-Terror Legislation

Pakistan's National Action Plan (NAP) came into force on 24 December 2014 following the Taliban attack on an army public school in Peshawar on 16 December 2014. Amongst the twenty agenda items of the NAP, it recommended:

Special trial courts under the supervision of Army. The duration of these courts would be two years.

Strict action against the literature, newspapers and magazines promoting hatred, extremism, sectarianism and intolerance.^[32]

This legislation was aimed at stopping sectarian hatred and extremism but it has been used by the state to target Ahmadis and other religious communities. This has profound implications, as under anti-terror legislation an Ahmadi can be arrested without notice and without recourse to bail. The penalty is a mandatory five-year sentence of imprisonment^[33].

Anti-terror legislation has been used to ban Ahmadi literature. Abdul Shakoor, an 80-year-old local bookseller, was arrested by Punjab's Counter Terrorism Department in 2015 for stocking religious books on peace published by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, including copies of the Holy Qur'an. Despite no evidence being produced of terrorism or terrorist-related activity, Mr. Shakoor was convicted and imprisoned under Pakistan's anti-terrorism and anti-Ahmadi legislation – see Chapter 2 for details.

Contravention of International Law

Being a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)^[34] and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), Pakistan continues to be a country of concern to the UNHCR, 'notably regarding the independence of the judiciary, legislative provisions associated with diminished religious freedom and misconduct at the level of law enforcement.'^[35]

Since ratifying the ICCPR, Pakistan's activities demonstrate its utter neglect of the following rights in relation to Ahmadis and other religious minorities:

- **Article 2** (Non-discrimination and Right to an Effective Remedy)
- **Article 6** (Right to Life and the Protection of the State)
- **Article 14** (Equality Before the Law)
- **Article 17** (Right to Privacy)
- **Article 18** (Freedom of Religion and Belief)
- **Article 19** (Freedom of Expression)
- **Article 20** (Prohibition of Inciting National, Racial or Religious Hatred)
- **Article 21** (Right to Peaceful Assembly)
- **Article 22** (Freedom of Association)
- **Article 25** (Right to take part in Public Affairs and Service, to Vote and be Elected)
- **Article 26** (Equality Before the Law: covers all laws in Pakistan, guarantees to all persons equal and effective legal protection against any religious discrimination)

Aftermath of Anti-Ahmadi Laws

Ahmadi Muslims in Pakistan are plagued by institutional discrimination, harassment and persecution. Corruption, judicial failings and the climate of mob violence is ever

present; the culmination of which facilitates accusations of blasphemy^[36], and state-sponsored persecution against Ahmadis. Hundreds of Ahmadis have been murdered and target killings continue with impunity^[37]. Ahmadis are openly declared 'Wajibul Qatl' (deserving to be killed) and are vilified in the Pakistani media and by religious clerics with neither the state nor civic society willing to stand up in their defence.

The Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in Pakistan is facing potential systematic genocide^[38]. **The long-standing, targeted and regressive laws, coupled with a pandering to demands of religious extremists is a path that leads ultimately towards genocide^[39].** The prevailing situation has gathered pace and momentum and the intensity of hostility in everyday life is unbearable to the point that an increasing number of Ahmadi Muslims, trying to escape the persecution in which they are trapped in Pakistan, have sought asylum abroad^[40]. The environment of hate and extremism has also impacted other religious communities, with the persecution of Shias continuing to spiral, and Christians also being widely persecuted.

Chapter 2 details the wider impact of these laws and demonstrates how further legal measures, such as the publications ban, have been used to suppress Ahmadi presence on mainstream media and social media. It has now come to a point where in almost every aspect of life Ahmadis in Pakistan are at the brink of survival.

'[Ahmadi Muslims] were prominent enough to be cast as an enemy of the state or a scapegoat for problems within Islam and within Pakistan but also at the same time small and vulnerable enough [to be persecuted] in terms of our size and numbers.'
Mirza Usman Ahmad, First Session of the APPG Inquiry

Pakistan’s Violation of International Covenants Through the Persecution of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community

Academic experts such as Dr Siegfried O. Wolf consider the state-sponsored persecution to have violated many international covenants:

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS	PAKISTAN STATUS	STATUS OF THE COVENANT
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)	Ratified June 23, 2010	Violated
International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)	Ratified April 17, 2008	Violated
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)	Ratified September 21, 1966	Violated
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)	Ratified November 12, 1990	Violated
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)	Accession March 12, 1996	Violated
Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment (CAT)	Ratified June 23, 2010	Violated

“...STATE SPONSORED TERRORISM, THE COUNTRY’S LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND POLICIES GRANTING IMPUNITY FOR ANTI-AHMADIYYA ACTIVITIES ALL CLEARLY BREACH SEVERAL INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS THE COUNTRY HAS AGREED UPON — NOTABLY THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS (ICCPR), WHICH PAKISTAN RATIFIED ON 23RD JUNE 2010 AND WHICH GUARANTEES UNDER ARTICLE 18 THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE AND RELIGION.”

(Persecution against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in Pakistan: A multi-dimensional perspective - Siegfried O. Wolf)

**"THE ELOQUENT
PERSUASION OF THE IMAM
LEFT ME NO ESCAPE"**

Mr. M. A. Jinnah
Founder of Pakistan

LEADING LIGHTS IN THE HISTORY OF PAKISTAN

The Ahmadiyya Muslim Community has played a key role throughout the history of Pakistan with respect to its formation and development. Some aspects of this are presented below.

Imam Abdur Raheem Dard – Creating a Turning Point in History



In the 1930s Muhammad Ali Jinnah, frustrated by Indian politics, left India to settle in London and to practice as a barrister at Lincoln's Inn. At this critical juncture, recognising Muhammad Ali Jinnah as the natural leader for the rights of Muslims, Hazrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmood Ahmad, the second Caliph of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, instructed the Imam of The Fazl Mosque (also known as The London Mosque), Imam Abdur Raheem Dard, to persuade Jinnah to return to the political arena. Jinnah was not an easy man to persuade, as he was convinced that India offered no prospect for progress. However, Imam Dard took Jinnah to task for abandoning the cause of Muslims and over several meetings argued the point from every possible angle.

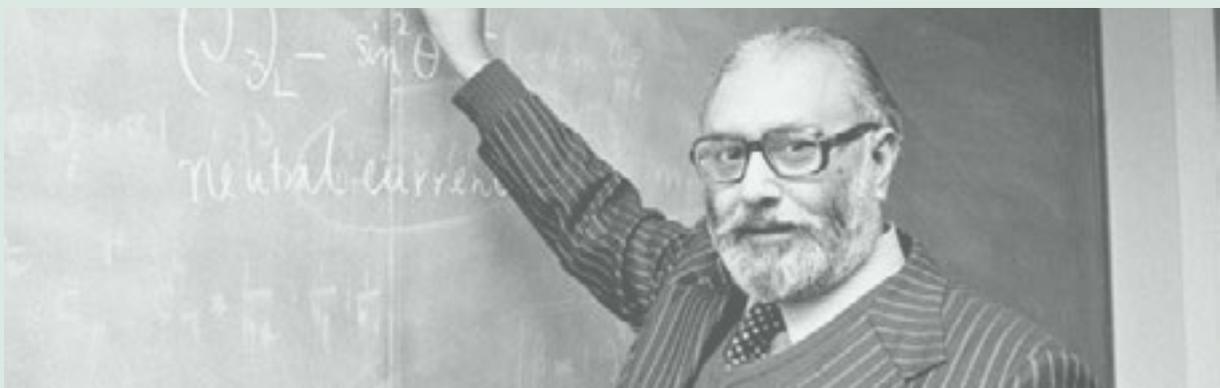
His point finally hit home when he stated that one who abandons his people at the time of their need is no less than a traitor to them. Jinnah was struck by this and finally agreed to return to India to lead the struggle for Pakistan. The Imam suggested that Jinnah should state his intentions publicly so a press conference was held in the grounds of The Fazl Mosque in Southfields. At the press conference Jinnah spoke about the future of India and acknowledged that, with reference to his returning to India to take up the cause of Muslims: *"The eloquent persuasion of the Imam left me no escape."*^[42]

Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan – Pakistan’s First Foreign Minister



Sir Zafrullah was one of the founding fathers of Pakistan. At the time of partition, Jinnah entrusted him with the task of presenting Pakistan’s case before the Punjab Boundary Commission chaired by Sir Cyril Radcliffe. Jinnah elevated Sir Zafrullah to the rank of Pakistan’s first Foreign Minister. Sir Zafrullah was the first and only Pakistani elected President of the UN General Assembly and was equally the first Pakistani elected President of the International Court of Justice in The Hague. No other person has held the Presidency of both of these organs of the United Nations. Sir Zafrullah did not confine his advocacy to the defence of Pakistan. He paved the way for the independence of fledgling Arab states such as Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco.

Professor Abdus Salam – Pakistan’s First Nobel Laureate



Professor Salam was the first Pakistani recipient of the Nobel Prize (for Physics in 1979). As Science Advisor to the Government of Pakistan, Professor Salam played a major and influential role in the development of Pakistan’s science policy. He was the founding director of The Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Commission (SUPARCO), an executive and bureaucratic space agency of the Government of Pakistan. During the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq, subsequent to Professor Salam winning the Nobel Prize, he was the leading contender for the post of Head of UNESCO, but to be considered he needed the support of his native country. Rather than support the leading candidate for the post, General Zia nominated fellow military man General Sahibzada Yaqub, who was not elected to the position. Professor Salam founded the International Centre for Theoretical Physics (ICTP) in Trieste, Italy to provide unparalleled opportunities for students from developing countries to excel in scientific research. The centre remains a leading scientific institution to this day^[43] and has since been renamed “The Abdus Salam Centre for Theoretical Physics.”



Mirza Muzaffar Ahmad – Pakistan’s Finance Minister

Mirza Muzaffar Ahmad (often referred to as MM Ahmad) is notable for serving as Pakistan’s Finance Minister, Secretary of Commerce and additionally as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission of Pakistan. Ahmad was arguably the most influential civil servant in Pakistan. Moreover, one of his biggest contributions was in the signing of the Indus Basin Treaty^[44]. Ahmad was also an Executive Director and Vice-President of the World Bank.



Major General Iftikhar Janjua – Only General to be Killed in Action

Major General Janjua holds the esteemed honour of being the only General of the Pakistan Army to die in combat. He was killed in Kashmir during the Battle of Chamb while in command of 23 Infantry Division during the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971.



Major General Akhtar Hussain Malik — Distinguished Service in Kashmir

Major General Akhtar Hussain Malik received the medal Hilal-i-Jur’at, the second highest military award of Pakistan, for his role in the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965 where he launched operation Grand Slam in Kashmir. He played an important role in the securing and defence of the Chamb Region in Kashmir.



Air Marshal Zafar Chaudhry — Pakistan’s first Chief of Air Staff

Air Marshal Zafar Chaudhry was appointed the first Chief of Air Staff and took over command of the Pakistan Air Force in 1972. He played an influential role in the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965 in combat aerial operations. He later became Chairman of Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) and was one of the founding members of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan.

Ahmadi Muslims have continued to serve Pakistan. However, due to the second constitutional amendment in 1974 and Ordinance XX of 1984, Ahmadi Muslims are prevented from serving in any senior position in Pakistan's civil service, army or public bodies. A recent example is that of Atif Mian, an Ahmadi Muslim, appointed to the Economic Advisory Council by Prime Minister Imran Khan, only to be later removed from it due to demands by religious extremists.



FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE



CHAPTER 2

THE PERSECUTION OF AHMADI MUSLIMS

INTRODUCTION

Ahmadi Muslims are the only community in Pakistan to be explicitly targeted by federal laws.

The political climate of Pakistan coupled with the draconian laws have created a fertile ground for extremism. This has been accentuated through a lack of investment in education, with Pakistan ranking 164th in the world in terms of investment in education^[45]. This has fuelled the exponential growth of madrassas, now numbering around 35,000^[46], many of which routinely promote a message of intolerance and hate. Equally, educational institutions, Government and private schools, colleges and universities are also fuelling the narrative of hatred against Ahmadi Muslims.

The cumulative effect of this is that Ahmadi Muslims face institutionalised persecution from the cradle to the grave, and mob violence can be roused at a moment's notice.

Witness accounts heard during the APPG Inquiry and the evidence contained in NGO reports reflect the breadth and depth of discrimination in schools, employment and in business to the ever-present phenomenon of violence and murder.

Persecution is so rife that it has been described as being akin to an impending genocide^[47].

“Ahmadis are suffering more than the other religious communities in Pakistan. This persecution is across the board, it is not only persecution of faith and religion and practice, it's persecution to deny them their fundamental human rights. They cannot send their children to vocational institutions, to universities, to schools, they cannot get the right jobs, they cannot get licences for their commercial activities, trade, commerce, they are denied licences and a lot of big businesses Ahmadis are running had to close down because of such steps taken by the government.”

Sir Iftikhar Ayaz, Third Session of the APPG Inquiry

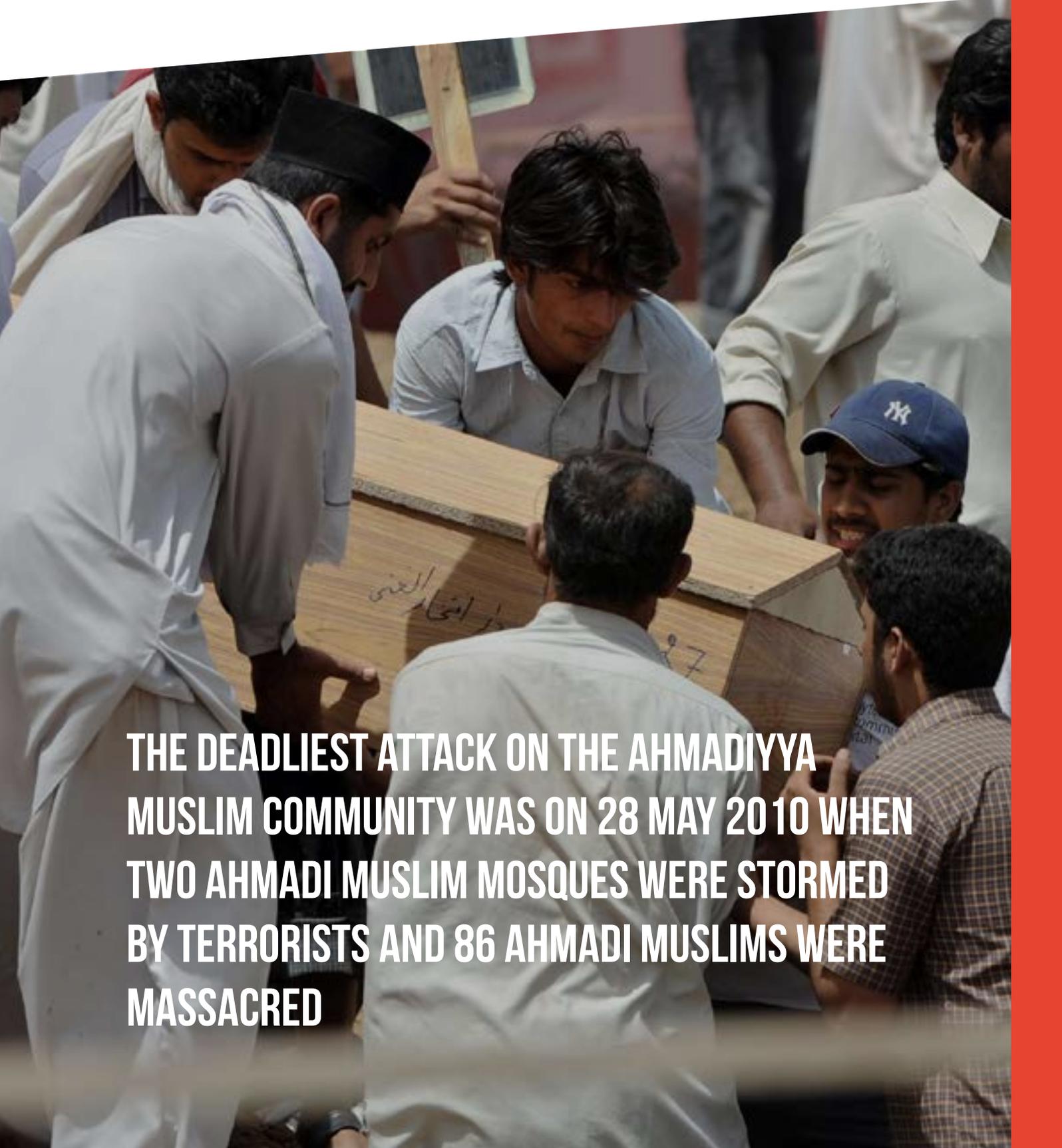
Even Rabwah, the town that serves as the headquarters of the community, was forcibly renamed by the authorities as Chenab Nagar, despite this land being owned outright by Ahmadi Muslims who built it from scratch. Opponents of the community lobbied authorities to change the name, as Rabwah is an Arabic word used in the Quran, so Ahmadi Muslims must not use it.

This chapter shows how this state of affairs has resulted in a relentless multi-pronged attack on Ahmadi Muslims either directly by the state as a result of federal laws, or indirectly by extremists under the cover of federal laws.

Denied the Right to Life – Target Killings

Ordinance XX has been catastrophic for the entire Ahmadi Muslim population in Pakistan. Not only does it make it a criminal offence to be an Ahmadi Muslim, but also it has created a hostile climate in which target killings occur all too often. Between 1984

and July 2020, 269 Ahmadi Muslims have been killed on grounds of faith. Without a democratic voice, the Community continues to suffer in silence with no action taken to redress the situation and protect further innocent Ahmadis from being killed. The APPG Inquiry heard how even Ahmadi Muslims visiting Pakistan are not spared murder.



**THE DEADLIEST ATTACK ON THE AHMADIYYA
MUSLIM COMMUNITY WAS ON 28 MAY 2010 WHEN
TWO AHMADI MUSLIM MOSQUES WERE STORMED
BY TERRORISTS AND 86 AHMADI MUSLIMS WERE
MASSACRED**

THE INDEPENDENT



**THE LAHORE MASSACRE
2010**

in attack

www.independent.co.uk

SATURDAY 29 MAY 2010

Number 7,311

• £1.60 (Ireland €1.80)

NT



Massacre of the heretics

Gunmen kill at least 80
attacks on Lahore mosques

COVER STORY, PAGES 2&3

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CASE STUDY

The 2010 Lahore Attack

On 28 May 2010, two Ahmadi Muslim mosques in Lahore were brutally attacked. The attacks were timed to be simultaneous. Several attackers targeted the Model Town mosque while a larger contingent attacked the bigger Garhi Shahu mosque. The terrorists stormed the main prayer halls and hand grenades were used to devastating effect, while machine guns sprayed bullets indiscriminately on all worshippers. At the Garhi Shahu mosque, attackers even had time to replenish their ammunition before the police arrived at the scene. It is reported that the police arrived two and a half hours after the attacks started^[48], allowing attackers the opportunity to walk among the fallen and to target those who remained alive whilst shouting 'Khatme Nabuwwat Zindabad' ('Long Live Khatme Nabuwwat' i.e. The Finality of Prophethood).

86 Ahmadi Muslims and a Christian were killed in the attacks.

Ahmadi Muslim youth apprehended two terrorists in Model Town mosque, stopping them from blowing themselves up.

Three days after the attack, the attackers stormed into Jinnah Hospital, Lahore and attacked Ahmadi Muslim patients who had survived the ordeal but then sustained further injuries due to the gunfire at the hospital.

The provincial government had been informed on many occasions of terrorist threats against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community which included open threats of violence by extremist clerics^[49]. These reports were confirmed by the Federal Government and other Human Rights organisations. The authorities simply turned a blind eye.



CASE STUDY

© BPM Media

STUDENT SHOT IN THE HEAD

Ummad Farooq, 27, lives in Newcastle, where he works as a finance manager. Ummad was born and raised in Karachi, Pakistan. His father lived in Pakistan and had been serving for a number of years as the local president of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in Baldia Town, Karachi.

In 2012, Ummad visited Baldia Town for his brother's wedding. It was a particularly tense time for Ahmadi Muslims in Karachi, as a number of local presidents were being targeted by local anti-Ahmadi vigilante groups.

Ummad's brother was married on Wednesday 19 October 2012. Ummad described to us what happened to his family two days after his brother's wedding.

"It was Friday, we were coming back from Friday Prayers. We were in the car and my dad was driving the car. I was sitting in the back, and my brother was behind us on a motorbike. We were attacked by the religious extremists and my brother was killed, two days after his wedding. My dad was shot, five bullets, and I was shot in the head. That bullet is lodged in my head. Luckily I survived. We were driven to the local hospital, my brother died in my lap - he was bleeding in my lap, he couldn't get to the hospital at the time. I was bleeding from my head, I couldn't see anything, I was blinded. My dad was breathing... He was trying to breathe with five bullets in him. We were taken to our local hospital - he wasn't safe

because a lot of time victims are attacked again in the hospitals."

Ummad was asked by the APPG Inquiry why he and his family were specifically attacked. His frank response exemplifies the way in which Ahmadi Muslims suffer at the hands of vigilante mobs in Pakistan.

"Before this incident there were two or three [local] Presidents being targeted within other chapters within Karachi. So it was going quite wide, many Ahmadis had been attacked in Karachi. After those two or three Presidents being attacked they were targeting the local presidents and the local missionaries within Karachi and my dad was quite well known of being Ahmadi."

Ummad and his family were attacked simply for being members of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in Pakistan. The attack has left a long-lasting impact on Ummad and his family.

"After the incident [I have suffered from] PTSD, I saw a lot of therapists, I am still taking medicines. My mum couldn't sleep a single night after this incident - she lost a 26 year old boy who got married two days before and she still takes sleeping medicine [...] the whole family broke down because of that and the only reason why it happened was because of being an Ahmadi Muslim. Because [my father] survived, two days after the incident 3 more Ahmadis were killed in the local area again, attacked in the same way ... no one found the killers and nothing heard after that and that way we left the country."



CASE STUDY

TEACHER TORTURED TO DEATH BY POLICE

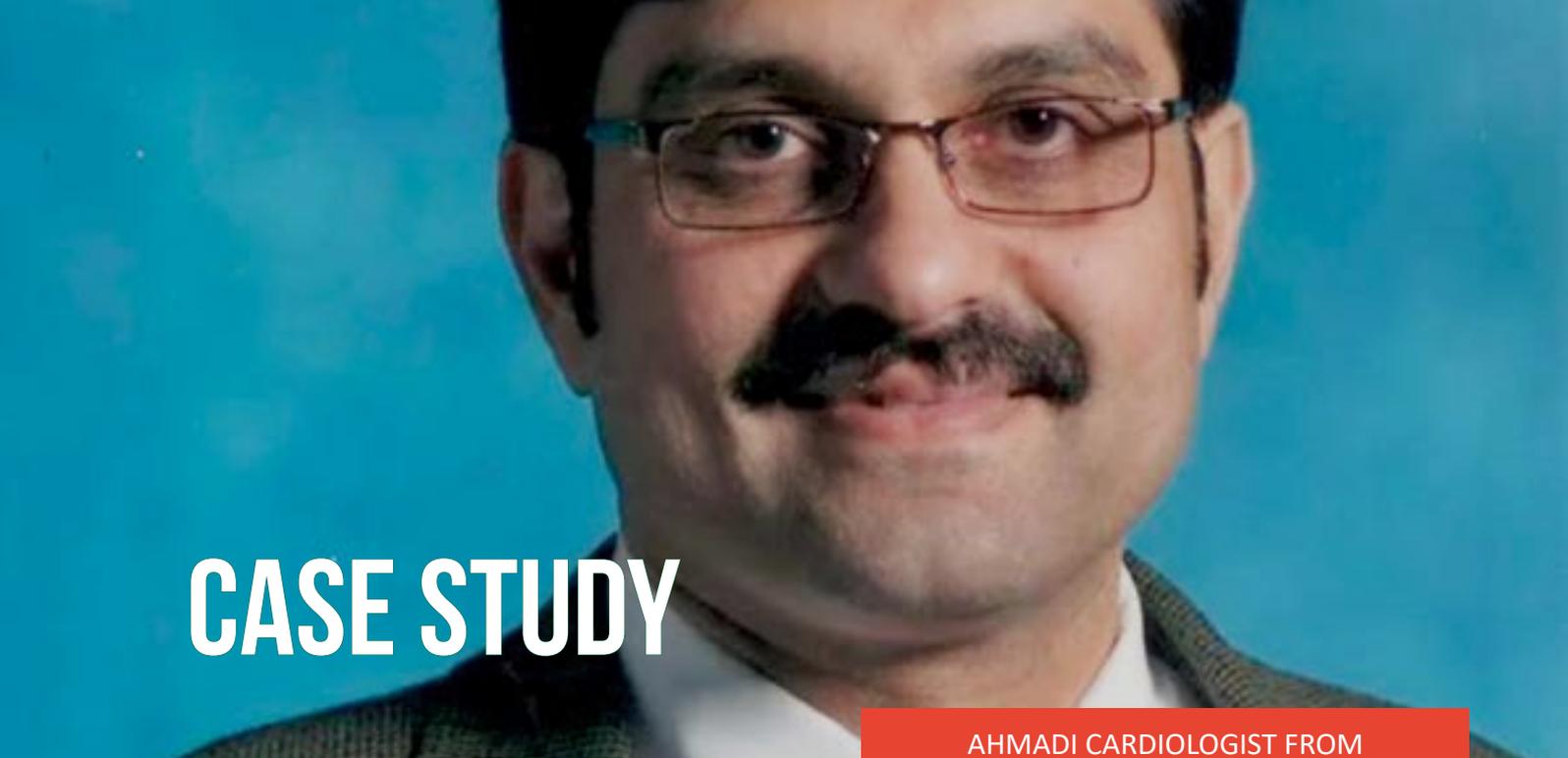
In January 2012, 43 year old school teacher, Master Abdul Qadoos was falsely arrested by police in Chenab Nagar (Rabwah) Pakistan for the alleged murder of Ahmad Yusuf. Master Qadoos remained in custody for a month and a half where he was brutally tortured to death by police officers.

Whilst in custody, Master Qadoos was hung upside down from his ankles for long periods. Furthermore, whilst laid supine, an extremely heavy wooden roller, similar to those used to flatten cricket pitches, was rolled all over his body, as attendants stood at each side of him making sure he could not move. Police officers would ensure that he kept awake at night by beating him and by keeping the lights switched on. Such inhumane treatment led to multiple organ failure and crushed his muscles. These are just a few examples of the torture he endured.

Master Qadoos was left on the street by police. Those who found him say that he was losing significant levels of blood and was vomiting. His body was severely bruised and swollen. Master Qadoos informed them that the police were attempting to blackmail him by asking him to sign a document claiming that senior leaders of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community were responsible for the murder of Ahmad Yusuf. As Master Qadoos had

declined, he had been subjected to torture. Master Qadoos succumbed to his injuries and died on 30 March 2012.

**MASTER QADOOS
REMAINED IN
CUSTODY FOR A
MONTH AND A
HALF WHERE HE
WAS BRUTALLY
TORTURED TO DEATH
BY POLICE OFFICERS**

A portrait of Dr. Mehdi Ali Qamar, a man with a mustache and glasses, wearing a suit and tie, against a blue background.

CASE STUDY

AHMADI CARDIOLOGIST FROM AMERICA SHOT DEAD IN RABWAH

US cardiologist Dr Mehdi Ali Qamar was visiting Pakistan to provide free healthcare at the Tahir Heart Institute in Rabwah, Punjab. On 26 May 2014, after morning prayers Dr Qamar and his family were paying their respects to deceased friends and family at the town's cemetery. He had just stepped out of the cemetery when he was shot dead by two unknown assailants. The murder took place in front of his wife and infant son.

The 51-year-old doctor was on a three-week medical mission to Pakistan, and had arrived just two days earlier on a humanitarian visit from the United States of America. Dr Qamar is survived by his wife and three sons. His murderers were never caught.

THE MURDER TOOK PLACE IN FRONT OF HIS WIFE AND INFANT SON.

**NO ONE WAS
PROSECUTED FOR
HIS MURDER**



CASE STUDY

INNOCENT AHMADI WOMAN MAKES A CHARITABLE DONATION AND IS THEN CHARGED WITH BLASPHEMY

On 30 April 2020, 55 year old Ramzan Bibi made a monetary contribution towards an event organised by the local non-Ahmadi Mosque in the village of Cheleki (Nankana District). The donation was turned down as the Mosque refused to accept a donation from an Ahmadi Muslim.

When she went to enquire why her donation had been refused, she was met by Amjad Abbas – a relative who started to physically and verbally assault her in public, on the basis of her religion. Ramzan Bibi sustained significant physical injuries from the attack. Those passing by attempted to prevent the attack, but their attempts attracted a wider crowd including extremist hard-line clerics.

The clerics involved the district police and alleged that the woman had committed blasphemy against the Holy Prophet and provided false testimony against Ramzan Bibi.

Ramzan Bibi was arrested and charged under section 295-C of Pakistan’s Penal Code which carries the death penalty. She was initially taken to Sheikupura Jail and then later transferred to Kot Lakhpat Jail (Central Jail – Lahore) where she currently awaits trial.

She is the first Ahmadi Muslim woman to be arrested under PPC 295-C since the promulgation of Ordinance XX by General Zia.



CASE STUDY

MISSIONARY IMPRISONED DUE TO ALLEGED BLASPHEMY

30 year old Rohan Ahmad, an Ahmadi Muslim missionary was arrested following a raid at his family home in Lahore, Pakistan. On 26 May 2020, Pakistan's Cyber Crimes Department (part the Federal Investigation Agency) conducted a raid based on allegations that Mr Ahmad had received WhatsApp messages in September 2019, inviting him to participate in a quiz hosted by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Youth Association. They also allege that Mr Ahmad received a link to a book via Google drive, published by the founder of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community and allege this to be blasphemous material.

Plain clothed police officers with face coverings forcibly entered Mr Ahmad's property hurling threats of abuse and violence towards his family. Reports also suggest that Mr Ahmad was tortured by police before being arrested and taken to Camp Jail in Lahore. Mr Ahmad has been charged under s295-B, 298-C, 109 and 120B of Pakistan's Penal Code and s34 of the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act 2016.

Mr Ahmad currently awaits trial and if guilty could be sentenced to death.

REPORTS ALSO SUGGEST THAT MR AHMAD WAS TORTURED BY POLICE BEFORE BEING ARRESTED AND TAKEN TO CAMP JAIL IN LAHORE.

Denied Religious Rights

Federal laws make it a criminal offence for any Ahmadi Muslim in Pakistan to practice Islam or refer to their faith as Islam. The text of the law goes to extraordinary lengths to target Ahmadi Muslims making it a criminal offence for Ahmadi Muslim who “poses himself”, directly or indirectly, as a Muslim. So not only do Ahmadis face a barrage of

hate for being labelled as non-Muslims by extremists but also they are barred by law from practicing Islam. The witness evidence heard in the APPG Inquiry demonstrates the crippling reach of these laws.

The following table highlights the rights denied to Ahmadi Muslims in Pakistan:

KEY PILLAR OF ISLAM	DESCRIPTION	DENIAL OF RIGHTS	PUNISHMENT
Shahada (Declaration of Faith)	Fundamental declaration made by all Muslims, stating that they believe: “There is none worthy of worship except Allah and Muhammad is His messenger”	Ordinance XX prohibits an Ahmadi from self-identifying as a Muslim Blasphemy can be invoked for such a declaration outraging the feelings of a Muslim.	Three years imprisonment and a fine. (PPC 298c) Death under the blasphemy laws (PPC 295c)
Salat (Prayer)	To offer five daily prayers as prescribed by Islam	Ordinance XX prohibits an Ahmadi from directly or indirectly practicing Islam. Ordinance XX prohibits an Ahmadi to make the call for prayer (Adhan). Blasphemy can be invoked for such a declaration outraging the feelings of a Muslim.	Three years imprisonment and a fine. (PPC 298c) Death under the blasphemy laws (PPC 295c)
Zakat (Charity)	Paying alms (charity) to benefit the poor and the needy, as prescribed by Islam	Ordinance XX prohibits an Ahmadi from directly or indirectly practicing Islam. Blasphemy can be invoked for such a declaration outraging the feelings of a Muslim.	Three years imprisonment and a fine. (PPC 298c) Death under the blasphemy laws (PPC 295c)
Sawm (Fasting)	Fasting during the month of Ramadan, as prescribed by Islam	Ordinance XX prohibits an Ahmadi from directly or indirectly practicing Islam. Blasphemy can be invoked for such a declaration outraging the feelings of a Muslim.	Three years imprisonment and a fine. (PPC 298c) Death under the blasphemy laws (PPC 295c)
Hajj (Pilgrimage)	Pilgrimage to Mecca, as prescribed by Islam	Ordinance XX prohibits an Ahmadi from directly or indirectly practicing Islam. Pakistanis have their religion stated on their passports. Ahmadi Muslims are not listed as Muslims but as Ahmadis – enabling the Saudi authorities to deny all Pakistani Ahmadis their right to travel to Saudi Arabia to perform the pilgrimage.	Three years imprisonment and a fine. (PPC 298c) Death under the blasphemy laws (PPC 295c)

Witnesses in the APPG Inquiry told us that the effect on the day-to-day lives of Ahmadi Muslims was at such an acute level that members of the Community have been charged under the Blasphemy Laws for saying *Assalamo Alaikum*, the Muslim greeting of peace, and the law bars them from engaging in common Muslim blessings or even possessing the Holy Quran^[50].

