



## **Compliments**

With love and thanks to my Mother who believed  
in human liberty and peace

## **Dedicated**

To

Martyr Feroz Masih and all Christian martyrs who sacrificed their precious lives for rights of oppressed Christian nation in Pakistan.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

My true appreciation for all Christian leaders who raised slogan of "TAKISTAN" or "CHRISTLAND" for Pakistani Christian nation through any medium with peaceful movement

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## Introduction

It is a Trial on behalf of 16 million Pakistani Christians versus Federation of Islamic Republic of Pakistan in an open court of People of Pakistan, United Nations, International Court of Justice, and all International Forums to demand due share in power and resources of Pakistan. The Christian nation in Pakistan never enjoyed equal basic democratic rights nor social justice in Muslim dominated society instead faced victimization, persecution and constitutional genocide.

I had confirmed belief in higher courts and justice, which crumbled, after dismissal of my lawsuit to repeal blasphemy law and a petition in Lahore High Courts to elicit report of Tribunal on Shanti Nagar. The Federal Sharia Court of Pakistan also failed to ensure justice on my petitions to ban Liquor permits to Christians on religious grounds and blasphemy laws.

In my meetings with Presidents of Pakistan, Prime Ministers, Federal Ministers, Governors, Chief Ministers and leaders of Muslim political parties, I tried to express Christian issues and grievances but no due consideration was given for solutions.

I delivered thousands of press conferences and press statements which are on record of national media to condemn legislation against our rights, incident of rapes of Christian women, arrests under blasphemy law, enforced conversion, wrongful confinements, torture by authorities, forcible marriages of Christian women by influential Muslims, racism, hate on religion and other discriminatory laws.

I also marked my protests with hunger strikes and peaceful rallies and seminars to ensure rights of Christian

youth in education and employment opportunities but government denied to safeguard our rights.

To end my voice, the agents of Intelligence Bureau of Pakistan, Military Intelligence, Minority Intelligence, CID and other agencies harassed me around the clock on my refusal to bargain on principals.

After decade long struggle and peaceful movements to ensure social justice in society for my oppressed nation, I was forced to demand "Separate Christian Province" in 1992. I concluded that a Christian province within federation of Pakistan is only solution to our religious freedom and basic rights.

My arguments in this trial basis on historical facts, roots of Christians in sub-continent of India, role in Pakistan Movement and legislation of discriminatory laws after independence of Pakistan in 1947.

My trial will be a guideline to launch peaceful movement for Christian youth, leading to destination of "Separate Christian Province" and revival of rights of sons of soil which have been snatched.

A Christian leader demanded "Takistan" and a voice of "Christland" was also raised and discussed in house meetings but none was announced publicly except "Separate Christian Province".

The writers, poets and intellectuals of any nation set ideological agenda for their generations, such as we are facing in Pakistan. I want to say where are our writers and poets? Where are books to claim that our forefathers ruled this land? Where is that poetry of passion to rejoice victories? Who will shake up our youth to wake up to lay down yoke of slavery?

We do not have writers nor do we have books because we have army of illiterate leaders who have no argument!! There are few books by our leaders where we find their press statements, articles published on their actions and

profiles with pictures of their well wishers. Can we accept it our history or ideology? I have attempted to argue on truth and facts in “The Trial of Pakistani Christian Nation”. My articles and interviews have been published in more than seven hundred international daily and weekly papers but I have avoided presenting that material in my book.

I will appeal to our writers to deliver facts and voice of nation without any fear because oppressed Christian nation is in desperate need of an ideology.

Nazir S Bhatti

**Part 1**  
**Facts**

## The Roots of Christian Nation

The roots of Pakistani Christians relate to Aryan clans of warrior and ruler tribes in Asia. Their ancestors on migration from central Asia might never have dreamed that their generations would ever become the slaves of slaves in the subcontinent of India. The present, deteriorated social, political and economic situation of Christians in Pakistan is created by certain elements, but before discussing the cause of this situation, we must go through pages of history.

If we go back to epoch of history when Aryans from Central Asia migrated to India and entered the Indus valley through Khyber Pass. They raised livestock and rode chariots, but their history was constant war amongst themselves and between the various clans. The Aryan clans and tribes were the Sakas, Parthians and Kushan. The Hans and Gujjars tribes of Aryans settled in the northwestern region of India. These tribes were also called Ganga--"a collection of people".

The Hans and Gujjars arrived in the fifth century A.D in the Indian subcontinent. At that time the famous Gupta Empire revived Hinduism and crushed in some parts the influence of Buddhism in India, but still the Gupta Empire came under invasion of Aryans from Central Asia. This caused deep concentration among the Hindus in view of their failure to eliminate Buddhism while the Gupta Empire was fully supporting them. Therefore, the Hindus of the subcontinent of India, greatly impressed by the warfare ability of the Hans tribes of Central Asia, decided to request that they accept the ranks of kshatrys in Hinduism, which confers the responsibility of ruling.

As the Aryans settled in India and began to grow crops, the people started to have occupations; in each tribe the people begin to belong to one of four groups: Brahmin the priest, kshatryia the warriors, Vaishya the traders and

agriculturists, and Shudra the workers. In the third century A.D. such Hans tribes absorbed themselves in Hindu religion. Other groups of Hans tribes, descendants in India, adopted other professions in the society.

The English historian Todd describes Seythian origins to the Rajputs and Jats who became Sakas in the south Asian region and became Hindu as Kshatriyas. The Hans have been regarded as one of the 36 clans of Rajputs. Except Hans, all others became Buddhists or sun worshipers.

Todd writes the history of Punjab and describes 60 percent of the population comprising of Rajputs and Jats and various branches of their race such as Awans, Khokhars, Khattars, Janjuas, Arains and Gujjars. All these races are originally the descendants of Central Asian tribes, and the main tribes of Punjab from Rajputs consist of Bhatti, Punwar, Chauhan, Minhas, Tiwana, Noon, Chib, Gheba, Jodhra, Sial, Watto and Jat tribe consists of Bajwa, Chatta, Cheema, Randhawa, Ghammon Butta, Kahlon, Gill, Ranghar, Summa, Wahla, Bhutta, Malhi, Sukhera, Alpias, Dahas, Langh, Ranghar, Meo, Awans, Khokhar, Ghakkar, Sohtra, Taror, Ranghar.

Most of these tribes who settled in Punjab region were converted to Islam when Mohammad Ghaznavi attacked India and entered through northwestern borders. Some Muslims named themselves to be the descendants of common ancestry from Qutb Shah, who is said to be accompanied with Mohammad Ghaznavi from Ghazni, but history does not prove these claims of some Muslim tribes. There is also no proof of Muslim claims that they have connections with the Qureshi cousins of the prophet Mohammad or of the Mogul conquerors of India, but these tribes accepted Islam during different periods of time.

As far as, from these tribes who accepted Christianity in Punjab region, their origin and races are the same and connected to the Hans tribes and descendants of Central

Asian regions in India. It is fact that Christianity never came to India with any invader because already Christianity was in India when Aryans settled as immigrants. Christianity was preached in India in the first century A.D. when India had no history of the arrival of Mohammedans.

Therefore, the Christian and Hindu religions affected the descendant tribes in India who became Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, Pagan and Animist, but the original Hindus of India remained in Hinduism and never accepted either of the two religions.

The history of the subcontinent of India makes it ready to our reference that the Mogul Empire of 200 years was unable to affect Hinduism, and Islam remained in minority during the period of these Muslim kings.

The Christianity came into the subcontinent by the evangelical mission of St. Thomas. The story itself is that at the division of the Apostles, India fell to the lot of St. Thomas, but he declared his inability to go to India. But later history proves that St. Thomas undertook to build a palace for Gundafor, but spent money entrusted to him on the poor. He came to the city of the King Misdai, who converted to Christianity with wife and son. In the year 46 A.D. a King was ruling over Afghanistan, Balouchistan, Punjab and Sindh; his name was Guduphara or Gondophemes. St. Thomas entered India on his way from Persia. We have the evidence of the Takht-e-Bahi inscription and discovery of coins of the Parthian type with the legends, others of the Indian type of legends in an Indian dialect in Kharoshti characters, which prove the presence of St. Thomas in these regions, and more, can be said regarding the details of "Acta Thomae" written by the Gnostic Romancer. In 1293 the great expedition of Marco Polo and his feedback from China tells us that he found Christians in India and especially he confirms the preaching of St. Thomas. Such details can be followed in the book "Marco Polo, YULE'S, second edition, No. 2, 338"

It is on record that the Hans and Gujjars tribes of Aryans, which also consist of Bhatti, khokhar, Gill, sohtra, and many other bases, accepted Christianity in the subcontinent of India. Therefore, it is for submission in this trial that Christians currently living in Pakistan are faction from the same respectable tribes who in large part accepted Islam and are now ruling Pakistan. The history proves that Christians of Pakistan also have great historical background in the subcontinent and that they do not belong to any lower class community but is a nation.

The Muslims came to India in the 700 A.D. for trading and to build colonies in Balouchistan and Sindh regions. For the first time they also evangelized Islam and converted the majority of Bhatti, khokhar, Gill, Sohtra, and other Jats tribes to the religion of Islam and called them Muslims. Therefore, these tribes are now divided into two religious groups of Christians and Muslims in Punjab.

It is fact that Islam was a religion of invaders who entered in India from northwestern borders and poor convert Muslims of area provided them with a base in Punjab. These Muslims in Punjab joined the Muslim invader armies to conquer Hindu states, but Christians in Punjab refused to support, which was beginning point of fall for Christians in Punjab. During the Moughal Empire of 200 years, the Punjabi Christians were major targets and forced to scattered.

Naturally, Christians of Pakistan are proud of their historical background of their ancestors and reserve right in claiming themselves a nation instead of a community as they are known now in Pakistan.

## The Church and State

Since the early 1960's, many Catholic Priests and Bishops started practicing Liberation Theology and joined people in their political resistance against exploitation and their operations in Latin America. This liberation theology is an attempt to combine Christian faith with the commitment to social change. It is a theology that rejects the traditional distinction between religion and politics. Pope John Paul II clearly rejected Liberation Theology as a Catholic Church approach for social change. In 1979 the Pope ratified that starvation did not coincide with economic and political liberation. In 1984 the Vatican released into comment "instructions on liberation theology" that repeated in the argument and warned against these concepts from areas of Marxism.

The Catholic Church of Pakistan also adopted liberation theology, neglecting the Vatican documents. If we go through the history of the subcontinent and the role of churches, the fact surfaces that British Colonial rulers differentiated church and staterooms. The French and Dutch colonials also followed in the same manner, but not the Portuguese. When British rulers forced French, Dutch and Portuguese to quit India and became solely responsible for Indian trade and politics, the evangelical missions were not part of the administration. The church missions were fully concentrating on preaching and the welfare of their congregations.

But after independence of Pakistan, the churches, in the name of liberation theology, started getting involved in politics, and they established diplomatic bonds with the establishment.

The relations between religion and government changed in the 20th century; in some cases there is even a refusal to admit that government apart from religion is legitimate. This is the case in Iran since the 1979 revolution. There the religious leaders took control of the state and claimed to rule in the name of Islam as expressed in their holy book the Koran. The power of Islam is a major concern in the political affairs of the state in Muslim countries. But in Christianity, church is not the controlling influence on the political affairs of government. Separation of religion and state started in 586 B.C. when Jews were in exile and under the rule of aliens and were forced to think of religion and their state citizenship as being for different purposes, each with demands of their own. Christians during the Roman Empire experienced the same situation as the Jews, with Christianity and the state assigned to different matters.

Unfortunately, in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the churches negated the effects of the history of separation of church and state. They established schools, colleges and hospitals for Christians in the name of social welfare and uplifting. But such establishments, commissions, development projects, programs, and NGOs remained unable to achieve their goal of betterment for their followers, as the interference of state remained an important factor in pitching their policies. The beneficiaries of these institutes remained the Muslim businessmen, feudal Lords, and bureaucrats. Indeed, the Muslim think tank in the state administration penetrated in churches in such a way that church leadership came under the influence of policymaking as desired, and the Christian nation turned into the shape of an oppressed community in the society of Pakistan.

Some elements in the state administration intentionally dragged in some power hungry clergymen who were impressed by liberation theology and involved them in state politics instead of spiritual and social work. This group of

clergymen, who had associates in schools, colleges, hospitals, church-based organizations, and employees, nominated and funded Christian candidates in local Bodies, provincial assemblies, and the National Assembly of Pakistan. Moreover, they directly came into the political field and contested in national general elections, neglecting their true and evangelical commitments. In such circumstances they never paid any attention to family visits and preaching the Christian faith. As a result, the faithful Christian society very slowly abandoned the practice of Christian life. The Christians of Pakistan witnessed in national newspapers' daily publications, the photographs and news items of the conversion of Christian ladies and families to Islam. Such incidents started happening in 1972, when for the first time a Catholic priest, Derrick Masquita, became a member of the National Assembly on nomination of Pakistan People's Party government. This legislative assembly adopted the Constitution of 1973 of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in the presence of this first clergyman as parliamentarian. It's on record that Fr. Derrick Masquita, praised Premier Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and his Pakistan Peoples Party on legislation of Constitution of Pakistan as Islamic Republic of Pakistan Constitution while prior constitution was "Constitution of Pakistan"

The struggle of Bishop Toto in South Africa against Colonial rulers and joining hands with Nelson Mandela left an impact on clergy in other underdeveloped countries of the world. The liberation theology provided fresh force among power hungry clergy to hold leadership of poor communities but such elements lacked remarkable Character of Bishop Toto and the able leadership of Nelson Mandela. This new lot of clergy leadership was never sincere or dedicated to Christians struggle for their rights. The children of feudal lords, Muslim businessmen and bureaucrats in state administration were welcomed for studies in church based educational institutes as such were

run as business concerns rather than social establishments while children of poor Christian who were unable to pay high fees were denied admissions. There was same policy of Christian colleges and hospital which left an impression on Muslim majority that Churches are earning more money than their factories and businesses while Muslim clergy propagated that Church institutions are preaching Christianity among Muslim youth.

For instance, Zulifqar Ali Bhutto, under pressure of opposition to his government in 1977, imposed sanctions on distribution of liquor. The Pakistani Breweries, being a very profitable industry, had shares of bureaucrats and military officials. The administration used these liberation theologian clergy counterparts to legalize consumption of liquor. The clergy issued written decree "that consumption of liquor is part of religious rituals" to enable administration to issue liquor permits to Christians. The long lists of eves and feasts of Saints were printed on these liquor permits to purchase alcohol from government licensed outlets for celebration while church leadership, government officials and congregations knew that alcohol is never used during religious rituals by any Christian denominations. To bring back the brewery business in market such liquor permits were issued on recommendation of pastors and priests in Pakistan.

