

*Fatima Saba Akhunzada**

***THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN RELIGIOUS PLURALISM.
A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN***

Abstract: The term interfaith dialogue is not new now. Followers of different religions and of different ideologies have already mentioned it. Since the World has become a global village, the need of interfaith discussion increased. The main objective of this interfaith dialogue is to promote religious tolerance and peace among different religions and to avoid conflicts and violence. Another objective is to create the atmosphere of respect towards the other religions which we hardly see in the past. We observe discrimination and prejudices among the followers of different religions which continues even at this day and age. Religion is the need of every person and society, its role cannot be ignored in life, and it should not be used as a reason of conflicts among the nations. We observe in the past and even in the present that the reasons and causes of conflicts are racial and regional and based on caste and creed rather than religion.

The hereby article tackles the situation of Pluralism in Pakistan and the attitude of the state towards other religious minorities. There is a brief discussion about the existing ethnic groups and their conflicts. The rights of religious groups are discussed in the light of the constitution of 1973. Violence and discrimination against the minorities is discussed in the paper and their complaints and problems are highlighted. In the end some recommendations are discussed, regular sessions of interfaith dialogue are the need of the present time. Sectarian violence should be banned. A special program should be put in place among religious groups of every level to trust, respect and religious tolerance in the society. The constitution of 1973 should not be violated by the state or religious minorities.

Keywords: *Pakistan, pluralism, interfaith dialogue, religious minorities*

* Shaheed Benazir Bhutto Women University Peshawar, Pakistan.

Danubius, XXXII, Supliment, Galați, 2014, pp. 17-29.

Religious Freedom in Pakistan. The Legal Framework

Pakistan, officially the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, is a sovereign country in South Asia. With a population exceeding 180 million people, it is the sixth most populous Muslim country in the world¹. The territory of modern day Pakistan was home to several ancient cultures, and has undergone invasions or settlements by Hindu, Persian, Islamic, Mongol, Afghan and the Sikh cultures.

The area has been ruled by the numerous empires: the Arab Umayyad Caliphate, the Mongol Empire, the Durrani Empire, the Sikh Empire and the British Empire. The gradual decline of the Mughal Empire in the Eighteen Century enabled Sikh rulers to control large areas, until the British East India Company gained ascendancy over south Asia. The collective struggle for freedom of the All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress plotted against the British; in early 1947, Britain announced the decision to end its rule in India.²

The political system of Pakistan is that of a Democratic Parliamentary Federal Republic with Islam as a state religion. The population of Pakistan comprises several main ethnic groups (2009)³:

Punjabis (42.15%): 70.7 million
Pashtuns (17.42%): 35.2 million
Sindhis (14.1%): 24.8 million
Seraikis (10.53%): 14.8 million
Muhajirs (7.57%): 13.3 million
Balochs (3.57%): 6.3 million
Others (4.66%): 11.1 million

Pakistan is the second most populous Muslim-majority country. About 95 - 98% of Pakistanis are Muslim. The majority are Sunni (85-90%), with an estimated

¹ National Institute of Population Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan; MEASURE DHS ICF International Calverton, Maryland, USA, Pakistan. Demographic and Health Survey, 2012-2013, 2013: 2 (<http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR290/FR290.pdf>).

² See James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan* (Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, New York, 2009), 1-159.

³ "Pakistan," accessed July 13, 2013, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan#Demographics>.

10-15% Shia.⁴ A further 0,25 – 2,3% are Ahmadis, who are officially considered non-Muslims by virtue of a 1974 constitutional amendment.⁵

After Islam, Hindus (approx. 3.300.000 in 2005, 1,85%) and Christians (approx. 2,800,000 in 2005, 1.6%) are the largest religious minorities in Pakistan. They are followed by the Baha'i believers (40,000 to 79,000), Sikhs (approx. 20.000) and then by very small communities of Zoroastrians, Kalash, Jains, Buddhists and Jews. The Christians are mainly geographically spread throughout the Punjab province, while their presence in the rest of the provinces is mostly confined to the urban areas centres.⁶ Peshawar and Buner (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province - KPK) has an important population of Sikhs⁷, Sindh and Baluchistan has great influential Hindu population⁸.