“Amongst the Muslims it is a common practice that before you do anything you start in the Name of God Almighty, Allah, and then if an Ahmadi were to do anything, write in the Name of God or he was to say anything in the Name of God, that would be an offence and he would immediately be prosecuted and punished [...] The common greeting amongst Muslims is ‘Assalamo Alaikum’ ‘Peace be upon you’ this is a common greeting everywhere, all the Muslims without any distinction would use that greeting but if an Ahmadi were to greet any friend or anyone saying ‘Assalamo Alaikum’ that’s an offence. [...] Those are some of the horrendous implications of these laws [...] Ahmadis who possess the Islamic scripture, the Holy Quran, that’s an offence, I cannot have it in my house, I cannot have it anywhere, I’m not allowed to read my holy scripture, I cannot touch it, I cannot possess it”
Sir Iftikhar Ayaz, Third Session of the APPG Inquiry

"PEOPLE HAVE ACTUALLY BEEN CHARGED FOR FASTING IN THE MONTH OF RAMADAN, BECAUSE BY FASTING IN THE MONTH OF RAMADAN YOU ARE POSING AS A MUSLIM, SERVING A SENTENCE OF THREE YEARS"

No Right to Worship

Ahmadi mosques have also been targeted on grounds that Ahmadis cannot ‘pose’ as Muslims, therefore they cannot pray as Muslims and their places of worship cannot be called mosques or resemble mosques. As a result many Ahmadi mosques have been sealed, attacked and even destroyed.

“If I call Azan [the Muslim call to prayer] I would be punished with three years’ imprisonment. If I call myself a Muslim, I would to be punished with three years’ imprisonment. And that law is still intact in Pakistan [...] People have actually been charged for fasting in the month of Ramadan, because by fasting in the month of Ramadan you are posing as a Muslim, serving a sentence of three years”.

Mujeeb-ur-Rehman, First Session of the APPG Inquiry

Strikingly, the relevant articles of the penal code (articles 298a, 298b and 298c), refer exclusively to the Ahmadi Muslim Community. No other religious community is subjected to such specific maltreatment within the penal code. Pakistan’s Ahmadi Muslims are at constant risk of falling foul of the blasphemy law and a simple accusation will be sufficient for the police to arrest and convict an Ahmadi Muslim.



**CHAKWAL MOSQUE
2016**

CASE STUDY

On 12 December 2016, an anti-Ahmadi procession passed by an Ahmadi mosque in the village of Dulmial, Chakwal with the stated intention of taking over the mosque. Ringleaders communicated with the local police 2-3 weeks previously that they were going to reclaim the mosque from the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community because the law says they are not Muslims. The Community wrote for assistance and was provided with 20-25 armed policemen, however given the size of the mob consisting of at least a thousand individuals it became clear that they were overwhelmed. Forty Ahmadi Muslim worshippers inside the mosque tried to protect the mosque from being taken over and sadly one Ahmadi, Malik Khalid Javed, died from a heart attack due to the stress of being under attack by the violent mob.

The mob stormed the mosque, then looted items from inside the mosque and eventually set fire to items in the mosque compound.

The police managed to escort the Ahmadi Muslims out through the back of the mosque. It was more than three hours later that the Pakistani Army arrived on the scene. The leader of the mob was a Canadian national Haji Malik Rashid Ahmad, who was originally from Dulmial. It is believed that he orchestrated the attack, raised the money in Canada through charities and then paid people to join help him on the day by spreading rumours that Ahmadi had taken over the mosque and they ought to take it back^[51]. He managed to fly back to Canada after the attack and the APPG understands that no charges have been pressed against him.



FAISALABAD MOSQUE 2018



CASE STUDY

On 23 August 2018, an Ahmadi Muslim mosque in Ghaseetpura, Faisalabad, was attacked by a mob of 300-400 people on the basis of a minor personal dispute between two parties. A number of attackers were armed and opened fire at the mosque. Many also used stones to pelt the mosque.

Five people were injured with gunshot wounds. Though the majority of Ahmadi Muslims managed to escape, the mob vandalised the main prayer hall before setting fire to items inside the mosque. An Ahmadi Muslim home situated next to the mosque was also damaged^[52].

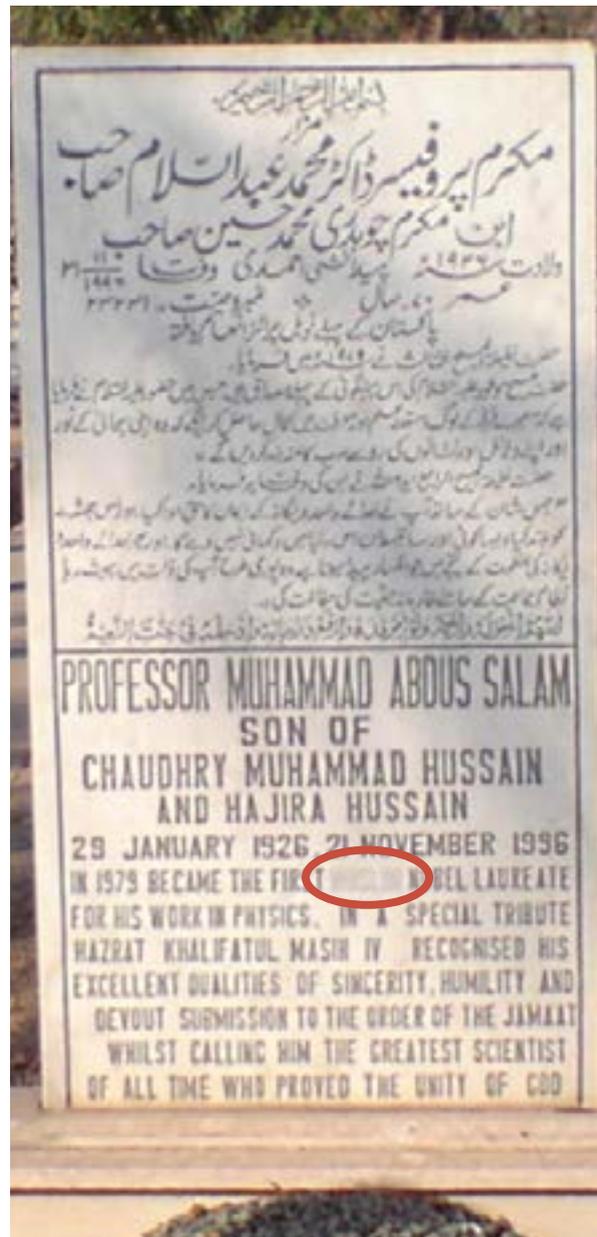
Graves Targeted

The APPG Inquiry heard that Ahmadi Muslims are denied the right to rest in peace after death. Ahmadi families are routinely barred by local extremist clerics from burying their loved ones at the local cemetery^[53]. As a result, many families are forced to travel long distances to put their loved ones to rest.

There have also been reports of deceased bodies being exhumed — sometimes under police orders — from their graves^[54] on grounds that the burial was in a ‘Muslim’ graveyard^[55]. A number of reports also suggest that the police actively assist extremist clerics in destroying Ahmadi gravestones. In April 2014, the police destroyed Ahmadi gravestones in Faisalabad, Pakistan, following pressure from extremist groups, and demolished headstones in an attempt to remove the Kalima (Islamic creed) from them^[56].

On 6 December 2012 in Model Town, Lahore, 15 armed men destroyed and vandalised over 120 graves belonging to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community^[57].

Pakistan's first Nobel Laureate, Professor Abdus Salam, has had the word ‘Muslim’ erased from his gravestone by police under court order, because Professor Abdus Salam was an Ahmadi.



Grave of Pakistan's first Nobel laureate, Professor Abdus Salam. The word 'Muslim' has been erased. (as highlighted in red)



Ahmadi Muslim graves desecrated in Pakistan



A police officer erasing the 'Shahadah', the Islamic creed, (one of the Five Pillars of Islam) from an Ahmadi Mosque

Desecration of the Kalima (Declaration of Faith)

With laws making it illegal for Ahmadi Muslims to practice Islam, Ahmadi Muslims are barred from professing their faith, either verbally or in writing.

"Pakistani police have destroyed Ahmadi translations of the Holy Quran and banned Ahmadi publications, the use of any Islamic terminology on Ahmadi Muslim wedding invitation cards the offering of Ahmadi Muslim funeral prayers, and the displaying of the Kalima (the principal creed of a Muslim) on Ahmadi Muslim anywhere including on gravestones."^[58]

Mujeeb-ur-Rehman, lecture to Harvard Law School

Denied the Right to Peaceful Assembly

Since 1984, Ahmadis have been banned from congregating for religious purposes. This applies to all activities including their annual convention — Jalsa Salana — a religious gathering that promotes Islamic principles of peace, providing religious guidance for Ahmadis and offering an opportunity for collective prayers. However, as a result of the laws, the last Jalsa was held 37 years ago in 1983. By contrast, no action has been taken to stop numerous anti-Ahmadi rallies inciting hate and violence from being held across Pakistan, including in Rabwah — the national headquarters of the community.

Additionally, this restriction is not limited to faith based events. Authorities have clamped down even to the extent that sporting events organised by the community have also been shut down^{[59][60]}.

WHILE AHMADIS ARE BARRED FROM PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY, THERE HAS BEEN NO ACTION TAKEN TO STOP NUMEROUS ANTI-AHMADI RALLIES INCITING HATRED AND VIOLENCE FROM BEING HELD ACROSS PAKISTAN, INCLUDING IN RABWAH — THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMMUNITY

Denied Civil Rights

Denied the right to vote

For Ahmadi Muslims, the constitutional declaration labelling them non-Muslims has far reaching effects and has resulted in the denial of their basic civil rights. The basic tenet of any democratic society is the ability to have your say in the governance of the country, but in Pakistan Ahmadi Muslims are the only community who have been deprived of this fundamental right and are denied the right to vote.

This first emerged in 1985, when a system of separate electorates was created by General Zia as part of his Islamisation process^[61]. This created Muslim and Non-Muslim voting blocks. Due to both the 1974 Constitutional amendment and Ordinance XX, Ahmadi

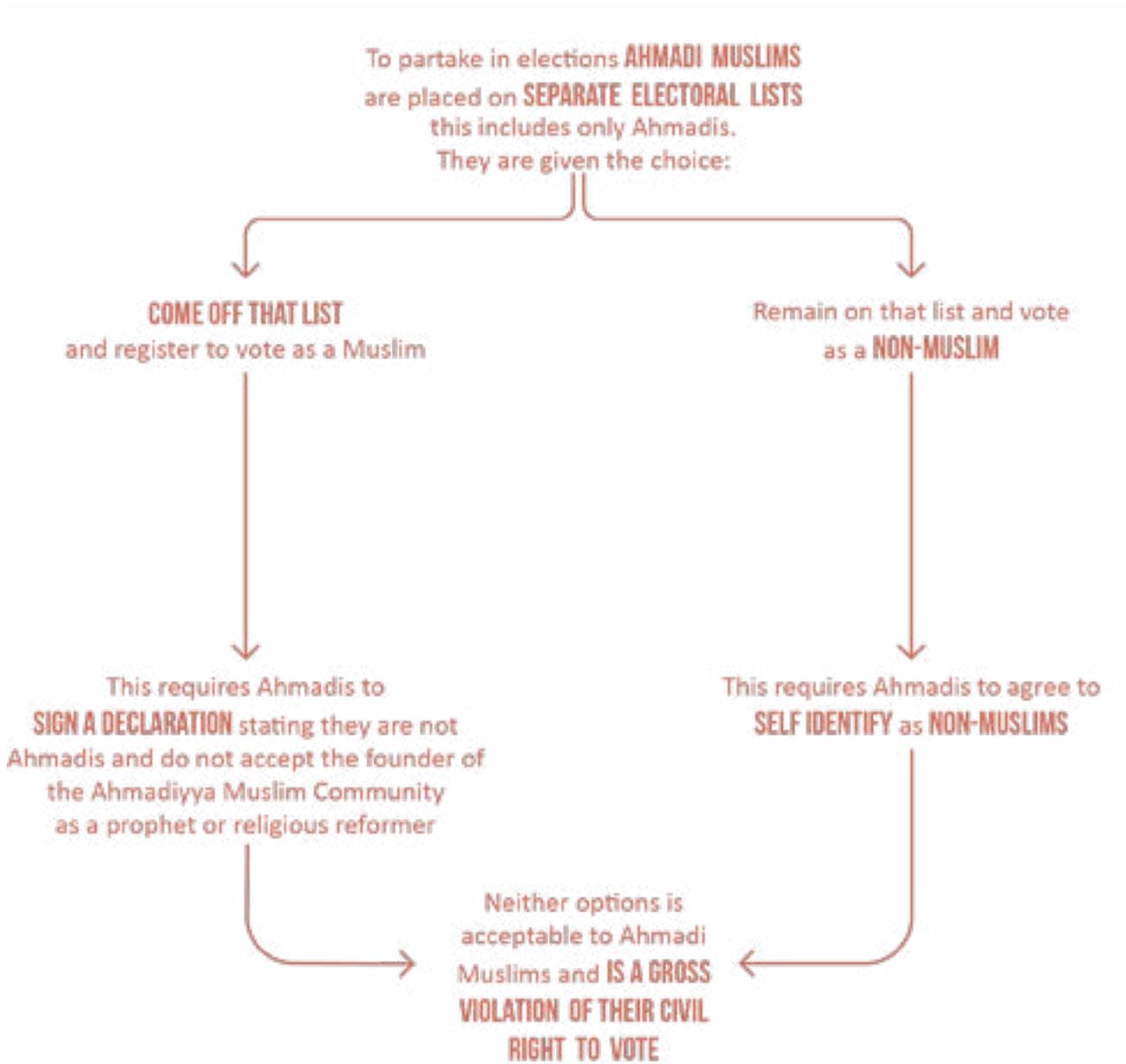
Muslims were barred from self-identifying and voting in the Muslim bloc.

This system was partly abolished in 2002, when President Musharraf introduced a 'joint electorate' (via The Conduct of General Elections Order (2002)), which lifted the requirement to declare religion when choosing to vote. However, under pressure from clerics he quickly backtracked and issued Executive Order Number 15 of 2002 (The Conduct of General Elections (Second Amendment) Order (2002)), which reinstated the subordinate position of Ahmadi Muslims, making Ahmadis the only community in Pakistan to be featured on separate electoral lists. This remains the position to this day and has been highlighted by several EU electoral observer missions.

To make matters worse, the separate electoral list of Ahmadis — including their names and addresses — are published during election periods and are freely available. In the hostile anti-Ahmadi climate, this poses a grave security risk as it provides extremists with information on the residential addresses of all Ahmadis in that locality.

When challenged, Pakistani officials say that Ahmadis can vote, but they fail to mention that to vote Ahmadis must either renounce their faith as Ahmadis or self-identify as non-Muslims, and neither of these are acceptable options for Ahmadis. **What this is, in reality, is the state sanctioned denial of the democratic and human rights of Ahmadis.**

Ahmadis have been denied voting rights in every election — local, provincial or national — in Pakistan since 1985. Even in Rabwah, the town that is home to the headquarters of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community and is overwhelmingly populated by Ahmadis, they have no vote to decide who leads local council authority.



Flowchart explaining how Ahmadi Muslims are denied the right to vote in Pakistan

The last three EU Electoral Observer Missions to Pakistan have highlighted the issue. In 2013, the EU Electoral Observer Mission (See Annex 7.1 for further information) found that:

“In contradiction of article two of the ICCPR, the Ahmadi community continues to be discriminated against as, unlike other minority groups, Ahmadis are registered on a separate ER [Electoral Register]. While the Constitution foresees Pakistani citizenship and an age of 18 as the requirements for the right to vote, and the Conduct of General Elections Order 2002 establishes a unified ER, subsequent amendments... discriminate against Ahmadis.”^[62]

The Observer Mission recommended:

“The separate list for Ahmadi voters be abolished, so that all voters are on one unified electoral roll, according to requirements for age and Pakistani citizenship.”



Extracts from Election Commission Instructions

According to the 2018 report of the EU Electoral Observer Mission:

“Although steps were taken to ensure participation of minorities in the electoral process, the situation of the Ahmadi community remains unchanged. They are still registered on a separate electoral roll, contrary to constitutional provisions on the equality of citizens and against international law.”^[63]

Discrimination in National ID Documents

Ahmadi Muslims also face persecution when applying for essential documents such as the national ID card and passports. The ID card is critical for citizens as it is needed to register for health and education services and even for basic amenities such as purchasing a mobile SIM card. The application form for a CNIC (ID) card requires a person to declare their religion and if you state that you are an Ahmadi then the following declaration needs to be signed:

“I declare on oath that I am not Muslim and I belong to Qadiani/Ahmadi religion.”^[64]

As a result, Ahmadis are singled out and listed separately as non-Muslims on the national ID database, NADRA.

Equally disturbing is the declaration all Pakistani Muslims must sign in the application for a passport. This has been the requirement since 1984. If self-identifying as a Muslims one needs to sign the following^[65]:

‘I Declare that:

> I am a Muslim and believe in the absolute and unqualified finality of the prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him) as the last of the prophets

> I do not recognize any person who claims to be a prophet in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever after Muhammad (peace be upon him) or recognize such Claimant as a prophet or religious reformer as a Muslim

> I consider Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani to be an imposter nabi and also consider his followers whether belonging to the Lahori or Qadiani group to be a non Muslim’

20.

DECLARATION (FOR MUSLIM APPLICANTS)
--

I, _____ S/O, W/O, D/O _____ Age _____ Years

Adult Muslim, resident of _____

Declare that:-

- a) I am a Muslim and believe in the absolute and unqualified finality of the prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him) as the last of the prophets
- b) I do not recognize any person who claims to be a prophet in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever after Muhammad (peace be upon him) or recognize such Claimant as a prophet or religious reformer as a Muslim
- c) I consider Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani to be an imposter nabi and also consider his followers whether belonging to the Lahori or Qadiani group to be a non Muslim

Signature of the Applicant: _____

Declaration on Pakistani passport asking all who self identify as Muslim to declare Ahmadis as non-Muslims

These declarations are signed by all Muslims applying for these documents thereby reinforcing the anti-Ahmadi hate in Pakistan. **Even in the UK, if a Pakistani national or a dual British and Pakistani national is applying for a passport or ID card^[66] then they are required to sign these declarations, thereby perpetuating anti-Ahmadi hatred in the UK as well.**

The issue with the passport declaration does not end at the form, required to be signed by any non-muslim. The Pakistani passport itself states the person's religion. Ahmadis are not listed as Muslim, but as Ahmadi — making them easily identifiable when travelling. This also makes it impossible for them to travel to Saudi Arabia for the Hajj - a key sacred pillar of Islam. Thus, passports are used as another tool by the state for the persecution of Ahmadis.

Denied the Right to Publish, Possess or Sell Religious Texts

The APPG Inquiry heard how **Ahmadi Muslims are prevented from publishing and possessing their core religious texts including the Holy Quran and the entire corpus of the writings of the founder of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.** The impact of such restrictions will reverberate for generations to come; especially as children are denied access to their religious teachings.

"IF YOU WANT YOUNG AHMADIS TO LEARN ABOUT THEIR FAITH WHERE DO THEY GO AND READ ABOUT THEIR FAITH? OUR WEBSITES ARE BANNED, OUR BOOKS ARE NOW BANNED"

This is a particular issue in Punjab, where a publication ban was introduced against the community. The ban is a consequence of the National Action Plan that emerged in the aftermath of the 2014 attack on an army public school in Peshawar, where 'a need was felt to chalk out an Action Plan with specific, mostly quantifiable and ultimately time-bound agenda to curb the scourge of terrorism.'^[67] The resulting plan 'spelled out the specifics for the counter-terrorism drive in the country.'^[68]

Shockingly, measures adopted for counter-terrorism have been used to target religious communities, such as the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, despite there being no evidence that the Community's literature promotes hatred in any form.

"In 2014 there was a school massacre in Peshawar and in which 130 school children were killed. After that the Pakistani government issued a national action plan, the NAP, to overcome some of these issues. And one of the objectives was to weed out hate literature from wider society. Because of that the Punjab provincial government constructed a board of clerics to advise them on what is hate literature and what isn't, and amongst some other books these clerics advised the Punjab government to ban the books of the Community, without showing any instance where there is hate material in those books".

Mirza Usman Ahmad, First Session of the APPG Inquiry

The banning of the Community's publications has had catastrophic effect.

"All the books of the founder of the Ahmadiyya community, 86 in number, were banned without assigning any reasons"

"What now you have is a situation where young Ahmadis are unable to read their religious texts- not only young Ahmadis but also Ahmadis across the board. But if you want young Ahmadis to learn about their faith where do they go and read about their faith? Our websites are banned, our books are now banned".

"At Rabwah, the central library which is a huge library ... All the books of the founder of our community had to be removed from the library for fear that the government would come and take us."
Mirza Usman Ahmad, First Session of the APPG Inquiry

Ironically, the authorities have taken steps to defend literature published by Khatme Nabuwwat, that promotes hatred and violence against Ahmadis. A resolution was passed to this effect stating that:

"As Mirzais/Qadianis/Lahoris have been declared non-Muslims in the Constitution of Pakistan and they are forbidden by law to use Islamic terms but they continue to use these in violation of the law, and the Khatme Nabuwwat literature that is produced in their rebuttal and designates them Kafir is in no way in the category of hate material. Thus the Home Department, the Police in general and the Government of Punjab in particular should take no action whatsoever against the Khatme Nabuwwat literature, its drafting, printing, distribution and sale. It was unanimously recommended that the Home Department should issue a notification in this regard. Also police action with regard to the literature on Khatme Nabuwwat and rebuttal of Qadianiat was jointly and strongly condemned. Later, a delegation of the MUB met the I.G. Police and told him to stop police action underway at various locations with respect to the End of Prophethood literature."^[69]

Resolution following the February 2015 meeting of the provincial government with the Mutahiddah Ulama Board (MUB)^[70].

This further highlights the collusion between the clerics and the state in the persecution of Ahmadis at every level. The police used the pretext of the publications ban, citing the same counter-terrorism measures, to raid the Community's headquarters in Chenab Nagar (Rabwah), where armed anti-terror police seized books and computers of the Community's staff, despite having no warrant for entry or seizure of goods. Three Ahmadis were arrested at the scene — see next case study for details.

CASE STUDY

Police Raid on Ahmadiyya Muslim Headquarters in Rabwah

In December 2016, under the guise of anti-terror laws, sixteen uniformed and armed policeman and twelve plain clothes officers in three police vehicles forcibly entered the Tehrik-e-Jadid^[71] compound at the Community's headquarters in Rabwah^[72], Pakistan. The armed policemen wore masks and forced their way through the main entrance, climbed up the staircase, headed straight to the office of Literature and Publications on the first floor, and five or six policemen took up positions in various parts of the outer compound, ordering workers to lie on the ground or sit down.

Upon entering the publications office, they arrested all the workers within the office. Those interviewed allege that the police also assaulted them by punching them in the face. Computer hardware was thrown on to the ground by the police and they seized various laptops, mobile phones and printers. Three Ahmadi Muslims were arrested (without being told the reason for their arrest) and were dragged into the back of the police car.

Some policemen went to the control room to seize control of CCTV within the compound. After breaking the door down, the police physically assaulted the CCTV operator who was taken to hospital for his injuries. During the raid, the police removed the wiring from CCTV cameras in the office. In addition, they seized the mobile phones of workers standing in the outer courtyard.

Three Ahmadi Muslims who were arrested were imprisoned in solitary confinement. They have since been released. One of the things which they were charged with was excessive use of the Quran and Hadith (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him))



First hand victim account of Mr Sabah ul Zafar ^[73]

Mr Sabah ul Zafar was one of the administrative workers who was arrested during the police's raid. Mr Zafar was subject to severe torture at the hands of the police. Below is a synopsis of an interview with the victim in March 2019.

"At the time I was working in the office with two other colleagues and 4 to 5 police officers raided the office. They knocked everything to the ground including computers and books. They told me to turn around and cuffed me. During this process they punched me in my face a few times. They even hit me in the back of my head with their gun.

My colleagues were taken in police custody where they were tortured. They were whipped to the extent that the sticks broke when it hit the backs of the workers .

The police even threatened that they would face similar abuse and harassment as the 81 year old Ahmadi bookkeeper, Shakoore Bhai, who was being held at a nearby cell in solitary confinement.

The four workers were locked in a 10ft cell, infested with rats and with no drainage system. They were forced to share one toilet in the cell, with no privacy and a constant foul smell, risking disease. The workers would hear horrifying sounds of torture in their cell and were kept awake during night where wardens ensured that the light in their cell remained on to prevent them from sleeping.

Fridays were difficult. We had to clear out our cell and then sit up straight in our cell until the prison officer walks by. We had no idea when he would walk by. It could be in the morning or even very late at night. At times we had to sit up straight all day until they decided to do their rounds. This must have been a difficult process for Shakoore Bhai when he was alone due to his vulnerabilities."

CASE STUDY

BOOKSHOP OWNER IMPRISONED FOR EIGHT YEARS

Mr Abdul Shakoor (“Shakoor Bhai”) owned a small bookshop in the heart of Rabwah (Chenab Nagar). A mullah (extremist cleric) paid a third party to pose as an Ahmadi and purchase two books from the bookshop. The mullah then used photocopied content from other books published by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community (not those purchased at the shop) to present to the police and lodge a first instance report (FIR).

Punjab’s Counter Terrorism Department, accompanied by Pakistan’s Elite Force, raided Shakoor Bhai’s bookshop on 2 December 2015. Officers seized books, magazines, cash and even gift vouchers from the bookshop. Amongst publications seized included translated copies of the Holy Quran, the biography of the founder of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community and the Community’s Daily Al-Fazl newspaper. Both Shakoor Bhai and his assistant were arrested and taken to an unknown location where they were denied the right to contact their respective families.

Just three weeks later on 2 January 2016 after a rushed trial process, Pakistan’s Anti-Terrorism Court sentenced Shakoor Bhai to eight years imprisonment (three years under 298-C and five years under the Anti-Terrorism Act) and a fine of Rs. 600,000 (approximately £4,000).

An appeal was lodged against the sentence but, despite section 25(5) of Pakistan’s Anti-Terrorism Act providing that a high court should hear and decide an appeal within seven working days, no appeal was heard for three years.

Notably, Shakoor Bhai's health deteriorated dramatically whilst in prison. He was eventually released on 18 March 2019, at the age of 83 years old, after a judge ruled that his sentence had been served.

Persecution via the Education System

The APPG Inquiry heard consistent evidence across its inquiry sessions that one of the ways in which extremism was being fostered in Pakistan was through schools and madrassas, in particular in lessons on religion and Islam. Hatred of Ahmadis is featured in school textbooks, providing further official sanction for institutionalised harassment and discrimination. (See Annex 1.1 and 2.1 for further information.)

“This hatred against the minorities originates and is further strengthened by the text books. The school books present a twisted, narrow minded and distorted world view, where even the sciences and social sciences are examined through the prism of the prevalent Islamic orthodoxy. These books present one sided history, false references, half-truths and a biased approach [...] Most of the heroes of the minorities are completely and deliberately ignored, for example Pakistan’s first Foreign Minister, Sir Zafarullah Khan, and Pakistan’s only Nobel Prize winner in physics – Dr Mohammad Abdus Salam.”
APPG for Minorities in Pakistan, Written Statement submitted to The APPG Inquiry

The APPG Inquiry heard evidence that young Ahmadi Muslim students of primary school age, regularly face bullying and threats at school. Teachers, rather than maintaining discipline, turn a blind eye or worse, actively identify, denigrate and ridicule Ahmadi Muslim students in front of their class.

“The teachers instructed to teach students at school have been brought up on this diet of hate and contempt towards the minorities; and instead of representing model behaviour of compassion and respect for all; themselves have become preachers of discrimination and hatred. Teachers often instruct non-Muslims and especially Ahmadi and Christian students to eat, sit, and play separately from other students”
APPG for Minorities in Pakistan, Written Submission to The APPG Inquiry

“We heard, in evidence, about a boy who was denied admission to a preparatory school because he was an Ahmadi Muslim. Recently I read a report that a six-year-old boy, he was admitted to a prep

school and when the administration found out that he was from an Ahmadi family, the parents were called, and they said ‘sorry, we cannot take your child because he is an Ahmadi’ - and such incidents [are] very common.”

Sir Iftikhar Ayaz, Third Session of the APPG Inquiry

Young Ahmadi Muslims face a constant risk of being denied access to education and those who secure a place are routinely targeted and stigmatised through physical and emotional abuse at the hands of teachers and fellow pupils. The lasting psychological impact and consequences of such abuse should not be underestimated. Evidence submitted by Christian Solidarity Worldwide^[74] highlighted the ‘mental torture’ Ahmadis experienced as a result of religious intolerance in educational settings. A young Ahmadi woman in Pakistan described her own experiences in school and those of her siblings. She said that people used to say to her:

“You are kafir [an infidel], you are not Muslim. We are Muslim so we can’t be with you. It will destroy our religion if we eat with you. If we drink with you then it will be against our religion.”^[75]

This exemplifies the multi-layered violations that can occur in the educational setting. Her brothers were abused physically and psychologically^[76].

She lost friends because of religious intolerance, and described how her best friend at school attempted to persuade her to convert:

“...Even my best friend refused to be with me until I changed my religion...”^[77]

The APPG Inquiry heard how Ahmadis have also been removed from classes and even rusticated from university despite nearing completion of their courses^[78].

Abuse of International Aid

The APPG Inquiry heard concerns about international aid money being sent to Pakistan and how this should be scrutinised, as the evidence above demonstrates that the education system is fuelling hatred and violence against Ahmadi. Thus, the UK Government must ensure that robust checks and balances are in place to avoid UK tax payers funding hatred against religious minorities. Stemming the tide of hatred that is drummed into the minds of children in schools is a critical element in the fight against extremism.

“You have to know that you’re putting your money into schools that are producing students or that have a curriculum that is tolerant, that is not teaching hate, that is not preaching murder or inciting violence. Unfortunately, I was hearing yesterday that the Ahmadi community, it’s so sad what’s happening to them in Pakistan, because it’s almost, it’s like Nazi Germany, they have databases, they cannot say that they are Muslims, they can’t even practice their religion, they can’t give the Azan, it’s persecution that you cannot imagine...”

Shahbaz Taseer, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

Schools established and owned by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community have also been targeted by the state and not returned to the community despite it having met all legal requirements.

The APPG Inquiry heard how, in 1972, the Pakistan Government nationalised most schools, including Ahmadi owned institutions. As a result eight Ahmadi schools in Punjab including two Ahmadi Muslim colleges in Rabwah (Chenab Nagar) and five Ahmadi schools across Sindh were nationalised.

At that time the Punjab Government also seized 13,000 acres of Ahmadi owned agricultural land, despite this not being part of the Government’s nationalisation policy.

In 1996, the Government of Punjab issued a notice giving the owners of nationalised

educational institutions the option to regain control of their institutions by paying 1 year salary dues to cover employee expenses.

In 1997 the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community fulfilled the conditions for re-privatisation. The Community deposited a sum of Rs. 11,012,483 with the government treasury.

However, despite having made full payments, the Government has not returned the institutions and private land and it has also retained all the money deposited. All other nationalised schools belonging to other communities have been returned to their previous owners, only those belonging to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community remain unreturned^[79].

THE FAILURE OF THE PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT TO RETURN THE NATIONALISED SCHOOLS TO THE AHMADIYYA MUSLIM COMMUNITY IS AN UNNECESSARY BURDEN ON TAXPAYERS IN DONOR COUNTRIES

The APPG Inquiry notes that this should be of serious concern to the international community, especially the UK and EU Governments, as Pakistan is the recipient of substantial aid money for education. This is spent on government-run schools but if the Government were to return the schools taken from the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community then aid money would not be needed for those schools as the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community would fund them entirely. So the failure of the Pakistan government to return the nationalised schools to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community is an unnecessary burden on taxpayers in donor countries.

Vigilante Justice — Devastating Impact of Blasphemy Laws

The blasphemy laws carry the death penalty^[80], and the APPG Inquiry heard of the disturbing trend in Pakistan of the vicious culture of vigilante justice that has been inspired by these laws. Rather than allegations being properly investigated by the police and tried in independent courts of law, those accused of blasphemy are usually dealt with by cleric-led mobs. More often than not, a mere allegation of blasphemy is sufficient to condemn the life of the accused.

“As soon as someone in Pakistan is accused of committing blasphemy his or her life is endangered. Those arrested by police are often the lucky ones.”
Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Annual Report: State of Human Rights in 2014^[81]

When an accusation takes place you find that the person who is accused and their family will often go into hiding because there’s so much pressure from the community. If the local cleric goes to the mosque and makes the announcement on the loudspeaker this just sort of rouses everybody and agitates the rest of the community and they want to take things into their own hands.