I lodged my protest on distribution of liquor on religious grounds and organized rallies against the martial law government of Zia Ul Haq to ban liquor permits to Christians.

Once again, the clergy came to the rescue of government, and Bishop Earnie Rudvin of Karachi Diocese of the Church of Pakistan issued a statement for press publication that consumption of liquor is permitted in Christianity. The catholic priest heading Justice and Peace Commission, Fr. Arnold Herridia, also appeared before national press to announce that consumption of liquor is

permitted in the Holy Bible, which supported government to refuse ban on liquor permits. But, I visualized the future impact of distribution of liquor to Christians and filed a Writ Petition in the Federal Shariat Court of Pakistan to ban liquor permits on religious grounds. I was very clear in submission to court that Holy Bible forbids drinking and declare it a sin. I argued in my petition that poor Christians do not have buying power of expensive liquor every month. I expressed my fear before court that government and Muslim share holders in the Brewery Industry of Pakistan have plans to open a back door for Muslim consumers of alcohol through permits to poor Christians.

Federal Shariat Courts in Islamabad fixed the preliminary hearing of Petition. Mr. Yousaf Gill, Mr. J. V, Mr. Shakeel Rehmat Bhatti and I traveled from Karachi to Islamabad in cold winter to appear in court with great hopes that it would be an end to curse of liquor on poor Christians. The full bench of the Shariat Court headed by Justice Tanzeer Ur Rehman, heard my plea and dismissed the writ in lemony on pleas of attorney general that petitioner is not a religious leader but a politician and have not authority to decree on religion. The judgment stated that Bishops Conference of Pakistan had submitted a written verdict on the issuance of liquor permits to Christians stating liquor is permitted in Christianity and used in religious rituals.

The Chief Justice Tanzeer Ur Rehman also issued orders to file an amended petition with enclosures of verdicts by any Christian religious leader of ranking Moderator or Bishop within two weeks. We approached Bishops of other sects of Churches instead of Church of Pakistan and Catholic Church of Pakistan but none was ready to issue religious decree that drinking is sin and prohibited in Christianity.

Now everyone acknowledges that liquor permits issued by government with collaboration of Christian clergy because drug addiction and prostitution entered through this

door in Christian society. The Christian colonies became dens and crime rates tremendously flashed among Christians after distribution of liquor to Christians. As purchase and consumption of liquor was legal for Christian but selling to any other individual was crime, police started raiding Christian homes on suspicion of sale. The Muslim agents of police were directed to follow Christians to implicate with lucrative offers to sell them liquor who have beautiful daughter or wife. When they were agree to sell one bottle it was an arrest under stink operation. Then they were forced to sell drugs in Christian colonies on conditions to drop charges against them and it made a way for drug and prostitution in Christian society.

The worst involvement of clergy in politics emerged on implementation of Shariat Laws in Pakistan. The Shariat law was condemned by Christian social and political leaders but clergy welcomed its implementation. The government of Nawaz Sharif endorsed Shariat Bill to legislate capital punishment on section 295 B & C of Pakistan Penal Code. When Nawz Sharif organized "Jurist Conference" in Lahore, Bishop of Lahore, Alexander Malik and other religious leaders participated in Conference and raised hands on stage with him to welcome sharia laws in Pakistan. How ironic and double standard our clergy have who never hesitate to deliver lectures against blasphemy laws during foreign tours to collect donations while praises such laws in Pakistan?

Emmanuel Zafar, who became famous with his affiliation with Joshua Fazal Din sought support of clergy to win elections of National Assembly in 1985. After winning elections, he utilized all his multi-million-rupee development budget on projects proposed by catholic persists, like, construction of the Mariamabad road for pilgrims of Holy Mother Mary's feast and hundreds of village community centers. He followed instructions of Catholic clergy in hope to win next elections and I witnessed him asking needy

visitors “Have you brought letter of Father Sahib?” It resulted in defeat in next elections as clergy pulled back and supported Fr. Rufin Julius. I organized his public meeting in Lyari during national general elections of 1971, when he was on campaign tour to Karachi, as Chief Organizer of Azad Pakistani Masihi League faction led by Joshua Fazal Din after split in supreme council meeting of Pakistan Masihi League in Peshawar on issue of participation in Joint Electorate System or Separate Electorate. It was very difficult to invite Azad Pakistani Masihi League leaders in Karachi; because Pakistan Masihi League headquarters was also in Karachi.

The Pakistan Masihi League was founded by laymen of Protestant Churches in Sialkot, which spread through out Pakistan and joined by other denomination also. The Catholic Church in Pakistan planned to hold control over Pakistan Masihi League, which was not possible in presence of prominent leaders, like Joshua Fazal Din.

Meanwhile, A R Cornelius, then Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Pakistan, was appointed Law Minister by Martial Laws regime of General Yehya Khan. Justice Cornelius was a Roman Catholic who was designated to prepare Legal Framework for the national general elections of 1971. He suggested Joint Election System for minorities in his Legal Framework Order on suggestion of Catholic bishops which was not acceptable to common Christian.

Therefore, a supreme Council meeting of Pakistan Masihi League was called in Peshawar, for consensus on election issue. Mr. Francis X Lobo, an Anglo Indian Catholic was president of Sindh province of Pakistan Masihi League. The Catholic Church supported and funded him to lift every delegate for Peshawar meeting to favour Joint Electorate while Protestant Church leaders not took it seriously.

The Catholic Church in Pakistan became successful in hijacking Pakistan Masihi League leadership by Francis X Lobo as newly elected President in Peshawar and stabbed

in unity of Christians. Mr. Lobo announced to participate in 1971, national general elections lay down in Legal Framework order of martial law regime

I met again Mr. Zafar, when Christians were strongly protesting against nationalization of missionary schools, colleges and hospitals by PPP government of Zulifqar Ali Bhtto after national general elections of 1971. I remember there was large protest gathering in ST. Patrick's Cathedral Karachi against nationalization of Christian institutions and to condemn discriminate firing on Christian's peaceful procession led by Professor Salamat Akhtar in Rawalpindi. Mr. Rasool Bux Talpur was then Governor of Sindh province PPP government who invited protest leaders for dialogue to avoid incident like Rawalpindi. A delegation was formed to meet Governor Talpur while sit in by protestor continued in the venue.

Rasul Bux Talpur was a feudal lord who first served tea in silver cups, then, showed documents to delegates, which were signed by Bishops in which nationalization was accepts as owner of missionary schools, colleges and hospitals. It was also agreed to receive rents of nationalized property. It was also revealed that PPP government shall nominate Fr. Derrick Mesquite in National Assembly of Pakistan on seats reserved for Christians to secure rent disputes on behalf of Churches.

The agitation against nationalization diminished after revelations of such bargains leaving behind widows and families of Martyrs James and Nawaz who sacrificed their lives to save missionary schools and colleges in Rawalpindi? Those martyrs thought these schools and colleges are national property but they never knew "Clergy is sole owner"

## The Christian Population

In 1947, after independence, the government of Pakistan declared Christians to be 3% of total population. The majority of Christians were living in Punjab, and the other four provinces of Pakistan had Christians as a tiny minority. The Western Punjab region, which became part of Pakistan, had a total population of 53,846,000, and Christians were 10% of the total population. The population of Balouchistan province was in the majority of Muslims while schedule casts and other religious communities like Sikhs and Hindus were 7 percent. It's on record that 3% of these religious communities accepted Christianity after independence. In Sindh province, Hindus, schedule casts, Parsy, and Jews were 30% of the total population and 5% of them accepted Christianity. In the NWFP province, Hindus, Schedule cast, and Sikhs were 4% and 1% accepted Christianity.

According to records updated by the Catholic Church of Pakistan in 2002, it is admitted that Catholic Church membership has been decreased by 30% after evangelism by other new churches in Pakistan, but still Catholic membership data is exemplary for the population division of the government of Pakistan. The Catholic Church declared that there are 1,550,000 members in the Lahore Archdiocese, 2,248,190 in the Islamabad-Rawalpindi diocese, 3,150,263 in the Karachi Archdiocese, 4,130,994 in the Faisalabad diocese, 598,865 in the Multan diocese, 648,991 in the Hyderabad diocese, and 727,000 in the Quetta diocese. The Church of Pakistan is second in Christian membership in Pakistan with 5 dioceses. There have been many other church sects in Pakistan with large Christian congregations.

The Punjab was the dominating populated province compared with the other three provinces in West Pakistan in 1947. Many historians, political leaders, and population planners have admitted in articles and statements that after independence, censuses were not conducted transparently

in the Sindh, NWFP, Balouchistan and Punjab provinces. The feudal lords and tribal chiefs in respective territories used the administration to manipulate census data to increase seats in local bodies, provincial assemblies, and the national assembly of Pakistan. As Christians had no influence in government or due representation after 1956, the Christian census was never even recorded in Pakistan. The Christian census data was prepared in offices instead in the field by government.

The 60% of Christians in Pakistan have similar and matching names like Muslims who have been counted in Muslim population lists. The census in Pakistan is not transparently conducted, so doubts about Christian population figures are just. The major reason behind such an immoral act is Muslim led government plans to deny the existence of the Christian nation and their due representation proportional to the population in local bodies, provincial assemblies, and the national assembly of Pakistan. Therefore, government's claims of minorities to be only 3% of the population are baseless and unacceptable to the Christians of Pakistan.

I always proposed to provide volunteers to the government of Pakistan during census but government continuously denied my offer because government was never sincere to record true data of Christian population. The Muslim majority remained under constant fear of accepting true Christian presence in society, and Muslim government adopted such measures to keep Christians away from democratic institutions.

I demanded true Christian representation in government because there were 4 Christian's seats in house of 48 in the legislative assembly of 1947. In the 1971 elections when the total seats of national assembly were 235, the Christian representation was six seats, and in the 1985 elections the total seats were 235 and Christian seats were reduced to 4. I never accepted this injustice towards my nation's

representation in Pakistan. The Peoples Representation Act of 1976, seemed mockery toward Christians. It also seemed very surprising that Christian seats never tallied with increasing Muslim seats in the national assembly.

According to Election Commission records, the Christian registered voters were one million in the voter list put for public in 1985. It is a general formula that if you multiply the number of registered voters by 4, you can get the total population. In light of this international formula the claims of government that Christians are 2.5% of population is biased and complete lie. My claim that Christian population in Pakistan was 15 million in 2000 carries weight, and they have a right to claim 12 percent of all seats in the provincial and national assembly and 12 percent share in the national resources of Pakistan.

In the national general elections of 1985, the seats of Karachi division in the national assembly were increased from 13 to 21 on the demand of Muslim leaders. They claimed that the population of the Karachi division is 10 million now and that the 13 seats allocated in 1971 are not proportional to the population. On demand of Muslims, the government arranged a sample census in the Karachi division, and representation was increased.

I also presented memorandum-demanding authorities for samples census of Christians in Pakistan, like sample census of Karachi, but government denied my appeals. I called a round table conference of Christian leaders in Karachi before national general elections of 1985 and appealed them to join Pakistan Christian Congress in boycott of elections upon allocation of only 4 seats in the national assembly. I also appealed them to raise their voice for a sample census to increase the seats for Christians in all democratic institutes.

I decided to present the Christian population issue before the national press and called a press conference at the Hotel Jabees in Karachi. I demanded 13% of the total

seats in the National Assembly on basis of Christian population in Pakistan, presenting the Christian population data and demanding a sample census to prove my claim. This news was widely published in national newspapers because it was a very daring step by any Christian leader in the history of Pakistan to challenge government and call for a boycott of elections.

The leading Weekly "Takbeer", published from Karachi, criticized my press conference in two issues under the subject "Khatre Ke Ek Ghanti", which means "Bell of Danger". The editorials and leading articles in "Takbeer" are mostly based on information provided by government agencies. Therefore, the articles against me published in Takbeer presented same Christian population figures which government had been issuing in media.

My efforts became fruitful when international media urged me to issue fact sheet on my claims that Christians are 13-18 % of population of Pakistan. I must submit my answer plea for record:

"Mr. Nazir S Bhatti, President, Pakistan Christian Congress, expressed his concern that the international media on coverage of barbaric act of terrorism of killing Christian worshipers at St. Dominic church Bahawalpur stated that Christian are 1 % of population of Pakistan. It's very important to bring in the notice of international media the facts that Christians are 13-18 % of the population of Pakistan. We claim that in 1947 at the independence of Pakistan 5 % quota in government services was only allocated to Christians because they were 5 % of the population of Pakistan. The issue of census of Christians has been raised on all forums by the Christians of Pakistan because the Muslim majority adopted measures to hide the true figures of Christians in Pakistan to avoid their due share in the state resources. In 1971, when East Pakistan emerged as new state of Bangladesh, the majority wing of Muslim population in Pakistan, the population percentage of

Christians raised up to 10 % of population of Pakistan. We wish to submit that statistical data of Christian's death and birth was collected by me in 1972, which confirmed the population of Christian to be 13 million. It must be noted that census have been not placed since 1981 in Pakistan."

My plea regarding population was covered by many reputed international newspapers and magazines which I will publish in my next book along with other articles on different Christian issue.

The population figures play very important role in democracy. The public representation and development projects are launched on population planning data. In such a critical situation when government of Pakistan is manipulating our true population, it's our foremost duty to high light our census issue in national and international forums.

We do not have leaders who may acknowledge importance of our census. Those who reach in parliament, they never raise voice to increase our seats in democratic institutions. Those who get opportunity to go abroad to speak on International forums always neglect to express doubts on population percentage of Christians declared by Government.

I see many interviews of notable Christians, covered by visiting foreign journalists, who comment that majority of Christian in Pakistan is poor and performing duties of "sweeper" but never argue on situation which forced them to adopt this profession. If Christians have been given due share in assets of Pakistan, our nation might have been prospered like Muslims.

The Muslim who was vendor in India is owner of factory in Pakistan. The Muslim who was clerk in India retired as deputy secretary in Pakistan. Why Christian is in worst situation?

It is moment of thought and revival of commitment for our leadership to discuss issue of Christian census on top priority because solution to our burdens lies under it.