It is very difficult to determine the exact percentages in the share of each religion, as national censuses held in Pakistan had uncertain results. Pakistani authorities are trying to reduce the proportion of religious minorities, while their representatives and international organizations speak of a significantly higher number of Pakistanis who are not Muslims.

For the analysis of the relation between the state and the minorities, it is better to take start from the famous saying of the first general governor of Pakistan: Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah: "you are free to go to your temples and mosques"⁹. These words actually opened the doors of religious freedom to the minorities in Pakistan .

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, as the main legal document, both in terms of providing substantive rights, and of laying down standard regulatory norms, contains a number of articles that are designed to protect and promote the rights of indigenous populations and ethnic minorities in the country. The preamble of the Constitution provides that: "Adequate provisions shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures, [and that] fundamental rights, including equality of status, of opportunity and

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "Events of 1974 – Anti-Ahmadi Hostilities," accessed July 13, 2013, <http://www.reviewofreligions.org/1968/events-of-1974-%E2%80%93-anti-ahmadi-hostilities/>.

⁶ "Christianity in Pakistan," accessed July 14, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christianity_in_Pakistan.

⁷ "Sikhism in Pakistan," accessed July 14, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikhism_in_Pakistan.

⁸ "Hinduism in Pakistan," accessed July 14, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hinduism_in_Pakistan.

⁹ "You are free to go to your temples and mosques: Quaid-e-Azam ," accessed July 14, 2013, <http://www.brecorder.com/muhammad-ali-jinnah/the-road-to-pakistan/39918-you-are-free-to-go-to-your-temples-and-mosques-quaid-e-azam-.html>.

before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public minority [shall be accorded to all citizens]”¹⁰.

The constitution guarantees the freedom to practice the religion of choice and to manage religious institutions, the protection against taxation for the benefit of any other particular religion, and the protection to attend educational institutions in order to receive religious instruction or take part in any religious ceremony, or religious worship if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to another religion.¹¹

In order to get an idea on the state’s ministers towards the rights of the religious minorities, one would have to review some of their statements, which are here in the letter of Pakistan’s Federal Minister of Religious Affairs to the European Union, written in 2006: “Minorities are free. There is no religious discrimination on the basis of religion. Interfaith dialogue committees have been established, and they review the level of religious tolerance every three months.”¹²

In another example, we know that the authorities of the state are conscious about the minorities’ rights which are mentioned in the Constitution of 1973. The Minister of Punjab said to the delegation of the representatives of minorities: “The Constitution of Pakistan explains that all minorities have full freedom of their beliefs and practices. The worship places will be protected by the state, which is responsible for all its citizens. Some seats are reserved for the minorities to provide them the opportunities of joining Government services. Furthermore, the state is responsible for the solution of their problems.”¹³

In order to provide a voice to religious minorities, Article 51 (2A) of the Constitution provides ten additional public service to the Christians, Hindu, Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsis and Quadiani (Lahori) religious communities in the national assembly.

¹⁰ “The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan,” accessed July 14, 2013, http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681_951.pdf.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² “UrdupointNewspapers, December 18, 2006, Islamabad,” accessed July 15, 2013, <http://daily.urdupoint.com/>.

¹³ “UrdupointNewspapers, May 2, 2013, Islamabad,” accessed July 15, 2013, <http://daily.urdupoint.com/>.

Table 2.1 Seats for specific religious communities in national assembly¹⁴

Religious communities	No. of seats allowed
Christians	4
Hindu and persons belonging to the schedule castes	4
Sikhs, Buddhists and Parsis communities and other non-Muslims	1
People belonging to the Quadiani or the Lahori group (who call themselves Ahmadis)	1

Table 2.2 Seats for specific religious communities in Provincial assemblies¹⁵

Province	Christians	Hindus and scheduled castes	Sikh, Buddhists, Parsi and other non - Muslims	Quadiani/ Ahmadi/ Lahori group
Baluchistan	1	1	1	-
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	1	-	1	1
Punjab	5	1	1	1
Sindh	2	5	1	1

The government allowed religious minorities to officially celebrate their sacred holidays. Pakistan has also given the minorities the freedom to build their own worship places. Christians have 150-155 churches in almost different cities of Pakistan¹⁶ and there are almost 75 temples for Hindus¹⁷ and 40 gurdwaras for Sikhs¹⁸.