Melissa Rawlins, CSW, Fourth Session of the APPG Inquiry

The ease with which blasphemy allegations can be made has led to a sharp increase in blasphemy allegations against members of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community and other religious minorities in Pakistan. Blasphemy allegations are often made for reasons totally unrelated to religion. Witnesses told the APPG Inquiry that blasphemy allegations, and the mob violence that followed, were used as threats, or ways to settle property issues or family vendettas.

So the fact is that the accusations are actually false - I mean people are using the blasphemy laws to either you know they’ve got a disagreement with a Christian neighbour or an Ahmadi or they’re trying to acquire land so is often used to settle some sort of personal score or business rivalry [...] But the majority of the time the person hasn’t actually committed blasphemy. [...] There seems to be always an ulterior motive behind an accusation.
Melissa Rawlins, CSW, Fourth Session of the APPG Inquiry

Similar observations were made by the Legal Aid Society of Karachi in a ‘Judicial Training Toolkit’:

“The majority of blasphemy cases are based on false accusations stemming from property issues or other personal or family vendettas (...) and they inevitably lead to mob violence against the entire community.”^[82]

The Inquiry heard how vigilante culture in Pakistan is deeply entrenched, with clerics giving mobs the religious legitimisation to carry out acts of violence against minority religious communities. In many cases the police offer no protection against mob violence and the FIR system makes it impossible for proper due process to be followed and justice to be served (see Annex 3.1 for further information on the FIR system).

“The current criminal justice procedure has serious flaws and it isn’t just for blasphemy law but for criminal offences. One of the big problems we have in criminal law is that anyone can register what we call an FIR, First Investigation Report, and in the case of blasphemy that is particularly sensitive. So, for example if I had a dispute with one of my neighbours or somebody I don’t like, I can simply go to the police station and have an FIR registered against [them]. Now, what happens with that FIR? The police are biased often and it’s not undisputed but there are lots of issues. And also, the practical problem is that there are police stations in every village so people have ready access to these police stations so if I had a dispute, I could simply turn up at any time of the day, 24 hours you can go to a police station, you can register that FIR and that FIR is actually a warrant against that person. That person does not have an opportunity to suggest or to negate that. That will remain there. And the problem with the blasphemy laws is that the FIR is sufficient to get mob violence.

*When a culture or society is so hostile, let’s say towards an Ahmadi or a Christian, and as we rightly said this is now a strict liability offence. **You don’t need to establish an intention to blasphemy and you don’t need to repeat it so all it takes is for me to say that this guy has blasphemed; whether he intended it or not.**”*

Professor Javaid Rehman, Second Session of the APPG Inquiry



CASE STUDY

THREE AHMADIS SENTENCED TO DEATH AND ONE MURDERED IN POLICE CUSTODY

THREE AHMADI MUSLIMS HAVE BEEN ON DEATH ROW SINCE 2017

On 12 May 2014 four Ahmadis, Mubasher Ahmad, Ghulam Ahmed, Ehsan Ahmed, Khalil Ahmed, took down an anti-Ahmadi hate poster from a shop in Bhoiwal in Sharkpur Sharif, a small town in Sheikhupura, around 22km from Lahore. The posters declared Ahmadis to be wajib-ul-qatl (liable to be killed).

On 13 May 2014, the shop owner lodged a First Instance Report (FIR) citing sections 295-A, 337/2 and 427 of the Pakistan Penal Code. Following the FIR, the four individuals were arrested and kept in police custody. On 16 May 2014, a local madrassa student, posing as a police officer, entered the police station and shot dead Khalil Ahmed and then fled. Following the incident, the remaining

three Ahmadis were transferred to a jail in Sheikhupura. The APPG is not aware of any action being taken by the authorities against the madrassa student or police officers responsible for their safe custody.

Extremist clerics mounted significant pressure on the judiciary to include a charge under 295-C PPC (blasphemy). Not only does this charge make it difficult to obtain bail (due to the severity of the allegation) but also it carries a death sentence if found guilty. **Without any form of evidence, the session judge succumbed to external pressure and took steps to undermine the prosecution by adding the charge against the three under arrest.** On 12 October 2017, the three Ahmadis were sentenced to death and remain in solitary confinement with restricted visitation rights. An appeal against this judgment has been lodged at Lahore High Court. The appeal has been continuously adjourned and has yet to be heard.



CASE STUDY

GUJRANWALA PROTESTS KILL 3 AHMADIS

At 8:00pm on 27 July 2014, anti-Ahmadi extremists gathered for a pre-planned 'protest' at Kachi-Pump in Gujranwala at a place where more than 15 Ahmadi Muslim families lived close to each other. The extremists gathered on the pretext that an Ahmadi youth had defaced a picture of (the Sacred Mosque in Mecca) on Facebook. This allegation is completely false. The 'protest' turned into a violent and murderous attack where the homes of Ahmadi Muslims were burnt, ransacked and looted. In total 8 homes belonging to Ahmadi Muslims were burnt by anti-Ahmadi extremists.

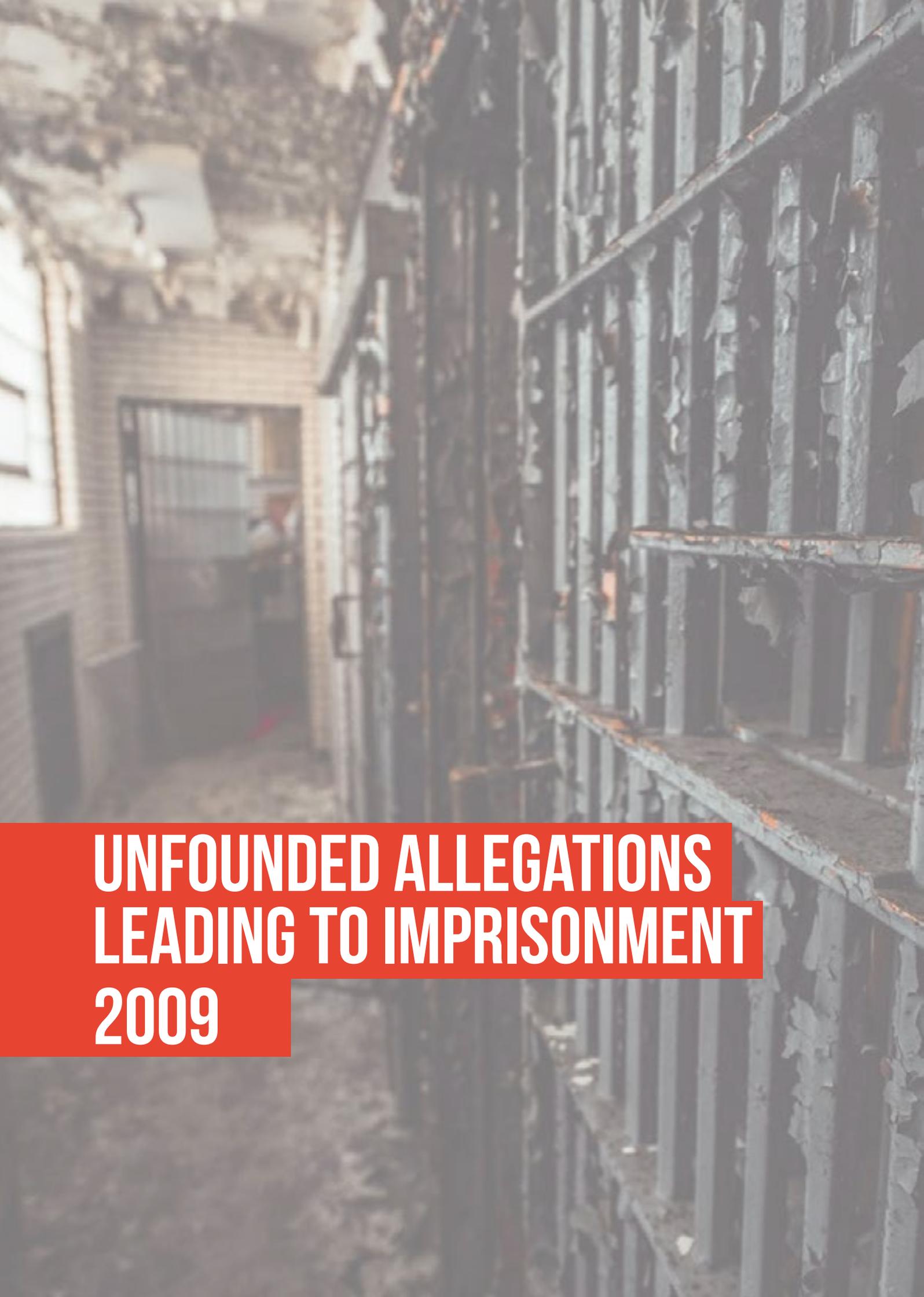
When the protest commenced two police vehicles were present but the on-duty police

merely watched as the violence took place.

As a result of the violence three Ahmadi Muslims, Bushra Bibi, and her two granddaughters Hira (eight months old) and Kainaat (seven years old), who were trapped in the house died of smoke inhalation and consequent suffocation.

An Ahmadi Muslim lady, Mrs Mubashara Bibi, who was 7 months pregnant, suffered a miscarriage. Eight other Ahmadi Muslim women and children suffered burns and required hospital treatment. Protesters also prevented emergency services from reaching the scene by pelting stones at the emergency vehicles.

AS A RESULT OF THE VIOLENCE THREE AHMADI MUSLIMS, BUSHRA BIBI, AND HER TWO GRANDDAUGHTERS HIRA (EIGHT MONTHS OLD) AND KAINAAT (SEVEN YEARS OLD), WHO WERE TRAPPED IN THE HOUSE DIED OF SMOKE INHALATION AND CONSEQUENT SUFFOCATION.

A photograph of a prison cell. The cell has a barred window with peeling paint and a doorway leading to a hallway. A person is visible in the hallway. The image is overlaid with a red banner containing white text.

**UNFOUNDED ALLEGATIONS
LEADING TO IMPRISONMENT
2009**



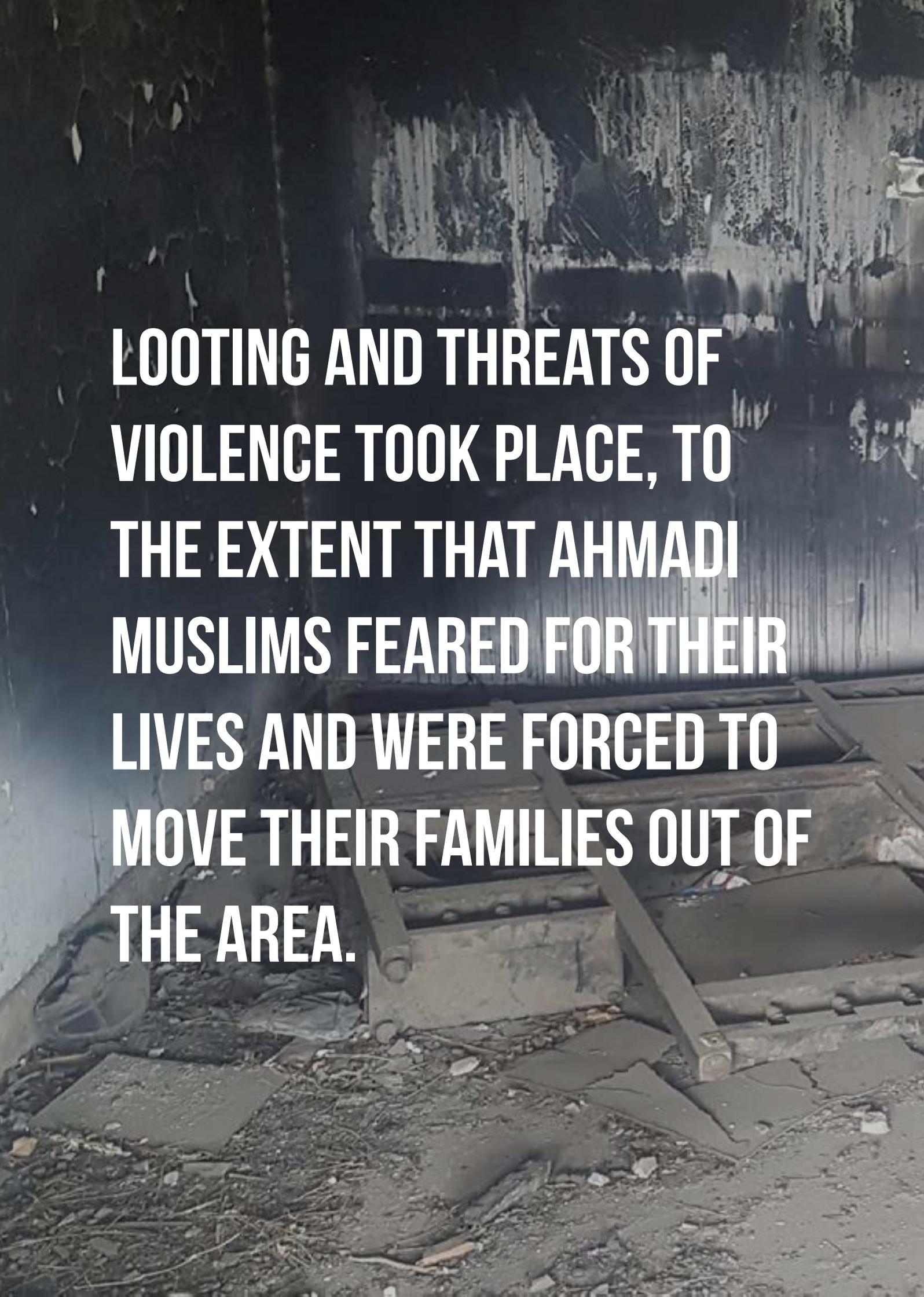
CASE STUDY

Children Arrested and Detained on Blasphemy Charges

On 28 January 2009, at Kot Sultan, District Layyah, four children and one adult were accused of blasphemy and arrested under section 295-C of Pakistan's Penal Code, which carries the death penalty. The police arrested the accused without establishing a credible prima facie case, charging them without evidence and before conducting proper investigation. The children were accused of graffiti, which defiled the name of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) on the toilet walls of a local non-Ahmadi mosque. The Inspector of the case admitted that "the police do not know of any substantial evidence that links the four students with the crime"^[83] (statement to Asian Human Rights Commission) and there was no evidence that anything had even been written in the first place. The accused children were later moved to the D.G. Khan Prison. The prison is located at a distance from their hometown and their relatives were restricted from visiting the children, who were kept in inhumane conditions.

Despite the arrests, many speeches and protests were made to boycott the Ahmadis. Looting and threats of violence took place, to the extent that Ahmadi Muslims feared for their lives and were forced to move their families out of the area.

All this took place despite the fact that the two men who were the prime movers of the false accusation belonged to the extremist religious body, Jamat-ud-Dawah (JD). Leaflets were distributed calling for the children to be given the death penalty, failing which the extremists would take action themselves. The children remained unlawfully detained for six months before finally being granted bail.

The background image shows a dark, desolate interior. The walls are covered in peeling paint and dark stains, suggesting fire damage or severe neglect. The floor is cluttered with debris, including what appears to be a metal frame or structure that has collapsed or is being dismantled. The overall atmosphere is one of destruction and abandonment.

**LOOTING AND THREATS OF
VIOLENCE TOOK PLACE, TO
THE EXTENT THAT AHMADI
MUSLIMS FEARED FOR THEIR
LIVES AND WERE FORCED TO
MOVE THEIR FAMILIES OUT OF
THE AREA.**



The Impact of Social Media

Social media is playing a huge part in the spread of extremist propaganda and is often used as a weapon to fuel hatred. Individual Ahmadi Muslims have suffered for freely expressing themselves through various media and have been targeted by local agitators and accused of blasphemy. For the younger generation, social media puts them at serious risk, as any post or comment in support of their faith or community is used to target them.



Uploading information on social media, whether in Pakistan or abroad, can result in dire consequences for the community and its members living in Pakistan, as can be seen from the case study below.

**AHMADIS HAVE
SUFFERED
FOR FREELY
EXPRESSING
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THROUGH
VARIOUS MEDIA
AND HAVE BEEN
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LOCAL AGITATORS
AND ACCUSED OF
BLASPHEMY**

CASE STUDY

SIALKOT MOSQUE ATTACK

On 24 May 2018, a mob of 600-700 people, destroyed an historic mosque and residence of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in Sialkot. The residence was significant to the community as Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the founder of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, had stayed here on his visit to Sialkot.

Ahmadis had undertaken repairs and renovation of this house with permission from local authorities. **A tourist took photos of the house and adjacent mosque whilst renovations were taking place and uploaded them onto social media.** The images were noticed by local clerics (mullahs), who gathered a mob and made their way to the house and mosque where they started to attack it.

During the incident, the local government officials arrived at the site, informing Ahmadis of their intention to demolish the 19th century house as it was 'unlawful.' No proof of this allegation was presented by the officials, Ahmadis also asked for authorisation' papers, which the authorities failed to produce. Despite this, the demolition was undertaken 'as law and order is threatened'. A mob, 600-700 strong, arrived and demolished the historic house. Thereafter it attacked the adjacent mosque and demolished its minarets, domes and doors. Shockingly, the police watched all this as spectators. The mob included a

variety of individuals from civil society, such as lawyers, civil servants and politicians. They all were in agreement of demanding immediate action against Ahmadis for 'outraging the religious feelings of Muslims.'

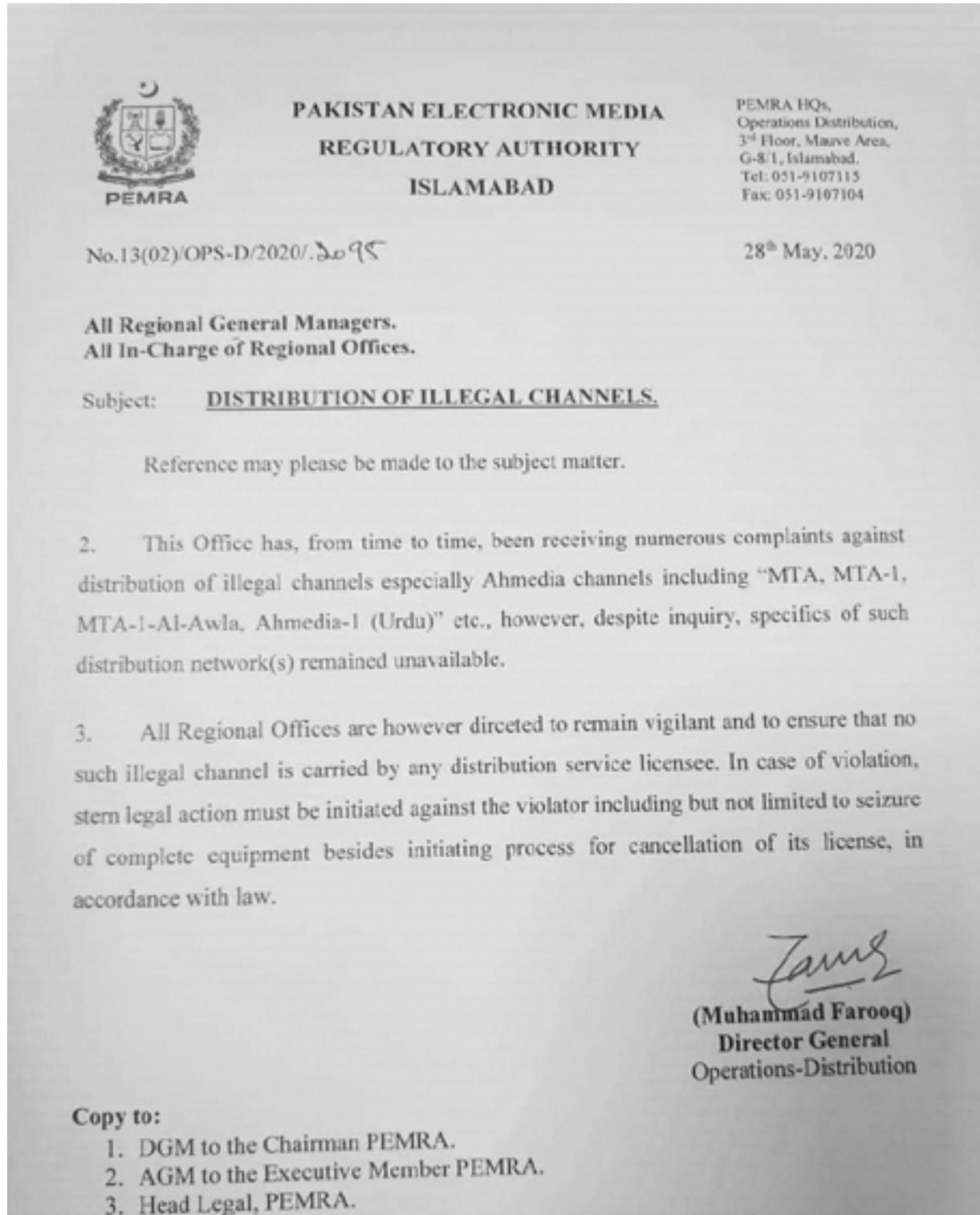
The police also arrested two Ahmadi Muslims, the local Amir and the president of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community on the fabricated charge of 'unlawful construction'.



Demolished minarets of Sialkot Mosque

PEMRA Channel Ban

PEMRA (Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority) has recently issued a reminder to all Pakistan Broadcasters of the continuation on the ban of Ahmadi Muslim channels.



Khatme Nabuwwat — Instigating Anti-Ahmadi hate and violence

This inquiry noted that one of the main organisations that has been at the forefront of the anti-Ahmadi hatred and violence is Khatme Nabuwwat. It was founded to explicitly target the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community to eradicate it from Pakistan. It promotes the view that Ahmadis should be given the death sentence if they do not leave their faith. It is named after its claim to promote the concept of ‘Finality of Prophethood’ which it takes to mean that no prophet can appear after the Holy Prophet of Islam, even if such a prophet claimed to revive the teachings of Islam. The organisation is also known by other names in Pakistan including Majlise Tahaffuz Khatme Nabuwwat (meaning ‘The Group for the Protection of the Finality of Prophethood’) and Alami Majlis Tahaffuz Khatme Nabuwwat (meaning ‘The International Group for the Protection of the Finality of Prophethood’). While these names in Pakistan may seem harmless, the disturbing fact is that this organisation seeks to enforce its ideology through violence and hate.

It has been courted by politicians over decades due to its street power to rouse mobs. It has also led many campaigns against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community through rallies, adverts, call for boycotts and it routinely preaches the call for Ahmadis to be killed, having labelled them *Wajib-ul-Qatl* (liable to be killed).

Ahmadis have been put on ‘hit lists’ and targeted for their beliefs. In 2011, the All Pakistan Students Khatme Nabuwwat Federation handed out pamphlets in and around Faisalabad inciting people to kill members of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

“The pamphlets also included a hit-list containing the names of 32 businessmen, teachers and doctors along with their addresses.”^[84]

The pamphlets stated:

“We need to identify these people among us who are bewitching us; their punishment is death. Killing them in an open market is jihad and virtuous. So



© Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat
“Qadiani (a derogatory term for Ahmadis) was Kafir (Infidel) Yesterday and is Kafir Today”



© Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat
“Friends of ‘Mirzais’ are not in the fold of Islam”



© Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat
“How Dare Qadianis Enter this Shop!”



© Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat
“Make Qadianis follow the Law, their Identity Should be Revealed”

awaken your conscience ... and achieve the status of martyrdom.^[85]

Banners, posters and leaflets are widely distributed and displayed on the streets of Pakistan. The group is also at the forefront of lobbying the Government of Pakistan to restrict the rights of Ahmadis. This is evident from the role the group played when the anti-Ahmadiyya legislation was introduced back in 1984. Khatme Nabuwwat is also given regular airtime to broadcast TV advertisements promoting hatred against the Community.

The Ahmadiyya Muslim Community spokesman in Pakistan, Mr Saleem ud Din described in an interview^[86] how the group organises large scale, abusive and often violent protests in the streets of Rabwah. Ahmadis have no choice but to seek cover for protection. Many rallies go on for hours and Ahmadis fear for their lives. Properties and livelihoods are destroyed in the process. Shockingly, High Court judges too are promoters of this group with further members of the judiciary also openly in support of them.

It has a presence in several countries, including the UK, where Khatme Nabuwwat is a registered charity^[87]. Khatme Nabuwwat conferences are often held in the UK and literature has been distributed that calls for

Ahmadis to be put to death (see Chapter 5 for details).

The APPG Inquiry noted the Pakistani Government's ongoing support for the group with Prime Minister Imran Khan hosting a two day conference on behalf of the organisation^[88].

It is therefore deeply worrying to hear that the current Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan is legitimising these groups, by attending 'Khatme-Nabuwwat conference[s] just for political gain against his opponent.'

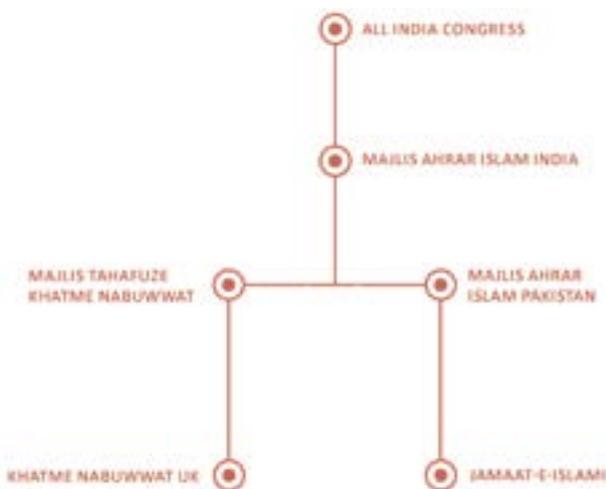
Shahbaz Taseer, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

With the passage of time, as their demands were met by different governments, they kept adding new and more extreme demands. In October 2017, Captain Safdar^[89], a parliamentarian, delivered a speech to the national assembly (see Annex 8.1) calling for:

"ban on recruitment of Qadianis [Ahmadis] in the armed forces"^[90]

He further said that government servants should be made to sign a declaration that they swear by the ideology of Khatme Nabuwwat^[91]. Captain Safdar said that:

"These people [Ahmadis] are a threat to this country, its Constitution and ideology. This situation is heading towards a dangerous point."^[92]



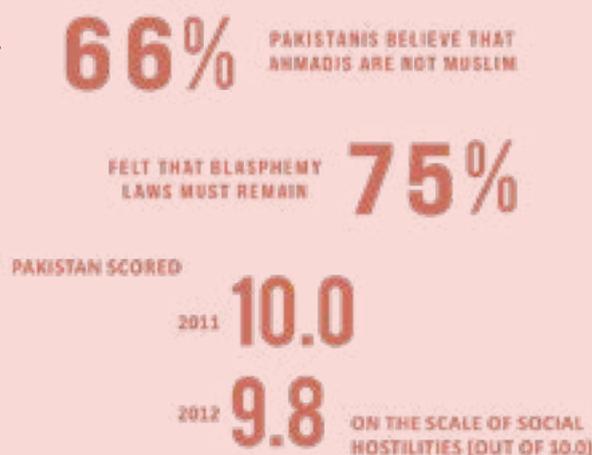
The Evolution of Khatme Nubuwwat

KILLING THEM IN AN OPEN MARKET IS JIHAD AND VIRTUOUS. SO AWAKEN YOUR CONSCIENCE ... AND ACHIEVE THE STATUS OF MARTYRDOM.

Survey reveals shocking attitudes towards Ahmadi Muslims

A PEW survey in 2013^[93] found 66% of Pakistanis believe that not only are Ahmadis not Muslim but a significant 75% felt that blasphemy laws were necessary to protect Islam.

Equally, "According to the Pew Research Centre, Pakistan, as the first country ever within the studies series monitoring religious intolerance since 2007, has reached the highest possible score of 10.0 on the scale of social hostilities in 2011 and of 9.8 in 2012."^{[94][95]}



Persecution continues

Following the start of the APPG Inquiry in 2018, Ahmadi Muslims have continued to face persecution. Below are just some examples of harassment, discrimination and violence suffered by the Community from 2018 to present:

January 2018

Provincial minister threatens to murder Ahmadis himself by strangulation.

On 24 January 2018, in current affairs talk-show on TV Channel 24, Mr Zaeem Qadri, Punjab Minister of Religious Affairs asserted that he will personally strangle any Ahmadi who peddles the Ahmadiyya translation of the Holy Qur'an.

The minister said, "The mentioned Qur'an has been banned, police raids have been undertaken, presses have been sealed and people have been booked (by the police). ... If someone still distributes this Qur'an, I'll personally strangle him." He further elaborated upon this theme and said, "... As for me, I am not prepared to give the Ahmadis even their rights granted by the Constitution to Non-Muslims."

February 2018

Ahmadis declared non-Muslim at Azad Jammu and Kashmir Parliament.

On 6 February 2018, the AJK Parliament

unanimously passed the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Interim Constitution (Twelfth Amendment) Bill 2018 which declares Ahmadis as non-Muslim.

A string of anti-Ahmadi conferences organised by Khatme Nabuwwat in Punjab.

Three major Khatme Nabuwwat conferences were held in Lahore. The following resolutions were passed:

- The death penalty, as recommended by the Council of Islamic Ideology should be implemented for apostasy.
- Anti-Ahmadi law and the law on blasphemy should be vigorously implemented.
- Prayer leaders all over the country are appealed to deliver at least one Friday sermon every month on the issue of Khatme Nabuwwat.
- The conference thanks AJK Assembly and Council for implementing all the Pakistani laws of End of Prophethood in Azad Kashmir.
- All Qadiani products, their services, in particular products of Shezan should be entirely boycotted.

June 2018

Murder – Saroba Garden, Lahore

On 25 June 2018, Qazi Shaban Ahmad Khan was shot dead at his home. At 11pm armed gunmen raided the home, held his wife at gunpoint and located Mr Khan in his bedroom where he was shot dead.

August 2018

Murder – Syedwala, District Nankana

On 29 August 2018, six armed robbers riding three motorbikes drove directly to Mr Basharat Ahmad's Jewellery store where they looted the jewellery. The armed assailants then identified his son Muhammad Zafrullah as an Ahmadi and shot him dead.

Mosque destroyed

On 23 August 2018, an Ahmadi mosque in Ghaseetpura, Faisalabad was attacked by a mob of 300-400 people. A number of the attackers were armed. The armed individuals started firing at the mosque. Five people were injured by gunshots. Though Ahmadis managed to get out of the mosque, the attackers continued to vandalise the main prayer hall and later set the mosque on fire.

September 2018

Government Economic Adviser targeted

Atif Mian, a Princeton University professor and a member of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, was named in an 18-member economic advisory council of Prime Minister Imran Khan, who rose to power after the 25 July 2018 parliamentary elections.

The appointment immediately became the subject of intense scrutiny due to his faith. Hardline Sunni groups including Tehreek-e-Labaik and Pakistan Ulema Council demanded that Mian be removed from the council due to his religious affiliation.

Government spokesman Fawad Chaudhry initially defended Mian's appointment, saying, "It is an economic council, not an Islamic ideology council, and those criticizing his appointment are extremists." Right wing political parties tabled a resolution at the

senate to seek expulsion of Atif Mian from the advisory council. The Government later announced that Atif Mian has been asked to step down.

October 2018

Doctors attacked at hospital - Kotli, Azad Kashmir;

On 2 October 2018, an attacker made his way into the DHQ Hospital and pulled out a gun and said that he was determined not to let Ahmadis remain alive. He opened fire at Dr Manzoor Ahmad and Dr Imran Ahmad (Ahmadi doctors) but they managed to escape.

October 2018

Mosque sealed - Goth Qamaruddin, District Noshehro Firoz (Sindh)

Local Mullah Chandio had been preaching hatred against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community during his Friday sermons. Even though Ahmadis had reached out to the police for assistance, the agitation against the community was so great that the police bowed to pressure from extremists and sealed the Ahmadiyya Mosque.

December 2018

Ahmadis are forced to declare non-Muslim status (NADRA)

National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) implemented a policy after the decision of Justice Shaukat Siddiqi, of the Islamabad High Court (See Annex 3.3 for further information,) in which he told the Government to record the religious identity of all applicants of CNICs (Computerized National Identity Card). This policy was approved by the Federal Ministry of Interior. According to this policy now there are two declarations, one for Muslims and other for non-Muslims. This creates a major problem for Ahmadis who now have to declare themselves to be non-Muslims for obtaining or renewal of national identity card and other legal documents. NADRA requires Ahmadis to declare: "I declare on oath that I am not Muslim and I belong to Qadiani/Ahmadi religion."

February 2019

Burial Rights denied

Following the demise of Mr Abdul Wajid Khan in Nawan Lahore Paneera, District Toba Tek Singh – his family had arranged for his burial to take place in Chenab Nagar (formerly Rabwah). As his coffin was leaving for his final resting place, local Mullahs came out to protest and prevented the coffin from leaving for Chenab Nagar and demanded that the deceased be buried locally next to his home rather than in a Muslim graveyard.