## The Two-Nation Theory

A Christian leader, Ch. James Dean, in a letter to the United Nations in 1972, demanded re-partition of India. He argued that partition of India based on Two Nation theory was tantamount to a denial of the rights of Christians of India by the British Colonial rulers. If India was divided on the basis of religion between Hindus and Muslims, then why should other religious communities like Christian, Sikhs and Buddhists were not be given due shares in the partition of the subcontinent of India?

It is fact that Indian Christians were deprived of their due share and rights, that the division of India was not justified, and that Christians were neglected by rulers to have their own independent Christian homeland. When we discuss the idea of the re-partition of India, it receives weight in light of the fact that Christians are still in the majority in many states of India, as they surely were before the first partition.

Let's look at the present ratio of Christians in the Indian population. The Christians are in the majority in Meghalaya with 64.08% of population, in Mizoram with 85.73%, and Nagaland with 87.47%. The percentage of Christians in Goa is 29.86%, in Manipur 34.11%, in Andaman and Nicobar 23.95%, and in Arunachal 10.29%. In some other States, their population is more than a million: for example, Andhra Pradesh 1.2 million and Tamilnadu 3.2 million. It means that Christians had a solid majority in many states of India while Muslims only had majority in Eastern Bengal and Western Punjab. Then what were the reasons behind the two-nation theory in the subcontinent of India?

Let's study very closely: what was the two-nation theory? The Bengali Muslims who established the All India Muslim League in 1906 and presented the Two Nation Theory in British India were the true founders of Pakistan. After the formation of Pakistan in 1947, the Muslims of East

Bengal became part of this new Muslim state as a province named East Pakistan.

The Muslims of East Pakistan realized soon after the independence that the two-nation theory was a mistake. The Muslims of East Pakistan discovered their identity through the Language Movement in 1952 instead of through the Muslim religion on the basis of the two-nation theory. The struggle to establish their identity and national spirit began when they realized that under the Pakistan created on the two-nation theory there was little scope for the distant culture of the Bengalis people to flourish.

The first impact of the Muslims of East Pakistan was that the Muslims of West Pakistan did not like to establish any social or cultural relations with them. They observed that West Pakistan Muslims did not like to give their own women to them while they appreciated East Pakistan Muslim women as their mistresses and wives. The Muslims of West Pakistan showed no interest in their language but intended to impose Urdu on them as the official language in East Pakistan. They were aware that East Pakistan is in the majority of the population, but still their rights in civil services and share in the power of federation were denied.

To understand more of the two-nation theory, it's important to know more about historical facts of religions and cultures in the subcontinent of India. In 1947, Great Britain, weakened by World War II and faced with growing political resistance to British rule, granted independence to its imperial possession. But independence resulted in the birth of not one sovereign nation, but two. The decision to divide India was made in part because of the insistence of some Muslim leaders within India's movement for self-rule. They became convinced that Muslims could not thrive in a nation in which they would be a minority dominated by Hindus. The "two-nation" theory, espoused by Mohammad Ali Jinnah and other leaders of the All India Muslim League, held that Hindus, who constituted the majority in most of

British India, and Muslims, who constituted the majority only in British India's northeast and northwest corners, should not be forced to live together in one nation, but should each be granted their own country.

To safeguard the rights of Muslims, M. A. Jinnah further argued that they must be granted their own state "Pakistan", an Urdu-language word meaning, "land of the pure". The two-nation theory espoused by the All India Muslim League was strongly criticized by the Indian National Congress. Its leadership, dominated by Hindus, argued that religion by itself could not constitute the basis for creating either an Islamic Pakistan or a Hindu India.

The critics of the two-nation theory noted that Hindus and Muslims had lived side by side throughout the region for centuries before British rule and could not be readily separated. The Indian National Congress leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, envisioned a unified India under a secular state that would enable people of differing religions, languages, and ethnic groups to coexist. Then Great Britain, after negotiating with the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, eventually agreed to divide India. The parties agreed to establish borders making the northeast and northwest corners of India into a single country with two territories--East Pakistan and West Pakistan--located one thousand miles apart.

The civil conflict within Pakistan started arising when East Pakistanis had long complained that Pakistan's government and economy was dominated by West Pakistan, same as, Christians are feeling such situation from decades in Pakistan.

The 1971 war between Muslims of West Pakistan and Muslims of East Pakistan resulted in the secession of East Pakistan from Pakistan to create the new nation of Bangladesh. That result left "Three Nations Theory", Like countries as, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India, each with roughly 150 million Muslims. Many in the world viewed the

creation of Bangladesh as a definitive repudiation of the two-nation theory, arguing that Islam, the supposed reason for Pakistan's existence, had failed to hold the country together.

We study in "The 2-Nation Theory and Partition, a Historical Overview" an often-repeated claim by many British and other Western analysts and reporters that the Hindus and Muslims of the subcontinent have always been at war and that there has been centuries of hatred between them. Therefore, partition was inevitable, and Pakistan can be seen as a logical outcome of that "ancient" animosity between the two peoples. But claims of western historians do not seem factual when we find that some of India's rulers during the medieval period were Islamic invaders and engaged in acts of terror and vandalism but later became integrated into Indian society.

First, let us examine the proposition that religious commonality is the primary motivating force behind modern nationhood. If religious commonality were the essential engine for nation building, then it is odd that Europe's Christian followers are divided into so many different nations. Even if we accept that it was denominational differences that divided them, we might still ask - why aren't all the followers of the Roman Catholic faith in Europe nationally unified? Why aren't they united in Central and South America? Why didn't all Protestants get together in one nation? If religion alone could serve as the basis for national unity, how is it that in spite of several attempts at unity, Islam failed to unify the Arabic-speaking people of North Africa and the Middle East? If Islam could not be developed as the primary basis of national identity in the Arab world where Islam originated, isn't it peculiar that Islam should be viewed as the pre-eminent basis for defining national identity in the subcontinent? If we were to go by the experiences of the European or other Asian nations, we would find that cultural and linguistic factors and shared

historical experiences have often been more decisive in forging the idea of nationhood. The claim that the subcontinent comprises two nations, Hindus and Muslims, is a stark exception to the general pattern of nation building elsewhere in the world. Yet many Western intellectuals have promoted this claim as if it were within the ambit of a generally accepted or universally valid model. Perhaps the legitimacy of the two-nation claim arises from within the unique and specific experiences of the subcontinent as some Western analysts have attempted to suggest. They have argued that religion has played such a pre-eminent and overpowering role in the subcontinent, that unlike anywhere else in the world, religion is the only reasonable basis for defining nationhood therein. But why did this western think tank neglect other religions in this region and only concentrate on Hindus and Muslims?

But even a cursory examination of the historical record disproves such a hypothesis. Not only did most Hindus, Muslims and Christians live in relative peace with each other at several junctures, there are important instances of extended collaboration and unity between these sects. During the Hindu-Muslim collaboration of the Mughal period in the 16th century, when Akbar was the emperor of the northern 2/3rds of India, his closest political allies were the Hindu Rajputs of Bikaner and Jaipur. These Mughal-Rajput alliances outlived his death and continued for over 200 years. The Hindu kingdoms of Datia, Orchha and Jhansi were also generally allied with the Mughals. Muslim King Akbar's chief advisor and Prime Minister was Birbal, a Hindu, and his most successful general was Raja Man Singh of Jaipur. The Jaipur Rajputs were the most powerful fighters in the country. During Akbar's reign, they had one of Asia's best canon factories, and their canons were crucial in extending Mughal power from Afghanistan in the West to Assam in the East. In battle after battle, Rajput generals led the Mughal armies to victory. If contradictions between

Hindus and Muslims were so sharp; could this close military collaboration have lasted for over 200 years?

Had the Rajput clans not been known for their military virtuosity, these ties might not have been of much significance. They could have been merely symptomatic of a weak royal clan being coerced into offering their princesses to the demanding and more powerful Mughal emperors. But had that been the case, the Rajput princesses would not have been given as much importance. Besides, the Jaipur and Bikaner Rajputs were doing most of the fighting for the Mughals. Had they not seen any advantage in such marital alliances, they were more than capable of refusing and resisting. But these alliances survived because it brought power and wealth to both sides. The Bikaner and Jaipur Rajputs emerged as the wealthiest and most influential of the Rajput clans, while the Mughals gained supremacy over other Hindu and Muslim rivals.

During the battles for succession to the Mughal throne, Aurangzeb had to fight three of his brothers. In each of these battles, Aurangzeb got crucial help from his Hindu allies and each of his brothers counted Hindu kings and generals amongst them. The Muslim rulers of Gujarat and the Deccan followed very similar practices. Later, when the Marathas of Central India led a revolt against the Mughals, both Hindus and Muslims joined the Maratha army.

History proves that Muslims and Hindus have no differences on religious grounds, but they joined hands to rule other nations like Christians, Buddhists and Sikhs. There is also little in the Indian historical record to indicate that Hindus and Muslims in the numerous craft guilds and peasantry were constantly at war with one another. Here we find a pattern of mostly peaceful co-existence. Hindu and Muslim artisans and craftspeople often worked side by side in the manufacturing towns, at construction sites, and in royal factories. Even when they followed different religions, the ideological underpinnings of their faiths were similar:

that all were equal before god. This was the common message of Islamic Sufism and the Hindu Bhakti traditions. It was, therefore, not uncommon for a popular Bhakti saint to have Muslim followers, or a popular Sufi saint to have Hindu followers. Festivals that commemorated such popular saints drew both these communities. That is precisely why in spite of several centuries of rule by Islamic Kings; the percentage of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent never reached a majority. This Hindu-Muslim unity in India always remained feared of Christians, Buddhists and Sikhs in India, and we do not find any such following of these religions by Hindus and Muslims.

Ibn Batuta, the 14th century Tunisian chronicler who traveled throughout the Indian subcontinent, attests to the relative tolerance and peaceful co-existence amongst Muslims and Hindus. (Travels of Ibn Battuta by H. A. Gibb) In fact, the Indian masses had most potently demonstrated how united they were during the first war of independence in 1857. The 1857 war was a revolt that shook the very foundations of British rule in India. For almost a year, the entire plains of Northern India were free from colonial rule. Hindus, Muslim, Sikhs and Christian soldiers mutinied together and fought the British soldiers as one. When people in towns like Patna, Lucknow and Meerut revolted, broke open the jails, and stormed the British armories, they did it together--they did not then see themselves as Hindus, Muslims and Christians but as one people fighting a common and hated enemy--the British.

The 1857 revolt was in full force against British Rulers in central Indian states, while the northeastern states, where Christians were in the majority of the population, and was not observed as a battleground, which caused doubts among Hindus and Muslims. They thought that Christians of these states favored Christian rulers. Therefore, when a rebel administration was formed, all its public manifestos were issued in the name of both Hindus and Muslims.

Hindus and Muslims were equally represented in the main governing bodies, and proclamations were issued in popular languages. This was the first blow to the Christians in subcontinent in India.

R. Nath, who has written a history of Mughal architecture, describes how the British manipulated India's archeological record in a deliberate and insidious way to foment hatred between the two communities. They resorted to rumor mongering, historical lies and distortions, incited riots, and deliberately favored one community over another. Although it is true that many Islamic monuments were rebuilt over previous Hindu monuments, the British deliberately moved and planted archaeological elements to provoke Hindus further. They would plant Islamic religious symbols at popular Hindu shrines or deliberately deface them and blame former "Muslim" conquerors. They kept repeating that the Islamic period in India had been devastating for the Hindus, that no people had ever been more oppressed than the Hindus by the Muslims.

"We have maintained our power in India by playing-off one part against the other," the Secretary of State for India reminded Viceroy, Lord Elgin from 1862-63, "and we must continue to do so. Do all you can, therefore, to prevent all having a common feeling?"

British historian Sir Henry Elliot produced his own eight-volume History of India from his own historians in 1867, often relying on concocted or distorted evidence. His history claimed that Hindus were slain for disputing with 'Mohammedans', their idols mutilated, their temples destroyed, and that they were forced into conversions and marriages and were killed and massacred by drunken Muslim tyrants. Thus Sir Henry, and scores of other Empire scholars, went on to produce a provocative Hindu versus Muslim history of India. The policy of divide and rule required such obfuscation and distortion. The Lord Dufferin, who was Viceroy from 1884 to 1888 in India, advised the

Secretary of State in London that "the division of religious feelings is greatly to our advantage" and that he expected "some good as a result of your committee of inquiry on Indian education and on teaching material"

The Secretary of State for India, George Francis Hamilton, told the Lord Curzon, who was Governor General of India from 1895-99 and Viceroy from 1899-1904, that they "should so plan the educational text books that the differences between community and community are further strengthened".

The British propoganda was thus consciously and deliberately designed to provoke animosity and hatred between Hindus and Muslims. It is significant to note that the communal problem among Hindus and Muslims was a special feature only of British India, whereas the Indian states and territories ruled by local Maharajas that owed allegiance to the British crown were comparatively free from communal strife. The Simon Report (p.29) was compelled to admit "the comparative absence of communal strife in the Indian states today."

The idea that Hindus and Muslims were two irreconcilable nations was essentially planted and nourished by the British. And the first time this idea "that Hindus and Muslims of the sub-continent were two distinct people" was expressed in any concrete political form was when the All India Muslim League was founded in 1906 under the active patronage of the British rulers.

Maulana Azad, writing in "India Wins Freedom", describes the emergence of the Muslim League in these words:

"It was said that one of the objects of the League would be to strengthen and develop a feeling of loyalty to the British Govt. amongst the Muslims of India. The second object was to advance the claims of the Muslims against Hindus and other communities in respect of service under the crown and thus safeguard Muslim interests and rights.

The leaders of the League were therefore naturally opposed to the demand for political independence raised by the Congress. They felt that if the Muslims joined in any such demand the British would not support their claims for special treatment in education and service.

"The Muslim League entered into the second phase of its activities when it found that the Government was compelled to introduce some reforms as a result of Congress pressure. It was somewhat disturbed when it saw the Congress achieving its objective step by step. The League still remained aloof from the political struggle but as soon as any advance was made, it put in a claim on behalf of the Muslim community. This program of the Muslim League suited the (colonial) govt. well. In fact, there are reasons to think that the League was acting according to the wishes of the British."

But this was precisely the British plan. They wanted to leave power to the most undemocratic forces in the country—forces that had been most loyal to their rule, and hence traitors to the aspirations of most people of the subcontinent. They conspired to chart India's independence in a manner that would inhibit and constrain India's future development. If they were going to lose their direct hold on India, they wanted to ensure that India remain vulnerable to external manipulation and be as subservient to the dictates and demands of policy-makers in the West.