¹⁴ "The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan," accessed July 14, 2013, http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681_951.pdf.

¹⁵ Shaheed Sardar Ali and Javaid Rehman, *Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Minorities of Pakistan. Constitutional and Legal Perspectives* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001), 21-2.

¹⁶ "List of Churches in Pakistan," accessed July 13, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_churches_in_Pakistan.

¹⁷ "List of Hindu temples in Pakistan," accessed July 13, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Hindu_temples_in_Pakistan.

¹⁸ "List of gurdwaras," accessed July 13, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=List_of_gurdwaras&redirect=no#Pakistan.

These minorities had the opportunity to create many educational institutions like school/colleges which are highly respected (Edwardes College – Peshawar¹⁹, Forman Christian College University – Lahore, Punjab²⁰). Muslims often get admitted to these prestigious institutions. One of the best-ranked universities, the University of Peshawar in KPK has reserved special seats for non-Muslims. During the time Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (*United Council of Action*) was in office, the church from the campus of University of Peshawar, destroyed in the 80's, was reconstructed, as the result of the decision of Peshawar High Court, who has ruled that a church within an educational institution in a Muslim country is not against the tenets of Islam, which teaches tolerance.²¹ Similarly, some of the institutes are offering interfaith courses, which are helpful for the development of peace and harmony among all the citizens.

It is important to know about some notable figures from the religious minority groups who have served in the Pakistan Armed Forces. They have received the highest civilians and military honors. Some of the notable Christians of Pakistan Armed Forces are:

- Air Vice Marshal Allan Perry-Keene (August 15, 1947 - February 17, 1949);
- Air Vice Marshal Richard Atcherley (February 18, 1949 - May 6, 1951);
- Air Vice Marshal Leslie William Cannon (May 7, 1951 - June 19, 1955);
- Air Vice Marshal Arthur McDonald (June 20, 1955 - July 22, 1957) Group Captain Cecil Chaudhry;
- Group Captain Eric Gordon Hall;
- Wing Commander Nazir Latif;
- Wing Commander Mervyn L. Middlecoat;
- Squadron Leader Peter Christy;
- Flight Lieutenant William D. Harney²².

¹⁹ "Edwardes College – Peshawar," accessed July 13, 2013, <http://www.edwardes.edu.pk/>.

²⁰ "Forman Christian College University – Lahore," accessed July 13, 2013, <http://www.fccollege.edu.pk/>.

²¹ "Church in university campus not un-Islamic: Pak court," PTI, January 24, 2007," accessed July 14, 2013, <http://www.wrn.org/articles/24029/?&place=pakistan§ion=church-state>.

²² "Christianity in Pakistan," accessed July 14, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christianity_in_Pakistan.

Discrimination and Violence Among the Ethnic Groups and Against Minorities

In the last decade, one can notice discrimination and violation rather than peace and harmony. Sectarian violence between the Sunni and the Shi'a has increased; there is no tolerance, but only hatred. The holydays of Muharram are the most insecure days in Pakistan because of discrimination. Suicide bombing in the gatherings of religious groups is common and killing of religious leaders or political leaders is just happening because of the prejudices. The discrimination among ethnic groups and political parties has made the situation worse; the current situation in Karachi can be a good example. Moreover, other religious groups have also many complaints regarding the intolerance of the majority.

Many Ahmadis were killed when their mosques were attacked in 2010.²³

In February 2006, churches and Christian schools were targeted in protests over the publications of the Jyllands-Posten cartoons in Denmark, leaving two elderly women injured and many homes and properties destroyed.²⁴ Christian houses have been burned down in Lahore, in March 2013, after a Christian was alleged to have made blasphemous remarks.²⁵ On September 22, 2013, 78 Christians were killed in a suicide attack at the historic All Saints Church in the old quarter of the regional capital, Peshawar.²⁶

As a result of forced conversions, extortion and kidnapping of Hindu girls, many Hindu fled to India: "There is no law and order in Sindh and the government is watching the activities of fundamentalists as a mute spectator", said Anup Kumar, head of a delegation of 150 Hindus detained by Islamabad for seven hours on August 2012 before being allowed to enter India for a pilgrimage.²⁷ Kumar also said it was possible that the majority of the delegation members would never like to go back to Pakistan in the prevailing circumstances. In Islamabad, President Asif Ali Zardari took serious note of reports of a "sense of insecurity" among Hindu

²³ "Terrorist attacks on Ahmadi Mosques in Pakistan," accessed July 14, 2013, <http://www.alislam.org/egazette/press-release/terrorist-attacks-on-ahmadi-mosques-in-pakistan/>.