March 2019

Khatme Nabuwwat Conference

A Khatme Nabuwwat conference was held between 15-16 March 2019 at District Khushab Chak 2TDA, Almost 300 individuals attended the conference in which it was stated that “Qadianis [Ahmadis] call themselves Muslims, while in fact they are apostates and Zindique and should be dealt with accordingly (i.e. be given the death penalty). Qadianis should be quashed forthwith, otherwise intense hostility will arise.”

June 2019

Murderer released without charge

On 1 March 2016, Mr Qamar ul Zia, an Ahmadi Muslim and father of three, was stabbed to death outside his home (in front of his family) after he had brought his children back home from school. The murderer was arrested at the scene of the crime. On 27 June 2019, Session court judge Nadeem Ahmad Ansari acquitted the murderer and released him without conviction.

August 2019

Hate Banners in Lahore

In August 2019, Universal Traders of Akbari Mandi, Lahore displayed a banner calling for the death of the entire Ahmadiyya Muslim community at its Pakistan headquarters in Chenab Nagar (Rabwah).

Translation:

“The belief in Khatme Nabuwwat (pbuh): If there is an attempt to make changes to the 1973 Constitution, Chenab Nagar will be coloured red with the blood of Qadianis”.

“I accept Qadianis [reference to Ahmadis] to be infidels, without any argument. Qadianis must be put to death.”

Islamabad Bar Association requires mandatory Khatme Nabuwwat oath for membership

On 1 August 2019: The daily 92 News, Faisalabad published the following story: (Translation)

“The Islamabad Bar Association has made a Khatme Nabuwwat affidavit on oath compulsory for membership. Raja Yasir Shakeel; the general secretary of the Bar Association, issued a notification to the effect that every new member is supposed to declare his religion in the Khatme Nabuwwat oath on the form. This decision was made in view of the anti-Islam conspiracies of Qadianis. This declaration would not be applicable to non Muslim advocates applying for membership.”

Multan Bar Association

Mosque sealed

In August 2019, local authorities ordered that an Ahmadi prayer centre in Model Town, Lahore be sealed and its Kalima (declaration of faith) be removed from its premises. Official of the Special Police Branch attended the premises following the community’s application for registration. On the police’s arrival, a group of local Mullahs gathered and demanded for the prayer centre to be sealed. The police have claimed that the prayer centre has been sealed to defuse the situation with the Mullahs.

October 2019

Police oversee destruction of Ahmadiyya mosque

On 25 October 2019, the police and local authority workers seized the mosque (in Murad, Dist. Bahawalpur) and disconnected its electrical supply and used plant machinery to destroy and reduce a section of the mosque to rubble. The police also seized

all CCTV footage from the mosque. Local Ahmadis who had recorded the incident on their phones, were arrested by police and released on bail the following day.

November 2019

Cleric successfully moves local authorities to arrest innocent Ahmadi student

Upon the complaint of cleric Hasan Muawia, an individual with a criminal record and history of filing false charges against Ahmadi Muslims, authorities from Lahore carried out a raid in Rabwah arresting Waqar Ahmad, a student at the Theology institute of the community called Jamia Ahmadiyya. They also booked Mr. Azhar Mangla, a lecturer at the Jamia, and Syed Mubashar Ahmad Ayaz, the Principal of Jamia under the anti-Ahmadi laws PPC 298-C, blasphemy laws 295-B (this carries life imprisonment) and 295-A, the 'Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act PECA-11' and PPCs 120-B, 109 and 34.

Hasan Muawia is the brother of cleric Tahir Ashrafi the chairman of Pakistan Ulama council. Earlier Mr Muawia was placed by the authorities in schedule IV for criminal conduct.

Federal minister curses Ahmadis

Federal minister from Prime Minister Imran Khan's party PTI, Azam Swati, made a hateful statement against Ahmadis on a private news channel Hum News on November 8, 2019. He said, "I curse them and Imran Khan also curses Qadianiat".

December 2019

Human Rights Day Overshadowed by Anti-Ahmadiyya Sentiment

On 10 December 2019, the Assistant Commissioner of Attock, Ms Jannat Hussain Nekokara, spoke on equal rights for all minorities, in which she mentioned Ahmadis. Her comments were met with fierce opposition by locals consequently developing into a large protest outside the local administration building. Ms Nekokara was forced to apologise and withdrew her comments and clarified her view that

Ahmadis are non-Muslims. She was then seen leading a protest where slogans of "countless curses on Qadianis" were raised.

January 2020

Ahmadi Muslim denied burial in common cemetery

On 4 January 2020, local citizens protested the burial of Muhammad Anwar of District Nankana and prevented it going ahead. With large crowds gathered at the funeral site, the police referred the dispute to the village chief who ordered members of the community to bury Mr. Anwar at an alternative cemetery. This was incredibly distressing for the deceased's family members as they had been prevented from laying him to rest and needed to make alternative arrangements at a short notice.

Pakistan government bans Ahmadi publication

The Ahmadi Muslim Al-Fazl newspaper is banned in Pakistan. Recently, the community decided to start publication of its e-version from the UK. A Punjab Assembly Committee comprising of ministers and MPAs moved to ban the e-version without providing any justification to the community.

February 2020

Young Ahmadi child brutally murdered by neighbours

The corpse of eleven-year-old Tanzeel Ahmad's was found in a steel trunk in his neighbour's apartment. After going back to collect his sister's doll which she had forgotten there, Tanzeel did not return. Upon police interrogation, his body was recovered; it appeared as if he had been tortured. A cloth was stuffed in his mouth and his head was bleeding.

Ahmadi Muslim mosque handed to extremists by the police

In early February, a mob forcibly entered the Ahmadi Muslim mosque in Kharappar, District Kasur. Once inside, they smashed the security cameras and installed a loudspeaker

through which they called the Azan (Muslim call for prayer). Afterwards they held prayers inside the main hall. Soon a heavy police contingent arrived at the site, but took no action against the mob. Instead they locked the mosque, and without any authority or jurisdiction announced that the mosque would be handed over to the leaders of the mob.

March 2020

Khatme Nabuwwat Clerics target Ahmadiyya COVID-19 relief campaign

At the early stages of the Covid-19 pandemic, Ahmadi Muslims distributed rations to over 7000 people. However, Khatme-Nabuwwat clerics sought to slander Ahmadi Muslim efforts with a pamphlet stating: 'To register Qadianis [Ahmadis] in the ([anti-COVID-19) Tiger Force [the Pakistan national support programme] is an attack on a Muslims' faith. Qadianis are joining this Force primarily to witness their belief, loot the faith of Muslims and commit blasphemy.'

April 2020

State-sponsored propaganda against the efforts of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community for thier assistance during the Covid-19 pandemic

Various media and social media outlets campaigned against community support provided by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community during the COVID-19 outbreak, simply on grounds of faith. The campaign alleged that Ahmadi Muslims are traitors to Islam and the nation, and that the community were using their relief efforts to spread teachings of their faith. Media outlets also made a public call to name any Ahmadi Muslim who was taking part in the Government's COVID-19 relief efforts, thus becoming an open target of hate and violence by extremists.

Threats towards the Ahmadi community ignored by the Government

Cleric Khadim Hussain Rizvi, leader of the hardline Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan, a religious political organization, uploaded a

disturbing video on social media addressing an audience. In the video he stated that there was no place in Pakistani society for friends of Ahmadi Muslims, let alone Ahmadi Muslims themselves, and that they should leave the country. He threatened politicians to take immediate action on the matter by marching to the historical monument, Minare Pakistan, and affirming that there is no end to the enmity they have against Ahmadi Muslims. He reminded all Ahmadi Muslims of their incompatibility with the founding (Islamic) principles of Pakistan.

Notably, in parallel to the video circulating on social media channels, a supporter of the ruling 'PTI' party in Pakistan, tweeted a picture of 4 large knives with a caption asking 'what weapon you would use to behead an Ahmadi'.

May 2020

Ahmadi grave destroyed

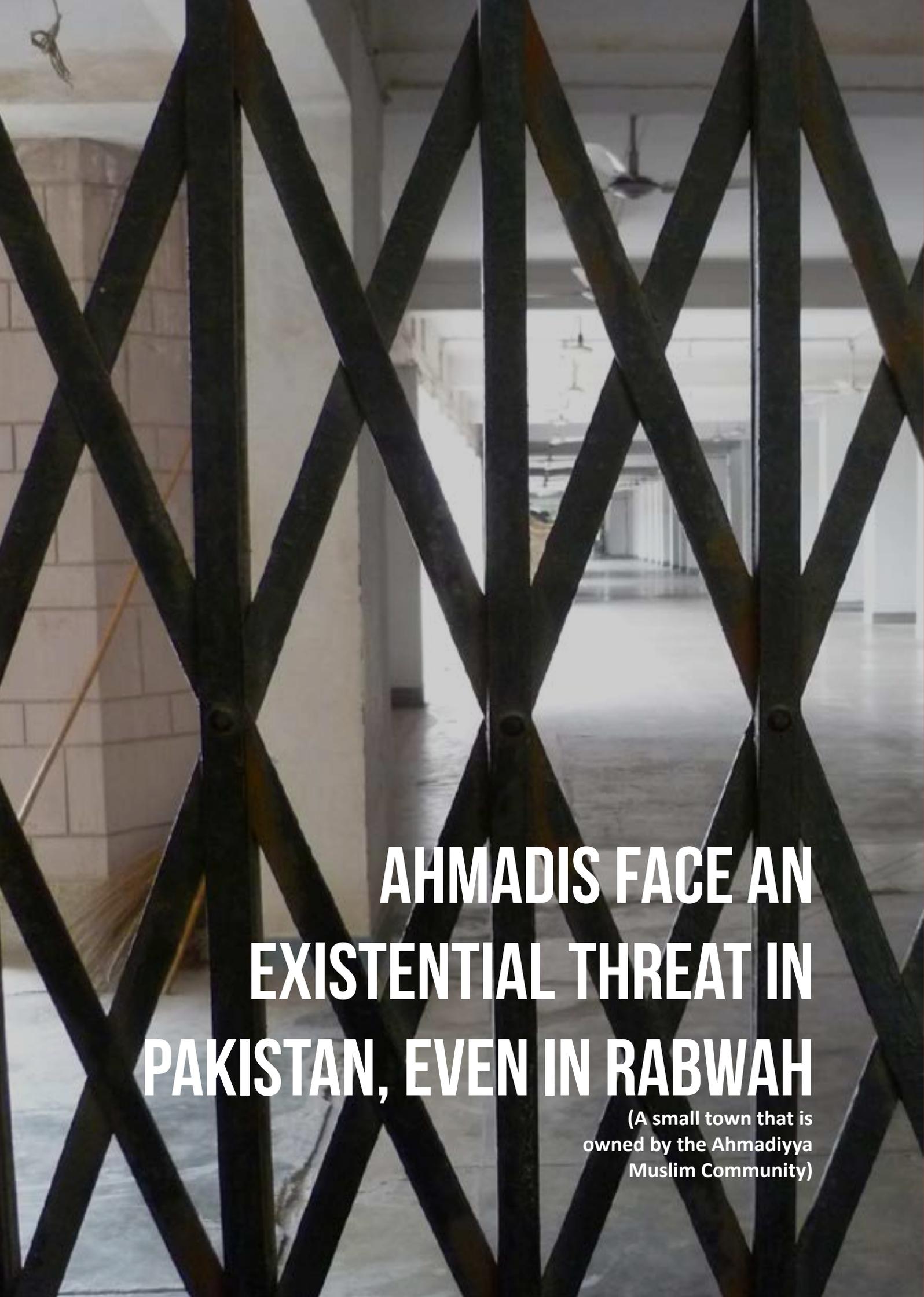
Approximately 50 people including the Police and local hard-line clerics went to the grave of Mr Nafir Ahmad (Ahmadi Muslim) who was buried on private property owned by his brother in Shaukatabad Colony. The group vandalised the grave by removing the gravestone due to it containing the Islamic creed and divine attributes.

June 2020

Ahmadi Muslim graves desecrated with the support of local authorities

Ahmadi Muslims in Nawa Kot, District Sheikhpura decided to prepare a small piece of land as a Janazagha (an open space where brief funeral prayer is held prior to burial) adjacent to their graveyard.

Locals complained about the Janazagah site and demanded for the Islamic inscriptions on Ahmadi Muslim tombstones to be removed. On police advice Ahmadis agreed to not have the Janazagah. However during the night, a local mob including clerics and the police jointly proceeded to desecrate and damage Ahmadi Muslim tombstones removing the sacred Islamic inscriptions from them.



**AHMADIS FACE AN
EXISTENTIAL THREAT IN
PAKISTAN, EVEN IN RABWAH**

(A small town that is
owned by the Ahmadiyya
Muslim Community)

No Safe Haven in Pakistan

As is evidenced in this report, Ahmadis face an existential threat in Pakistan. Even in Rabwah, the small town that is owned by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community and where a large proportion of its population are Ahmadi, is under constant threat. An interview with the community's official spokesman in Pakistan notes how Rabwah has become perhaps the biggest target for extremist activity against members of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

Mr Saleem ud Din of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community explained that following the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, the community moved its administrative headquarters from Qadian, India to Rabwah in Pakistan. At the time, Rabwah was barren land with limited prospects of agriculture. The community purchased the 1034 acre freehold property where the community set up its administrative headquarters.

However, following the constitutional amendment in 1974 to declare Ahmadis as non-Muslim, the town was declared an 'open town'. This meant that civic services such as the police, fire, postal service and water companies have been allocated land by the Government [although this land is owned by Ahmadis]. Moreover, no Rabwah resident (i.e. Ahmadi Muslim) can hold employment in any of these services. Even if qualified to do so, they would need to travel outside of Rabwah to work in the private sector.

Over the years the land flourished with the development of houses, educational institutions, a health care system and agricultural land. But it has faced decades of hostility and neglect by the Government.

Residents of Rabwah pay the highest tax rate (per person) in Pakistan, yet the Government does not invest in Rabwah in line with its civic responsibilities. Ahmadi Muslim residents in Rabwah are denied the right to vote locally so are unable to effect change. Though Rabwah provides basic amenities to its residents, it

does not have a business or industry sector. Many residents earn their money through owning a market stall. Those who flee persecution and arrive in Rabwah soon realise that they have no prospects in Rabwah and have no choice but to move out and return to the same issues they fled in the first instance.

Many who flee persecution are unable to send their children to school simply because Rabwah has no available places for their children.

Most parents have no option but to home educate their children. If they try to enrol their child into a school outside of Rabwah, they have to declare their current address (as Rabwah). Doing so stifles their opportunities of enrolment, as living in Rabwah is often associated with being an Ahmadi.

The Government has also given large areas of Ahmadi owned land in Rabwah to anti-Ahmadi groups, Khatme Nabuwwat and Majlis-e-Ahrar. They have been placed in Rabwah (taking over some of the community's mosques in the process) with the objective of disrupting Ahmadi lives as much as possible. Even when burials are taking place at the Ahmadi cemetery extremist clerics from Khatme Nabuwwat often start hurling verbal abuse and use derogatory language. Majlis-e-Ahrar has taken over the 'Muslim Colony Area' in Rabwah and hold annual protest marches where its followers arrive from all over the country to parade, loot and cause substantial damage to Ahmadi owned property as well as shouting verbal abuse at residents. The Community has to remain vigilant and is required to evacuate households during these violent protests.

Indeed there is also an increase in the number of reported persecution cases in the town. From the arrest of Shakoor Bhai, the raid by police at the Ahmadiyya Muslim administrative headquarters to the murder of Dr Mehdi Ali (US Cardiologist) to name a few, Rabwah remains unsafe for its residents and is certainly not a safe haven for Ahmadi Muslims seeking refuge there^[96].

The Ongoing Role of the State in Persecuting Ahmadi Muslims

We have seen in chapter 1 how the state has developed legislation to specifically target Ahmadi Muslims. Additionally, as noted in Chapter 2, the Government continues to actively target and persecute Ahmadi Muslims through the use of these historic legislative measures. Critically over time, the government also introduced and developed other laws and policies making daily life for Ahmadi Muslims unbearable. Law enforcement bodies openly misuse the law to penalise Ahmadi Muslims with the worst possible sanctions.

Below is a list illustrating some of the state's misuse of its legislation:

1. S11A Anti Terrorism Act (1997)
2. Election Laws (Amendment) Bill 2011, Which Amended Section 6 Of The Electoral
3. Rules Act 1974 (Act Number XXI Of 1974), To S6(2) Of The Electoral Rolls Act 1974,
 - a. Form A,
 - b. Election Commission Letters On Separate Lists No F1(6)/2001-Cord.
4. S 296 Pakistan Penal Code
5. S298 Pakistan Penal Code

Equally, the chapter notes the shocking escalation and violence against Ahmadi Muslims and other religious communities in Pakistan recently. Notably, Pakistan's State Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Mr Ali Muhammad Khan supported an anti-Ahmadiyya twitter campaign by calling for Ahmadis to be punished by death. This resulted in a tirade of abuse and hate speech against Ahmadi Muslims, culminating in the arrest of Ramzan Bibi, a 55-year-old Ahmadi Muslim woman and Rohan Ahmed, a missionary of the community in Pakistan, on blasphemy charges.

Media outlets also play a crucial role in openly inviting hatred and violence including threat of murder against the community. Whilst the state broadcasting regulator PEMRA takes no action to monitor and prevent such content from airing, it recently issued a reminder to all Pakistan broadcasters of the continuation on the ban of Ahmadi Muslim channels.

Ahmadi Muslims are unable to publish their own religious texts, as to do so would result in either breaching a publications ban or committing a criminal activity according to the anti-Ahmadi laws and blasphemy laws and hence facing imprisonment or death.

The state plays a critical role in the persecution of Ahmadi Muslims. Its laws create a hostile environment that extremists then use to target Ahmadi Muslims.



**THERE IS NO SAFE
HAVEN IN PAKISTAN
THOSE WHO CAN AFFORD
TO DO SO, SEEK
ASYLUM/REFUGE
IN OTHER COUNTRIES IN
SEARCH OF A
BETTER LIFE**



**AN ATTACK ON
RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL
DIVERSITY**



CHAPTER 3

THE PERSECUTION OF OTHER RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN

INTRODUCTION

The state sponsored persecution of Ahmadi Muslims has resulted in a wider intolerance of religious and social diversity. The founding principles of Pakistan sought to engender inclusion of religious beliefs from every background, without discrimination. However, the Pakistan of today has a deep-rooted hostility towards members of all minority faiths.

“Violence against the Ahmadiyya Community is part of a wider trend towards greater extremism and religious intolerance in Pakistan. The country has moved a long way from Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s vision of religious tolerance and freedom. Minorities such as the Hindus, the Christians and the Parses have all suffered discrimination and sometimes violence.”

Sir Mark Lyall Grant, Fourth Session of the APPG Inquiry

Ahmadis are the canary in the coal mine, and their persecution reflects a culture of denial of freedom of religion in which the right of all of the religious groups are denied as well. Unless extremism is checked, it inevitably widens in scope and targets others and this has certainly proven true in Pakistan.

This chapter highlights this phenomenon of how anti-Ahmadi hate has led to other communities in Pakistan, such as Christians, Shias and Hindus also facing persecution. One of the most striking cases was that of Asia Bibi, a Christian lady accused of blasphemy by her neighbours over a water dispute. Salman Taseer, the then Governor of Punjab, who defended Asia Bibi, was killed by his own bodyguard, Mumtaz Qadri. Mumtaz was hailed as a hero amongst the religious right. Not even governors are spared the effects of vigilante justice in Pakistan.

**"THE COUNTRY HAS
MOVED A LONG WAY
FROM MUHAMMAD ALI
JINNAH'S VISION OF
RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE
AND FREEDOM"**

Sir Mark Lyall Grant

Fourth Session of the APPG Inquiry

Persecution of Christians in Pakistan

The Christian population in Pakistan is estimated between 3-5 million^[97]. Despite having long-standing roots in the sub-continent, Christians suffer widespread hostility, discrimination and frequent attacks with no end in sight. Christians face kidnappings, and forced conversions and blasphemy allegations are frequently targeted at them.

“Women and girls belonging to religious minorities, mostly Christians from Punjab and Hindus from Sindh, usually between 12 and 25 years old, are kidnapped, forcefully converted to Islam and married to their abductors or third parties who are Muslims and sometimes twice older than age of victim.”^[98]

The APPG Inquiry heard how blasphemy laws are often used to harass members of religious minorities.

“We see this broader context of blasphemy laws being used to restrict freedoms of journalists and minorities are even more the case, as is particularly visible regarding the Ahmadi community but also

Christians in Pakistan. It’s been described as being used to silence the weakest of the weak and I think that’s very telling.”

Dr Nazila Ghanea, Second Session of the APPG Inquiry

Equally, according to Aid to the Church in Need, so worrisome has the situation become for Christians that “security improvements in churches include raised-up perimeter walls, complete with razor wire, surveillance cameras, bomb-proof gates, guards and patrols.”^[99]

The animosity and hatred against Christians results due to “blasphemy accusations against Christians and ‘Others’ being levelled over simple statements made and police arresting victims subsequent to such accusations.”^[100]

CASE STUDY

2016 EASTER SUICIDE BOMBING

On Easter Sunday 2016, at least 75 people were killed and over 340 injured in a suicide bombing that hit the main entrance of Gulshan-e-Iqbal Park, one of the largest parks in Lahore, Pakistan. The attack targeted Christians who were celebrating Easter. Witnesses reported that children's body parts were flying in every direction. The blast could be heard many kilometres away. A witness said:

“It was so crowded that there was even no way of entering it. We went to a canteen to have something to eat, when there was suddenly a big blast. Everyone panicked, running to all directions. Many

of them were blocked at the gate of the park. Dead bodies can be found everywhere.”

The majority of victims were women and children. Jamaat-ul-Ahrar, a group affiliated with the Pakistani Taliban, claimed responsibility for the attack. The attack led to worldwide condemnation. Pakistan launched a widespread counter-terrorism operation in South Punjab, arresting more than 200 people.

CASE STUDY

CHRISTIAN LADY IMPRISONED UNJUSTLY ON ALLEGED BLASPHEMY CLAIMS

In June 2009, Asia Bibi was accused of blasphemy after an argument with co-workers while harvesting berries^[101].

She was subsequently arrested and imprisoned. In November 2010, a judge sentenced her to death by hanging. The verdict was upheld by Lahore High Court.

The case received worldwide attention. Various petitions for her release were raised, which included those by Pope Benedict XVI and Pope Francis calling for the charges to be dismissed^[102].

Asia Bibi's case gained national attention when the late Punjab Governor, Salman Taseer, gave interviews saying that he had sought a presidential pardon for Bibi and appeared on national television with her.

Minorities Minister Shahbaz Bhatti and Salman Taseer were both assassinated for advocating on her behalf and speaking about the blasphemy laws^[103].

Given the extreme hostility that Asia Bibi's family faced during those years, they were forced into hiding and Muslim clerics such as Maulana Yousaf Qureshi went as far as

announcing a bounty of 500,000 Pakistani rupees for anyone who would kill her^[104].

On 8 October 2018, a three-judge bench comprising CJP Mian Saqib Nisar, Justice Asif Saeed Khosa and Justice Mazhar Alam reserved its judgment on the final legal appeal^[105].

The uproar by the religious right as a consequence of such ruling revealed how deeply entrenched intolerance and hatred against minorities lay in some quarters of Pakistani civil society.

Islamist groups such as Tehreek-i-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP) and Jamaat-i-Ahle Hadees protested in the streets of Pakistan, "blocking roads and damaging infrastructure."^[106]

The TLP leadership called for the death of the three Supreme Court justices involved in hearing Bibi's appeal, stating "The Chief Justice and two others deserve to be killed ... Either their security guards, their drivers, or their chefs should kill them."^[107]

Asia was finally released on 7 November 2018 after serving eight years in prison.

CASE STUDY

PUNJAB GOVERNOR KILLED BY BODYGUARD FOR DEFENDING ASIA BIBI

Salman Taseer was appointed Governor of the Punjab province of Pakistan 15 May 2008, by President Musharraf. During his governorship, he emerged as an outspoken critic of Pakistan's blasphemy laws and he also called for the pardon of Asia Bibi^[108]. As a result, in 2011, Taseer was shot dead by Mumtaz Qadri, his 26-year old bodyguard and officer of the Elite Force of the Punjab Police. The aftermath of the assassination of the Governor showed the deep-seated support amongst Pakistanis for the blasphemy laws and its vigilante enforcement. Previously Shahbaz Bhatti, Federal Minister for Minorities Affairs was murdered by extremists for championing minority rights in Pakistan. When Qadri arrived at court to appeal his death sentence he was cheered, kissed and adorned with rose petals by crowds who supported his actions.

Qadri's stated:

"[Taseer] publicly exposed himself as a sympathiser of condemned prisoner, namely Mrs. Asia Bibi"

Qadri gave evidence in court:

"I pressed the trigger and he lay dead in front of me. I have no repentance and I did it for "Tahafuz-e-Namoos-e-Rasool [Protection and Honour of the Holy Prophet]" Salman offered me grave and sudden provocation. I was justified to kill him"

The APPG inquiry heard evidence from Salman Taseer's son, Shahbaz Taseer who

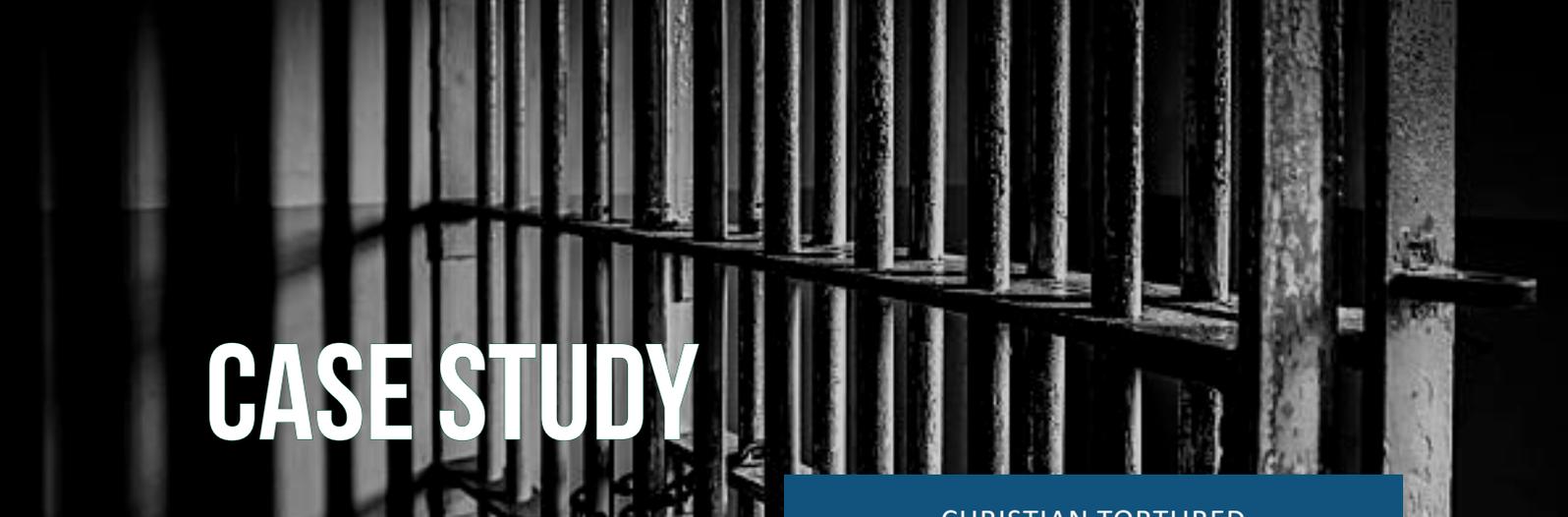
said that the fact that his father could be shot by someone tasked with his safety, is typical of the way extremist sentiment has built up and is being expressed in Pakistan

"Mumtaz Qadri, who shot my father, silenced an entire country, created an atmosphere of fear, he was also a very young man, [...] we could not believe that this man could be so riled up that he would take a life in such a brutal manner, of a man who was almost 70, without actually knowing what the man had said, so it is young people in Pakistan, but again, it's those madrassas that are breeding them"

"[...] It is a very dangerous atmosphere, where your own bodyguard, who is supposed to protect you, puts 26 bullets in your back because you believe that a woman should not be rotting in jail, it's unheard of [...] the man did nothing except having a different point of view about a law that a dictator has imposed upon us, and he was murdered."

Shahbaz Taseer, Son of Salman Taseer

In the eyes of the religious extremist masses in Pakistan, Taseer was viewed as a traitor who did not defend Pakistani values. They could not tolerate the Governor of Punjab coming to the aid of a woman from a Christian community. Interestingly, Salman Taseer's killer did not come from a Taliban-supporting group. He is allegedly linked to Dawat-e-Islami, a Sufi organisation^[109]. Whilst they are opposed to the Taliban, the Taseer case shows that extremism can infect Sufi Muslim organisations too.



CASE STUDY

CHRISTIAN TORTURED

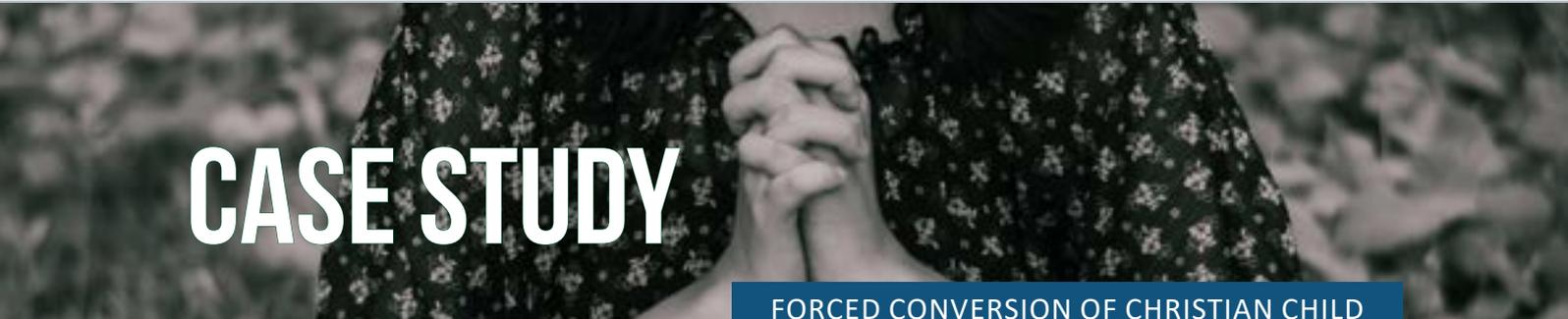
A Pakistani Christian man died in September 2019^[110] as a result of severe torture inflicted while held in police custody in Lahore, according to a post-mortem examination^[111].

Amir Masih was taken into police custody on 3 September, where he was tortured in an attempt to force a confession for an offence he did not commit.

Police officers repeatedly beat him and even urinated on him simply because he was a Christian.

The Governor of Lahore, Muhammad Sarwar, visited Amir Masih's home promising that the perpetrators would be brought to justice. Investigations are ongoing^[112].

It is a clear example of impunity for officials or police involved in brutality towards Christians and other religious minorities in Pakistan.



CASE STUDY

FORCED CONVERSION OF CHRISTIAN CHILD THROUGH MARRIAGE

At 2pm on 28th April 2020 in Madina Town, near Faisalabad, Pakistan, 14 year-old Maria Shahbaz was "pushed" into a car by three armed men^[113]. This was "captured on a CCTV camera".^[114] She was forced to marry Mohamad Nakash, one of the kidnappers, and abandon her Christian faith^[115].

Her mother filed a complaint with the police. At Faisalabad Magistrates' Court on 5th May 2020, Mr Nakash produced a marriage certificate dated October 2019. According to official documentation including a birth

certificate, produced by the family's lawyer, Khalid Tahir Sandhu, Maira was 13 at the time but Mr Nakash claimed Maira was now 19^[116]. Mr Nakash was already married with two children.

The court ruled in Mr Nakash's favour. A witness told Catholic charity Aid to the Church in Need (ACN) that the presence in and around the court of "up to 150 people", supporting Mr Nakash, swayed the magistrate^[117].

CASE STUDY

CHRISTIAN LABOURER MURDERED BY MUSLIM FARMER

On 25 February 2020, Saleem Masih, 22, a farmhand from Baguyana village, Kasur District, washed himself in a well belonging to a Muslim landowner^[118]. The owner of the well, Sher Dogar, upon learning he was a Christian, began to beat Mr Masih with a stick^[119].

A group of men, including Mr Dogar, called him a “filthy Christian”.^[120] They tied his hands and feet, and tortured him with sticks

and a red-hot iron rod. He had multiple fractures and internal and external injuries all over his body^[121].

He went to hospital in Lahore on 27th February and died the following day. So far, there have been no criminal convictions despite condemnation from religious leaders^[122].