It is also noteworthy that all-important Islamic theologians were against partition. Maulana Madani undertook a whirlwind tour to campaign against the League. The Ansari Muslims, who were very politically conscious and well organized in the Gangetic states, publicly demonstrated against the League's partition resolution. Writing in 1957, Maulana Azad elaborated on how partition was turning out to be a disaster for the Muslims of the subcontinent. He pointed out how the leaders of Pakistan

were migrants from different places in India, and that these leaders did not even speak the local language. Moreover, they feared the masses and evaded popular elections as much as possible. He added that the only result of the creation of Pakistan was to weaken the position of the Muslims of the subcontinent. He emphasized that it was one of the greatest frauds on the people that religious affinity can unite areas that are geographically, economically, linguistically, and culturally different. Fourteen years before Bangladesh broke off from Pakistan, he was worried that a common religion may not be enough to unite East and West Pakistan. He pointed out how Pakistan's enormous military budget would crowd out development and harm the interests of most Pakistanis. He worried that antagonisms between Hindus and Muslims would only increase after partition.

The manner in which the British promoted the Muslim League, the manner in which senior officials in the colonial administration allowed Hindus and Sikhs to be forced out from Pakistan, makes it apparent that it was a continuation of its long, premeditated policy of divide and conquer. It is more than a little ironic that the British, who for over a hundred years had taught the Hindus that no one had oppressed them more than the Muslims, should have then turned around and argued that the self-determination of India's Muslims required partition.

It is equally ironic that the Muslim League, in the name of "defending Muslims", precipitated a vivisection of the subcontinent in a manner that has left the region's Muslims divided into three nations. What could be more perfidious than for the Muslim League to have collaborated with the British when they were the ones that conducted a 200-year campaign of vilification of Muslims as violent invaders and conquerors that had destroyed Indian civilization? In the end, it is the people of Pakistan who have least enjoyed the fruits of freedom. It is their tragedy that their new nation was

founded by a sectarian and undemocratic organization that had collaborated in the worst way with the greatest enemies of the people of the subcontinent--i.e. the British colonial rulers and exploiters.

Pakistan is a living reminder of how our freedom was only partially won, and a much more difficult phase lies ahead. One can sympathize with the aspiration of the Jews for such a national home, as they are scattered all over the world and cannot in any region have any effective voice in the administration. The conditions of Indian Muslims are quite otherwise. Over 90 million in number, they are in quantity and quality a sufficiently important element in Indian life to influence decisively all questions of administration and policy. Nature has further helped them by concentrating them in certain areas.

As is well known, Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan scheme was based on his two-nation theory. His thesis was that India contains many nationalities based on religious differences. Of them the two major nations, the Hindus and Muslims, must as separate nations have separate states. When Dr. Edward Thompson once pointed out to Mr. Jinnah that Hindus and Muslims live side by side in thousands of Indian towns, villages and hamlets, Mr. Jinnah replied that this in no way affected their separate nationality. Two nations, according to Mr. Jinnah, confront one another in every hamlet, village and town, and he therefore desires that they should be separated into two states. "India Wins Freedom, Orient Longman, 1997, pp. 150-152"

So the basis of the two-nation theory in the subcontinent of India, that of religion, was intended for a different conception of building nationhood, which proved to belong to a negative school of thought when East Pakistan became an independent Muslim state in 1971. Moreover, there were not two religious nations in the subcontinent but four. The Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians were the biggest

religious nations in the subcontinent of India, but unfortunately they were not considered in the “Nation Theory”

## **The Christians and their involvement in the genesis of Pakistan**

When we discuss the formation of Pakistan as a movement in the light of a two-nation theory it is really important for one to know and to go through the history of Muslims in South Asia.

The first group of Muslims traders from Arabia came to India in 711 A.D., and they also performed the missionary jobs in northwestern regions of India. But the most important period of Islam was during the Moghul Empire. The Moghul Kings ruled India for 200 years. The Moghul dynasty lasted for seven generations, they were descendents from dynasties in Turkey, and their ancestors were Tamur Lenk and the great Mongol ruler Genghis Khan. The Moghul Empire was founded when Babar invaded India and defeated the ruler of Delhi in 1526 and expended in his holdings. The grandson of Babar, Akbar was the greatest emperor in the Moghul dynasty who ruled from 1556 to 1605. It wasn't difficult for the Muslim rulers to govern Hindus who were then a majority in India. Akbar reformed the government to make it fairer for Muslims, Hindus and Christians alike to practice their respective religious beliefs. The last Moghul ruler was Bahadur Shah Zafar. He was expelled from India for taking part in the mutiny against the British government in 1857. The Moghul Empire came to an end when British East India Company took control of India. By then the Mogul Empire in India was highly disintegrated, and from the 1680's the history of the company became the history of the British moon in India. Lord Clive became the first governor of Bengal in 1765. He is generally considered the founder of the British Indian Empire. Warren Hastings succeeded Clive and was made the first governor general of British India. Hastings literally made a home of the colony in India. In this situation the

Muslims of India always complained against the British rule because they felt their political powers being taken away by the British.

Before addressing the different issues of the Pakistan movement, some basic facts about India's Muslims need to be established. Roughly a quarter of the population was in no way a united group. Most of a few were descendants of those who had come to India over the ages to conquer, to trade or seek their fortune, such as Arabs, Persians, Turks and Afghans. But the majority of the others were Indian converts to Islam.

From a political point of view, the most important part of this process was the attempt of Sir Sayyid Ahmed, who established Oriental college in 1877 some 90 miles from Delhi. The British governor general in India provided funds and duly supported this college and the government donated the land to this college as an act of building a bridge between Islamic learning and Western sciences.

This college was the foundation of Pakistan in a very indirect sense because all the Muslim educational conferences from 1886 brought Muslims together from all around India for the first time. This college operated under the framework of government approval.

Before we talk more, it's important to know the history of British colonial rule in India from the very beginning. The British East India Company won the powers of Diwani in the Bengal after winning the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Their victory in the Battle of Buxar in 1764 won them the Nizamat of Bengal as well. After this the British East India Company started to expand its area of control in India. In 1845 the British East India Company extended control over the Sindh province. In 1848 the Second Sikh War took place and the British East India Company gained control of Punjab. In 1853 the leader of the Marathas, Nana Sahib was denied his royal title, and his pension was stopped. In 1854 Berar was annexed into the Company's domains. In 1856 the

British East India Company also annexed the state of Awadh/Oudh. Bahadur Shah Zafar was told that he would be the last Emperor and the Mughal Empire would end after him.

The Indians came to believe that the British intended to forcibly convert them to Christianity because of their missionary approaches. The jewels of the royal family of Nagpur were publicly auctioned in Calcutta, a move that was seen as a sign of abject disrespect by the Indians.

The Indians were dissatisfied with the heavy-handed rule of the British East India Company who had embarked on a project of rapid westernization. This included the outlawing of many customs and religious rites of both Muslims and Hindus that caused outrage amongst the Indian populations. The British abolished child marriage, Sati, the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands.

It was said that the legal system was unfair to the Indians. The official Blue Book 'East India (Torture) 1855-1857', that were laid before the House of Commons during the sessions of 1856 and 1857, revealed that British officers were allowed an extended series of appeals if convicted or accused of brutality or crimes against Indians. The British expansion policies were greatly disliked by the Indians. In eight years James Andrew Broun-Ramsay, first Marquess of Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India, had annexed a quarter of a million square miles of land to the British East India Company's territory.

If a landowner did not leave a male heir, the land became the property of the Company via the doctrine of lapse carried out by Lord Dalhousie and his successor, Charles John Canning. This applied to feudal lands as well as to the states. The land was reorganized under the comparatively harsh Zamindari system to facilitate the collection of taxes. In certain areas farmers were forced to switch from subsistence farming to commercial crops such

as indigo, jute, coffee and tea. This resulted in increases in food prices.

British rule in India was unfair to the local industry which was subjected too much heavier tariffs than its British counterparts. So the local products costed more than the products imported from Britain and hence lost their competitive edge in the market. The Indians also felt that the British were levying very heavy taxation on the locals. This included an increase in the taxation on land.

The Pattern 1853 Enfield (P/53) rifle was introduced into India. A greased membrane that was supposed to be cut by the teeth before the cartridges were loaded into the rifles covered the cartridge. The rumor was that cow or pig fat greased the membrane. This was offensive to Hindu and Muslim soldiers alike, who considered tasting beef or pork to be against their respective religious tenets. The British claimed that they had replaced the cartridges with new ones not made from cow and pig fat and tried to get sepoys to make their own grease from beeswax and vegetable oils, but the rumour persisted. The Commander in Chief in India, George Anson reacted to this crisis by saying, "I'll never give in to their beastly prejudices", and despite the pleas of his junior officers did not compromise.

Some began to spread the rumour of a prophecy that the Company's rule would end after a hundred years. Their rule in India had begun with the Battle of Plassey in 1757. The preceding months held tensions and several serious events but they failed to cause as big a conflagration as those at Meerut. Fires broke out near Calcutta on 22nd January 1857. On 25th February 1857 the 19th Regiment mutinied at Behrampore and the regiment allowed one of its men to advance with a loaded musket upon the parade ground in front of a line and open fire on his superior officer; a battle ensued. On 31st March 1857 the 34th Regiment rebelled at Barrackpore. April saw fires at Agra, Allahabad and Ambala.

In March of 1857, Mangal Pande of the 34th Native Infantry attacked his British sergeant and wounded an adjutant. General Hearsay, who says Pande was in some kind of "religious frenzy", ordered a jemadar to arrest him, but the jemadar refused. Mangal Pande then turned the gun against him and used his foot to pull the trigger and shoot himself. He failed and was captured. Along with the jemadar he was hanged on 7th April. The whole regiment was dismissed as a collective punishment and because it was felt that they will harbour feelings against their superiors after this incident. The other sepoy thought of this as harsh punishment.

On 11th May the rebels reached Delhi, where they were joined by other Indians from the local bazaar, and attacked and captured the Red Fort (Lal Qila), killing five British, including a British officer and two women. Lal Qila was the residence of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar and the sepoy demanded that he reclaim his throne. At first he was reluctant but eventually he agreed to the demands and became the leader of the rebellion. The sepoy proceeded to kill every European and Christian in the city.

The rebellion now spread beyond the armed forces, but it did not result in a completely popular uprising as its leaders hoped. The Indian side was not completely unified. While Bahadur Shah Zafar was restored to the imperial throne there was a faction that wanted the Maratha rulers to be enthroned as well, and the Awadhis wanted to retain the powers that their Nawab used to have. The war was mainly centered in northern and central areas of India. Delhi, Lucknow, Kanpur, Jhansi and Bareilly were the main centers of conflict. The Marathas, Rohillas and the Awadhis supported Bahadur Shah Zafar and were against the British.

There were calls for jihad by some leaders including the millenarian Ahmedullah Shah, taken up by the Muslims, particularly Muslim artisans, which caused the British to

think that the Muslims were the main force behind this event. In Awadh, Sunni Muslims did not want to see a return to Shiite rule, so they often refused to join what they perceived to be a Shia rebellion.

Many Indians supported the British, often not cherishing the idea of return of Mughal rule, and these very forces were crucial to the British re-conquest of the independent areas. The Sikhs and Pathans of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province supported the British and helped in the capture of Delhi. The Gurkhas of Nepal continued their support to the British.

Most of southern India remained passive with only sporadic and haphazard outbreaks of violence. Most of the states did not take part in the war and kept away from the cause of the Indian side--a grievance still aired by some South Asians. This happened much after the 50-year rule of the British and this was called the mutiny of 1857.

The discussions on the future of India had taken place in London between 1931-1932 between the representative of British India, the Princely states and the British government. It was decided to have a different state of Pakistan in this first conferences held in 1930-1931. But this did not materialise till the 2nd conference and then there was also a demand for a French colony's part of the land. Finally in 1937 elections were held.

The Christian representatives in the Roundtable Conference favoured the existence of Pakistan while being a unit of the Punjab voted before Boundary Commission to confirm independence of Pakistan. If Christians have not voted in favour of Muslims in Boundary Commission, The Punjab has been remained an integral part of India because Sikhs and Hindus were in majority. The division of Punjab was impossible on demands of All India Muslim League as Muslims never enjoyed solid majority in Punjab, like East Bengal, Sindh, Balouchistan and North West Frontier Provinces but Christians made it possible by their vote.

The Christian historians shall reveal sooner or later, the mysterious role of S P Singha, then President of All India Christian Association on blind trust in Muslims to extend Christian support in Round Table Conferences and Boundary Commission. Was he a puppet of British Raj or Muslims? Why he supported Two Nation Theory based on Hindus and Muslims for partition of India? Why he sabotaged the religion rights of Christians, Sikhs and Buddhists in partition of sub-continent?

All such questions shall be answered in my other volume of book documenting secret correspondence between Viceroy and leaders of All India Christian Association!!!

## **The Creation of Pakistan and Israel**

When we study the birth of Pakistan and the role of the All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress, we see that both these were claiming to be sole representative of Muslims and Hindus but equally neglecting the presence of people from other religious communities like Christians, Sikhs, and Buddhist. It seems very suspicious that leadership of All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress suddenly appeared in India to take leadership.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in Porbandar, India, on October 2, 1869. His father was a Chief Minister for the maharaja of Porbandar. Mr. Gandhi got married at an early age of 13. When he was 18, he went to London to study law. He was admitted to the bar in 1891 and for a while he was attorney in Bombay. From 1893 to 1914 he worked for an Indian firm in South Africa. Seeing the amount of racial segregation in Africa, he started protest campaigns and organized demonstrations but returned to India in January 1915.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born on 25 December 1876 in Karachi; Jinnah had his early education in Mission High School. He sailed for London in 1892 to study law at Lincoln's Inn. He returned to Karachi in 1896. He moved to Bombay in 1897, but the first three years of his legal career were of great hardship. Mr. Jinnah's first active move toward politics took place during 1906 session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta in the wake of the Hindu community's adverse reaction to the partition of Bengal in 1905. Dadabhai Naoroji's slogan, Swaraj, was now writ on the new banner of Congress, behind which Jinnah marched. After attending the Round Table Conference in London in 1930, he found himself overshadowed in the second conference by the Agha Khan as leader of the Muslim delegation, and by Gandhi. He was not included in third

conference and was not thought to represent any considerable school of opinion. In 1931 he decided to settle in London and abandon Indian politics forever. He started practicing at the Privy Council Bar.