²⁴ "Pakistan Militants Attack Christians Over Cartoons - Christian Persecution," accessed July 14, 2013, <http://www.christianpersecution.info/news/pakistan-militants-attack-christians-over-cartoons/>.

²⁵ "Dozens of houses torched as mob attacks Lahore Christian locality," accessed July 14, 2013, <http://www.dawn.com/news/791408/mob-attacks-christian-neighbourhood-in-lahore>.

²⁶ "78 killed, over 100 injured in Peshawar church attack," accessed July 14, 2013, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/607734/fifteen-dead-in-suicide-attack-outside-peshawar-church/>.

²⁷ "Pak Hindus arrive with horror tales," accessed July 13, 2013, <http://www.hindustantimes.com/punjab/chandigarh/pak-hindus-arrive-with-horror-tales/article1-911814.aspx>.

families in Sindh and directed the authorities to allay the minority community's grievances.²⁸

In 2007, Minority Rights Group International, a watchdog organization, ranked Pakistan as the world's top country for major increases in threats to minorities — along with Sri Lanka, which is embroiled in civil war. The group lists Pakistan as seventh on the list of 10 most dangerous countries for minorities, after Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Myanmar and Congo.²⁹ According to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF), “The government of Pakistan continues to engage in and tolerate systematic, ongoing, and violations of freedom of religion or belief”³⁰.

Minorities' Overall Portrayal

The minorities have also some complaints regarding their representation in the textbooks of the state. Religious minorities are often portrayed as inferior or second class citizens. A review of compulsory Urdu language textbooks for all students up to Grade 10, published by the Punjab Textbook Board, found that 96 chapters and poems out of 362 had a strong Islamic orientation, without any mention of Pakistan's religious minorities or their beliefs. The portrayal of religious minorities in textbooks is generally either derogatory or omitted entirely, with some exceptions. The contributions of religious minorities towards the formation, development, and protection of Pakistan are largely absent.

Among the negative passages about non-Muslims and their associated religious communities, there are also some passages that include either positive or neutral representations. The positive or neutral representations can be divided into the following four categories³¹:

1. Promoting tolerance within Islam;
2. Recognition of past historical harmonious relationships;

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ “Pakistan unwilling to protect religious minorities rights under ICCPR,” accessed July 30, 2014, <http://www.pakistanchristianpost.com/headlinenewsd.php?hnewsid=4925>.

³⁰ See the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom. The Pakistan Religious Violence Project, “Pakistan: A History of Violence,” *Factsheet Pakistan* (July 2013), accessed August 3, 2013, <http://www.uscifr.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan%20Factsheet%20July%202013%20FINAL.pdf>. See also Robert P. George, “Pakistan Religious Minority Problem,” *Foreign Policy*, August 9, 2013, accessed September 3, 2013, <http://www.uscifr.gov/news-room/op-eds/foreign-policy-pakistan-s-religious-minority-problem>.

³¹ Azhar Hussain, Ahmad Salim, Arif Naveed, *Connecting the Dots. Education and Religious Discriminations in Pakistan. A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas* (United States Commission on Religious Freedom, November 2011), accessed July 13, 2013, <http://www.uscifr.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email%283%29.pdf>.