THEY TIED HIS HANDS AND FEET, AND TORTURED HIM WITH STICKS AND A RED-HOT IRON ROD. HE HAD MULTIPLE FRACTURES AND INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL INJURIES ALL OVER HIS BODY

'MAY ALLAH RUIN ALL THE CHRISTIANS OF THE WORLD' AND EVERYBODY SAID AMEN, 'MAY ALLAH DEVASTATE THE WEST' AND EVERYBODY SAID AMEN. I HAD MY FRIENDS SITTING NEXT TO ME AND THEY WERE SAYING AMEN AND NOBODY EVEN THOUGHT THAT WAS WRONG.

In addition to the violent attacks on individuals or groups of Christians is the silent permeation of hatred in all aspects of society. Christians, and members of other religious minorities, have to tolerate threats, verbal abuse and segregation in their everyday lives from a young age.

“So what we found is that first you’ve got the issue of the bias within the textbooks. So you’ve got a curricula that is heavily biased, that uses derogatory language, that there’s biased content. Then you’ve got issues of actual discrimination so where teachers, where other students discriminate against other non-Muslim students. So you’d have things like Muslim students calling other non-Muslim students, whether they are Christian, Hindu or Ahmadi, ‘Kafir’ which means non-believer/infidel. So you have this verbal abuse that goes on within the classroom but you also have physical abuse so you’ve got instances where when we interviewed children. We spoke to children from the Ahmadi, Hindu, Christian and Sikh communities and they shared stories about classmates actually fighting with them/beating them and teachers who sort of have this intolerant mindset doing the same thing. There were some quite awful stories where children were made to stand in very uncomfortable positions and beaten by their teachers. You get other instances where children are threatened by

classmates; one Christian student said to us that his classmate said that if you don’t convert I will kill you, I will kill your mother, I will destroy your temple.”

Marisa Rawlings (CSW), Fourth Session of the APPG Inquiry

The APPG Inquiry heard evidence from witnesses of their personal experiences which shed light on the extent of intolerance and hatred suffered by members of the Christian faith in Pakistan:

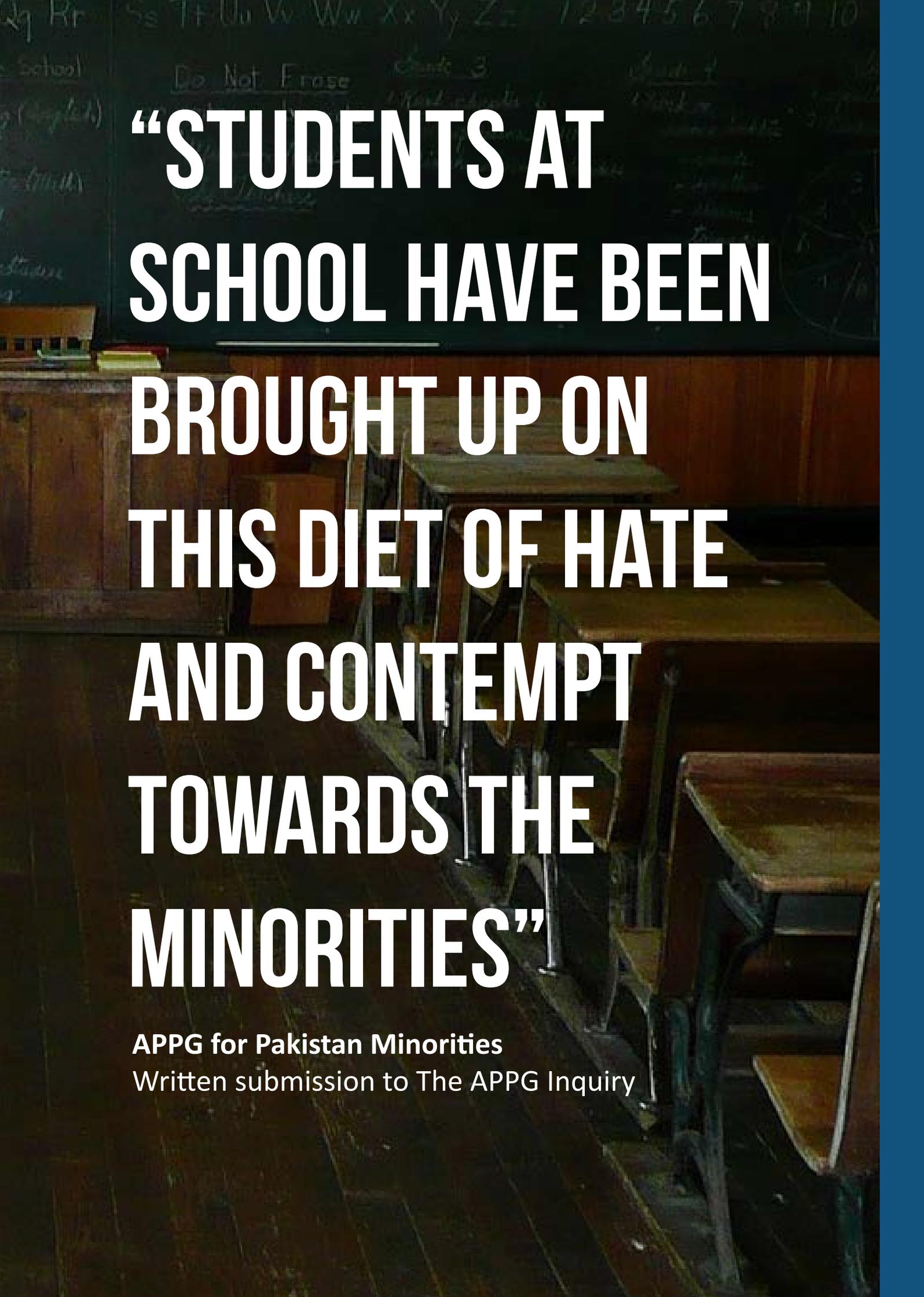
“I was the only Christian (2007) at my university and my college and I guess at that time one of the incidents that really struck me was a time when it was Ramadan and everybody was summoned into this Friday sermon room. I was the only Christian, I was asked to go as well so I went in it was in the college hall and the hall was jam packed and there was a female professor who started praying and started the ceremony so she did a few readings in Arabic and I was sat with my friend. I couldn’t understand Arabic but then they started praying in Urdu. Praying about the college, the students, the staff and then there was a prayer for the Christians and - the response to which was Amen - which was, ‘may Allah ruin all the Christians of the world’ and everybody said Amen, ‘may Allah devastate the West’ and everybody said Amen. I had my friends sitting next to me and they were saying Amen and nobody even thought that was wrong and it was as if it was so drilled and it was so normal to pray or to think this way that it’s absolutely fine to do so.”

Hina Parvez, Fourth Session of the APPG Inquiry

Written submissions to the Inquiry included anecdotal evidence of the nature of such discrimination which points to the source of hatred being perpetuated in daily life:

“Teachers instructed to teach students at school have been brought up on this diet of hate and contempt towards the minorities; and instead of representing model behaviour of compassion and respect for all; themselves have become preachers of discrimination and hatred. Teachers often instruct non-Muslims and especially Ahmadi and Christian students to eat, sit, and play separately from other students.”^[123]

APPG for Pakistani Minorities, Written Submission

A photograph of a classroom with a chalkboard in the background and rows of wooden desks and chairs in the foreground. The text is overlaid on the image.

**“STUDENTS AT
SCHOOL HAVE BEEN
BROUGHT UP ON
THIS DIET OF HATE
AND CONTEMPT
TOWARDS THE
MINORITIES”**

APPG for Pakistan Minorities

Written submission to The APPG Inquiry

Persecution of Shias

Pakistan is home to the worlds' second largest Shia population after Iran. Shias are spread across the country with the highest numbers found in Gilgit-Baltistan province. Shias represent 10-15% of the Muslim population of Pakistan^[124].

The majority of Pakistan's Shia community adheres to the Twelver school of thought; other sub-sects include the Ismailis, Khojas and Bohras, most not being easily distinguishable by either name or identity. Among Twelver Shias the most vulnerable is the Hazara community in Quetta, who are easily recognisable due to their ethnicity and language.

Shias face relentless persecution in Pakistan. As pointed by Sir Mark Lyall Grant, a former British Ambassador to Pakistan:

"The country has moved a long way from Muhammad Ali Jinnah's vision of religious tolerance and freedom. Minorities such as the Hindus, the Christians and the Parses have all suffered discrimination and sometimes violence but in my experience the worst violence has been committed against other Muslim minorities such as the Shia community and in particular the Ahmadi Community, because they are considered heretics by the Sunni majority".

Sir Mark Lyall Grant, Fourth Session of the APPG Inquiry

There are two main reasons for discrimination suffered by Pakistan's Shia community: religious and political.

Shias consider Imam Ali as the rightful caliph of the Holy Prophet Muhammad whereas Sunnis consider all four caliphs (Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Ali) as the rightful caliphs of the Prophet. For this difference extremist Sunnis consider Shias to be apostates and believe that it is right and pious to kill Shias for being 'non-believers'.

Though Shias are recognised by law as 'Muslims', they continue to face violence from the Sunni militants.

"...So now about Shias there is this conversation whether they are Muslims. And other minorities like Christians and Hindus, what their rights in Pakistan should be. And whether their rights should be curtailed like the Ahmadis. So, the Ahmadi issue is very much the platform on which religious groups use to curtail the rights of other minority groups and to bring extremist rhetoric in the mainstream"

Mirza Usman, First Session of the APPG Inquiry

"So it is very much linked, what they wanted to do basically was that Ahmadis had to be declared non-Muslims and then it was the turn of the Shias through the same blasphemy laws"

Rubab Mehdi, Third Session of the APPG Inquiry

The attempt to create a 'Muslim' country which only represents a particular sect is causing minority sects to suffer at the hands of extremists.

"Chief Ministers and all the key positions in the country should be designated to Sunni Muslims, it's not just Sunni Muslims, it's their kind of Sunni Muslims. Basically, the killing of Shia professionals which means taking the voice away from the community, forcing them into menial jobs and this is exactly what has been done to the Ahmadiyya, the Christians, the Hindus and other minority groups as well, to take their voice away."

Rubab Mehdi, Third Session of the APPG Inquiry

Persecution of Hindus

In Pakistan members of the Hindu community are often presented in stereotypical terms which include the view that Hindus are scheming against Muslims and their faith.

Like many minority religious communities in Pakistan, Hindus live in constant fear and remain the target of militant groups. Although there is no specific legislation targeting Hinduism, the state's blasphemy laws are often misused to target the Hindu community. Hindus have never truly been accepted by Pakistan.

Some of the most worrying forms of persecution against the Hindu community include the abduction of women and children and forcibly converting people of Hindu faith to Islam.

The 'Movement for Solidarity and Peace' reported in 2014 that about 1,000 non-Muslim girls are converted to Islam each year. Every month, it is estimated that about 20 or more Hindu girls are abducted and converted in Pakistan^[125].

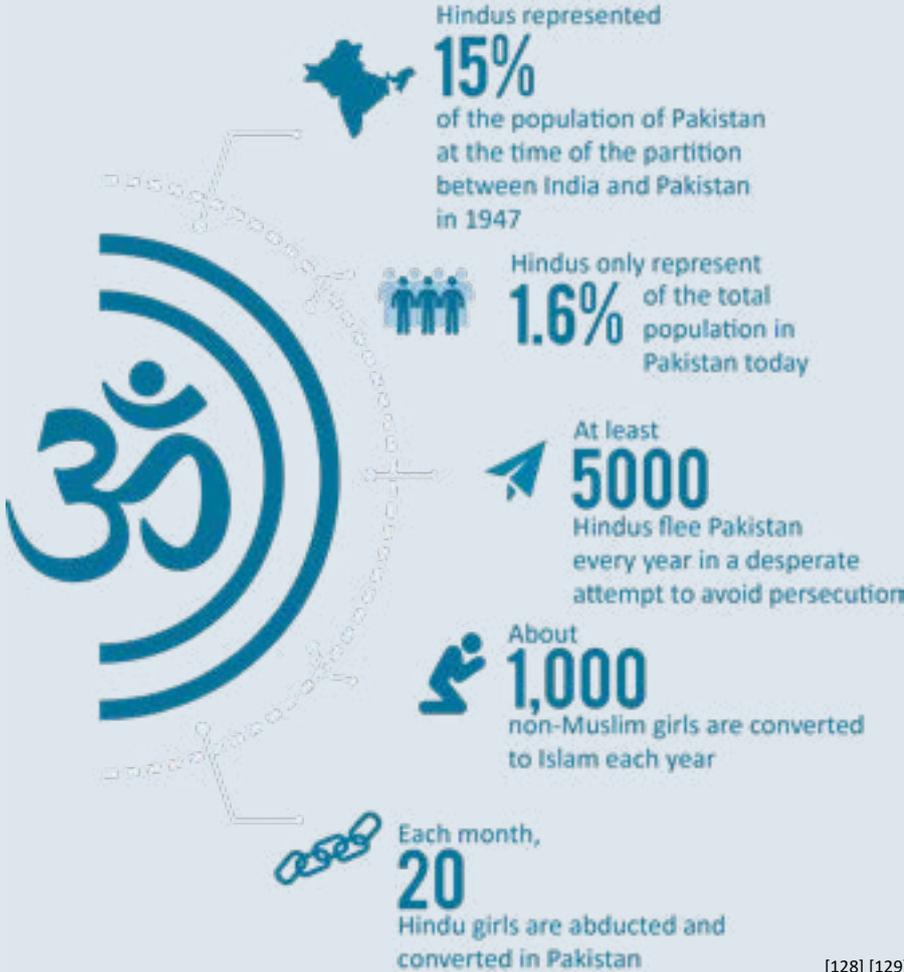
The court system also looks unfavourably to victims who have been abducted and/or forcibly converted. In the unlikely event a case does reach the courts for judgment, the court is often found to side with the abductor and provides no form of resolution or justice to victims.

"Religious fanatics who rape and abuse Christians and Hindus with no fear of consequence or reprisal consider the women of these communities free game. Harassment, forced marriage, and forced conversions of both Christian and Hindu women to Islam is common. When victims do manage to reach the courts, judges rule in favour of their abductors, who are equally supported by religious fundamentalists. This Religious discrimination

is forcing native Pakistani Hindus to flee their homeland."^[126]

"Additionally, there are many Islamic seminaries (Madrassas) operating freely and provide shelter to the abductors and victims. Some seminaries are running under the political leaders. The media and right based organizations have several times pointed out the places which are involved in such business but authorities did not take action."^[127]

Hindu families attempt to prevent females from being abducted by keeping them at home, but this has not stopped perpetrators from finding ways of abducting individuals from their homes. Unfortunately, many Hindu families have had no choice but to flee with what little resources they can afford.



[128] [129] [130]



SUMMARY

It is striking how discriminatory legislation has seeped through society and is now used as a tool by the religious right to enforce their disagreements with other minority groups. The targeting and persecution of religious communities is in direct contrast to Jinnah's vision for Pakistan. The attacks, murders and harassment reveal a dire state of affairs for Pakistan's religious communities.





CHAPTER 4

INTERNATIONAL PERSECUTION OF AHMADI MUSLIMS



International Persecution

The persecution of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community is most severe in Pakistan. However, it is worrying to observe that phenomenon has spread to different countries across the world.

The nature and extent of persecution varies from country to country. However, the underlying objective is the same - to deny Ahmadis the right to freedom of religion. Often this is accompanied by fatwas against the community, action by the state to prevent registration (thereby preventing the establishment of Ahmadi Muslim mosques and denying the right to freedom of assembly and collective worship) and violence against Ahmadis and their property.

The spread of intolerance that seeks to deny Ahmadis their right to self-identify as Muslims, reflects a growing undercurrent of extremism and it poses a grave threat to wider social harmony.



BULGARIA

KYRGYZSTAN

KAZAKHSTAN

BANGLADESH

EGYPT

COMOROS

INDONESIA

Algeria



- In March 2016, the Algerian authorities refused registration of the Ahmadiyya Muslim community as an association.
- On 2 June 2016 the National Gendarmerie, acting on orders of the Prime Minister, raided and destroyed a newly built Mosque in Larbaa (Bilda Province) on the day of its inauguration and arrested nine Ahmadis, including the community's national president. All of the community's belongings in the mosque were also seized including personal data.
- Since then, the Algerian authorities have prosecuted more than 280 Ahmadis simply on grounds of their faith. Alleged charges against the community include distributing foreign literature, threatening the national interest, with no evidence to substantiate these claims.
- Those arrested included the elderly, sick, women and children. All arrested have faced criminal proceedings, with most convicted and sentenced to a prison term of up to 4 years imprisonment or a fine up to 300,000 dinars.
- The national president of the Ahmadiyya community in Algeria - Mohammad Fali, had been arrested by authorities and faced prosecution in 6 separate cases between 2016-17 and spent three months in prison.
- Many Ahmadis have faced two or more trials, sometimes in different parts of the country.
- The government and media initiated a relentless defamatory campaign against the Ahmadiyya community. For example, a newspaper headline from 29 June 2016 reads: **"The Ahmadiyya Group ... The Next Plague Coming to Algeria"**.
- The Prime Minister, the Minister of Religious Affairs and Endowments (Mohamed Issa), and the Minister of Interior all made public statements denouncing the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in abusive terms, often on national television.
- In February 2017, Minister Mohamed Issa declared Ahmadis as 'non-Muslim'. In April 2017, the chief of cabinet, Ahmed Ouyahia, asked all Algerians to "preserve the country from the Shia and Ahmadiyya sects".
- Following a presidential pardon in April 2017, most Ahmadis imprisoned were released, though this has not prevented further discrimination against the community from Algerian authorities.
- The police have continued to monitor the activities of the Ahmadiyya community closely including being present at internal board level meetings.
- Private investigators have also been appointed by the Government/police to interrogate and harass community members outside the remit of the legislative framework and underhand techniques are being used to target the community. Ahmadis routinely receive telephone calls summoning them to alleged investigations without proof.

Bangladesh



- Ahmadi Muslims have been the target of deadly violence and intimidation. Extremist Muslim groups have organized mass political rallies calling for an official declaration that Ahmadis are not Muslims and for a ban on their publications and missionary activities.
- Ahmadi mosques have been attacked, individuals have been beaten up or killed, and denied access to schools

and employment. Previous Bangladeshi governments have aligned themselves politically with groups and individuals inciting violence against Ahmadis.

- For example, throughout 2004 and into 2005, Khatme Nabuwwat has threatened the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community with attacks on their mosques and campaigned for Ahmadis to be declared non-Muslim.
- Khatme Nabuwwat historically had links to the former governing Bangladesh National Party (BNP) through the BNP's coalition partners, the Jama'at-e-Islami (J.I.) and the Islami Okye Jote (IOJ).
- One of the worst attacks on Ahmadi Muslims took place on 17 April 2005 when a mob led by the Khatme Nabuwwat attacked members of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, injuring at least twenty-five people. Witnesses reported that thousands of Khatme Nabuwwat members brandishing sticks and machetes marched towards Ahmadi Muslim houses and sought to place a signboard on the Ahmadi Muslim mosque in the area that read: "This is a place of worship for Qadianis; no Muslim should mistake it for a mosque."
- Khatme Nabuwwat activists injured dozens of people including six women. The police, instead of preventing the incident from occurring, sought to contain the situation by hanging the sign-board themselves on the Ahmadi Muslim mosque.
- Khatme Nabuwwat activists went on a three day rampage, looting nearby Ahmadi Muslim homes and injuring many Ahmadis in the process, who were beaten with sticks and sustained serious injuries. During the attack activists looted at least ten Ahmadi houses at Sundarban Bazar in the village.
- In 2015, a suicide bomber detonated explosives during the Friday Prayer at a mosque in a remote northern village in Bangladesh, wounding three members of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community. The so-called Islamic State claimed responsibility for the attack. An estimated 70 Ahmadi Muslim worshippers were inside the mosque during the Friday congregation prayers.
- In May 2017, an Ahmadi Imam, was brutally attacked at his local mosque in Khanpur Village, Mymensingh district in Bangladesh. Perpetrators repeatedly stabbed him in the back.
- In 2018, Sunni Muslim groups demanded the Jalsa Salana, the community's annual convention to be cancelled. Around 700 men wielding sticks and batons marched towards Ahmadnagar and clashed with Ahmadi Muslims. Police fired rubber bullets and tear gas to maintain order. At least five Ahmadi Muslims were injured.
- Similarly, in 2019, extremists vandalised and torched houses owned by Ahmadi Muslims to protest against the Jalsa Salana, the community's annual convention. Around 50 people were injured in co-ordinated attacks by hardline Islamist groups in Panchagarh.

Bulgaria



- Bulgaria's Ahmadiyya Muslim Community tried to gain registration as a religious community, following the introduction of the Religion Act 2002. The Community's application was refused in December 2003 after representations by the Religious Affairs Directorate. The Directorate refused to disclose the evidence it relied upon.
- In 2007, the Community again sought to register itself again as a religious organisation pursuant to the Religion Act 2002. This application was again rejected

on the basis that (a) the Denominations Directorate, (following advice from the Grand Mufti), did not consider the community and its members to be Muslim; and (b) that allowing the community to register itself would “lead to dissent in the Muslim community as well as to the spreading of Islam which is not traditional to the Republic of Bulgaria.”

- This decision was upheld by two appeal courts, including the Supreme Court.
- The matter was then taken to the European Court of Human Rights. A chambers judgment (*Metodiev and Others v. Bulgaria*, ECHR, June 15, 2017) held that Bulgaria had violated the European Convention on Human Rights Art. 9 (freedom of religion) in refusing to register the Ahmadiyya Muslim community as a denomination under Bulgaria's Religions Act. “The Court concluded that the alleged lack of precision in the description of the beliefs and rites of the religious association in its constitution was not capable of justifying the refusal of registration, which was therefore not “necessary in a democratic society.”^[131]
- It is shocking to see that Ahmadi Muslims – effectively on advice from the country’s Grand Mufti – were denied the right to religious freedom for nearly 14 years in an EU country. The fact that the initial decision was upheld by two appeal courts before being dismissed, reflects a shocking injustice within the legal institutions of a country that should have been in harmony with EU values of freedom of religion and belief.

Comoros



- On 6 January 2017, the Government of Comoros Islands, unexpectedly seized the Baitul Ahad Mosque belonging to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community

and ordered it to vacate and remove all belongings within 48 hours.

- The mosque was then raided by the army who seized the premises and ordered that prayers and functions be prohibited upon instruction of the Commissioner of Anjuan Islands.
- The minarets were destroyed, the Kalima (the fundamental declaration of the Islamic creed) was erased, the religious teacher removed from his ground floor residence in the building and the building was taken over to be used as the police headquarters.
- Mr Muhammad Daoudou, Minister of Interior of Comoros was interviewed by the Comoros Gazette in which he accepted that the actions by the police and the state were carried out because he did not consider Ahmadis to be true Muslims.
- On 8th January 2017, at the time of early afternoon prayers, police came and forcibly removed worshippers from the mosque. The ban on Ahmadis being able to pray at the mosque is ongoing.



Police demolishing minarets of Ahmadi mosque in Comoros

Egypt



- In January 2018, the interior minister, Mr Magdy Mohamed Abdel Ghaffar issued arrest warrants for at least 25 Ahmadi Muslims. The publications secretary for the Community was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment.

- His laptop and publications of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community were seized by police.
- The Ahmadiyya Muslim Community had previously faced arrests on fabricated charges in 2010 where 9 Ahmadis were wrongfully arrested on fabricated charges for allegedly insulting Islam.

Indonesia



- The Ahmadiyya Muslim Community has been established in Indonesia since 1925.
- The persecution in Indonesia has been at the hands of extremists following the anti-Ahmadi edicts issued by the Indonesian Council of Ulemas (MUI) and the 2008 Joint Ministerial Decree.
- A fatwa was issued by the MUI (a quasi-government body) in 1980 and reissued in 2005 that declared Ahmadis to be a “non-Islamic group, deviant and misled” and it described Ahmadis as apostates and heretics, and called for them to be banned.
- In 2001, an era of intense animosity against Ahmadis started. Papook Hassan, a 55 year old Ahmadi Muslim, was killed in June when a mob of 100 people came to destroy the local Ahmadiyya mosque.
- In September 2002, a mob attacked the Ahmadi mosque in Maluku, East



Anti-Ahmadi protests in Indonesia

Indonesia and a crowd of 2000 attacked and burnt down the Ahmadi mosque in Pancor, Lombok Island and demolished 30 Ahmadi homes. No arrests were made.

- Following large-scale demonstrations on 9 June 2008, Indonesia’s Ministry of Religious Affairs released a Joint Ministerial Decree (number KEP033/A/JA/6/2008) declaring the community to be deviant and forbidding the Community from ‘preaching’. It put together a team to monitor the Community’s compliance with the decree.
- On 6 February 2011, a horrific attack took place whereby 1500-strong mob of anti-Ahmadi extremists from the Islamic Defenders Front attacked members of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in Cikeusik Banten Province. This was one of the most horrific acts of religiously-motivated violence in Indonesia’s recent history. Three Ahmadis were butchered to death, although 30 police officers were present, they did little to stop the attack^[132].
- In April 2013, there were four mosque closures in one month alone. The closures occurred amid ongoing attacks, intimidation and state discrimination against Ahmadis and other religious minorities in Indonesia.
- On 5 May 2013, the Ahmadiyya community faced further attacks in Tasikmalaya, West Java. Approximately four hundred Islamic hardliners destroyed homes in the village.
- On 6 December 2013, the court ruled that the Ahmadiyya mosque in Bekasi should remain sealed. The mosque originally was sealed in November 2011 and has remained shut.
- In 2017, the local administration of Depok, West Java, shut down the last

remaining Ahmadi Muslim mosque following protests of hundreds of Islamic hardliners, including members of the notorious Islam Defenders Front (FPI), in front of the mosque^[133].

- On 19 May 2018 in East Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara angry mobs attacked a community of Ahmadi Muslims in East Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, destroying eight houses, four motorcycles and forcing out 24 villagers from seven families^[134].
- In April 2020, local authorities in Tasikmalaya, West Java, banned the renovation of an Ahmadi Muslim mosque in Cipakat village. The ban was enacted in a joint decree signed by authorities in the region, including Tasikmalaya Regent Ade Sugianto^[135].

Kazakhstan



- The Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in Kazakhstan had been registered as a religious organization since 1994, but this was later revoked following the introduction of an anti-extremism law in 2011.
- While other religious communities have since been permitted to re-register, the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community is the only global religious organisation that has been denied registration. The refusal grounds include that it does not consider us to be Muslim, making this a clear case of denial of religious freedom.
- The community has been prevented by law from meeting, engaging in congregational prayer or any religious practice whatsoever – this is a criminal offence under Kazakh law.
- The community's assets (including finances and premises) are under constant threat of seizure by government authorities.

- Two foreign Ahmadi Muslim missionaries have also been forced to leave Kazakhstan.

Kyrgyzstan



- The Ahmadiyya Muslim Community has been established and registered as a religious organisation since 2002 in Kyrgyzstan.
- In 2011 registration was suddenly withdrawn by the Ministry for Religious Affairs, over objections raised by other Muslims in Kyrgyzstan who are hostile to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community. False allegations were also made by the General Prosecutor's Office that Ahmadis were an extremist threat.
- Along with the denial of registration, the Government also issued a notification banning the Community from all activities, including congregational worship, religious programmes and publications. Following the ban opposition against the community increased.
- In 2014 the Supreme Court rejected an appeal against the decisions to deny registration.
- On 22 December 2015 an Ahmadi Muslim, Mr. Yunus Abdul Jalil was murdered on grounds of faith by two assailants who shot him dead at him as he stood outside his house with his neighbour.

The above provides a brief snapshot of some countries where Ahmadi Muslims are denied freedom of religion. Over the years attempts, either by clerics or the state, have been made and continue to be made in other countries to target Ahmadi Muslims with varying degrees of success. This expansion of persecution remains a serious cause for concern.

**LIFE FOR AHMADIS IN PAKISTAN
HAS BECOME UNBEARABLE AND
IN ORDER TO SAVE THEIR LIVES
SOME HAVE NO CHOICE BUT
FLEE FROM PAKISTAN.**

The Ahmadi Muslim Refugee Crisis

For many Ahmadi Muslims in Pakistan life has become intolerable, and in order to save their lives many have been forced to flee their homeland. Some Ahmadi Muslims have fled to Malaysia, Thailand, Sri Lanka and other neighbouring countries to seek asylum and international protection with the UNHCR. More than 6000 Ahmadi Muslims are currently residing in these countries as asylum seekers or refugees, with smaller groups scattered in Far East such as Philippines, Hong Kong, China and Korea.

“ [in] Malaysia we have about five thousand [refugees], we have about two thousand in Thailand, we have about fifteen hundred in Sri Lanka, and we have smaller groups in countries like Philippines, Hong Kong, China, Korea etc... some in Africa as well now, there is a group in Mali, there is a group in Uganda, there is a group in Ghana, so they are spread all over, but the problem has a reason because of the debility and incapacity of UNHCR to do what they are expected to do under the international rules and regulations.”

Sir Iftikhar Ayaz – APPG Inquiry (session 2)

Due to financial constraints and lack of resources, the UNHCR is unable to provide basic material aid to refugees, thus for protracted periods they survive with no subsistence or help from anywhere. Furthermore, **due to their host countries not being signatories to the 1951 Convention, their status as refugees does not qualify them to work, receive medical treatment or other basic state-sponsored assistance. Instead they are considered as illegals and over-stayers, making them liable to arbitrary arrest and detention. Consequently, Ahmadi Muslims remain at risk, and live in fear of deportation.** In October 2018, the Thai Government arrested 113 Ahmadi Muslim refugees amidst a crackdown on illegal immigrants. Thailand's immigration police chief, Pol Maj Gen Surachate Hakparn, openly announced that all immigrants without a valid visa, including refugees, should be arrested. Despite being recognised refugees pursuant to Article 1A of the UN Refugee Convention and despite suffering years of persecution in their own country. They face extreme

hardship in refugee camps and detention centres. The situation is now critical as the UNHCR no longer has the means to support these refugees. There is now an urgent need for action.

Conditions Within Detention Centres

Many Ahmadi Muslim refugees have endured psychological harm having suffered violence, torture, discrimination and harassment. In some cases their suffering is compounded by having tragically lost a close relative in horrendous circumstances. This inquiry heard how asylum seekers who leave their respective countries in search of a better life end up facing dire conditions within detention centres. In Malaysia and Thailand detention centres are infamously overcrowded with the spread of infectious diseases rife. There is an alarming lack of basic healthcare services made available to asylum seekers, including psychological support for those suffering trauma. Education is virtually non-existent. Furthermore, with no UNHCR funding and no right to work, families are struggling to survive without basic amenities. There is also growing concern about those who have been detained for many years with no indication of progress.

Syrian Conflict

Ahmadi Muslims also face hostility as refugees in Lebanon and Turkey where there are around 300 Ahmadi Muslim refugees who are seeking UNHCR protection having fled the Syrian conflict. They are targeted, even as refugees, for being Ahmadi Muslims and they face harassment, threats and discrimination and are in urgent need of resettlement.

International Effort – Increasing the Refugee Quota

The inquiry heard that although there needs to be a more collective approach

to supporting the work of the UNHCR, **individual countries must now do more to tackle the international refugee crises and offer refugees a safe haven.**

The inquiry heard how particular focus should be given to those refugees who are significantly more vulnerable and noted that the UNHCR recognise all Ahmadi Muslim refugees as vulnerable and in need of resettlement. This is for many reasons including the real risk of deportation to Pakistan where they face persecution. The inquiry heard about different resettlement schemes in the UK and how these can be implemented to enable some of the most vulnerable Ahmadi refugees to re-settle.

Mandate Refugee Scheme

The inquiry heard how the mandate scheme allows refugees to resettle who have close family members in the UK. This excludes siblings except in exceptional circumstances. The inquiry heard that the Government has in certain circumstances applied the exception and has allowed resettlement where the refugee has a sibling in the country. Currently the Ahmadiyya Muslim community has in the region of 100 siblings who are willing to sponsor their refugee sibling for resettlement. The inquiry recognised that there was a need for the Government to exercise its discretion more frequently particularly for cases involving Ahmadi refugees with a sibling connection in the UK. It is important to note that all Ahmadi refugees have been recognised as being in high needs of resettlement on grounds of vulnerability by the UNHCR.

Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme

As Ahmadi Muslims have already been recognised as 'vulnerable' by UNHCR, the inquiry heard how the Government's Vulnerable Person's Resettlement Scheme could be utilised. The Government has endeavoured to resettle up to 5000 refugees under its Vulnerable Persons Scheme and the Government must do more to include

Ahmadi refugees as part of its intake quota.

Gateway Protection Programme

The inquiry heard how Ahmadi refugees particularly in Thailand and Malaysia had been living in horrific conditions for protracted periods of time, with many stranded in these countries for between 5-10 years. The Government runs a Gateway Protection Programme which aims to resettle 750 refugees per year to those in similar protracted situations. The Government must use this scheme to resettle Ahmadi Muslims who are in stranded in such protracted refugee circumstances.

Community Sponsorship Scheme

The community sponsorship scheme enables community groups to become directly involved in supporting resettlement by welcoming a family resettled through the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme. The inquiry noted certain limitations with the use of this scheme and the need for policy change, as the community group has little say in who it can help to resettle through the scheme. Due to the magnitude of the Ahmadi refugee crisis, the Ahmadiyya Muslim community is willing to support its refugees, but the current system does not allow it to select Ahmadi refugees.