The government of India Act of 1935 contained the so-called Communal Award that laid down the pattern of representation to the various legislatures to satisfy the minorities, especially Muslims and the Scheduled Castes. The Act provided electoral politics holding out great prospects for the non-aristocratic nationalist politicians. Under the changed circumstances, Jinnah was motivated by some Muslim middle class leaders to come back to India and take the leadership of Muslims. During elections in 1937 Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah appeared in subcontinent from outside. Jinnah was never interested in the Pakistan Movement or struggle of All India Muslim League and settled in England. He decided to come back home when All India Muslim League was strong group of Muslims in India. Likewise Mr. Gandhi started civil rights movement in South Africa for basic human rights of Black Majority community but suddenly he decided to leave that oppressed nation and entered India. This is an important point of reference in history which has never been clarified by many historians.

For instance, if Jinnah had been successful in getting the ticket of Labor Party candidates in UK elections for which he tried his best or ticket of Conservative Party for the seat of the MP, was he coming back to India? On other hand if Mr. Gandhi had been successful in his civil rights movement in South Africa where Hindu Indians were in minority why was he coming to India then? He might be of opinion or fearful that his movement shall not be successful in South Africa. Was he removed from South Africa by some forces to India? Was Jinnah also forced to leave UK, under any secret agreement or special assignment by British rulers?

Let's have a look in social commitment of a person who founded a state on religious grounds in the Indian sub-continent. Let us look at what a personal employee; a driver has to tell about him.

Mr. Sayed Shah Abdul Hye, resident of small coastal town of Udipi was chauffeur. He said in an interview published in The Hindu on 1st September 2001, "Jinnah could not read Urdu, and spoke 'Butler Urdu'," said Hye with amusement. Jinnah had a passion for cars and possessed a fleet of five cars during Hye's time: a Chevrolet, a Packard, a La Salle, a Graham Paige and a Sunbeam. "People have exaggerated facts about Jinnah," Hye said in response to a question on Jinnah's famed Western-oriented lifestyle. "I have never seen him drinking," he said, and after a moment's hesitation, added, "except maybe some wine during dinner". Although Jinnah was not that devout a Muslim to pray five times a day, he attended the Idgah on special occasions. "He never frequented clubs," Hye said, adding in afterthought, "except in Connaught Place where he would sometimes go to a club." Though not a practicing Muslim, Jinnah disinherited his only daughter for having married outside the fold of religion. Hye was witness and accomplice to the clandestine love affair between Dina and Neville Wadia, and would throw the rest of the family off during their frequent assignations. Hye left Jinnah's employ in 1940 in search of better prospects.

To see true face of characters and hidden hands of script writer of partition of India, we have to overview the geo-political situation of that era of British Colonial rule around globe. What role was written for All India Muslim League?

Let's discuss the events of All India Muslim League and International Jewish Movement and creation of Pakistan and Israel both on religion.

In the late 1800s, Theodor Herzl and Chaim Weizmann founded the Zionism, a political movement dedicated to the creation of a Jewish state in Israel. They saw the state of Israel as a necessary refuge for Jewish victims of oppression, especially in Russia, where programs were decimating the Jewish population.

The name "Zionism" comes from the word "Zion," which was the name of a stronghold in Jerusalem. Over time, the term "Zion" came to be applied to Jerusalem in general, and later to the Jewish idea of utopia.

Zionism was not a religious movement; it was a primarily political movement. The early Zionists sought to establish a secular state of Israel, recognized by the world, through purely legal means. Theodor Herzl, for example, was a completely assimilated secular Jewish journalist. He felt little attachment to his Jewish heritage until he covered the trial of Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish captain in the French military who was (unjustly) convicted of passing secrets to Germany. The charges against Dreyfus brought out a wave of anti-Jewish sentiment that shocked Herzl into realizing the need for a Jewish state. Early Zionists were so desperate for a refuge at one point that they actually considered a proposal to create a Jewish homeland in Uganda.

During World War I, the Zionist cause gained some degree of support from Great Britain. In a 1917 letter from British foreign secretary Lord Balfour to Jewish financier Lord Rothschild, the British government expressed a commitment to creating a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This letter is commonly known as the Balfour Declaration. Unfortunately, the British were speaking out of both sides of their mouth, simultaneously promising Arabs their freedom if they helped to defeat the Ottoman Empire, which at that time controlled most of the Middle East (including the modern states of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq, as well as significant portions of Saudi Arabia and northern Africa).

The British promised the Arabs that they would limit Jewish settlement in Palestine mere months after the Balfour Declaration expressed support for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

After World War I, Palestine was assigned to the United Kingdom as a mandated territory by the League of Nations. The Palestinian Mandate initially included the lands that are now Israel and Jordan, but all lands east of the Jordan River were later placed into a separate mandate known as Transjordan (now the nation of Jordan). The document creating the Palestinian mandate incorporated the terms of the Balfour Declaration, promising the creation of a national Jewish homeland within the mandated territory. Although Arab leaders were initially willing to give Palestine to the Jews if the rest of the Arab lands in the Middle East were free, the Arabs living in Palestine vigorously opposed Jewish immigration into the territory and the idea of a Jewish homeland. It is around this time that the idea of Palestinian nationality (distinct from Arab nationality generally) first begins to appear. There were many riots in the territory, and the British came to believe that the conflicting claims were irreconcilable. In 1937, the British recommended partition of the territory.

The Holocaust brought the need for a Jewish homeland into sharp focus for both Jews and for the rest of the world. The Jews who tried to flee Nazi Germany were often turned back due to immigration limitations at the borders of every country, including the United States, Britain and Palestine. Many of those who were sent back to Germany ended up in death camps where they were systematically murdered. The British were unable to come up with a solution that would satisfy either Arabs or Jews, so in 1947, they handed the problem to the newly-founded United Nations, which developed a partition plan dividing Palestine into Jewish and Arab portions. The plan was ratified in November 1947.

The mandate expired on May 14, 1948 and British troops pulled out of Palestine. The Jews of Palestine promptly declared the creation of the State of Israel, which was recognized by several Western countries immediately.

However, the surrounding Arab nations did not recognize the validity of Israel and invaded claiming that they were filling a vacuum created by the termination of the mandate and the absence of any legal authority to replace it. The Arabs fought a yearlong war to drive the Jews out. Miraculously, the new state of Israel won this war, as well as every subsequent Arab-Israeli war, gaining territory every time the Arabs attacked them.

Let us read the Balfour Declaration which was issued on November 2nd 1917.

“His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”

According to the Peel Commission, appointed by the British Government to investigate the cause of the 1936 Arab riots, "the field in which the Jewish National Home was to be established was understood, at the time of the Balfour Declaration, to be the whole of historic Palestine, including Transjordan."

The Mandate for Palestine's purpose was to put into effect the Balfour Declaration. It specifically referred to "the historical connections of the Jewish people with Palestine" and to the moral validity of "reconstituting their National Home in that country." The term "reconstituting" shows recognition to the fact that Palestine had been the Jews' home. Furthermore, the British were instructed to "use their

best endeavors to facilitate" Jewish immigration, to encourage settlement on the land and to "secure" the Jewish National Home. The word "Arab" does not appear in the Mandatory award.

The 52 governments at the League of Nations on July 24th 1922, formalized the mandate, Emir Faisal, son of Sherif Hussein, the leader of the Arab revolt against the Turks, signed an agreement with Chaim Weizmann and other Zionist leaders during the 1919 Paris Peace Conference.

Mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people, it said, and realizing that the surest means of working out the consummation of their national aspirations through the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab states and Palestine. Furthermore, the agreement looked to the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration and called for all necessary measures To encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants upon the land through closer settlement and intensive cultivation of the soil.

Faisal had conditioned his acceptance of the Balfour Declaration on the fulfillment of British wartime promises of independence to the Arabs. These were not kept. Critics dismiss the Weizmann-Faisal agreement because it was never enacted; however, the fact that the leader of the Arab nationalist movement and the Zionist movement could reach an understanding is significant because it demonstrated that Jewish and Arab aspirations were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

## Time Line of Israel Movement and Pakistan Movement

1907

Eighth Zionist Congress; decision is made to proceed with political Zionism (international efforts to obtain a charter for the Jews in Palestine) and practical Zionism (settlement); it is acknowledged that both are necessary and together form a whole

1907

All India Muslim League established at the annual meeting of Muhammadan Educational Conference at Dacca under chairmanship of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk

1915-17

NILI, secret Jewish organization spying for the British, is active until the Ottoman authorities 400 years of Ottoman rule are ended by British conquest capture its members; British General Allenby enters Jerusalem. Balfour Declaration is issued, pledging the British government's support for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine

1916

Lucknow Pact (Meesaqh-e-Lucknow)

1919

Weizmann and the Emir Feisal sign an agreement for close collaboration between their respective national movements; Arab nationalists later repudiate agreement

1919.

Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali launched Khilfat Movement after World War I, which lasted until 1924

1929

Sixteenth Zionist Congress; a Jewish Agency is constituted, as stipulated in the Mandate, to represent the Jewish community in Palestine vis-à-vis the British authorities, foreign governments and international organizations (from 1923 these tasks had been partly filled by the Zionist Organization in Palestine) Widespread Arab riots; in Hebron, 70 Jews are massacred; in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa, Arab attacks are thwarted by the Haganah

1929

Qued-e-Azam presented 14 points in Delhi Muslim Conference

1930-1931

Etzel, underground defense and resistance organization, consisting mainly of right-wing and Revisionist elements, is founded Seventeenth Zionist Congress; dissent over the level of cooperation with the British government leads to rift between Revisionists and other parties in the Zionist organization; Nahum Sokolow elected president of the Zionist Organization

1930-32

Alabad, Muslim League Annual Conference

First Round Table Conference held in London

All India Muslim Conference held at Lahore addressed by Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal

Second Round Table Conference was held in London

Third Round Table Conference was held in London

1937

Peel Commission recommends partitioning Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, with an area including Jerusalem and a corridor to the sea to remain under British administration Twentieth Zionist Congress;

1942

British sent Stafford Cripps with constitutional proposals, known as Cripps Proposals

1946

Jewish defense organizations (Haganah, Etzel and Lehi) join together to carry out actions blowing up road and railway bridges which link Palestine with neighboring states  
Black Saturday (29 June) - Mandatory government arrests many Jews, including members of the Jewish Agency Executive, exiling many to Cyprus, conducts searches for Palmach members and arms caches, and intensifies policy against illegal immigration

South wing of King David Hotel, the seat of the Mandate government and the British army, is blown up by Etzel; 80 killed

The Arab economic boycott is first applied by the Arab League against the Jewish community in Palestine (subsequently against the State of Israel) Twenty-second Zionist Congress, the first after the war, meets in Basle

1946

Muslim League calibrated Day of Victory (Yom-e-Najat)

Cabinet Mission arrived from Britain

Cabinet Mission put forward its proposals

India National Congress accepted Cabinet Mission Proposals

Muslim League accepted Cabinet Mission Proposals

1947

4500 refugees who left Europe on the Exodus are not allowed to disembark in Palestine and are sent back to Europe

Seven Etzel and Lehi members are hanged by British for attacks on the British military; two commit suicides in

their prison cell Etzel hangs two kidnapped British sergeants in retaliation

UN decides on establishment of Jewish and Arab states in Palestine, by a vote of 33 to 13 with 10 abstentions; Arab riots against yishuv begin (29 November)

1947

Lord Mountbatten arrived as last Viceroy

Lord Mountbatten announced plan of Partition, called 3rd June 1947 Plan

Indian Independence Act passed in British parliament.  
Partition of Sub-Continent into Pakistan and India

1948

State of Israel is proclaimed (14 May) by David Ben-Gurion, hours before the British Mandate is due to end (15 May)

The time-line and identical struggle indicates that creation of Pakistan and Israel was an international agenda of British Raj.

## **The Christian representation and Constitutional History of Pakistan**

On 3rd June 1947, Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, called the conference of all the leaders of the Sub-continent and communicated to them his Government's Plan for the transfer of power. At that time, a notification was issued in the Gazette of India, published on 26th July 1947 in which the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was given shape with 69 Members (later on the membership was increased to 79), including one female Member.

The State of Pakistan was created under the Independence Act of 1947. The Act made the existing Constituent Assemblies, the dominion legislatures. These Assemblies were allowed to exercise all the powers, which were formerly exercised by the Central Legislature, in addition to the powers regarding the framing of a new Constitution, prior to which all territories were to be governed in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935.

The first session of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was held on 10th August 1947 at Sindh Assembly Building Karachi. On 11th August 1947 Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was elected unanimously as the President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and the Assembly formally approved the National Flag.

On 12th August 1947, a resolution was approved regarding officially addressing Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah as "Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah". On the same day, a special committee called the "Committee on Fundamental Rights of Citizens and Minorities of Pakistan" was appointed to look into and advise the Assembly on matters relating to fundamental rights of the citizens, particularly the minorities, with the aim to legislate on these issues appropriately. On 14th August 1947, the Transfer of Power took place. Lord

Mountbatten, Governor General of India, addressed the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. The Quaid gave a reply to the address in the House, on which the principles of the State of Pakistan were laid. On 15th August 1947, Quaid-i-Azam was sworn in as the first Governor General of Pakistan. Mian Sir Abdur Rashid, Chief Justice of Pakistan, administered oath of office from him. The Quaid remained in this position till his death i.e. 11th September 1948.

The foremost task before the first Constituent Assembly is of framing the Constitution for the nation. On 7th March 1949, the Objectives Resolution, which now serves as the ground norm of Pakistan, was introduced by the first Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, and later adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 12th March 1949. On the same day, a Basic Principles Committee comprising of 24 Members was formed to prepare a draft Constitution on the basis of the Objectives Resolution. On 16th October 1951, Prime Minister Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, mover of the Objective Resolution, was assassinated and Khawaja Nazimuddin took over as the Prime Minister on 17th October 1951.