3. Description of equality under the law;
4. Accurate representations of non-Muslim religions.

Few amendments have been done recently in 2013 which gives hope for peace and nonviolence. On April 13, 2013 in Faisalabad Professor Anjum James Paul, Chairman Pakistan Minorities Teachers' Association (PMTA) in a press conference has stated that there are improvements in the Pakistani textbooks, as the authorities understood their responsible role for a moderate Pakistan so that Pakistani people may live in a peaceful coexistence regardless of religion, creed, color and caste. PMTA has been demanding that the role of minorities in the creation and construction of Pakistan must be included in the textbooks, so that culture of social and interfaith harmony to be promoted. Three pages have been included in the subject of Pakistan Studies (Compulsory) textbook, edition March 2013 for grade 10, about the role of minorities in Pakistan. Pakistani national heroes from the Christian, Hindu, Sikh and other minority communities are now part of the textbook and the pupils have the opportunity to know their historical role in the judiciary system, education, defense, health and sports, etc.³²

A part of the speech of the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, that he delivered in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947 has also been included in the same textbook.³³ The role of minorities in the creation of Pakistan will be more evident in the forthcoming textbooks. Topics like human rights, peace, tolerance, co-existence, forgiveness, patience and service to humanity have been also included in the textbooks and biases have been reduced somehow.

Now there are pictures of the churches, temples and gurdwaras besides mosques. In the early textbooks it was written that Pakistan is the land of Muslims, but now it is written that Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Sikhs and Parsees live together in Pakistan. This has also been included in the same book of General Knowledge grade 1. The word "Masih", "Masihi" or "Masihiyat" is being used now in the textbooks and in the electronic and print media instead of "Esa", "Esai" or "Esaiyat" for Jesus Christ, Christians or Christianity.³⁴ Academic staff from the religious minorities has been somehow invited to set the papers for the Board of Intermediate & Secondary Education.

³² "Role of minorities included in the Pakistani textbooks by the efforts of PMTA," accessed August 3, 2013, <http://www.pakistanchristianpost.com/headlinenewsd.php?hnewsid=4270>.

³³ "You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or 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".

³⁴ "Role of minorities included in the Pakistani textbooks by the efforts of PMTA," accessed August 3, 2013, <http://www.pakistanchristianpost.com/headlinenewsd.php?hnewsid=4270>.

Conclusions and recommendations

The above discussion shows that Pakistan is basically a pluralistic society. The state offers religious freedom to all citizens equally, but the existing situation of violence and peace among the ethnic and religious groups is not satisfactory and the state seems to be unable to control this unfavorable atmosphere. Some serious steps should be followed, which can bring a change in the current intolerance and violent atmosphere.

The following principles of the interfaith dialogue should be respected:

- The constitution of 1973 is a social contract between the state and the minorities, so its violation should be avoided;
- Internal problems should be solved within the internal boundaries;
- Religious leaders of different religious groups should have regular sessions and meetings for highlighting their problems and working together for finding solutions; this will maintain the trust among them and will block discriminations and prejudices.³⁵

The role of the state should be:

- Check for sectarian violence;
- Strictly enforce existing bans on militant sectarian organizations;
- Maintain the atmosphere of trust which will end prejudices and discriminations;
- Provide special security for judges and public prosecutors involved in the trials of suspected sectarian militants;³⁶
- Serious attention should be given to protect the honor and worship places of the minorities;
- Seminars and conferences should be held on religious pluralism and diversity to develop and maintain respect and tolerance for the other religious groups.

³⁵ See <http://www.deeneislam.com/ur/verti/aitrazat/906/article.php?CID=906>, accessed July 13, 2013.

³⁶ See Huma Yusuf, *Sectarian violence: Pakistan's greatest security threat?* (NOREF report, July 2012), 8, accessed July 15, 2013, http://www.peacebuilding.no/var/ezflow_site/storage/original/application/949e7f9b2db9f947c95656e5b54e389e.pdf.