A key factor that was highlighted to the inquiry was that the Government holds discretion in relation to all resettlement matters to the UK and that the Government must recognise the hardships faced by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community and make effort to include a specific quota to help resettle Ahmadi refugees who are particularly vulnerable.

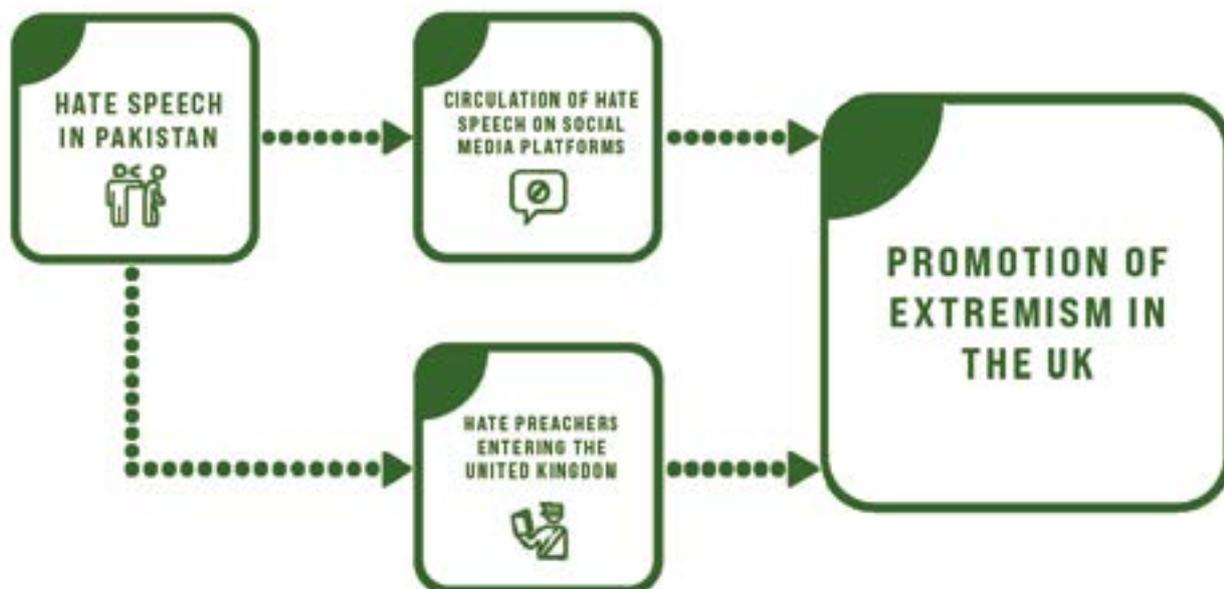
The inquiry noted that the Government is reviewing its refugee scheme and calls for it to reflect its commitment to freedom of religion in its new policy. It also calls for Ahmadi Muslim refugees to be resettled in the UK as part of that commitment.





CHAPTER 5

THE IMPACT OF PERSECUTION ON EXTREMISM IN THE UK



INTRODUCTION

Extremist clerics continue to play a pivotal role in spreading hatred against Ahmadi Muslims in Pakistan. Their actions have led to the murders of hundreds of Ahmadi Muslims on account of their faith and countless more have been attacked, harassed and discriminated against.

The APPG Inquiry found that a similar extremist agenda and activity is filtering into the United Kingdom. It heard how extremist clerics have been able to freely enter the UK, to carry out fundraising activities and deliver inflammatory sermons at events such as Khatme Nabuwwat conferences^[136] promoting anti-Ahmadi sentiments. Worryingly, it seems that the message of extremists is being heard and, in some cases, acted upon by the Pakistani diaspora in the United Kingdom. Videos have surfaced online with many comments suggesting support for these extremist clerics.

The APPG Inquiry also heard how quickly and effectively hate speech spreads through television broadcasts and various social media networks, in particular those with a majority Pakistani audience, with the potential to incite hostility and in some cases even violence. The UK's broadcast regulator, OFCOM, in a number of cases, has responded to complaints and issued substantive fines for non-compliance with broadcasting regulations, particularly in relation to hate speech. In December 2018, Radio Ikhlas was fined £10,000 for broadcasting a twenty one minute segment replete with inflammatory remarks against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community^[137]. Additionally in 2019, OFCOM fined Channel 4 £75,000, for broadcasting anti-Ahmadi hatred.

The APPG Inquiry further noted that although television and radio broadcasts in the UK are covered by regulations, there are no such regulations in place for programmes or videos filmed abroad and streamed online in the UK. Social media platforms are effective tools for hate preachers who use various online platforms to encourage hatred and discrimination against Ahmadi Muslims. The need to regulate social media is identified as a key gap and features strongly as part of this report's recommendations.

The APPG Inquiry also heard how imported hate speech was having significant effect on Ahmadi Muslims in the UK. The murder of shopkeeper Asad Shah, an Ahmadi Muslim stabbed to death in Glasgow, because of his faith, serves as a stark illustration of hate speech and as a worrisome reminder of the effects of it being left unchecked across borders. Urgent steps

must be taken to curb any form of hate speech in the UK and to prevent further incidents of this nature recurring on these shores.

Ahmadi Muslims have also experienced discrimination and the APPG Inquiry heard how Ahmadi businesses were boycotted in Tooting, London, and how an Ahmadi Muslim was unlawfully dismissed from employment simply because he was an Ahmadi Muslim. The Inquiry heard how parents are telling their children not to make friends with Ahmadi Muslim children at school, how the Community has received threats, and how airport-style security is now a permanent feature at some Ahmadi Muslim mosques.

The issue has also surfaced in the public sphere. The Inquiry heard how Birmingham City Council's Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education (SACRE) had refused membership for Ahmadi Muslims, unless they removed the word Muslim from their title. Similar sentiments were echoed in other groups, such as the Waltham Forest interfaith forum in which Ahmadi Muslims were not permitted to be registered as part of the group representing local Muslims.

It also heard how Councillor Sue White of Cardiff Council was bullied and forced to resign for defending the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in council meetings.

Urgent steps must be taken by the UK Government and the Devolved Administrations to prevent the import of hatred and to curb the rise of such extremism in the UK.

**I HAVE SEEN ANTI-AHMADI
EXTREMISM RISE UP VERY
RAPIDLY [IN THE UK] OVER THE
LAST FIVE YEARS**

Fiyaz Mughal OBE

Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

The Export of Hatred and Extremism from Pakistan to the UK

As noted in this report, organisations such as Khatme Nabuwwat in Pakistan have been allowed to grow and flourish and now yield considerable political influence over the government. Religious ideology is woven into the fabric of society and in political dialogue in Pakistan, leading to widespread and institutional animosity against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community. The APPG Inquiry heard that the United Kingdom has been a target of an organised campaign against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

Khatme Nabuwwat operates in the UK including as a registered charity and has been an affiliate of the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB). Although it denies any formal link with the Pakistan Khatme Nabuwwat organisation it has published and distributed leaflets in Pakistan calling for the death penalty for Ahmadi Muslims^[138].

In March 2019, the Charity Commission for England and Wales released a report on its inquiry into the Khatme Nabuwwat centre in Stockwell, London. According to the Charity Commission’s press release, its inquiry was prompted by the Commission’s engagement with the charity’s trustees after a news article published in April 2016 alleged the charity was displaying literature calling for the killing of Ahmadi Muslims. The Stockwell Green Mosque was found to be displaying flyers which said **“Ahmadis should face death if they refuse to convert to mainstream Islam”**^[139].

The Commission’s inquiry found that the charity had no checks and balances in place in relation to the distribution of literature or hosting of speakers at its premises.

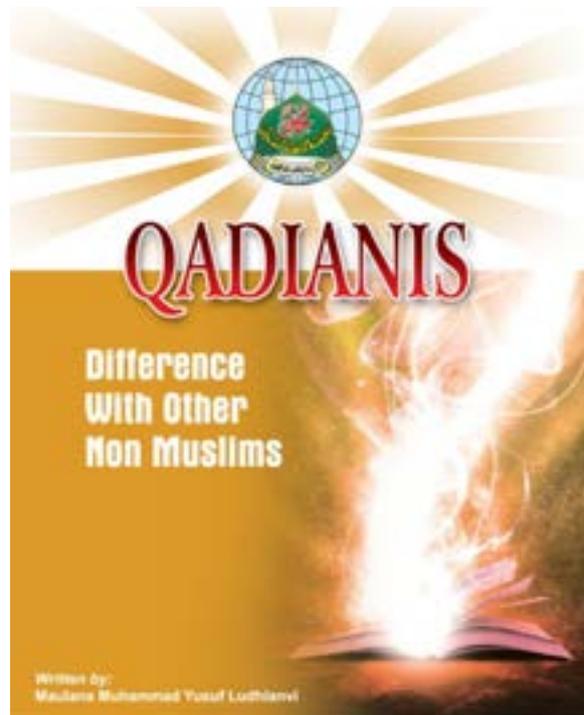
It also used the same name as the Aalami Majlise Tahaffuze Khatme Nubuwwat in Pakistan, using the charity’s contact details on their materials. Notably,

“the inquiry was concerned by this association due to the Pakistani organisation’s alleged connections to terrorist and extremist groups as well as offensive material on its website relating to the Ahmadi community.”^[140]

The APPG Inquiry heard that a number of hate preachers have attended Khatme Nabuwwat conferences in the UK and have delivered speeches specifically inciting hatred against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

“... the primary objective of Khatme Nabuwwat is to destroy our community. And they are allowed to freely operate in this country. They are still able to hold Khatme Nabuwwat conferences against our community. They are still openly propagating that message of hate.”

Rafiq Hayat, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry



Leaflets inciting anti-Ahmadi hate found at Stockwell Mosque^[187]

Leaflets found (as pictured above) not only preach the death penalty, but also go to the extent that for Muslims “to have any kind of relation with Qadianis [a derogatory term used for Ahmadis] is prohibited.”

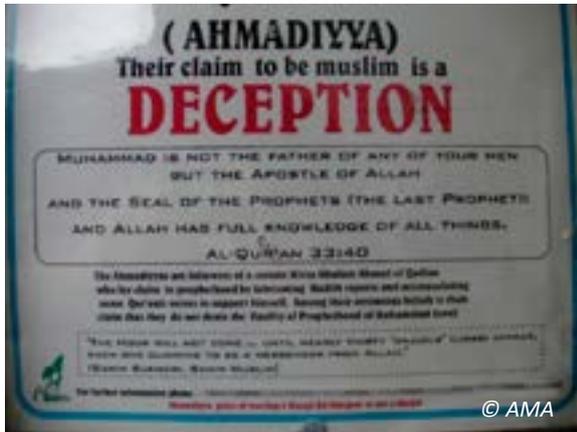
Similar hostile views can be seen in various articles and publications online. In 2018, The Fazl Mosque (also known as The London Mosque) in Southfields became a grade II

listed building, for being the first purpose-built mosque in London. In response to this, online community platform '5PillarsUK' published an article entitled:

“Three mosques and an Ahmadi temple accorded increased heritage protection.”^[141]

The article’s author concludes by stating that “[Fazl Mosque] is not recognised as a mosque by the vast majority of Muslims because it is administered by the Ahmadiyya sect which is considered to be outside of the fold of Islam.”^[142]

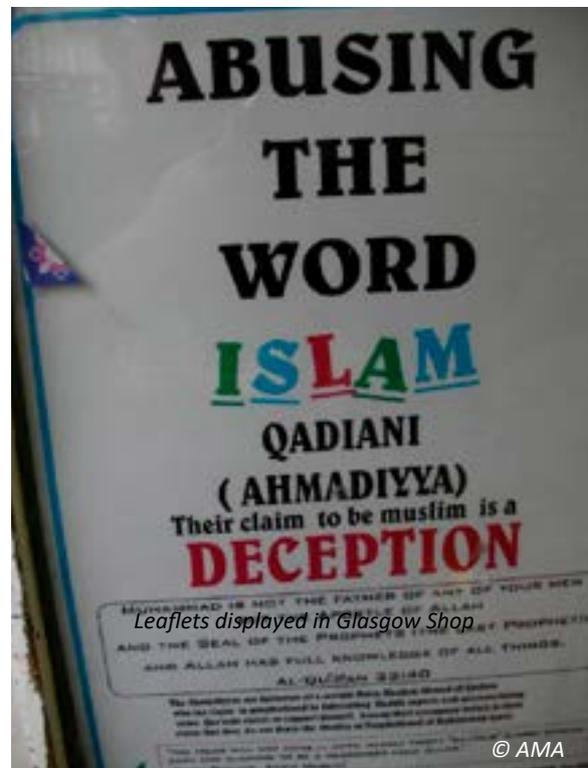
The Inquiry heard how leaflets and posters have been displayed in shops promoting hatred. On 15 September 2010, anti-



Ahmadiyya hate literature was displayed and distributed in Tooting. A poster titled: ‘Beware Deception of the Qadiyani’ was displayed on a window inside a business in Tooting. (See Annex)

A number of anti-Ahmadi books were also found at the same business. One of those books openly condones the boycotting of Ahmadi Muslim businesses, trading with Ahmadi Muslims or having cordial relations with Ahmadi Muslim.

In Glasgow, shop windows had the following leaflets displayed inciting propaganda against the Community by referring to Ahmadi beliefs as a “Deception”:



“THE INQUIRY HEARD HOW LEAFLETS AND POSTERS HAVE BEEN DISPLAYED IN SHOPS PROMOTING HATRED.”



CASE STUDY

MURDER OF ASAD SHAH

On 24 March 2016, Ahmadi Muslim shopkeeper – Asad Shah, was savagely attacked and stabbed in broad daylight on the streets of Glasgow. He died from his injuries at Queen Elizabeth University Hospital.

According to the BBC, Tanveer Ahmed, a religious fanatic from the hardline Bareilvi sect watched a YouTube clip on his mobile phone featuring Mr. Shah on the day of the murder and was heard in a phone message saying “listen to this guy, something needs to be done, it needs nipping in the bud.”^[143]

Tanveer Ahmed, from Bradford, drove to Glasgow, a journey of over 200 miles to brutally murder Asad Shah. He was arrested at the scene for the murder. He carried out the killing because Shah had ‘disrespected’ Islam. His lawyer issued a statement saying: “This all happened for one reason and no other issues and no other intentions. Asad Shah disrespected the messenger of Islam the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him.”^[144]

Ahmed was a member of the religious group called Dawat-e-Islami, who did not condemn the killing. It also became clear that Ahmed was an admirer of Mumtaz Qadri^[145], a Pakistani Sunni who assassinated the Punjab Governor Salman Taseer after Taseer’s campaign against Pakistan’s blasphemy laws.

Shah was well known in his local community. Scottish First Minister Nicola Sturgeon

tweeted: “My heart goes out to the family of Asad Shah, a popular shopkeeper in my constituency. My thoughts are with them.”

Newspaper headlines captured this public grief. The Daily Mail’s front page featured the headline ‘Murder of a man of peace.’

Following the murder, the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) issued a press statement condemning violence against all people on grounds of faith. However, even at the time when a horrific murder had been committed the statement also took the opportunity to uphold its view of Ahmadi Muslims not being recognised as Muslims. **The MCB said that Muslims should not be “forced” to regard them [Ahmadi Muslims] as belonging to their religion**^[146].

The murder is a shocking reminder of the threat of such hate in the UK and is a stark example of how anti-Ahmadi Muslim extremism has been allowed to permeate, into the United Kingdom. Equally disturbing was the support in the UK for murderer Tanveer Ahmed.

He was reported to have had several visits in prison from people praising his murder of Asad Shah. He has also appeared to have signed photos and posters behind bars for those who idolise him as a “celebrity” and regularly receives letters from supporters. An article in the Scottish Sun reports:

“He butchered an innocent man in cold blood but is treated like a hero for the senseless killing. In his warped mind he actually believes what he did was the right thing. “But worryingly, so do some others. These religious fanatics travelling to visit him and get autographs from him just reinforces his twisted viewpoint.”^[147]

Such status is fuelled by the praise Tanveer Ahmed receives from Pakistani hate preachers, which is viewed by British Pakistanis, thereby feeding off the cycle of extremism and hate.

Khadim Rizvi, a radical cleric who regularly led violent protests in Pakistan and featured in broadcasts in the United Kingdom, is also a known supporter of Tanveer Ahmed^[148]. Rizvi is a notorious hate preacher in Pakistan and founded the Tehreek-e-Labbaik party^[149].

The Director of NGO – Faith Matters, Fiyaz Mughal informed the APPG Inquiry that the anti-Ahmadi abuse which is reported to the police is only the ‘tip of the iceberg’ adding that:

“... there genuinely is a very strong feeling of discrimination. The Ahmadis face those really hard, brittle views about them being unbelievers,



not Muslims, which creates a mood music of dehumanisation.”^[150]

Fiyaz Mughal, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

Notably, it is through established organisations such as Khatme Nabuwwat that most extremists are able to legitimately and perpetually advance their violent and divisive messages. The fact that known radicals are permitted entry to the United Kingdom, where they are given a platform to preach hate and hostility is extremely worrying. Regarding the actions of Khatme Nabuwwat, The APPG Inquiry was informed by Fiyaz Mughal that:

“The Ahmadiyya mosque in Sialkot [case study in chapter 2] was torn apart by hand and it was incited by a preacher who had come to the UK in 2014 and given a lecture here at the Khatme Nabuwwat conference. I’ve raised with the government that you need to ban this guy from ever entering this country because he’s on video inciting the mosque to be torn down piece by piece but I have not had a response.”

Fiyaz Mughal, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

A posting on the Facebook page Anti-Qadianiat (Tahaffuz Khatme Nubuwwat), included The Guardian’s report of Asad Shah’s death, with the message **“Congratulations to all Muslims.”**

Hate Preachers Allowed Entry into the UK

The UK has an established Pakistani diaspora through which hate speech targeted at the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community is promoted.

Some hate preachers in Pakistan benefit from a significant domestic and international following. As an illustration of this two examples are presented in this report. The individuals identified below have been permitted entry into the United Kingdom and have subsequently attended mosques and religious conferences as keynote guest speakers.

Notable examples

Khadim Hussain Khursheed Alazhari

Khadim Hussain Khursheed Alazhari openly incited and promoted violence against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in Sialkot, Pakistan. Alazhari orchestrated a large violent mob attack on the community which resulted in one of its historical mosques being destroyed. Alazhari entered the United Kingdom in August 2018 to attend a Khatme Nabuwat conference in Luton.

Muhammad Ramzan Sialvi

Muhammad Ramzan Sialvi, a notable hate preacher in Pakistan, was pictured kissing the body of Mumtaz Qadri^[151], the murderer of Punjab Governor, Salman Taseer — an act of glorification of a notorious killer whose execution inspired the murder of Glasgow shopkeeper Asad Shah. Muhammad Sialvi attended as a guest speaker at Luton's Ghousia Mosque in December 2018.

Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rahman

Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rahman, chairman of the Moon Sighting Committee in Pakistan to determine the dates of the Eid festival, visited UK and was invited as chief guest to speak to a gathering on the Kashmir issue. He spoke on the sectarian and religious situation in Pakistan. In his talk, he stated that all religious minorities in Pakistan were living in peace, and so were the Qadianis. However,

Qadianis should accept the non-Muslim status given to them in the constitution.

On a previous occasion, Mufti Muneeb had gone to Lalian, a town close to the Ahmadiyya headquarters in September 2016 and chose to address a public gathering where he proposed the death penalty for those who denied the End of Prophethood.

Online and Social Media in the UK

Online Videos

Rafiq Hayat, National President of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community UK, informed the APPG Inquiry that:

“We’ve got videos coming from Pakistan full of hate against our community and they are being promoted in this country. They are corrupting the minds of youth particularly. The children and younger people are, being poisoned through social media.”

Rafiq Hayat, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

The APPG Inquiry heard how individuals in the United Kingdom can watch videos of clerics openly glorifying violence against Ahmadi. Clerics have condoned violence against Ahmadi and the killing of Ahmadi through their religious sermons and discourses.

Imam Sohail Bawa

On 18 June 2010, Imam Sohail Bawa – delivered a Friday Sermon in Newham, London. According to The Independent's^[152] coverage of Imam Bawa's speech, he told worshippers:

“This will become apparent very soon to you all that Qadiani [a derogatory term for Ahmadi] themselves are behind this whole conspiracy. [They] are responsible for whatever has happened in Lahore. This is all Qadiani conspiracy. They now come to television programs to try to “falsely” demonstrate their victimisation.”

This comment was made in relation to the two Ahmadi Muslim mosques attacked on 28

May 2010 killing 86 innocent worshippers. The same report also quotes Imam Bawa threatening a repeat of the 1953 massacre of Ahmadis in Lahore should any attempts be made to change blasphemy laws in Pakistan:

“If the anti-Qadiani laws or the blasphemy laws are touched by anyone in Pakistan then the 1953 Lahore agitation against the Qadianis will be repeated in the streets once more. The streets and roads of Lahore were filled with blood in that agitation.”

Imam Bawa delivering a sermon at Newham Mosque on 18 June 2010

Imam Bawa’s sermon has also been uploaded on YouTube^[153].



In another YouTube video, the cleric said:

*‘Qadianiat is like cancer.’^[154]
[This video has since been removed from Imam Bawa’s YouTube Channel].*

Imam Sohail Bawa is understood to currently reside in the UK.

Allah Wasaya

Allah Wasaya, a cleric at the forefront of Ahmadi persecution in Pakistan^[155], has addressed Khatme Nubuwwat conferences in London, Birmingham and Manchester.

Firstly, he addressed a conference in Manchester in 2010 where he said Ahmadis and [security] agencies were behind the terrorist attacks on two Ahmadiyya mosques in Lahore in 2010 and alleged that this was to get foreign funding and visas to disgrace Pakistan^[156].



Allah Wasaya delivering sermon

Orya Maqbool Jan

Orya Maqbool Jan has travelled to the United Kingdom a number of times and is infamous for making anti-Ahmadi remarks on television, including openly proclaiming that Ahmadis are apostates and deserving of death. He said whoever makes claim to be a prophet should be beheaded. He also accused Hamza Ali Abbasi, a Pakistani actor, of blasphemy for raising his voice for the rights of Ahmadi Muslims.

In the video, Jan remarks that Ahmadi deaths are insignificant in numbers in comparison to deaths of other minorities and hence attention should not be paid to Ahmadi deaths as much^[157].

The APPG Inquiry found that there was little or no regulation for online content. This vacuum has created a window of opportunity for extremists to spread their message with impunity. The power and reach of social media allows hate preachers to quickly gather support for their hostile campaigns.

Online platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube host disparaging and often vile content as well as comments about Ahmadi Muslims and their beliefs. Comments such as Ahmadi Muslim labelled ‘Kafir’ (‘infidel’) and even ‘Wajibul Qatl’ (‘Liable to be killed’) appear on such platforms.

Overleaf are some examples of tweets calling Ahmadi Muslims ‘Wajibul Qatl’ (‘Liable to be killed’) As The APPG Inquiry heard, these tweets are easily accessible in the UK and many of the Twitter accounts, have a large following.

 **AHMADIS ARE NOT MUSLIMS, THEY ARE LIABLE TO BE KILLED** translated

AHMADI ARE NOT MUSLIMS. THEY ARE QADIANI AND WAJIB-UL-QATAL original

   @GENIUSMUGHAL

 **"FOR SURE AHMADIS ARE NOT MUSLIMS, THEY ARE LIABLE TO KILL" (SIX DAY QADIANI REJECTION COURSE)** translated

"QADIANI BAH SHAK KAFIR...AUR WAJIB UL QATAL HAI" – SIX-DAY "RAD-E-QADIANIAT COURSE" PAMPHLET original

   @OMAR_QURAISHI

 **WE ARE RESOLUTE AND WILL REMAIN SO UNTIL DEATH. AASIA BIBI IS LIABLE TO KILL, QADIANIS ARE NON BELIEVERS IN PAKISTAN AND IF THEY SAY THEY ARE MUSLIM THEY ARE LIABLE TO KILL, AS IT HAPPENED WITH MUSLIMA KAZAB IN BATTLE OF YAMAMA.** translated

QAIM HAI AUR MARTAI DHAM TAK RAHAI GAI, #AASIABIBI WAJIB UL QATAL HAI AUR #QADIANI PAKISTAN MAI KAFIR K TAUR PAI SAKSTAI HAI AUR KHUD KO #MUSLIM KAI TO WAJIB UL QATAL HAI JESE JANG E YEMAMA MAI #MUSELMAKAZZAB AUR US FOLLOWERS THAI. #ISLAM NA BADLA JAI GA original

   @ALISKT88

 **QADIANIS ARE LIABLE TO BE KILLED, THEY ARE THE OFFSPRING OF NON BELIEVERS. THEY CONSIDER THEMSELVES AS MINORITY AND NON MUSLIM OTHERWISE THEY ARE LIABLE TO KILL.** translated

QADIANI WAJIB UL QATAL HAI. KAFIR KI ULLAD. THEY ACCEPT THEMSELVES AS A MINORITY AND NON OTHERWISE THEY ARE ELIGIBLE TO BE KILLED original

   @FAROOQMANSOOR1

 **DUE TO BRAVERY OF MUMTAZ QADRI QADIANIS ARE SCARED AND THEY ARE LIABLE TO BE KILLED.** translated

GHAZI TANWEER QADRI VO KARNAMA JIS SE AJ BHI QADIANI AHMMADI DART-E-HAI. QADIANI(A) KAFIR MURTAD WAJIB-OL-QATA INKA QATA HAR M PAR F H original

   @ELIAMOHAMMED

 **NOTE: EVERY QADIANI IS A DENIER OF FINALITY OF HOLY PROPHET AND LIABLE TO BE KILLED IF YOU AGREE SHARE WITH OTHERS.** translated

NOTE: HR QADIANI GUSTAKH E RASOOL HA AUR YE WAJIB UL QATAL HAIN AGREE...????? SHARE TO OTHERS JAZAKALLAH FB.ME/2NSUHMFKY original

   @INAMULLAHMUMTAZ

**"QADIANIAT IS LIKE A CANCER FOR
THE MUSLIM UMMAH"**

**"TO HAVE ANY KIND OF
RELATION
WITH QADIANIS IS PROHIBITED"**

**"BOYCOTT OF QADIANI COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE.
DO NOT LET QADIANIS ATTEND YOUR FUNCTIONS,
WEDDINGS AND FUNERALS. THEY SHOULD BE
RESISTED AT ALL LEVELS"**

**"IF WITHIN THREE DAYS HE [AN APOSTATE] RETURNS;
TO THE ISLAMIC FOLD, LEAVE HIM UNSCATHED,
OTHERWISE IT IS OBLIGATORY TO AWARD HIM
CAPITAL SENTENCE"**

[In reference to Ahmadi Muslims who are referred to as apostates]

**"FORCE [CHRISTIAN] PEOPLE BACK INTO
THE ISLAMIC FOLD BY IMPRISONING THEM
OR BY OTHER APPROPRIATE MEANS"**

Hate Speech Through Broadcasting and Print Media

The APPG Inquiry heard how there has been a vicious vilification campaign in the media through the propagation of programmes and even adverts that fuel an atmosphere of hatred against the Community. Ahmadi Muslims are routinely referred to as infidels and apostates with calls for them to be punished by death.

In October 2017, BBC Radio 4 broadcast a documentary called 'Extremism: Hidden in Plain Sight', in which it revealed that Urdu newspapers such as Nawa-i-Jang and Daily Ausaf, popular amongst the British Pakistani community, were running hate campaigns against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community. Specifically, Nawa-i-Jang ran special editions dedicated to anti-Ahmadi campaigns, asking its readers to boycott beverage and food products of the 'Shezan' company, manufactured by Ahmadi^[159].



British-Urdu Newspaper, Nawa-i-Jang, calling for boycott of 'Shezan' Products^[188]

There are a high number of community and foreign language programmes now being broadcast, and the APPG Inquiry heard how one of the challenges faced by the media regulator OFCOM was identifying hate speech, particularly where this had been aired in another language. The Inquiry heard how OFCOM has taken steps over the years to move with a rapidly changing industry by

increasing its investment in regulation as well in human resources.

In recent years OFCOM has also revised its regulatory code to ensure that it is current and fit for purpose.

"We want to make sure that the code is fit for purpose and continues to protect all communities in the UK, so we update the code fairly regularly. In 2016 we did a big revision of an important section dealing with the incitement of violent crime, and we created a new section dealing with crime, disorder, hatred and abuse, targeting content that abused or espoused hate against specific communities, and strengthening our role in that area".

Tony Close – Director of OFCOM, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

The APPG Inquiry noted that Urdu channels represented a higher proportion of channels that had been found to be spreading hate, in particular against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

"Although [OFCEM] said there are 1000 channels they're dealing with, but really if you look at the portion segments of Urdu channels that are spreading hate messages as opposed to others you'll find that there's a higher proportion of Urdu channels spreading hate messages than some of the others".

Rafiq Ahmed Hayat, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

The APPG Inquiry noted that OFCOM currently has two dedicated Urdu language translators who look at the range of Urdu channels.

"...We have two dedicated doing this, we have a number of Urdu speakers in OFCOM, we're a diverse workforce, but we have two in the team whose job is to help us understand Urdu all-day, all-week long".

Tony Close – Director of OFCOM, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

The APPG Inquiry heard that the number of Urdu translators was in proportion to the number of translators required for other languages within OFCOM. However, the APPG Inquiry noted that given the large proportion of hate speech was found to be on Urdu speaking platforms additional

translators should be recruited to monitor this more effectively.

Some of the material broadcast on Islamic channels such as Takbeer TV, which has consequently been fined, carried a risk of harm in that it portrayed violent and potentially illegal acts as being both acceptable and laudable actions from an Islamic viewpoint^[160].

With Takbeer TV, we imposed a severe financial penalty on them and we saw an improvement in their compliance, if Takbeer were to commit similar breaches or continuous breaches, then we'd take a different view on what would be the most appropriate way of dealing with that is and it would include considering taking their licence back.

Tony Close - Director of OFCOM, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

The APPG Inquiry also heard that the potential level of harm and influence is heightened by the fact that these views are often expressed by a religious scholar of some popular standing, before an audience of impressionable and often young viewers. For example, when discussing the actions of murderer Mumtaz Qadri, programmes fail to contextualise the discussion and thus risk giving religious justification and endorsement for violent acts and have the potential to influence and inspire more susceptible viewers to regard the taking of such action as sanctioned by religious authority.

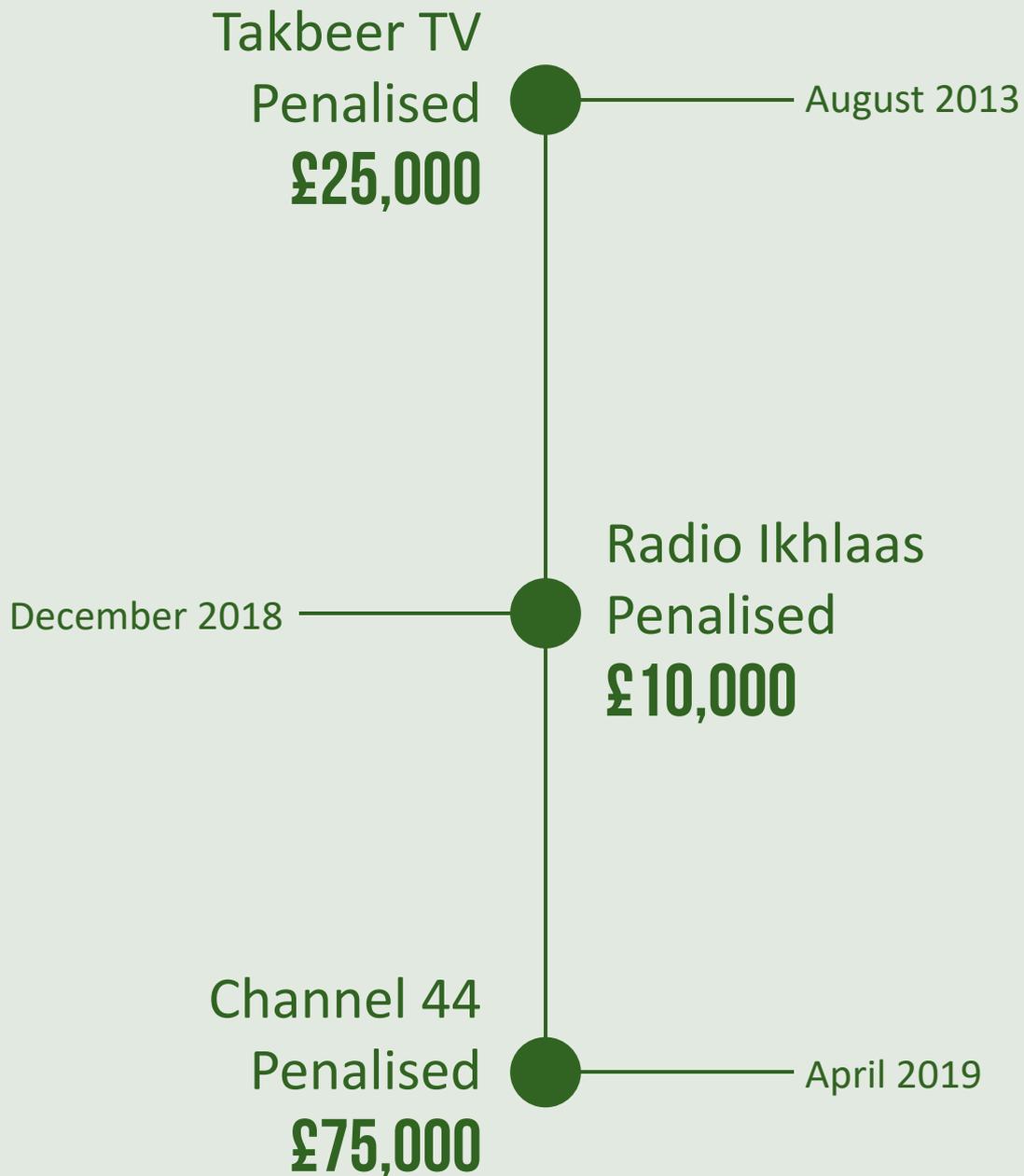
OFCOM has fined channels in the UK that incited hate against the Community, such as C44. In December 2018, it fined Radio Ikhlaas, for hosting a 21-minute segment

during which the presenter described Ahmadis as “dangerous, liars, enemies and hypocrites.”^[161]

The APPG Inquiry recognised OFCOM’s work in tackling hate speech and incitement of violence. However, with an increase in the volume of Urdu language channels to monitor, it has also recognised the need for increased resourcing to be available. It also strongly recommends that OFCOM should play a much greater role to regulate hate speech online and on social media much more effectively.