These Christian members in Punjab Legislative Assembly from 1951 to 1955 were elected under Separate Electorate when Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana was Chief Minister of Punjab there were four in the house of 189. 1. Chandu Lall Chaudhri (Pakistani Christian and Anglo-Pakistani), 2. Gibbon, Mr C.E. (Pakistani Christian and Anglo-Pakistani) 3. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din, Mr B.A., LL.B. (Pakistan Christian and Anglo-Pakistani). 4. Singha, Mrs. S.P. (Pakistan Christian and Anglo-Pakistani I)

The final draft of the Constitution was prepared in 1954. By that time, Muhammad Ali Bogra had taken over as the Prime Minister. However, just before the draft could be placed in the House for approval, the Assembly was dissolved by the then Governor General Ghulam Muhammad on 24th October 1954. The Prime Minister was,

however, not dismissed and was asked to run the administration, with a reconstituted Cabinet, until such time as the elections were held.

The second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was created on 28th May 1955 under Governor General's Order No.12 of 1955. The Electoral College for this Assembly was the Provincial Assemblies of respective Provinces. The strength of this Assembly was 80 Members, half each from East Pakistan and West Pakistan. The draft of this Constitution was introduced in the Assembly on 9th January 1956 and was passed by the Assembly on 29th February 1956. The Governor General gave the assent on it on 2nd March 1956. This Constitution was enforced with effect from 23rd March 1956. Under this Constitution, Pakistan became an Islamic Republic; hence 23rd March became Republic day. It was the same day in 1940 that the Pakistan Resolution was adopted at Minto Park, Lahore. The separate Electorate for Minorities was abolished in Constitution of 1956.

Under 1956 Constitution, Parliament was unicameral. Legislative powers vested in the Parliament, which consisted of the President and the National Assembly comprising 300 Members divided equally between East and West Pakistan. In addition to these 300 seats, five seats were reserved for women for each of the two wings, for a period of ten years: thus bringing the total membership of the House to 310 and there were no reserved seats for minorities.

On 27th October 1958 General Muhammad Ayub Khan took-over as a second President of Pakistan. One of the first major steps taken by General Ayub Khan was the appointment of a Constitution Commission on 17th February 1960. The objective of this commission was to submit proposals, as to how best democracy can be strengthened and molded according to the country's socio-

political environment and Islamic principles of justice. The Commission submitted its report to the government on 29th April 1961. On the basis of this report a new Constitution was framed and given to the nation on 1st March 1962.

General elections under the new Constitution were held on 28th March 1962 and elections to the special seats reserved for women were held on 29th May 1962. The first session of the third National Assembly was held on 8th June 1962 at Ayub Hall, Rawalpindi.

The Constitution of 1962 envisaged a Federal State with Presidential form of government, with National Assembly at the centre and the Provincial Assemblies in the Provinces. The Legislatures, both at centre and in provinces were unicameral. The Federal system had been curtailed by allowing the Provincial Governors to be appointed directly by the President. All executive authority of the Republic of Pakistan, under the Constitution, vested in the office of the President. President appointed his Cabinet members who were directly responsible to him.

The electoral system was made indirect, and the 'Basic Democrats', for both wings were declared Electoral College for the purpose of electing the Assemblies and the President. Basic democrats were 80,000 in number (40,000 from each East & West Pakistan). The total membership of the National Assembly was 156, one half of who were to be elected from East Pakistan and other half from West Pakistan; also three seats were reserved for women from each province. The term of this Assembly was three years. The norm was established that if the President was from West Pakistan, the Speaker was to be from East Pakistan and vice versa. The minorities were given right under separate elections to elect basic democrats but representation in National Assembly was blocked. One of the major performances of this Assembly were the passage of Political Parities Act, 1962.

On 25th March 1969 the second Martial law was imposed and General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan took-over as the President of Pakistan and Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA). He later issued a Legal Framework Order (LFO), prepared by Anglo Indian Christian Justice A. R. Cornelius under which the first ever general elections were held on 7th December 1970. This was the first Assembly elected on the adult franchise and population basis. It consists of 313 members, 169 from East Pakistan and 144 from West Pakistan including 13 reserved seats for women (6 were from West Pakistan and 7 from East Pakistan but no representation for minorities). Soon after the elections, due to grave political differences, the Province of East Pakistan seceded from West Pakistan and became Bangladesh. On 20th December 1971 Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took over as the President of Pakistan as well as the first civil Chief Martial Law Administrator.

The first session of the National Assembly, due to the delay caused by the separation of East Pakistan, was held on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1972 at the State Bank Building, Islamabad, in which all 144 Members from West Pakistan and two from former East Pakistan (Mr. Noor-ul-Amin and Raja Trivedi Roy who had chosen to join Pakistan) participated. On 17th April 1972 an Interim Constitution was adopted by the National Assembly, which provided for a Presidential form of Government. Under this Constitution, the National Assembly was not to be dissolved earlier than 14th August 1973. The Interim Constitution dealt in detail with the distribution of powers between the Centre and the Provinces.

The Assembly also formed a Constitution Committee on 17th April 1972 to prepare the first draft for framing a Constitution. The report of the Committee was presented with a draft Constitution on 31st December 1972. It was unanimously passed by the Assembly in its session on 10th

April 1973 and was authenticated by the President on 12th April 1973. This Constitution, called the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973, was promulgated on 14th August 1973. On the same day, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took oath as the Prime Minister, while Mr. Fazal Illahi Choudhary took oath as the President of Pakistan. There were six seats reserved for Christian Minority in the National Assembly of Pakistan. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on Christian reserved seats nominated these leaders and Muslim Members of the National Assembly were Electoral College. Mr. Samuel Beedi, Mr. Bashir Masih, Mr. Francis X Lobo, Capt Rtd. Sana Ullaha and Fr. Derrick Masquita. The Joint Election System was implemented in 1973 Constitution.

The 1973 Constitution provides for a parliamentary form of government where the executive authority of the state vests with the Prime Minister. The President, according to the Constitution, is at the apex, representing the unity of the Republic.

From 1947 to 1973, the country had a unicameral system of legislature. Under the 1973 Constitution, Pakistan adopted bicameral system at the centre, called "The Parliament", composing the President, the National Assembly and The Senate. Originally, the general seats of the National Assembly were 200 with additional 10 seats reserved for women, bringing the total strength to 210. The newly created Upper House i.e. the Senate had 63 members.

Despite the tenure of the Assembly being five years, as prescribed in the Constitution, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, on 7th January 1977 announced the holding of elections before time. Consequently, on 10th January 1977, he advised the President to dissolve the National Assembly. Elections were held on 7th March 1977. The opposition charged the government with rigging the elections to the National Assembly and thereafter boycotted the Provincial Assemblies elections. Since the opposition had not

accepted the National Assembly elections result, they did not take oath. This resulted in severe political crisis and Martial Law was imposed by the then Army Chief, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, on 5th July 1977.

On 24th December 1981, under Presidential Order (P.O.15 of 1981) a Federal Council (Majlis-e-Shoora) was constituted by the President. The President nominated its members. The first session of this Council was held on 11th January 1982. In this way, limited and controlled political activities were resumed, as a result of which general elections were later held for the National and Provincial Assemblies on 25th February 1985, on non-party basis.

On 2nd March 1985, the revival of Constitution Order (P.O.14 of 1985) was issued in which a large number of amendments were made in the Constitution. The first session of the National Assembly was held 20th March 1985. Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo, was nominated as the Prime Minister of Pakistan by the President (General Zia-ul-Haq). Mr. Emmanuel Zafar, Capt. Rtd. Sana Ullaha, Col. Rtd. W. B Herbert and Mr. Nasir Mahmood Khokhar were Christian members of National Assembly of Pakistan, elected by the Christian voters under Separate Electorate. The most surprising representation of Christian minorities was decreased in seats from six to four allocated during Bhutto regime

In November 1985, the 8th Constitutional Amendment was adopted by the Parliament. Besides changes in other Articles in the Constitution the significant Article 58(2) (b) was added, according to which the President acquired discretionary powers to dissolve the National Assembly. On 29th May 1988 the President dissolved the Assembly by using the power acquired under Article 58(2) (b).

The General elections for the eighth National Assembly was held on 16th November 1988. The President convened the first session on 30th November 1988. Mr. Miraj Khalid

was elected as a Speaker National Assembly on 3rd December 1988. Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto was nominated as Prime Minister of Pakistan and took the oath of the Office on 2nd December 1988. George Clement, Peter John Sohatra, Capt. Rtd. Sanna Ullaha and Fr. Rufin Julius were Christian members in house. The President, Ghulam Ishaq Khan under Article 58(2) (b) on 6th August 1990 dissolved the Assembly.

The General elections for the ninth National Assembly was held on 24th October 1990. The first session was held on 3rd November 1990. Mr. Gohar Ayub Khan elected as Speaker National Assembly and he took oath on 4th November 1990. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif took oath as Prime Minister of Pakistan on 11th November 1990. Mr. Tariq C. Qaiser, Bishop Rufin Julius, Mr. Peter John Sahotra, Mr. Simon Jacob were elected on Christian's reserved seats. Mr. J Salik challenged the election of Mr. Simon Jacob in election tribunal The Assembly was dissolved by the then President, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, under Article 58(2) (b) on 18th April 1993. The dissolution of the National Assembly was challenged in the Supreme Court of Pakistan and after hearing the case the Assembly was restored by the apex court on 26th May 1993. The Assembly was dissolved on the advice of the Prime Minister on 18th July 1993.

The elections for tenth National Assembly was held on 6th October 1993. The first session was held on 15th October 1993. Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani took oath of the office of the Speaker National Assembly on 17th October 1993. Mohtarma Benizar Bhutto administered the oath as Prime Minister of Pakistan on October 19th October 1993. Mr. J. Salik was nominated first Christian federal minister in history of Pakistan. The President Farooq Ahmad Khan Laghari dissolved the Assembly on 5th November 1996.

The elections for eleventh National Assembly was held on 3rd February 1997. The first session was held on 15th

February 1997. Mr. Illahi Bukhsh Soomro took oath of the office of the Speaker National Assembly on 16th February 1997. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif took oath as Prime Minister of Pakistan and Leader of the House on 17th February 1997. The new Assembly came into power with an overwhelming majority. The Article 58(2) (b) was later on omitted from the Constitution vide 13th Amendment in the Constitution in April 1997.

Chief of Army Staff General Pervaz Musharraf, who was also Chairman Joint Staff Committee, took over the government from Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and declared himself as Chief Executive through a Proclamation of Emergency, on 12th October 1999. Through Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) issued on October 14th 1999, he held the Constitution in abeyance, suspended the Senate, National and Provincial Assemblies, Chairman and Deputy Chairman Senate, Speaker, Deputy Speaker National and Provincial Assemblies and dismissed the Federal and Provincial governments. The President Mr. Muhammad Rafiq Tarar was, however allowed to continue in his office. Under PCO (order No. 6) 29th October 1999, (as amended by C.E. Order No.5, 4th July 2001), the National Security Council was established for the purpose to tender advice to the Chief Executive (later on President), on matters relating to Islamic ideology, national security, sovereignty, integrity and solidarity of Pakistan so as to achieve the aims and objective as enshrined in the Objectives Resolution 1949.

On 20th June 2001, through a notification (C.E. Order No.1) the Chief Executive assumed the office of the President of Pakistan under President's Succession Order, 2001. On the same day, through another Order (C.E. Order No. 2, 2001), the President converted the orders of suspension of legislative bodies and their presiding officers, in to dissolution.

The elections for twelfth National Assembly was held on 10th October 2002. The article 33 was amended, Clause 2A substituted by the Legal Framework Order 2002 (Chief Executive's Order No. 24 of 2002), Art 3(1), Sched. item (3), for: (2A) In addition to the number of seats referred to in clause ( 1), there shall be in the National Assembly ten additional seats reserved as follows for the person referred to in clause (3) of Article 106: The minority reserved seats were as: 4 Christians, 4, Hindus and persons belonging to the scheduled casts, 1 Sikh, Buddhist and Parsi communities and other non-Muslims, 1 Persons belonging to the Qadiani group or the Lahori group (who call themselves Ahmadis). Mr.Mushtaq Victor. Mr. Akram Masih, Mr.Pervaiz Masih and Mrs. Assia Nasir were selected in National assembly under joint electorate.

There were 28 Christian candidates ready to be adopted in election 2002, under the joint elections when Christian voters have to vote for the Muslim political party candidates in parliament while returned Muslim candidates in parliament have to select these Christian candidates on the 4 reserved seats for Christians in the National Assembly.

There is no restriction under joint elections to contest for Christians on the general seats but so called Liberal and Democratic Muslim political parties not issued party ticket to non-Muslim because they knew that Muslim voters shall never vote their non-Muslim candidates. There were 60 reserved seats for Muslim women in National Assembly but none was reserved for Christian women. The reserved seats were 10 for women in the National Assembly since 1971, which were increased to 60 seats in 2002 elections. The Muslim religious parties Alliance MMA also adopted two Christians for National Assembly of 2002.

## **The Separate Electorate and Formation of Pakistan**

Why Muslim majority in Pakistan denies Separate Electorate to minorities, while it was their major demand when they were in minority in sub-continent of India during British rule? Why Muslims are reluctant to separate electorate, which they exercised for decades? Why separate electorate is 'undemocratic', which was democratic during Pakistan movement?

Do Muslims fear that separate electorate can lead Christians to demand independence as they demanded? A very simple answer to this question is "Yes" because Separate Electorate created Pakistan and now Muslim does not want Christians to exercise such a powerful democratic weapon. The Muslims still remember that separate election united them during British colonial rule but they dislike unity among Christians which may result in any movement for their equal rights or claims in share of land.

The Christian leaders, Joshua Fazal Dean, Chowdry Chandu Lal and C. Gibbon filed a writ petition in Supreme Court of Pakistan challenging Soharwardy government's decision to abolish Separate Electorate in 1956. As an important annexure of this lawsuit was a document signed by Mohammad Ali Jinaah and S P Singha to ensure separate electorate for minorities in Pakistan in return of Christian vote for existence of Pakistan. Mr. A K Brohi, a prominent Muslim lawyer was advocate of petitioners in this lawsuit who in submissions stated that Mr. S P Singha and Mr. Ralia Ram voted in favor of existence of Pakistan in Round Table Conferences and Boundary Commission only after this agreement. It indicates importance of separate elections for Christian leaders who participated in Pakistan movement.

It is also on record of legislative Assembly of Pakistan that C. Gibbon protested on floor of house and spoke for eighteen hours against Joint Electorate for minorities and in favor of Separate Electorate.

If separate election system was not snatched in 1956, Christian might have been not in crisis which we are facing till now but Muslim politicians broke continuity in our electoral process to cripple our nation. If any one thinks that revival of separate electorate in 1985 was in result of Christian struggle, then he lives in fool's paradise. General Zia-ul-Haq was more fundamental Muslim than premier Soharwardy.