REFERENCES

- "78 killed, over 100 injured in Peshawar church attack." Accessed July 14, 2013. <http://tribune.com.pk/story/607734/fifteen-dead-in-suicide-attack-outside-peshawar-church/>.
- Ali, Sardar Shaheed, and Javaid Rehman. *Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Minorities of Pakistan. Constitutional and Legal Perspectives*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001.
- "Christianity in Pakistan." Accessed July 14, 2013. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christianity_in_Pakistan.
- "Church in university campus not un-Islamic: Pak court. "PTI", January 24, 2007." Accessed July 14, 2013. <http://wwwn.org/articles/24029/?&place=pakistan§ion=church-state>.
- "Dozens of houses torched as mob attacks Lahore Christian locality." Accessed July 14, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news/791408/mob-attacks-christian-neighbourhood-in-lahore>.
- "Edwardes College – Peshawar." Accessed July 13, 2013. <http://www.edwardes.edu.pk/>.
- "Events of 1974 – Anti-Ahmadi Hostilities." Accessed July 13, 2013. <http://www.reviewofreligions.org/1968/events-of-1974-%E2%80%93-anti-ahmadi-hostilities/>.
- "Forman Christian College University – Lahore." Accessed July 13, 2013. <http://www.fccollege.edu.pk/>.
- George, P. Robert. "Pakistan Religious Minority Problem." *Foreign Policy*, August 9, 2013. Accessed September 3, 2013. <http://www.uscifr.gov/news-room/op-eds/foreign-policy-pakistan-s-religious-minority-problem>.
- "Hinduism in Pakistan." Accessed July 14, 2013. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hinduism_in_Pakistan.
- Hussain, Azhar, and Ahmad Salim, Arif Naveed. *Connecting the Dots. Education and Religious Discriminations in Pakistan. A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas* (United States Commission on Religious Freedom) November 2011. Accessed July 13, 2013. <http://www.uscifr.gov/sites/default/files/resources/PakistanConnectingTheDotsEmail%283%29.pdf>.
- "List of Churches in Pakistan." Accessed July 13, 2013. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_churches_in_Pakistan.

- "List of Hindu temples in Pakistan." Accessed July 13, 2013. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Hindu_temples_in_Pakistan.
- "List of gurdwaras." Accessed July 13, 2013. http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=List_of_gurdwaras&redirect=no#Pakistan.
- National Institute of Population Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan; MEASURE DHS ICF International Calverton, Maryland, USA, Pakistan. Demographic and Health Survey, 2012-2013, 2013: 2. <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR290/FR290.pdf>.
- "Pak Hindus arrive with horror tales." Accessed July 13, 2013. <http://www.hindustantimes.com/punjab/chandigarh/pak-hindus-arrive-with-horror-tales/article1-911814.aspx>.
- "Pakistan." Accessed July 13, 2013. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan#Demographics>.
- "Pakistan Militants Attack Christians over Cartoons - Christian Persecution." Accessed July 14, 2013. <http://www.christianpersecution.info/news/pakistan-militants-attack-christians-over-cartoons/>.
- "Pakistan unwilling to protect religious minorities rights under ICCPR." Accessed July 30, 2014. <http://www.pakistanchristianpost.com/headlinenews.php?hnewsid=4925>.
- "Role of minorities included in the Pakistani textbooks by the efforts of PMTA." Accessed August 3, 2013. <http://www.pakistanchristianpost.com/headlinenews.php?hnewsid=4270>.
- "Sikhism in Pakistan." Accessed July 14, 2013. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikhism_in_Pakistan.
- "Terrorist attacks on Ahmadi Mosques in Pakistan." Accessed July 14, 2013. <http://www.alislam.org/egazette/press-release/terrorist-attacks-on-ahmadi-mosques-in-pakistan/>.
- "The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan." Accessed July 14, 2013. http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681_951.pdf.
- The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom. The Pakistan Religious Violence Project. "Pakistan: A History of Violence." *Factsheet Pakistan* July 2013. Accessed August 3, 2013. <http://www.uscifr.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan%20Factsheet%20July%202013%20FINAL.pdf>.
- "UrdupointNewspapers, December 18, 2006, Islamabad." Accessed July 15, 2013. <http://daily.urdupoint.com/>.
- "UrdupointNewspapers, May 2, 2013, Islamabad." Accessed July 15, 2013. <http://daily.urdupoint.com/>.

- “You are free to go to your temples and mosques: Quaid-e-Azam. ” Accessed July 14, 2013. <http://www.brecorder.com/muhammad-ali-jinnah/the-road-to-pakistan/39918-you-are-free-to-go-to-your-temples-and-mosques-quaid-e-azam-.html>.

- Yusuf, Huma. *Sectarian violence: Pakistan’s greatest security threat?* (NOREF report), July 8, 2012. Accessed July 15, 2013. http://www.peacebuilding.no/var/ezflow_site/storage/original/application/949e7f9b2db9f947c95656e5b54e389e.pdf.

- Wynbrandt, James. *A Brief History of Pakistan*. New York: Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, 2009.