The APPG Inquiry notes that sanctions and fines imposed by OFCOM on TV channels that had been breached for broadcasting abusive, insulting or hate speech against Ahmadis had a salutary effect upon broadcasters. No further breaches were recorded by OFCOM until 2019, which in our view clearly demonstrates that firm prompt action by OFCOM had an effect in curbing further breaches. It wasn't until 2019 when external events in Pakistan regarding an anti Ahmadi campaign which started to receive widespread coverage in the media, that OFCOM found Channel 44 in serious breach of the Code. In our view action by OFCOM acts a clear deterrent in curbing hate speech against Ahmadis and other minority communities.

SANCTIONS AGAINST BROADCASTERS FOR SPREADING ANTI-AHMADI HATE



**THE PRESENTER
DESCRIBED AHMADIS
AS “DANGEROUS,
LIARS, ENEMIES AND
HYPOCRITES.”**

Discrimination in the Public Sphere

The APPG Inquiry also identified areas where anti-Ahmadi sentiment in the UK has permeated into the public sphere, with a number of incidents of anti-Ahmadi discrimination affecting local councils, MPs and other public representatives.

Resignation of Councillor Sue White - Cardiff Council

Councillor Sue White, from Cardiff Council was forced to quit her position for defending the Community in council meetings. She accused "ex-colleagues of bullying her for speaking up for a Muslim association."^[162]

For example, a colleague of Councillor White warned her not to go to Ahmadi events "because of unfounded allegations about the group's supposed links to ISIS."^[163]

"There is a culture of bullying in the Cardiff council Labour group which has been allowed to go unchecked for far too long."

"I myself have experienced it when I was the group secretary and, most recently, when I defended the Ahmadiyya Muslim Association."

Councillor White

Birmingham City Council

In August 2016, members of Birmingham's Ahmadiyya Muslim Community were told that in order to be represented on the city's Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education (SACRE) – a body tasked to promote religious education in schools – they would have to agree not to register themselves as Muslims^[164].

It heard how emails obtained by IBTimes UK^[165], revealed that Muslim members of the city's SACRE committee threatened to walk out if Ahmadi were admitted as part of the Muslim group of representatives. In one message, Councillor Barry Henley, Chairman of SACRE in Birmingham, said that the body would welcome an Ahmadi representative provided they describe themselves as

"Ahmadiyya Community of similar wording and not Ahmadiyya Muslim Community."

He claimed that if he allowed the Ahmadiyya Muslims to be admitted he would be "breaking the law because the other Muslim representatives would leave."

Waltham Forest Interfaith Forum

On 16 October 2017, Ahmadi Muslims were branded as 'non-Muslim' by Muslim denominations at the Waltham Forest Interfaith Forum Annual General Meeting. Although in the previous year, the local Ahmadi Muslim Imam, Mr Arif Khan, had been nominated as a representative of the Muslim faith, he was informed at the AGM that he could not be elected as other Muslim leaders did not accept him as a Muslim. Subsequently an additional meeting was arranged on 11 January 2018 on this issue at the end of which Mr Khan was not allowed to be elected on the interfaith's core group as a Muslim representative.

Nottingham Interfaith Forum

The Inquiry heard from Dr Irfan Malik who shared his experience of discrimination as an Ahmadi Muslim in the UK:

"I have experienced situations where an Interfaith Council [Nottingham] asked me to change the name of our Faith group to 'Ahmadiyya Association' instead of 'Ahmadiyya Muslim Association', as other Muslims have become upset."

Some Muslim leaders have advised us to leave certain Police and Council consultation meetings as they didn't accept us as 'Muslims'.

A leading academic Criminologist backed out of researching hate crimes against Ahmadi Muslims due to concerns about their safety.

At our 'Visit My Mosque' day in February in Nottingham, there was a social media campaign against us and a sermon was delivered at the largest city Mosque telling people not to attend."

Dr Irfan Malik, Fourth Session of the APPG Inquiry

Ahmadi Muslim advertising campaign terminated due to demands from local Muslims

In 2017, the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community ran a publicity campaign, aimed at educating the public about the beliefs of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

The billboards featured an advert with the caption, "The Messiah Has Come". The content and design work of this advertisement were shared with and agreed by the marketing company Primesight.

Primesight agreed to the advertisement for a period of two weeks commencing on 1 December 2017 on the M8 Motorway near Glasgow City Airport.

On 4 December 2017, the Community was informed that its advert had been suspended as a result of Primesight receiving complaints about the advert's content. Primesight also received several complaints from areas in Birmingham and Glasgow by Muslims. As a consequence, the billboards were taken down in several locations.

It is shocking how an advertising company like Primesight can be forced to give in to the pressure by Muslims to remove the adverts. This clearly denies Ahmadi Muslims the right to freedom of speech in the UK despite the adverts being fully compliant with the law and relevant codes of practice. This is more shocking as the complaints assessed by the ASA found that the adverts were compliant with the ASA rules.

Luton on Sunday newspaper gives into demands to remove Ahmadi Muslim Advert

A statement from *Luton on Sunday*

LAST week Luton on Sunday carried an advertisement from The Ahmadiyya, which appeared on pages 2 and 3.

First, we would like to make it clear that this was an advertisement even though it was not clearly marked as such.

We would also like to make it clear that we completely disassociate ourselves from the content of the advertisement.

Luton on Sunday prides itself on the good relations it enjoys with the Muslim community in Luton and indeed all communities.

On Friday we met with representatives from the Muslim community to discuss the advertisement which we had accepted in good faith but now understand has caused offence to members of the Muslim community in Luton.

After the meeting the representatives issued a statement which said: "On behalf of the Muslims of Luton, we are grateful to *Luton on Sunday* for their understanding and for the positive co-operation shown in addressing this very sensitive issue relating to the fundamental beliefs of all Muslims."

Luton on Sunday Editorial team meeting local Muslims to remove Ahmadi Muslim adverts from its paper

In April 2014, the *Luton on Sunday* newspaper published a double page advertisement commemorating 125 years since the establishment of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community. The paper was flooded with complaints by an organisation called the Preservation of Finality of Prophethood Forum (PFPF).

Extraordinarily, following a meeting with the PFPF the paper reassured its readers that they had "completely disassociate[d]" themselves from the advertisement and apologised for offending "the Muslim community in Luton."^[166] In doing so it clearly considered Ahmadis in Luton not to be part of the Muslim Community.

This is another example of how pressure exerted by the wider Muslim community on the media to conform to a narrow interpretation of the faith has denied Ahmadi Muslims the right to propagate their faith.

Ahmadi Muslim Exhibition on the Holy Qur'an Cancelled

In 2012, the Community held an exhibition on the Holy Qur'an in Dewsbury for the purpose of informing the local community about Islamic teachings. In response to the event, the Kirklees Muslim Action Committee said that the Community could not hold an exhibition about the Holy Quran, as Ahmadis "... are not even Muslims."^[167] As a result the exhibit was cancelled.

These incidents point to a worrying trend of victimisation of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in the UK at a public level. What is most alarming is that these issues have also targeted interfaith fora that are established to encourage understanding and harmonious integration. Worryingly, these trends are reminiscent of the way in which the culture of hatred against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community took root in Pakistan.

Day to Day Discrimination

The Inquiry heard how, in addition to the above examples, many discriminatory issues go unreported. Below are just some day to day examples of the undercurrent of hate and discrimination towards the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

Call to Boycott Ahmadi Businesses in Tooting

The National President of the Ahmadi Muslim Community told the APPG Inquiry that:

...in Tooting, where, Ghani, one of the clerics at the Tooting Islamic Centre, was propagating hate against the community. He was telling traders not to entertain Ahmadi shoppers and where any Ahmadi had businesses they were asking people to avoid those businesses.

Rafiq Hayat, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

As a result, several Ahmadis in Tooting were dismissed from employment. Furthermore, in March 2010, Khatme Nabuwwat held a conference at the Tooting Islamic Centre where Abdul Rehman Bawa (father of Sohail Bawa - head of Khatme Nabuwwat Academy, London) gave instructions to the audience to boycott Ahmadis in Tooting. In video footage shared on YouTube, Abdul Rehman Bawa expresses his surprise and disappointment that fellow Muslims want to mix with Ahmadis and involve them in their business. Mr. Bawa stated that:

"I explain, and I request all our youngsters to refrain from Qadianis. I don't know why our sisters or mothers are talking with these Qadiani and making friendships, why? I know in this road, Tooting High Street, all of the shops who are selling to Qadiani.

"Don't make friends with them... they are trying to deceive you, they are trying to convert you from Islam to Qadianism."

The full clip can be viewed at ^[168]. Reference to Ahmadis is made at 5 minutes.

One Ahmadi halal butcher said his trade had fallen by nearly 50 per cent in three months following the Khatme Nabuwwat conference. The Ahmadi owner said:

"We have lost so much business because some people refuse to come here just because I am Ahmadi. They use words against me like 'Kafir', which means I am not Muslim.

"I've lived here for 13 years and lots of people know me in Tooting, but this situation has become so much worse now."

Unfair Dismissal

An Ahmadi Muslim butcher who had fled persecution in Pakistan and moved to London in 2001 was successful in his employment tribunal claim against his employer for unfair dismissal.

Mr. Rahman claimed that his employer had been influenced by a conference held by Khatme Nabuwwat at the Tooting Islamic Centre on March 28th, 2010 where worshippers were ordered to boycott Ahmadi-run shops.

Employment Judge Baron accepted Mr. Rahman, owner of Haji Halal Meat in Upper Tooting Road, pressured his employee to convert to the Sunni Muslim faith.

The tribunal heard: "Mr. Rahman said he had been told that if he continued to employ the claimant then his customers would cease to patronise him.

"Mr. Rahman referred specifically to pressure being placed on him by the head of the Sunni sect."

Holy Qur'an vandalised

In September 2018, a Holy Qur'an published by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community was found at the St Helier and Epsom hospital prayer room. The Holy Quran had been scribed with word 'Qadiani'. The Qur'an was found alongside other copies of the Holy Qur'an which remained untouched.



Copy of the Holy Quran defaced with the pejorative word 'Qadiani'

Educational Discrimination and Bullying at Schools

Bullying

The APPG Inquiry heard how there has been an increase in Ahmadi Muslim children being bullied at schools in the UK. Worryingly, there have been some examples of children as early as primary school level who have bullied their peers.

"My daughter is a teacher, and at her school, there were two children - one was an Ahmadi girl and the other was a non-Ahmadi, Muslim girl. They were best friends and one day the other girl came in and said "My mother told me that I can't be friends with you anymore because you're not Muslim and I have to break off our relationship immediately". Seven year old children. So they are being prejudiced at a very early age and unfortunately this is happening throughout the country".

Rafiq Hayat, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

Discrimination at University

Umar Nasser, national president of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Students' Association, noted that "some things have just become routine" on campuses across the country: "Posters advertising events are torn down, other Muslim societies either in an overt or covert way try to undermine our

activities."^[169]

At his college, he organised a discussion event entitled Women in Islam.

"I got an official email from another Muslim student society saying that I should change the title to Women in Ahmadi because we weren't Muslims. I just found it bizarre,"

The Inquiry heard that at Oxford University the President of the University's Pakistan Society refused to attend a documentary premiered on campus on Dr. Abdus Salam, the renowned Ahmadi Muslim scientist who became the first Pakistani to win a Nobel Prize.

Protests at Mosque Developments

Scunthorpe

In February 2016, the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community faced protests by other Muslims in Scunthorpe who did not want the community's mosque planning application to be accepted.



Muslim protestors in Scunthorpe opposing the development of an Ahmadi Mosque^[172]

This was another reminder of the bigotry and sectarianism among some Muslims in this country against Ahmadi Muslims, and how it has spilled over from Pakistan

The Community purchased the property in 2002 and used the existing building as a mosque. In 2016, it submitted a planning application to renovate the building into a purpose built mosque. Though there was no change of use, the BBC reports that there were 37 letters received by the council in

opposition of the plans^[170]. There was also a protest outside the mosque and videos uploaded on social media where other Muslims were openly stating that Ahmadis are not Muslim and therefore should not be allowed to build a mosque for worship. The mosque application was accepted despite these protests^[171].

Walsall

The Baitul Muqet Mosque in Walsall also faced heavy opposition when plans for the Ahmadiyya Muslim mosque were first released. Hundreds of people descending on the town hall to rally against it in 2009. Four petitions were submitted bearing 848 names.

London

In 2003, the Muslim Council of Britain published a press release following the inauguration of the Community’s newly built Baitul Futuh Mosque in South London where it declared that the Ahmadiyya Muslim place of worship is a ‘Qadiyani Centre’, not a mosque. This press release has since been removed from its website. (Full text can be read in Annex 10.1)



Screenshot of Muslim Council of Britain's press release^[189]

**SEVEN YEAR OLD
CHILDREN...ARE BEING
PREJUDICED AT A
VERY EARLY AGE AND
UNFORTUNATELY THIS IS
HAPPENING THROUGHOUT
THE COUNTRY**

Rafiq Hayat

Session 5 of the APPG Inquiry

A black and white photograph of the Big Ben clock tower and the Houses of Parliament in London at night. The tower is illuminated, and its clock face is visible. The surrounding buildings and the River Thames are also visible, with some lights reflecting on the water. The word "RECOMMENDATIONS" is overlaid in large, bold, white capital letters across the center of the image.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To the Government of Pakistan:

Anti-Ahmadi and Blasphemy Laws:

1. Repeal its anti-Ahmadi laws including Ordinance XX and the Second Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan;
2. Repeal its repressive blasphemy laws in particular (Section 295-B and Section 295-C of the penal code that are used to target Ahmadi Muslims, Christians, Shias, Hindus and other religious communities in Pakistan);
3. Release the three Ahmadi Muslims on death row and Ms. Ramzan Bibi detained under PPC 295-C for alleged blasphemy; and
4. To ensure full freedom of religion for all religious communities in Pakistan.

Democratic Rights:

5. Grant Ahmadi Muslims the right to vote by including them in the single electoral list;

Education

6. To reform the education curriculum in Pakistan to prevent the teaching of hate against religious minorities; and
7. To implement a robust regulatory framework to prevent the promotion of hatred and extremism in madrassas;
8. Return all educational institutions to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community that were nationalised - especially as all preconditions have been fulfilled. (The Community deposited the necessary funds to the Government for the return of these institutions.)

Civil Rights:

9. Remove the anti-Ahmadi declaration required to obtain the Pakistani passport and National ID card;
10. Remove the ban on Ahmadi Muslim channels (Muslim Television Ahmadiyya International);
11. To implement the Supreme Court decision made by Judge Tassaduq Jilani to protect the right of worship for all, to protect the right to repair and build places of worship, and to create a special task force for this purpose. Furthermore, to implement his instructions given for the protection of the rights of minorities.
12. Remove the publications ban in the Punjab province against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

Legal:

13. Urgently review its application of the Protection of Pakistan Act 2014 (anti-terror legislation)

which is incorrectly being applied to non-terror related offences and used to target religious minority groups in Pakistan;

14. Uphold its obligations under the international human rights framework and to implement freedom of religion and belief ICCPR (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights) obligations;
15. Implement Article 20 of its constitution, which gives complete freedom to propagate and practice faith;
16. In view of the intense pressure put on police forces relating to blasphemy cases (295-C of the penal code), amend the crime reporting process so that a crime may be reported and recorded by the local police, but decisions on pressing charges should only be made by a specially trained regional/central unit; and
17. Implement its National Action Plan (that was aimed at stopping sectarian hatred and extremism) in order to prevent hate speech and extremism against religious communities in Pakistan.

To the Government of the United Kingdom:

Law:

18. To press the Government of Pakistan on all of the above matters so that Pakistan abides by its constitutional duty to ensure freedom of religion for all.

Aid/Education:

19. To ensure that no aid from the United Kingdom and other countries is being used to promote hatred against any religious community in Pakistan;
20. Ensure that aid from the United Kingdom is not being used to subsidise nationalised schools that belonged to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community and to press for the Pakistan Government to return these schools to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

Hate Speech:

21. To increase resources in the Home Office and at diplomatic posts to ensure that hate preachers are not allowed entry to the UK;
22. Broaden the legal definition of hate speech and extremism to more align with that used by OFCOM, namely that hate speech is 'all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify hatred...';
23. Require OFCOM to increase its resources on monitoring Urdu channels, and where a channel has been found in breach of broadcast regulations twice for hate speech, its licence must be revoked;
24. Call on the new proposed online harms regulator to hold social media providers to account with regards to removing material relating to religious hatred and extremism;

25. To call on the new proposed online harms regulator to develop and enforce a code of conduct that must be followed by social media providers, similar to OFCOM's broadcast code, with a specific focus on religious hatred and extremism. Equally, the regulator must have the power to penalise social media providers if found in breach of the code. Additionally, if in breach of it, relevant evidence must be passed onto the police and other authorities to investigate whether a hate crime has been committed;
26. Ensure that the new proposed regulator for online harms, as set out in the Online Harms White Paper, has the appropriate resources and legal powers to remove hate speech online against religious communities and to prosecute perpetrators, with a focus on religious hatred and extremism;
27. Ensure that the new proposed regulator for online harms does not only consider evidence of online hate with the greatest threat of harm (risk-based approach), rather it considers all online hatred (e.g. religious hatred) its work; and
28. To call on the new proposed harms regulator to enforce that social media providers ban individual accounts promoting religious hatred and extremism.

Refugees:

29. Press all countries where Ahmadi Muslims are seeking UNHCR protection to be compliant with UN Conventions. Ahmadi Muslims must be allowed to stay while the UNHCR completes its due process and not deported e.g. back to Pakistan;
30. As part of its commitment to freedom of religion or belief, to commit as part of its refugee quota to resettle all Ahmadi Muslims who have been recognised as UNHCR refugees in third countries, especially those suffering in Thailand, Malaysia, Lebanon and Turkey;
31. The Home Office must allow UK citizens to sponsor their siblings who are UNHCR refugees in third countries, for resettlement in the UK;
32. The Home Office must revise its Community Sponsorship Scheme to enable communities to sponsor their members who have been granted refugee status by UNHCR in a third country, to resettle in the United Kingdom.

International:

33. To press the Government of Algeria to end the harassment and persecution of Ahmadi Muslims and grant them full freedom of religion;
34. To urge the Governments of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan to remove restrictions on the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community being denied the right to register as a religious organisation, so that Ahmadi Muslims can practice their faith without fear of persecution;
35. To press the Indonesian Government to repeal the 2008 Joint Ministerial Decree that denies Ahmadi Muslims their right to freedom of religion, and to call for all Ahmadi Muslim mosques that have been sealed by the authorities to be opened to allow Ahmadi Muslims the right to worship freely. It should also press the Indonesian Government to enable the internally displaced

refugees to return to their homes in safety. Furthermore, it should ensure that Ahmadi Muslims have full freedom of religion as per the country's constitution;

36. The UK Government commits to act early and decisively to challenge denial of freedom of religion for Ahmadi Muslims in all other countries (including Bangladesh, Egypt and Comoros) and provides support to promote and secure religious freedoms and human rights.

To the European Union:

Law:

37. To press the Government of Pakistan to repeal its anti-Ahmadi laws including Ordinance XX and the Second Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan;
38. To press the Government of Pakistan to repeal its repressive blasphemy laws in particular (Section 295-C of the penal code that are used to target Ahmadi Muslims, Christians, Shias, Hindus and other religious communities in Pakistan).

Aid/Education:

39. To hold the Government of Pakistan to account for its commitment to freedom of religion, given that the Government of Pakistan is a recipient of the GSP Plus (favourable trading conditions set by the EU) from the European Union.
-

ANNEX

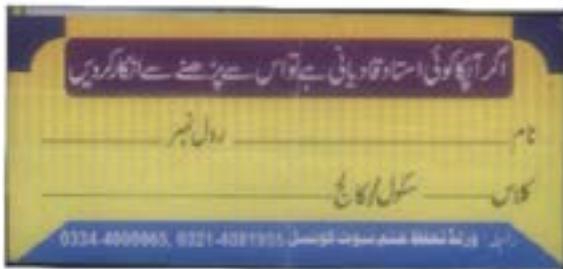
Textbooks

“...so if you look at the curriculum, I was recently in Pakistan and I was just horrified to see what is being taught to our young children, for example this word ‘Kafir’ non-believer or infidel is openly said about Ahmadiyya but also about other communities, it’s part of our teaching system – students are taught that Muslims are better than any other community, they are the conquerors, they are superior, and this type of education starts right from the beginning to adulthood. So, it’s in their minds to become intolerant to other faiths”.

Professor Javaid Rehman, Second Session of the APPG Inquiry

The APPG Inquiry heard how hatred and discrimination against Ahmadis is perpetuated in school textbooks and through the syllabus^[173]. This material openly promotes hatred against the community with some encouraging boycott and violence. Students are also encouraged to use name stickers in their exercise books with disparaging comments made about Ahmadis. A selection is given below.

One name tag reads ‘it is a sin to speak with or do any business with Qadianis’ (derogatory reference to Ahmadis).



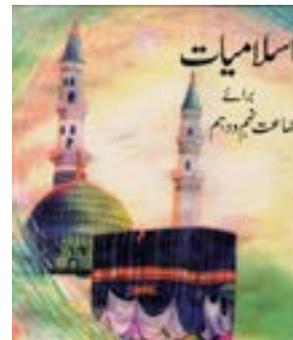
Sticker: “If any of your teachers are Qadiyanis then refuse to be taught by them” Students are encouraged to state the name and details of the Ahmadi teacher and send this to Khatme Nabuwwat council.



Sticker “Any communication with Qadiyanis or friendships is completely haram”. Students are encouraged to give up their fellow Ahmadi students names and send this to Khatme Nabuwwat council.



“The Love for the Prophet’s first sign is the boycott of Qadiyanis”. Students are encouraged to state the name and details of their fellow Ahmadi students and send this to Khatme Nabuwwat council.



Islamic Studies Textbooks inciting anti-Ahmadi hate

Page 45 of the above book states: Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian “made a fake claim in 1901 to be exactly the same person as Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah,” (this is completely false) and has termed his claim to be a great mischief. It also states that “Anyone who, after the Holy Prophet claims to be a prophet, is a liar, a great liar, an apostate and outside the pale of Islam, according to the Qur'an, Hadith and the Consensus of the Ummah^[174].”

Exercise

(Fill in the missing words)

1. Rasool means 'one who brings a _____ message'.
2. Nabl means 'one who gives news of _____'.
3. Anything made without a purpose is called _____.
4. We cannot make a machine for a purpose without having a _____ for running the machine.
5. In order to tell us the purpose of our life, Allah has created an elaborate _____ of _____.
6. The purpose of our life is to spend our whole life in _____ Allah and _____ only Him.
7. Beginning from Hazrat Adam عليه السلام, the chain of Prophethood _____ at _____.
8. It is _____'s desire to make mischief with Islam.
9. One who believes that there will be a prophet after Hazrat Muhammad ﷺ, is a _____.
10. In 1891, under the patronage of the British, _____ a liar from the town of Gadian, made the false claim that he was Allah's prophet.

S u l t a n

questions

1. What is the importance of faith in Islam?
2. What does faith in the finality of Prophethood or Khaim-e-Nabawwat mean?
3. What has the Prophet ﷺ said about the finality of his Prophethood?
4. What was the background of the battle of Yamama?
5. What happened in Pakistan on 7th September 1974?



ياغيبنا

The followers of the false prophet, Musalima Kazzab, claimed to be Muslims. Even they raised the slogan 'Allahu-Akbar' in the bottle of Yamama. To remove any confusion, the commander of Islamic army, Hazrat Khalid bin Walid رضي الله عنه, asked his army to raise the slogan 'Ya Muhammadiyah ﷺ'.

(يا محمدية) - (يا رسول الله)

— 4 0 0 said, 'In my Ummah, thirty liars will appear and each of them will falsely claim to be a prophet. However, I am the Last Prophet and there is no prophet after me.' (Surah Ahmad)

It is Satan's desire to make mischief with Islam. For this purpose, he aims to entirely remove the love of Prophet Muhammad ﷺ from the hearts of Muslims. Hence Satan has been presenting false prophets to this world one after another.

A man called Musalima Kazzab fell into Satan's trap and claimed to be Allah's prophet. Sahabah decided to put him to death as it is the obligation of every Muslim to protect the faith in the finality of the Prophethood, and the penalty for the one,

who claims to be a prophet after Prophet Muhammad ﷺ, is death and only death. The

coloph at that time, Hazrat Abu Bakr رضي الله عنه sent troops led by Hazrat Khalid bin Walid رضي الله عنه to eliminate Musalima Kazzab who had gathered a big army of his followers. Musalima's army was defeated and he was killed. This was the battle of Yamama.

Before Pakistan was created in 1947 as a Muslim country in the south Asian subcontinent, the British hatched many conspiracies against Muslims. They wanted to remove from their hearts the love and respect for their beloved Prophet Muhammad ﷺ. In 1891, under the patronage of the British, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, a liar from the town of Gadian, made the false claim that he was Allah's prophet, and his followers claimed to be Muslims. Eventually, on 7th September 1974, a law was passed in Pakistan to declare that no Gadiani can claim himself to be a Muslim because one who believes in the Prophethood of anyone after Prophet Muhammad ﷺ becomes a 'Kafir'.

Excerpts from Islamic Studies textbook for Grade 6
students blatantly inciting hate against Ahmadi Muslim^[176]



Textbooks Inciting anti-Ahmadi hate

The textbook ‘Rahbar Mutalia Pakistan, For Degree Classes’ contains a section that states:

“Qadianis are non-Muslims and that they are followers of Promised Messiah ‘Maloon’ (Cursed) and have been declared non-Muslims.”

‘Islamic Studies Grade 6’ (Spectrum Publishers Nov 2015, p 24-25)

The book also mentions the incidents of how Muslims stood against false claimers and killed them.

The book ‘Mutalia Pakistan Lazmi’ (Published by Standard Book House, Urdu Bazaar, Lahore) mentions that Ahmadis are deceptive and that they have been expelled from the pale of Islam.

Use of International Aid Funding

The Inquiry heard concern about international aid money being sent to Pakistan and how this should be scrutinised as the earlier evidence demonstrates that education syllabi are fuelling hatred and violence against Ahmadis. **Thus, the UK Government is duty bound to ensure robust checks and balances are in place to avoid UK tax payers funding hate activities against religious minorities.** Stemming the tide of hate that is built into the psyche of children in schools is a critical element in the fight against extremism.

“You have to know that you’re putting your money into schools that are producing students or that have a curriculum that is tolerant, that is not teaching hate, that is not preaching murder or inciting violence. Unfortunately, I was hearing yesterday that the Ahmadi community, it’s so sad what’s happening to them in Pakistan, because it’s almost, it’s like Nazi Germany, they have databases, they cannot say that they are Muslims, they can’t even practice their religion, they can’t give the Azan, it’s persecution that you cannot imagine...”

Shahbaz Taseer, Fifth Session of the APPG Inquiry

Nationalisation of schools - subsidised by international aid funding?

Schools established and owned by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community have also been targeted by the state and not returned to the community despite it having met all legal requirements.

This APPG Inquiry heard how in 1972, the Pakistan Government nationalised most schools, and this action also included Ahmadi owned institutions. As a result eight Ahmadi schools in Punjab, two colleges in Rabwah (Chenab Nagar) and five schools across Sindh were nationalised.

At that time the Punjab Government also seized 13,000 acres of Ahmadi owned agricultural land, despite this not being part of the Government’s nationalisation policy.

In 1996, the Government of Punjab issued a notice giving the owners of nationalised educational institutions the option to regain control of their institutions by paying 1 year salary dues to cover employee expenses. In 1997 the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community fulfilled the conditions for re-privatisation. The community deposited a sum of Rs. 11,012,483 with the government treasury.

However, despite having made full payments, the Government has not returned the institutions and private land and it has also retained all the money deposited. All other

nationalised schools belonging to other communities have been returned to their previous owners, only those belonging to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community remain unreturned^[175].

This APPG Inquiry notes that this should be of serious concern to the international community, especially the UK and EU Governments, as Pakistan is the recipient of substantial aid money for education. This is spent on government run schools but if the Government returned the schools taken from the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community then aid money would not be needed for those schools as the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community would fund them entirely. So the failure of the Pakistan government to returned the nationalised schools to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community is an unnecessary burden on UK taxpayers.

The FIR System in Pakistan - A Catalyst for Unfounded Blasphemy Cases

The inquiry heard significant concerns about the crime reporting process in Pakistan and the impact this has on minority religious groups and in particular on Ahmadi Muslims who are also subject to criminal prosecution under the Ordinance XX.

When a crime is initially reported, the local police issue a First Instance Report also known as an 'FIR'. The ramifications of an FIR are far reaching and does not simply serve the purpose of reporting or receiving a crime reference number. An FIR in practical terms is a charge that is levied on the accused which must be disproved at court to avoid conviction. The FIR process is also the first step in determining the potential scale of sentencing available at prosecution.

The inquiry heard that the evidence threshold for an FIR to be issued is extremely low and the police rarely carry out full and proper investigation into a crime. Due to the significance of the FIR, extremist clerics often use this as an opportunity to apply extreme pressure on the police. The aim of applying pressure is to increase the charge on the FIR sheet to ensure that the accused is tried for the highest possible sentence regardless of the severity of the alleged crime. In most Ahmadi cases, extremists attempt to apply s295C of Pakistan's Penal Code (PPC) (that relates to blasphemy) which carries the death penalty.

A moving and stark example heard by the inquiry was in relation to three Ahmadi Muslims sentenced to death in Bhiawal in Sharkpur Sharif [case study in Chapter 2 of the report]. In this instance the accused were arrested for pulling down posters that

contained anti-Ahmadi hate material. The FIR was initially issued under s295A PPC and through excessive pressure, extremists were able to change the charge to s295C which carried the death penalty. The other significance of increasing the charge to s295C is that in practical terms, it becomes near impossible for the accused to obtain bail. The three accused are now on death row simply for taking down posters off a wall.

The inquiry heard that if the police does not succumb to extremist pressure, there is a real risk that the investigating officer will be killed and/or their family members be put at serious risk of harm. In some instances, the police themselves are easily willing to change the charge sheet through corruption. **Due to the catastrophic repercussions of an FIR, the inquiry heard that there is an urgent need for: a) a proper investigation to be carried out by the police before and FIR is issued and; b) for charges to be issued by an organisation at a similar level to the UK's Crown Prosecution Service who can make independent decisions without influence at a regional/national level.** This would alleviate extremist pressure on local police force and allow the police opportunity to carry out appropriate investigations before presenting case details to the body to determine. Such system is paramount to uphold the rule of law.

Denying Justice through the Judicial Process

Cases that make it to court continue to suffer from corruption, delays and unfairness. Pakistan's judicial system rarely finalises cases quickly, fairly or transparently. In January 2015, for example, there were more than 1.7 million cases pending in courts throughout Pakistan. These problems partly reflect the absence of qualified prosecutors and judges. There are also credible reports of corruption within the judiciary, as well as judicial intimidation in blasphemy and other cases, particularly in lower courts. Victims or their families often seek to lodge their cases in the Anti Terrorism Courts (ATCs) (by claiming a murder is an act of terrorism against the community, for example) because the ATCs are able to decide cases more quickly than other courts and can hand down harsher punishments.^[177]

The US State Department Human Rights report noted that 'Courts routinely failed to protect the rights of religious minorities. Courts discriminatory used laws prohibiting blasphemy against Shi'a, Christians, Ahmadis, and members of other religious minority groups. Lower courts often did not require adequate evidence in blasphemy cases, and some accused and convicted persons spent years in jail before higher courts eventually overturned their convictions or ordered them freed.'^[178]

Against this backdrop, vulnerable members of society stand little chance in defending themselves and relying on the state to uphold their human rights. Many Ahmadis have suffered in this judicial process and have been prosecuted under blasphemy laws on baseless charges and little or no evidence.