Zia-ul-Haq was forced to enforce separate electorate in considerations with memos of Inter Services Intelligence ISI, Military Intelligence MI and Intelligence Bureau of Pakistan IB after independence of East Pakistan as Bangladesh in 1971. It was stated in reports that Hindus of East Pakistan funded Awami League of Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rehman to launch six points manifesto. The establishment's failure to check secret connection was blamed in Joint Election system and Separate electorate was proposed for minorities in future national general elections. The introduction of Separate Electorate was with fear of Hindus of Sindh province to prevent them from any material support to Muslim separatists in Sindh.

The Situation of Hindus is entirely opposite to Christians or other religious minorities. The Hindus are in absolute majority in districts of Sindh bordering Rajhistan state of India. The Hindus share feudal lord class and dominate in business in Sindh province. The Muslim feudal lord class in Sindh supports Hindus rather than Christians while government of India also pressure on Pakistan in case of any injustice. The Hindus are against quota for minorities and separate electorate for which they also lobby among Christians.

From 1985-2000, the Christians enjoyed separate Electorate for 15 years. They raised their voice in Parliament as well as on international forums, which alarmed Muslims. The pressure on government mounted to suspend Separate Electorate to end voice of Christians but government was not in position to face lawsuits and protests like 1956, so, in principal it was decided to use Christian and Hindu leaders against Separate Electorate.

Some so-called Christian politicians who are on payroll of ISI and IB were funded to hold seminars and press conferences in Pakistan and to propagate in western countries against Separate Electorate. Under shield of these Christian tools, the government imposed Joint Election system for minorities in national general elections of 2002.

According to survey conducted by Pakistan Christian Post, 65 % of Christians showed dissatisfaction on role of their representatives in Provincial Assemblies and National Assembly of Pakistan, selected under joint electorate of 2002. The 89% of Christian women have not seen their representatives and 80% of youth in opinion polls voted against present selection system.

On question conducted by PCP about the role of present Christian parliamentarians: The general opinion of Christians indicated that they have lost their approach to their candidates comparing to select under separate electorate from 1985 to 2000. They liked Christian candidate's door-to-door campaign for votes in separate electorates which provided voters an opportunity to cast votes only in favor of those who had better manifesto for community uplift projects. In Joint elections, the Muslim political parties on their choice select the Christian representatives. The Christians vote for Muslim candidates in respective constituencies and Muslim elected parliamentarians select the Christian candidates by their

votes on reserve seats which is a conspiracy to hijack Christian vote bank.

The feudal lords and business tycoons are leading Muslim political parties like Pakistan Peoples Party, Pakistan Muslim League PML (Q), PML (N) and other regional groups. The MQM leadership is not from feudal lords but it's under one-man rule. The MMA, a component of religious parties is led by fundamental Muslim clerics having no room for other religious communities. The Pakistan Muslim League and MMA have Separate Electorate in their manifesto while MQM and NDP endorsed Joint Elections with amendment.

The Muslim political parties have 95% of parliamentarians from feudal lords and business community who are not in easy approach of Muslim voters then how it's possible for poor Christians to reach them?

Another interesting part of imposed Joint election is allocation of Separate Electorate for minorities in Local Body elections while National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies elections are held under Joint Elections.

What is Separate Electorate? It is a system of election when under-privileged religious communities elect their representatives with their votes on seats reserved in parliament.

What is Joint Electorate? It is system of election when religious communities vote to elect Muslim representatives and Muslim in Parliament select minority representatives on reserved seats.

The government agencies used some Christian leaders to propagate against Separate electorate with only one argument that it turns them second class citizen which was very easy to miss-lead international community being unaware of geo-political situation of Indian continent. Moreover international community was not aware of the importance and terms of Separate Electorate as in United Kingdom, white voters voted on party lines to Asians and in

USA also white voters voted to Black and Asians. Therefore, western governments in confusion pressed upon Pakistan to introduced Joint Electorate which was ultimate goal of Pakistan government.

How Joint Electorate divided Christian nation? Intact Christian became a commodity among Muslim groups; in share PPP selected 2, PML (Q) 3, MQM 1 and MMA 2 minority members in National Assembly. The Christian voters never voted for these selected leaders but they were imposed on them. These selected Christians do not receive development budget like elected under Separate Electorate. These selected representatives have not equal authority to execute powers to solve voter's problems and Christian voters are forced to approach Muslim in respective constituencies. When Christian approach for solution to their problems they wait hours in line and are forced to sit on floor of these Muslim landlords because Muslim visitors do not like Christian to sit equal to them on chairs. The worst part of this waiting comes when any Christian feels thirsty and he is forced to drink water in separate cup as Muslims do not like Christian to drink in the same glasses in which they drink.

The Christian women feel afraid to enter in visiting rooms of Muslim to whom they voted under imposed joint election system. The Christian women are forced to establish illicit relations in return to solution of their problems by the Muslim leaders.

During separate electorate, Christians have been electing their leaders by their vote. They were free to approach their representatives. They were not facing such discriminatory behavior in the sitting rooms of Christian parliamentarians. The Christian women felt comfort and respect while visiting homes of Christian representatives. The Christian youth was satisfied in government jobs and professional college admissions on the quota of their Christian members. But what is happening now?

The Christian selected by the Muslim political parties ignore poor Christian community. Such comments can be heard "they have been not elected by Christian voters so, are not bound to solve their problems" Some proclaim "their Muslim party leaders do not allow them to directly solve Christian problems without their prior permission" It seems that Christians have been totally pushed out of mainstream due to joint electorate.

The role of selected Christian parliamentarians in the house is zero; none have moved any motion in the house nor have raised voice against blasphemy law or other discriminatory laws. They have not protested on persecution nor have presented problems of youth, women and seniors.

It is important to know the history of the Separate Election system in the Indian sub Continent. The Separate Electorate System was introduced by the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909, recognized by the Montagu-Chelmsford report of 1919 and further extended by the Government of India Act of 1935. All the elections to local bodies and Legislative Council from 1909 to 1946 were held on the basis of the separate electorate system.

The system of separate electorate gained ground from a specific socio-political situation created by the relations between religious communities of India. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the Hindu middle class had been developing political aspirations including sharing power with the colonial government. Politically, this aspiration was reflected in the formation of the All India National Congress in 1885 and other associations.

While the Viceroy Lord Minto announced his eagerness to introduce responsible government in India, a deputation of Muslim leaders headed by Aga Khan met him at Simla and ventilated their demand for safeguarding the Muslim interests by arranging community representation based on separate electorate until the Muslims were sufficiently

advanced for participating in politics with the Hindus on equal footing. To the viceroy, the demand sounded reasonable and thus he assured them his support to the proposal. Eventually, the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, provided for the separate electorate system for the Muslim. The Simon commission in 1927, which was appointed to inquire into the working of the constitution of 1919 and to suggest ways and means for further constitutional reforms, recommended not only to preserve the separate electorate system but also to extend it to other depressed communities and castes. The constitution of 1935 thus introduced separate electorate for the Muslims, Christians and scheduled castes. Accordingly, the general elections of 1937 were held on the basis of the extended separate electorates.

Quaid-i-Azam termed the Nehru Report as a Hindu document. A positive aspect of Nehru Report was that it resulted in the unity of divided Muslim groups. In a meeting of the council of All India Muslim League on March 28, 1929, members of both the Shafi League and Jinnah League participated. Quaid-i-Azam termed the Nehru Report as a Hindu document, but considered simply rejecting the report as insufficient. He decided to give an alternative Muslim agenda. It was in this meeting that Quaid-i-Azam presented his famous Fourteen Points.

### The 14 Points of Quaid-e-Azam

- The form of the future constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.

- A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
- All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.
- In the Central Legislative, Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.
- Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorate as at present, provided it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favor of a joint electorate.
- Any territorial distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the North West Frontier Province.
- Full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.
- No bill or any resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourth of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.
- Sindh should be separated from the Bombay presidency.

- Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in the other provinces.
- Provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share, along with the other Indians, in all the services of the state and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.
- The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institution and for their
- due share in the grants-in-aid given by the state and by local self-governing bodies.
- No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim ministers.
- No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the State's contribution of the Indian Federation.

The council of the All India Muslim League accepted fourteen points of the Quaid. A resolution was passed according to which no scheme for the future constitution of the Government of India would be acceptable to the Muslims unless and until it included the demands of the Quaid presented in the fourteen points.

Who welcomed Joint electorate in 2002?

- The Church leadership and Non Government Organizations
- The Christian leaders who have no Christian vote bank.
- The Muslim political parties who wanted to grab Christian vote bank.

### Why Church leadership rejected Separate Electorate?

During British Colonial rule in India, the missionaries were welcomed by rulers on their ethnic backgrounds and considered as VIP. Those western missionaries collected huge amounts from their native countries to establish schools, colleges, and hospitals and to build cathedrals all over India. We pay homage on dedication and evangelism of missionaries who sacrificed their lives for such a noble cause of humanity.

After independence of Pakistan in 1947, the foreign missionaries concentrated to recruit local clergy who may take over church services. They invited local youth to join seminaries with lucrative facilities in a hope to produce clergy. The admission criteria of these seminaries were not on merit or on "call" of lord because foreign missionaries were facing hardships in extension of their visas to stay in Pakistan. Apart from all restrictions on foreign missionaries, the administration treated them as VIP, due to their humanitarian services.

After departure of missionaries, the local clergy was also treated as VIP by government. The Pastors and Bishops were invited in parties of Presidents, Prime Ministers and Governors and taken in confidence on Christian issues. After implementation of Separate Electorate in 1985, the layman ministry became so strong and effective that Bishops lost VIP status. The elected leaders became new VIP to attend government parties and spokespersons of Christians, which was not acceptable to clergy.

In 2000, by coup General Musharraf too over power and anti-Christian elements with support of Christian agents of establishment succeeded to snatch separate electorate and impose joint electorate in Pakistan.

It is call of time to unite and prepare a charter of demands including dual voting rights to exercise privilege of separate elections to elect Christians on reserved seats with

our votes and to vote to Muslim parties in respective Constituencies. It will be not easy in prevailing circumstances if we not push out Christian agents of establishments from our lines.

## **The Christians are second-class citizens in Islamic Republic of Pakistan.**

“Christians are equal citizens and enjoying full rights in Pakistan” these are very common comments issued in press notes by President or Prime Minister of Pakistan on eves of Christmas, Easter and New Year. Pakistani official delegates, Christian tools of establishment and some bishops on their tours abroad utter same remarks.

For instance, the economy of Pakistan was in crisis after independence in 1947, but follower of Agha Khan in Karachi came to rescue and paid salaries of government employees for six months on request of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. We can judge nationhood of Muslims with such actions of support for new born Pakistan. Where we stand on nationalism? We consider our self to be a nation or not? What is our standard of nationhood? What we lost and gained?

The Colonial rulers gifted ranches to Muslims in Punjab, Sindh and other parts of North Western India, who supported their rule. They also awarded titles of “Sir” and fixed monthly cash prizes to purchase loyalty of Muslims. As Christians were not involved in any mutiny or movement against Colonial rule in India, so they never received any ranch or title. Therefore, there is no feudal lord or “Sir’ among Christians in Pakistan.

But comparing to common Muslims, the Christians were in better economic conditions at the time of independence of Pakistan. They were teachers, medicos and government employees but majority was peasants living in villages.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah promised leaders of All India Christian Association on support in Pakistan Movement to allot 12 acres agriculture land, 5% quota in government jobs and 5% quota of admission in professional colleges to Christians.

But after formation of Pakistan, the government denied all promises and forcibly took agricultural land of Christians and allotted it to Muslim immigrants from India. About 100,000 Christian peasants became homeless in 1949 and moved to urban areas for living where these unskilled laborers were forced to adopt jobs of sanitary workers which were vacated by Muslim 'Deendars'.

In 1973, when PPP government nationalized missionary schools, colleges and hospitals, the economic conditions of Christians suddenly collapsed as thousand lost their jobs.

Before presentation of sections in Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, which declare Christian to be second-class citizens, we wish to bring on record their economic and social situation.

See true index of Socio- economic share of Christians in Federation of Pakistan.

- There is No Christian Secretary, Deputy Secretary, 1<sup>st</sup> Secretary, 2<sup>nd</sup> Secretary and Section Officer in any department or Secretariat of Government of Pakistan.
- There is No Christian Secretary and Deputy Secretary in any Department of four Provincial Secretariats.
- There is No Christian General, Lt. General and Commanding Officer in Pakistan Army.
- There is No Christian Air Marshal, Vice Air Marshal and Base Commander in Pakistan Air Force.
- There is No Christian Admiral, Vice Admiral and Captain in Pakistan Navy.
- There is No Christian Director General and Deputy Director General in any Federal or Provincial Directorates.
- There is No Christian Chairman in any Government Corporation.

- There is No Christian Ambassador, High Commissioner, Counsel General or Counsel Minister in any Foreign Mission of Pakistan around the world.
- There is No Christian Inspector General, Deputy Inspector General, Superintendent and Station House Officer in police department of any Province.
- There is No Christian Deputy Commissioner and DPO in any District of Pakistan.
- There is No Christian Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner in any Divisional administration in Pakistan.
- There is No Christian Justice in Supreme Court of Pakistan.
- There is No Christian Justice in any High Courts of Pakistan.
- There is No Christian Governor in any Province of Pakistan.
- There is No Christian VC of any University of Pakistan.

The Christians have 0% share in the government administration in Pakistan. The above posts are of Grade 19-22, but there is 0% share in Grade 16-18. The Sanitary Workers fall under Grade 4-5, which is lowest pay grade and Christians have majority in this grade.

The doors of professional higher education are closed for Christian. The 5% admission Quota for them was suspended in 1956, like job Quota. Now, government invites Christian students to compete on Merit for admission but there is still quota for Muslims. Here is privileged Quota for Muslims in professional colleges:

- There is Quota of Admission for Children of Officers in Armed Forces.
- There is Quota of Admission for Children of Afghan Refugees.