The 2018 Islamabad High Court Judgement - Ratcheting up of Persecution

The APPG inquiry noted that the nature and extent of persecution continues to expand unabated, as evidenced by the deeply disturbing judgement by the Islamabad High Court that was issued in 2018. This was in response to a petition lodged which challenged the proposed change of the oath as per the Election Act 2017 that changed the wording of that declaration from “I solemnly swear...” to “I believe” as follows:

“Declarations by the Candidate:

1. I (nominated candidate), hereby declare on oath that,-

(iii) “I believe in the absolute and unqualified finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him), the last of the prophets and that I am not the follower of anyone who claims to be a Prophet in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever after Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), and that I do not recognize such a claimant to be Prophet or a religious reformer, nor do I belong to the Qadiani group or the Lahori group or call myself an Ahmadi.”^[179]

The amendment triggered nationwide protests that brought the capital Islamabad to a standstill for weeks, until the government capitulated to their demands and reversed the amendment - a shocking reflection of the street power of anti-Ahmadi clerics.

The long term implications of this incident are far more damaging as they resulted in a judgement by Shaukat Aziz, who deemed that the targeting and persecution of Ahmadis needed to be much more extensive, so that Ahmadis could no longer ‘hide’ as Muslims anywhere, especially in public services.

He states in his judgement^[180] that the Election Act 2017 [amending the oath] was

drafted so as to bring Ahmadi Muslims within the fold of the Muslim electorate, and this, he considered, was unlawful. But he went further, and considered that at paragraph 75 that:

After declaring Qadianis (both Groups) as non-Muslims there should have been some steps for their separate identity, recognition, and scrutiny, as Qadianis are not like other minorities (non-muslims) who can easily be identified through their appearance, names, beliefs and mode of prayers.

Shaukat Aziz considered that Ahmadis should not only have a separate electoral register, but be readily identifiable:

Therefore, it is only in the fitness of things that Qadianis maybe referred to as Ghulaman-e-Mirza/Mirzai etc. but not as Ahmadis, which term/reference may confuse them with Muslims who believe in the finality of the prophethood of Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH). Qadianis should not be allowed to conceal their identity by having similar names to those of Muslims, , therefore, they should be either stopped from using name of ordinary Muslims or in the alternative Qadiani, Ghulam-e-Mirza or Mirzai must form a part of their names and be mentioned accordingly.

And at paragraph 79, he concluded:

It goes without saying that every citizen of Pakistan irrespective of race, cast, creed or religion has a right of life and to profess their own religion within the contours of the Constitution. However, having already constitutionally declared Qadianis to be non-Muslims, it is only justified that they be treated on the same footing as other minorities who are easily identifiable by, least of all, their names and, fortunately, do not imposter themselves to be from a religion they are not.

It was a judgment that further legitimised the non-Muslim status of Ahmadi Muslims in the Pakistani voting register. The judgment also repeated and legitimised a number of false tropes about Ahmadi Muslims. For example, at paragraph 10, Shaukat Aziz considered:

The details presented by different agencies before this Court during the course of proceedings have made it manifestly clear that individuals belonging

to the said religion (which certainly cannot be and is not a sect of Islam) do not disclose their religious identities, thus, there is a strong likelihood that they, while using their official positions and at the same time concealing their religious identity, can influence any legislative process or policy making. Therefore, a direction to maintain separate database (as prayed in Clause “b” of Prayer clause of Writ Petition) is extremely essential.

And at paragraph 26:

Qadianis had held the belief during the British rule in India (and even still maintain) that they could prosper and propagate their ideas only under the shield of the British and they could work properly neither in Mecca, nor in Syria, nor in Kabul, except under the British Government for whose progress and prosperity.

At paragraph 28:

As a part of their doctrine, Qadianis penetrated the Muslim rank and file by confusing innocent minds through an anti-Islamic exploitation of human weaknesses. When Pakistan, in her initial days of independence was striving hard for her existence and survival, Qadianis, with the help of the “invisible hands” of Imperialism and neocolonialism were making deep thrusts into the bureaucracy,

At paragraph 66, he considered the appropriate changes to the law, in the following context:

No doubt, by promulgation of Ordinance, 1984 important steps were taken to restrain them from using certain Islamic epithets, but what if a Qadiani conceals his real identity? What if a Qadiani by concealing his real identity reaches the High Constitutional office(s)? What if a person while deceiving the state reaches to the highest sensitive post(s)? What if a person or persons, deceiving the Constitution & law, threatens and breaches the security and integrity of the State? It is often said that for every wrong, there is a remedy. What is the remedy for the people of Pakistan against such deception and disloyalty? It is time and again held that the laws are made to prevent the wrongs for the greater cause of public good, but what laws have been enacted to counter such wrong?

Anti–Ahmadi Hate at the Workplace

Shaukat Aziz also ruled that it was compulsory for all Pakistanis to take an oath denouncing Ahmadis if they wish to join the civil service^[181], the armed forces or the judiciary, raising further difficulties for Ahmadi Muslims as the oath specifically targets the fundamental tenet of Ahmadi belief of its founder being a prophet. In his judgment Shaukat Aziz held that:

“82: 1. In order to get CNIC, Passport, Birth certificate and entry in voter list, an affidavit must be sworn by the applicant based on the definition of Muslim and Non-Muslim provided by Article 260 (3) (a) (b) of the Constitution.”^[182][Paragraph 82(1)]

Moreover, in a focused attack on the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in his judgment he declared:

“82:5. The Government of Pakistan shall take special measures ensuring availability of correct particulars of all the citizens so that it should not be possible for any citizen to hide his/her real identity and recognition. Government shall also take immediate steps for conducting inquiry concerning alarming and visible difference in the population record of Qadianis/Ahmadis available with the NADRA and figures collected through recent census in this regard.

6. It is binding on the State to take care of the rights, feelings and religious beliefs of the Muslim Ummah and to also ensure the protection of rights of minorities in the light of teachings of “Islam” being the religion declared by the Constitution of the country^[183].”

This reinforces the fact that Ahmadis face a glass ceiling and cannot progress within their careers nor hold any significant public office^[184].

What is shocking is that these are not just the words of a hate preacher on the streets of Pakistan but of a High Court judge, which means that they carry the full force of law and are legal requirements in Pakistan.

News Article Published upon the Arrests of Ahmadis

MailOnline

Algeria defends Ahmadiyah sect arrests, community says vilified

By Reuters

PUBLISHED: 16:31, 28 April 2017 | **UPDATED:** 16:31, 28 April 2017

By Lamine Chikhi

ALGIERS, April 28 (Reuters) - Algeria's government has rejected accusations from rights groups that it persecuted the Ahmadiyah religious sect during a recent spate of arrests, saying those detained were targeted for breaking the law not for their beliefs.

International rights groups have expressed concern in Algeria about crackdowns and religious persecution of Ahmadiyah, a Muslim sect also found in Pakistan and Indonesia as well as in communities in Europe but who some Sunnis accuse of apostasy.

The Ahmadiyah identify as Muslims, but believe another prophet followed the Prophet Mohammed, who founded Islam. That view runs counter to the Muslim religion's central belief and is considered problematic by most mainstream Islamic organizations.

Algeria's Minister of Religious Affairs Mohamed Aissa told diplomats and reporters this week that any arrests in Algeria's Ahmadiyah community were for individual crimes and not a crackdown on their religious community.

His comments came after some Algerian political leaders had said there was no place for the Ahmadiyah in Algeria, where most people are Sunni Muslims. In the past, officials have suggested the community was involved in illegal proselytizing.

"All those Ahmadiyah individuals' activities in our country were illegal, we are not targeting the Ahmadiyah, but rather individuals," Aissa said at a conference this week.

PAST CIVIL WAR

Press Release Issued upon the Arrests of Ahmadis



Algeria: Wave of arrests and prosecutions of hundreds of Ahmadis

19 June 2017, 19:57 UTC

Algeria must halt its clampdown against members of the minority Ahmadiyya religious movement, said Amnesty International today, ahead of the appeal hearing on 21 June of six Ahmadis sentenced to up to four years in prison for charges relating to the exercise of their religion.

At least 280 Ahmadi men and women have faced investigation or prosecution over the past year, since a wave of arrests began after failed attempts to register an Ahmadi association and inaugurate a new mosque in 2016.

"The clampdown against Ahmadis over the past year is alarming. This wave of arrests and prosecutions of Ahmadis is a clear indication that the authorities are stepping up restrictions on religious freedom in the country," said Heba Morayef, North Africa Research Director for Amnesty International.

"Algerian authorities should ensure that the cases against Ahmadis which are solely related to the peaceful practice of their religion are dropped, and immediately release those detained."

There are an estimated 2,000 Ahmadis in Algeria. Ahmadis consider themselves to be Muslim, however, Algerian officials have made public statements calling them heretics and a threat to Algeria.

In March 2016, Algerian authorities refused an attempt by Ahmadis to register as an association under Algerian law. On 2 June 2016 the police raided a newly-built Ahmadi mosque in Larbaa, in the province of Blida, on the morning of its planned inauguration, and shut it down.

Since then, Amnesty International has learned from local sources that Algerian authorities have initiated judicial proceedings against more than 280 Ahmadis. The charges they face include membership in an

For full article please visit: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/06/algeria-wave-of-arrests-and-prosecutions-of-hundreds-of-ahmadis/>

News Article Published upon the Arrests of Ahmadis by Algerian Press



Translation: Working actively under the coverage of a charity, Ahmadis pose a threat to the beliefs of the Algerians. A request to imprison 22 members of the Ahmadiyya Community in Skikda.



Translation: Communication Networks /Agencies support the spread of Ahmadiyya in Arab and African countries.



Translation: The Ahmadiyya sect is a danger to the unity of the Ummah and its followers are psychopaths.



Translation: More than seven "suspicious" sects are active in Algeria



Translation: Ahmadis poses a threat to the beliefs of the Algerians

Anti-Ahmadi Graffiti in Lahore



Translation: "Sunnis call Qadianis to be cursed, cursed, cursed!" Found in Lahore

Anti-Ahmadi Hate Leaflet found in UK Mosque

BEWARE---BEWARE---BEWARE---BEWARE---BEWARE---BEWARE---BEWARE

DECEPTION OF THE QADIYANI

All Muslims are warned that the Qadiyanis (so called Ahmadiyya) are not Muslims. They are misguiding people through the internet, T.V, literature and advertisements. The Qadiyanis deceive Muslims with words such as peace, loyalty, freedom, respect, and love.

The Qadiyanis are followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiyani (1840-1908). Mirza Qadiyani has claimed to be a Nabi, a Rasool and Muhammad (Sallallahu alayhi wasalam) himself! Aside from that he has claimed to be God, Insaan Mabdi, Maryam and Isa ibn Maryam. He had enmity and hatred for Isa (Alayhi wasalam) as he repeatedly insulted him. He also abused other prophets including Muhammad (Sallallahu alayhi wasalam) and his companions (Ridhwanullahi Ajmaeen). He has sworn at the ulama who are the inheritors of the prophets. Mirza Qadiyani has made false accusations towards Allah (Subhaanawata'ala) and his Rasool (Sallallahu alayhi wasalam).

It is because of the aforementioned reasons that:

1. The scholars have called them Kaafir and out the fold of Islam.
2. The Muslim World League in 1974 in Makkah Mukaramah declared them Kaafir.
3. The Pakistani Parliament declared them as a non-Muslim minority in 1974. Many institutions and courts have also declared them to be Kaafir.
4. Indonesia, Malaysia and Gambia have taken action against some of their activities.

The Qadiyanis have started to advertise on buses and distributing leaflets with the slogans peace, loyalty, freedom, respect, and love and have launched a website (www.loveforallhatredformone.org). But how can they be peaceful when they don't condemn the acts of Mirza Qadiyani? How can they claim to be loyal when they abandoned the final messenger (Sallallahu alayhi wasalam) of Allah (Subhaanawata'ala)? How can they support freedom when they do not allow their followers to question the acts of Mirza Qadiyani? How can they have respect when they follow a man who has insulted and claimed to be previous prophets? How can they claim to love all when they follow a man who hated Rasoolullah (Sallallahu alayhi wasalam)? They are not peaceful and have no respect because they blind follow a man who was very abusive, offensive and blasphemous against Allah (Subhaanawata'ala), his Rasool (Sallallahu alayhi wasalam) and Islam. Instead they are the ones who are causing hatred and disunity.

Beware of their literature, adverts, MTA TV channel (787) and websites such as www.alislam.org and many others. Educate yourself on this issue and warn all your friends and family. If you already follow Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiyani then please research the history and find out the reality of Qadiyanism.

Please make copies and distribute, also display on Masjid notice boards.
For further information and references please use our website or contact us below:
www.khatmensubuwat.org

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Anti-Ahmadi Propaganda in UK

Details of anti-Ahmadi book found in Tooting.

Book Title: Complete Boycott of Qadianis (A derogatory term for Ahmadis) is in Accordance with the Islamic principles of fairness and justice.

Author: Late Maulana Mufti Wali Hassan Tonki, Previous Chief of the Office of Religious Decrees Jamiatul Uloom Islamia (Maddressa of Islam) Binori Town, Karachi.

Published by: Tahrik Tahafuz Khatme Nabuwat Majlis Ahrar Pakistan (Movement to Safeguard the Finality of Prophethood, the Ahrar Association Pakistan)

Page 1:

Leader of Tehrik Khatme Nabuwat Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Binori had asked for a religious decree on the issue of the complete boycott of Qadianis. Maulana Wali Hassan, gave a detailed answer as below.

"Muslims should not do any financial and personal transactions with Qadianis, doing business with them, keeping friends with them, seeking treatment from Qadiani doctors are all forbidden, meaning all kinds

of interactions are forbidden."

Page 2:

"The Ummat Muslima (all Muslims as a whole) should terminate all kinds of brotherly relationship with them."

"Terminate exchanging greetings with them, social interaction, social gatherings, and at times of their happiness and sadness we should not share these with them. Instead a total separation and detachment is warranted at all social levels."

"Stop all business, financial transactions, and buying and selling with them."

"Ensure a total economic boycott with them (should not buy any produce from their factories)."

"Visiting their educational institutes, hotels and restaurants is forbidden. Should not keep friendly relationship with them."

"Should not use the produce of their factories and industries. Should in effect boycott them completely. All Muslims have been given the right to boycott them to ensure that they (Qadianis) come to the "right way" when there is no other way to bring them towards reformation."

Extracts from the EU Election Observer Mission to Pakistan 2018, Highlighting the Denial of Voting Rights for Ahmadi Muslims^[185]

The following extracts (emphasis added) provide independent verification of the denial of voting rights for Ahmadi Muslims in Pakistan. To vote Ahmadis must declare themselves as non-Muslims and as the EU notes this leaves them with no choice at all as **“Ahmadis must choose between citizenship rights or their religious identity”**

“Although steps were taken to ensure participation of minorities in the electoral process, **the obstacles faced by the Ahmadi community remain unchanged. They are still registered on a separate electoral roll, contrary to constitutional provisions on the equality of citizens and against Pakistan’s international commitments.** (Page 4)

“Some of the key EU EOM recommendations from 2013, however, were to a large extent not taken on board... [including] the removal of a separate voters’ roll for Ahmadis; and the limitations on media and on freedom of expression.” (Page 12)

“The Elections Act 2017 was adopted on 2 October and amended twice in quick succession. **The amendments involved the removal of Ahmadi citizens from the general voters’ roll and registering them again on a supplementary list.**” (Page 14)

Legal reforms: the Elections Act, 2017

After the 2013 elections, Pakistan embarked on an ambitious process of electoral reform. ...Despite the reforms, however, there are still gaps in various aspects of the law. **A controversial amendment to the Elections Act required Ahmadi voters to assume the status of non-Muslims or subscribe to a declaration and oath against their beliefs.**

Thus, contrary to the Constitution, Ahmadis must choose between citizenship rights or their religious identity.” (Page 16)

Continued enrolment of Ahmadis on a supplementary voter list is contrary to international standards.” (Page 24)

Despite Pakistan’s international commitments and legal safeguards enshrined in the Constitution, some minority groups, in particular Ahmadis, Christians, Hindus, Hazaras and Shias, are targets of discrimination, and sectarian and religious violence.

...Ahmadis are excluded from political life. They are not recognised by law as Muslims and since 1985 they have been registered on a separate electoral roll. As they refuse to consider themselves as non-Muslims, they did not participate in the elections. The disenfranchisement of 167,500 Ahmadi voters was not discussed in the state media, or in political party manifestos. In an environment tainted by sectarian violence, Ahmadis have to choose between freedom of belief and their political rights as citizens.

“AHMADIS WOULD HAVE TO RENOUNCE THEIR FAITH TO BE INCLUDED ON THE GENERAL ROLL INSTEAD OF A SEPARATE ONE. THIS IS A CLEAR VIOLATION OF ICCPR ARTICLE 2”

“...The Ahmadis are defined as non-Muslims in the Constitution, Article 260(3). The oath declaring the finality of Muhammad’s Prophethood is essential for registration on the general electoral roll (Elections Act 2017, Article 48A), a discriminating process as Ahmadis would have to renounce their faith to be included on the general roll instead of a separate one. This is a clear violation of ICCPR, Article 2, that states that “each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.” ” (Page 39)

“In autumn 2017, attempts to change the electoral law in [the favour of Ahmadis] triggered serious protests from religious groups. As a result, the Law and Justice Minister had to resign, and the former provision for a supplementary list of voters for Ahmadis was reinstated in the Elections Act.” (Page 60)

UN Human Rights Committee Acknowledges Denial of Ahmadi Voting Rights

United Nations Human Rights Committee (UN HRC), concluding observations on the initial report of Pakistan, CCPR/C/PAK/CO/1, 23 August 2017, para. 9 The HRC “is also concerned by the removal of Ahmadis from the general electoral list and their registration on a separate voting list.” (Page 61)

“IN AUTUMN 2017, ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE THE ELECTORAL LAW IN [THE FAVOUR OF AHMADIS] TRIGGERED SERIOUS PROTESTS FROM RELIGIOUS GROUPS. AS A RESULT, THE LAW AND JUSTICE MINISTER HAD TO RESIGN, AND THE FORMER PROVISION FOR A SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF VOTERS FOR AHMADIS WAS REINSTATED IN THE ELECTIONS ACT.”

Extracts from Captain Muhammad Safdar - National Assembly Debate Speech 9 October 2017

Captain (R) Muhammad Safdar:

...It is my good fortune that the Ex-Speaker of the assembly is also present here today. Many times when I spoke to her, addressing her I said: 'Madam Speaker! This is **the 1973 constitution. It is a sacred constitution. It is the first constitution in the Islamic world which states that anyone who does not believe in the finality of the prophethood of the Holy Prophet, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, is a disbeliever regardless of whether he or she is a member of the Lahore Ahmadiyya sect or the Qadiani Ahmadi sect. We consider them to be disbelievers.** And, I would like to point out where this 1973 constitution came from. When someone told Hazrat Abu Bakr that Musailma Kazzab had claimed to be prophet, Hazrat Abu Bakr told all Muslims to shun all other forms of jihad and wage jihad against Musailma Kazzab. This parliament endorsed the same approach with the signatures of its members under the shade of the 99 names of the Almighty God. Hazrat Shorash Kashmiri [May Allah have mercy on him] met Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. May my life be sacrificed for the honour of Mufti Mahmood [May Allah have mercy on him], and Shah Ahmad Noorani, Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi, Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi and this Qureishi family, who all met with Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and asked him to [declare Ahmadis as non-Muslim].

Hence, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto signed the law which since then said that anyone who did not believe in the finality of the prophethood of the Holy Prophet, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, is a disbeliever. ...

...I desire that members of parliament should not be the only people to submit an

affidavit of belief in Khatm-e-Nubuwwat. It should be submitted by everyone in the Army as well – starting from the rank of a cadet up to the rank of a soldier [general]. A navy officer should also submit such an affidavit. Also, an air force officer should also be required to submit such an affidavit. The judges of the higher courts should also submit affidavits declaring their belief in Khatm-e-Nubuwwat. Only then will they be able to impart true justice to the people – the servants of Allah and His prophet, peace be upon him.

Madam Speaker! I consider it necessary to speak on this subject today right in the presence of the Prime Minister. If we had such people [Ahmadis] in Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, our nuclear program will not be in safe hands. We will have to see that none of the Qadianis from the Ahmadi group or Lahore group are sitting in Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission and the armed forces. If there is someone from among these people [Ahmadis], we will have to apprehend such a person.

Madam Speaker! I am standing here before the Prime Minister begging him as Shorash Kashmiri did standing before [Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto]. I want to say that this city, Islamabad, belongs to Pir Mehr Ali Shah and Bari Imam Sarkar and the martyrs of Namoos-e-Risalat [Honour of the Holy Prophet, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him]. **In this city, a university, which is named after Hazrat Qaid-e-Azam, has its Physics Department named after a controversial disbeliever, Dr Abdus Salam. This name must be changed immediately. Is there no other scientist of that caliber among the Muslims in Pakistan? The conspiracy begins from here. The commission headed by Raja Zafar- ul- Haq must be informed as to who the professors who proposed [Dr Salam's] name were. **If this name is not changed, I will present a resolution in the assembly. I beg PTI and all other parties for a change in 1973****

constitution. Why do I say this? The reason is that Pakistan's armed forces say that their motto is jihad, while the Qadianis say that the time for jihad is over and that now is the time for jihad through pen. So, why shall we allow them [Ahmadis] to be in the armed forces?

I was saying that the existence of Qadianis is dangerous for this country. I have already quoted a few incidents pertaining to Shorash Kashmiri (May Allah have mercy on him). Shorash Kashmiri said: This man (the founder of Ahmadiyya Community) and his sect are, in fact, is a conspiracy against Pakistan.

Another important issue that I want to raise here is that the **Qadianis should be banned from joining the armed forces. They must not be recruited...**

Madam Deputy Speaker! Keeping this background in mind, I hereby request the assembly which represents 222 million people that we should also have an affidavit signed by the judges of judiciary declaring themselves to be believers in Khatm-e-Nubuwwat, so that we are sure that these people were not associated with Ahmadi sect in the past and that they did not join our

ranks to undermine us. We must be sure if these people will decide the cases according to the Holy Quran and the Sunnah. We will have to make changes to the system of the judiciary. We will have to make changes the way we recruit people for the armed forces. We will have to inform NADRA that those who have dual nationality and those have our passport as well as the passport of another country, such people must be watched. Such people have our passport and also the passport of Britain and thus visit Israel from there.

Captain (R) Muhammad Safdar:

To begin with, the physics department of the Qaid-eAzam University should be named after a Muslim. **The Qadianis must be banned from serving in the armed forces. Grade 22 officers should also provide their affidavit that they believe in Khatm-e-Nubuwwat. Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission should also ban Ahmadis from working in it. It is a sensitive place.**

Text of Section 295-C - Pakistan's Penal Code (PPC) - CRIMINAL LAW (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1986

An Act further to amend the Pakistan Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898(Gazette of Pakistan, Extraordinary, part 1, 12th October 1986)

The following

Act of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) received the assent of the President on the 5th October, 1986 and is hereby published for general information:

Whereas it is expedient further to amend the Pakistan Penal Code (Act XLV of 1860) and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1893), for the purposes hereinafter appearing:

It is hereby enacted as follows:

1. Short title and commencement

(1) This Act may be called the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 1986.

(2) It shall come into force at once.

2. Insertion of new section 295-C, Act XLV of 1860. In the Pakistan Penal Code (Act XLV of 1860), after section 295-B, the following new section shall be inserted, namely:

295-C. Use of derogatory remarks, etc. in respect of the Holy Prophet. 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 uponhim) shall be punished with death, or imprisonment for life, and shall also be liable to fine."

3. Amendment of Schedule II, Act V of 1898. In the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), in Schedule II, after the entries relating to section 295-A, the following new entries shall be inserted, namely:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
295-B	Defiling, etc of copy of Holy Quran,	May arrest without warrant	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Imprisonment for life	Court of Session
298-C	Use of derogatory remarks, etc. in respect of the Holy Prophet	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Death, or imprisonment for life, and fine	Court of Session which shall be presided over by a Muslim

Text from MCB Press Release: "Qadiyani Centre not Mosque"^[186]

On 2 October 2003, the MCB issued a statement in the light of much press interest, making it clear that the Qadiyani Centre which has been constructed in Morden is not a Mosque. The Qadiyani community are regarded as non-Muslims by all Muslim scholars and groups world-wide because of their central belief that Mirza Ghulam Ahmed (born in 19th century India) was a prophet and the promised Messiah. Ever since the days of British colonial rule in India, Muslim scholars have been united in rejecting Ghulam Ahmed's claim to prophethood and regard him as an imposter.

Mainstream Islamic teaching holds that the blessed Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was the last in a long line of prophets sent to mankind. Sunni and Shi'a Muslims are both agreed on this basic tenet of the Islamic faith. Furthermore, we believe that there are no more than 1 million Ahmadis in the entire world as opposed to the 1.5 billion strong worldwide Muslim community.

So, whilst we fully accept the right of Ahmadis to their own religion, it is clearly misleading to describe them as Muslims. They are not.

"FOR AHMADIS THERE IS A SEPARATE LIST, AND FOR AHMADIS TO VOTE UNDER THAT LIST WE HAVE TO ACCEPT OUR STATUS AS NON-MUSLIMS... WE ARE FORCED TO CONFRONT TWO OF OUR RIGHTS AS CITIZENS OF PAKISTAN, ONE BEING OUR RIGHT TO VOTE AND THE OTHER BEING OUR RIGHT TO SELF-IDENTIFY"

Mirza Usman Ahmad
APPG Session 3

"ALL THE BOOKS OF THE FOUNDER OF THE AHMADIYYA COMMUNITY, 86 IN NUMBER WERE BANNED WITHOUT ASSIGNING REASONS"

Mujeeb Ur Rehman
APPG Session 3

"I MET THIS YOUNG BOY LAST YEAR AND HE TOLD ME THAT DURING HIS CLASS WHEN THE TEACHER FOUND OUT THAT HE WAS AN AHMADI, HE BROUGHT IN PICTURES OF THE FOUNDER OF THE COMMUNITY AND HE SCATTERED THEM ON THE FLOOR AND TOLD THE OTHER STUDENTS TO TRAMPLE ON THOSE PICTURES AND MAKE THE BOY WATCH"

Mirza Usman Ahmad
APPG Session 3

"THE PROBLEM WITH THE BLASPHEMY LAWS IS THAT THE FIR IS SUFFICIENT TO GET THAT MOB VIOLENCE AROUND YOU"

Professor Rehman

APPG Session 3

"YOU DON'T NEED TO ESTABLISH AN INTENTION TO BLASPHEMY AND YOU DON'T NEED TO REPEAT IT SO ALL IT TAKES IS FOR ME TO SAY THAT THIS GUY HAS BLASPHEMED"

Professor Rehman

APPG Session 3

"I MYSELF AM A SUNNI MUSLIM BUT I WAS ABDUCTED BY ISIS, SIX MONTHS AFTER MY FATHER WAS KILLED BECAUSE OF HIS STANCE ON MINORITIES, I WAS BRANDED A 'KAFIR' WHICH IS AN INFIDEL, MY ISLAM WAS NOT ACCEPTED BY THEM, REGARDLESS IF I PRAYED, IF I READ THE QUR'AN, IF I FASTED — IT DIDN'T MATTER, IT'S AN INTOLERANT MINDSET AND OF COURSE THE MILITANT SIDE OF IT IS ONE EXTREME..."

Shahbaz Taseer

APPG Session 5

Endnotes

- [1] Pakistan.gov.pk. 2020. Quaid-E-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. [online] Available at: <http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/Quaid/messages_page2.html>
- [2] Nekhoda, S., 1999. Mr. Jinnah's Address To The Constituent Assembly Of Pakistan. [online] Pakistani.org. Available at: <http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/legislation/constituent_address_11aug1947.html>
- [3] Majlis-i-Ahrar, a religious Muslim political party in the Indian subcontinent that was formed during the British Raj and associated with opposition to Muhammad Ali Jinnah and establishment of an independent Pakistan.
- [4] Malik, B., 2011. Jinnah And The Religious Right | The Express Tribune. [online] The Express Tribune. Available at: <<https://tribune.com.pk/index.php/story/104683/jinnah-and-the-religious-right>>
- [5] Ibid
- [6] The Muslim League was a political party established in India during the early years of the 20th century. Its strong advocacy for the establishment of a separate Muslim-majority nation-state, Pakistan, successfully led to the partition of British India in 1947 <Goldberg, M., Muslim League | Indian Muslim Group. [online] Encyclopedia Britannica. Available at: <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Muslim-League>>>. It wanted to create a secular Pakistan. If implemented, it aspired to mirror the governance of Madinah in Arabia during the time of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), where freedom of religion and belief was guaranteed for all citizens. Also see <Muhammad Shahid, M., 1974. Pakistan Movement And The Part Played By The Ahmadiyya Community. Part II. pp.59-60>
- [7] The Upright Caliphs is a term applied to refer to the four Caliphs who succeeded Prophet Muhammad.
- [8] Muhammad Shahid, M., 1974. Pakistan Movement And The Part Played By The Ahmadiyya Community. Part II. pp.59-60.
- [9] A socially conservative and Islamist political party based in Pakistan. Its objective is the transformation of Pakistan into an Islamic state and ensuring that its narrative dominates the religious landscape at any cost.
- [10] Maududi, M., 1941-2. Muslims and the Present Political Turmoil'. Maktaba Jamaati Islami. Vol. III. pp.166
- [11] Ibid
- [12] Promised Reformer, whom Ahmadis accept as a prophet whose advent was prophesied by Prophet Muhammad to revive the true teachings of Islam
- [13] Yaseer Hamdani, written submission to the APPG Parliamentary Inquiry
- [14] Qadiyani is a derogatory name for Ahmadis used by opponents of the Community
- [15] The Qadiyani Issue (Qadiyani Maslah)
- [16] Ali Kadir, 'Parliamentary Heretization of Ahmadiyya in Pakistan', in Gladys Ganiel, 'Religion in Times of Crisis', Brill. p.139
- [17] 1954. REPORT OF THE COURT OF INQUIRY Constituted Under PUNJAB ACT II OF 1954 To Enquire Into The PUNJAB DISTURBANCES OF 1953. [online] Lahore: Government of Punjab. Available at: <http://www.thepersecution.org/dl/report_1953.pdf>
- [18] Ibid, p.218. Ulama: a body of Muslim scholars recognized as having specialist knowledge of Islamic sacred law and theology. Alim: an Islamic scholar
- [19] a Pakistani-Barelvi organisation in Pakistan promoting the view that there can be no prophet after the Prophet Muhammad, thereby rejecting the claim of the founder of the Ahmadiyya Muslim community and declaring Ahmadis non-Muslim.
- [20] Article 198 of the Constitution of Pakistan. [online] Academia.edu. Available at: <https://www.academia.edu/16457090/Constitution_of_Pakistan_1956>
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- [22] 1991. Pakistan: Violation Of Human Rights Of Ahmadis. [online] Available at: <<https://www.amnesty.org/download/documents/196000/asa330151991en.pdf>>
- [23] CONSTITUTION (SECOND AMENDMENT) ACT, 1974. [online] Pakistani.org. Available at: <<http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/amendments/2amendment.html>>
- [24] Pakistani.org. n.d. Chapter 5: "Interpretation." Of Part XII: "Miscellaneous". [online] Available at: <<http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part12.ch5.html>>
- [25] Aid to the Church in Need. 2017. Aid To The Church In Need ‖ Pakistan. [online] Available at: <<https://acnuk.org/pakistanpf/>>
- [26] Furthermore, when General Zia was seeking public support to legitimise his rule he held non-partisan elections in 1985 in which he was declared president. To consolidate his power, General Zia ensured that he accumulated more presidential powers through the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution allowing him to unilaterally to dissolve the National Assembly and elected governments of Pakistan.
- [27] Section 298-C of the Pakistan Penal Code. [online] Available at: <<https://www.oecd.org/site/adboecdanti-corruptioninitiative/46816797.pdf>>
- [28] Non-Muslim religious communities in Pakistan (Christians, Hindus etc.) had no issue self-identifying as

non-Muslims, so were not denied voting rights in the way that Ahmadis were.

- [29] Siddiq, M., 1996. Enforced Apostasy: Zaheeruddin v. State and the Official Persecution of the Ahmadiyya Community in Pakistan. *Law & Inequality: A Journal of Theory and Practice*, [online] 14(1), p.287. Available at: <<https://scholarship.law.umn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1515&context=lawineq>>
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**In Pakistan Ahmadi Muslims
are the only community
who are:**

- Explicitly targeted by the constitution and criminal laws
- Denied voting rights for more than 35 years
- Subjected to a publications ban on their entire religious texts