- There is Quota of Admission for Children of Kashmir Refugees.
- There is Quota of Admission for Children of Professors.
- There is Quota of Admission for Children of Muslims domicile holder of Rural Areas.
- There is Quota of Admission for Children of Muslim Businessmen.
- There is Quota of Admission of Chief Ministers, which is for Muslim Students as political favor.
- There is Quota of Admission of Governors, Which is distributed to Muslim Students as political favor.
- There is Quota of Members of National Assembly and Members of Provincial Assemblies, which is distributed as political favor. The Christian Parliamentarian elected under separate electorate also had this Quota from 1985-2000, and Christian Students were beneficiary of this.
- There is Quota of Prime Minister of Pakistan, which is allocated for Muslim students on political favors. There is no Christian beneficiary of this Quota since 1950.
- There is Quota of President of Pakistan, which is for Muslim Students on political favors.

But: There is no Christian beneficiary of such Quota since 1956.

The above data is quiet enough to figure out socio-economic status of Christians who are being treated as second class citizen.

- The Objective Resolution declare Christians to be Second Class citizen

Article 2(A) of Constitution of 1973, of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The Objectives Resolution was passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in March 1949, and was made a substantive part of the Constitution of Pakistan by P.O (Presidential Order). No.14 of 1985, Art.2 and Sch. item 2 (with effect from March 2, 1985). Reads As:

“ Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Allah Almighty alone and The authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan, through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust; This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a Constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan; Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people; Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed; Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and Collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah; Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities to profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures; Wherein the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed; Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality; Wherein adequate provisions shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and

depressed classes; wherein the independence of the Judiciary shall be fully secured; wherein the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be Safeguarded; So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honored place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity”

- The Federation of Pakistan Chapter 1 Article 41, declares Christians to be second Class Citizen which reads as:

President

(1) There shall be a President of Pakistan who shall be the Head of State and shall represent the unity of the Republic.

(2) A person shall not be qualified for election as President unless he is a Muslim of not less than forty-five years of age and is qualified to be elected as member of the National Assembly.

- The Oath of President under Article 42 and The Oath of Prime Minister under Article 91(4) declare Christians to be Second Class Citizen.

(In the name of Allah, the most Beneficent, and the most Merciful) I, do solemnly swear that I am a Muslim and believe in the Unity and Oneness of Almighty Allah, the Books of Allah, the Holy Quran being the last of them, the Prophet hood of Muhammad (peace be upon him) as the last of the Prophets and that there can be no Prophet after him, the Day of Judgment, and all the requirements and teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah: That I will bear true faith and allegiance to Pakistan: That, as President of Pakistan, I will discharge my duties, and perform my

functions, honestly, to the best of my ability, faithfully in accordance with the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the law, and always in the interest of the sovereignty, integrity, solidarity, well-being and prosperity of Pakistan: That I will not allow my personal interest to influence my official conduct or my official decisions: That I will preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan: That, in all circumstances, I will do right to all manner of people, according to law, without fear or favor, affection or ill-will: And that I will not directly or indirectly communicate or reveal to any person any matter which shall be brought under my consideration or shall become known to me as President of Pakistan, except as may be required for the due discharge of my duties as President. May Allah Almighty help and guide me (A'meen).

- Under Chapter 3a: Federal Shariat Court of [Part VII: The Judiciary][194] Chapter. The Article 203D, declares Christians to be Second Class Citizens.

(1) The Court may, [210][either of its own motion or] on the petition of a citizen of Pakistan or the Federal Government or a Provincial Government, examine and decide the question whether or not any law or provision of law is repugnant to the injunctions of Islam, as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Holy Prophet, hereinafter referred to as the Injunctions of Islam.

(4) A party to any proceedings before the Court under clause (1) of Article 203D may be represented by a legal practitioner who is a Muslim and has been enrolled as an advocate of a High Court for a period of not less than five years or as an advocate of the Supreme Court or by a juriconsult selected by the party from out of a panel of juriconsults maintained by the Court for the purpose.

(5) For being eligible to have his name borne on the panel of jurisconsults referred to in clause (4), a person shall be an Aalim who, in the opinion of the Court, is well versed in Shariat.

(6) A legal practitioner or jurisconsult representing a party before the Court shall not plead for the party but shall state, expound and interpret the Injunctions of Islam relevant to the proceedings so far as may be known to him and submit to the Court a written statement of his interpretation of such Injunctions of Islam.

## The Constitution of Pakistan

For integrity and solidarity of Pakistan, the elections of new legislative assembly for formation of new constitution as “Constitution of Pakistan” are unavoidable because constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan of 1973, have failed to keep different sects and religious communities united. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan Constitution protects Sunni sects and particularly Wahabi Sunni sect, which have resulted in attacks on mosques of Shia and churches of Christians.

The source of terror is hidden in sections of Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, which provide guarantee to religious fanaticisms. The constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan shall sooner or later result in division of Pakistan in many autonomous units.

The Christians demand for “Constitution of Pakistan” instead of “Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan” because Quaid E Azam, never viewed Pakistan to be only state for Muslims but homeland for inhabitants of all religions.

We must present Pakistan Resolution for ready reference. In paragraph five of resolutions read as:

”The adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the Constitution for Minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in mother parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the Constitution for them and other Minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economics political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them”

Therefore the constitution of 1973 of Islamic Republic of Pakistan is not true index of "Pakistan Resolution". It fails to provide guarantees bestowed towards minorities as to protect their religious, economic, political, administrative and other rights. The Pakistan Resolution demanded same rights for Muslim minority in India, which are duly protected in Indian Constitution. The most important factor in paragraph five of Pakistan Resolution states "With Consultation" but PPP government never consulted Christians on formation of constitution.

The government also failed to establish "Minority Commission" headed by Justice of Supreme Courts to invite consultations from minorities according to Liaquat-Nehro Pact signed between Pakistan and India in 1950. The government of India established the "Minority Commission" for Indian Muslims and other minorities in light of said Pact but Pakistan never constituted. The Indian government established Muslim Law Board to protect personal law of Indian Muslims when Muslim judges are issuing decrees on marriages and divorces of Christians in courts of Pakistan.

The Muslim judges are declaring marriages null and void of abducted, gang raped and enforced converted Christian married women in accordance with Islamic laws. The Islamic laws are forcibly implemented on Christians to prosecute and punish.

Is it time for peaceful movement to launch civil disobedience to constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, if government denies formation of "Minority Commission", "Christian Ideology Council" and "Christian Law Board" according to Liaquat-Nehro Pact?

The Christian believe that Muslim leaders of Pakistan Movement have deceived them and not fulfilled any commitment or promise made to them. If Muslim League is sincere and claims to be true Muslim League of Quaid-e-Azam, then it shall come forward and voice for elections of

new legislative assembly to adopt Constitution of Pakistan, which may safeguard rights of every Pakistani. I must put forth the complete contents of policy-making speech of Mohammad Ali Jinnah for Muslim:

- The Speech of Founder of Pakistan in Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred upon me - the greatest honour that is possible to confer - by electing me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing the future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the clan of creating and establishing two independent sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regards to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character. Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any well-

considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasize is this: remember that you are now a sovereign legislative body and you have got all the powers. It, therefore, places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this: You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.

The second thing that occurs to me is this: One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering - I do not say that other countries are free from it, but, I think our condition is much worse - is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so. Black-marketing is another curse. Well, I know that blackmarketeers are frequently caught and punished. Judicial sentences are passed or sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster, which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life. A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These blackmarketeers are really knowing, intelligent and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black-marketing; I think they ought to be very severely punished, because the entire system of control and regulation of foodstuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death. The next thing that strikes me is this: Here again it is a legacy, which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things, good and bad, has arrived this great evil, the evil of nepotism and jobbery. I want to make it quite

clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. Whenever I will find that such a practice is in vogue or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.

I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of every one of us to loyally abide by it and honourably act according to the agreement, which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented. One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority. But the question is, whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than what has been done. A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgment there was no other solution and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it. And what is more, it will be proved by actual experience, as we go on that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a united India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster. Maybe that view is correct; maybe it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that everyone of you, no matter

to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges, and obligations, there will be on end to the progress you will make.

I cannot emphasize it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community, because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khattris, also Bengalis, Madrasis and so on, will vanish. Indeed if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free people long ago. No power can hold another nation and specially a nation of 400 million souls in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time, but for this. Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. 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. As you know, history shows that in England, conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God, we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days where there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. The people of

England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country and they went through that fire step by step. Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain and they are all members of the Nation. Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that 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. Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time and thank you again for the honour you have done to me. I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill will, in other words, partiality or favoritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest nations of the world. I have received a message from the United States of America addressed to me. It reads: I have the honor to communicate to you, in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I have just received from the Secretary of State of the United States: On the occasion of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I extend to you and to the members of the Assembly, the best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake"

We appeal to the Christian members of Parliament to raise voice against Objective Resolution, as this Article 2 (A) of the constitution is contrary to the fundamental rights guaranteed in the same Constitution.

## The Blasphemy Laws

British Raj introduced the Blasphemy law in sub-continent of India in 1860, when Section 295 was inducted in Penal Code. The Section 295, provided punishment for those who destroyed, damaged or defiled any place of worship or emblem of faith, with the intention to insult the religion of any class of person or the knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction as an insult. The two-year imprisonment was the maximum punishment for some one accused of such offence. Until 1980 the penal code enforced in Pakistan was in its original form of 1860, with same punishment and read as Section 295 PPC.

The Section 295 of Indian Penal Code was amended by British rulers in 1927, and Section 295- A was added. According to this, punishment could be doled out to those who had the "deliberate and malicious intention of outraging" the religious sentiments of any class of citizens, by words written or spoken, or by visible signs. The importance of the requirement that "deliberate and malicious intention" of the accused must be proved was greatly emphasized upon, in order to avoid chilling valuable speech, since without such an intent requirement a simple statement of any alternative religious belief could become punishable, if it had the residual effect of "outraging" an overly sensitive and too easily offended person.

These Blasphemy laws were designed to curb religious violence, as religious and sectarian issues were commonly used in India to manipulate political gain. The main purpose of these laws was to protect the religious feelings of all citizens with no preference given to any religion sect or group and to develop understanding and harmony among all citizens equally.

The Christian Muslim lived in harmony in Pakistan till 1970, but society turned violent after new constitution of 1973 of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, bowed down to four national assembly members of religious parties and endorsed objective resolution in constitution.

In present situation, it is most unfortunate that blasphemy law made to establish religious tolerance have been amended, which seriously undermine tolerance. Pakistani government, in their zeal to Islamize their laws, turned a blind eye to the basic rights of their citizens. Their passion to Islamize the entire Pakistani society led to serious abuses against the Religious minorities.

In 1980, after 33 years of independence, first amendment was added in blasphemy laws with section 298-A PPC by military ruler General Zia-Ul-Haq. This amendment was not to establish harmonious atmosphere in society but it was to claim supremacy of Islam. The Section 298-A PCC was on use of derogatory remarks, respect of holy personages, 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 any wife or member of the family of Prophet Mohammad, subject to three years imprisonment.

In 1982, another amendment was made and section 295-B was added in PPC, punishable with imprisonment of life. In 1986, section 295-C, was added, the most serious, controversial and presently invoked amendment was made, a capital punishment of death penalty.

In each of these amendments, 298-A, 295-B and 295-C, the necessity to establish the deliberate and malicious intention of the accused is totally avoided. The measure of guilt depends entirely upon the subjective perception and sentiment of the hearer. The intention and knowledge of the accused is not taken into account easily allowing for

prosecution of imputation, innuendo, or insinuation, directly or indirectly. The terms ' derogatory remarks ' or ' defile the sacred name ' are very vogue and broad based. Blame can easily be placed, and is used as rivalry and personnel grudges against Christians. The accused is snared in the web of the Pakistani Islamic Judicial System. Its very interesting that prior to 1980 there were almost no allegations of blasphemy.

There have been many arrests of Christians under section 295-B & C in Pakistan. Some have been brutally murdered in day light from hands of radical Muslims, some killed in jails and police lock ups. Its fact that accused under blasphemy is not safe and fairly in trials of courts.

- Complete version of Blasphemy law sections:

Pakistan Penal code 295-B: Defiling, etc, of copy of Holy Quran. Whoever will fully defiles, damages or desecrates a copy of the Holy Quran or of an extract there from or uses it in any derogatory manner or for any unlawful purpose shall be punishable for imprisonment for life.

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 Mohammed (PBUH) shall be punished with death, or imprisonment for life, and shall also be liable to fine.

298-A

Use of derogatory remarks, etc, in respect of holy personages, whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation, or by any imputation, innuendo or insinuation, directly or indirectly defiles a sacred name of

any wife (Ummul Mumineen), or members of the family (Ahle-bait), of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), or any of the righteous caliphs (Khulafa-e-Rashideen) or companions (Sahaaba) of the Holy Prophet description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

#### 298-B

Misuse of epithet, descriptions and titles, etc. reserved for certain holy personages or places.

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: refers to or addresses, any person, other than a Caliph or companion of the Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), as "Ameerul Momneen", "Khalifat-ul-Momneen", "Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen", "Sahaabi" or "Razi Allah Anho";

Refers to or addresses, any person, other than a wife of the Holy Prophet Mohammed (PBUH), as Ummul-Mumineen;

refers to, or addresses, any person, other than a member of the family (Ahle-Bait) of the Holy Prophet Mohammed (PBUH), as Ahle-Bait; or refers to, or names, or calls, his place of worship as Masjid; shall be punished with imprisonment or either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Any person of the Qadiani group or Lahore group, (who call themselves Ahmadis or by any other names), who by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representations, refers to the mode or from of call to prayers followed by his faith as "Azan" or redites 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

Persons 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 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 representation or in any manner whatsoever outrages the religious feelings of Muslims, shall be punished with imprisonment

After arrest of dozens of Christians under section 295-B & C of Pakistan Penal Code, subject to death penalty, I decided to challenge the said law in higher courts to ensure justice. I filed a writ petition in Lahore High Court to repeal blasphemy law.

The Writ Petition no 15048/97 in Lahore High Court, versus, federation of Pakistan through secretary Law and parliamentary affairs, Islamabad, under Article 199 of the constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973, for direction to respondents for making necessary procedural amendments in section 295-C of PPC in the interest of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice for promotion of political unity among the citizen of the state and solidarity by creating an egalitarian society and for harmonious environment among the citizen of the state. Praying that in prevailing circumstances it's respectfully submitted that instant writ petition may kindly be accepted. A division Bench of the Lahore High Court comprising of Mr. Chief Justice Sheikh Riaz Ahmad and Mr. Justice Faqir Mohammad Khokhar on July 1, 1997, disposed of this writ petition with remarks that this court was not competent to amend or repeal any law maintaining as the blasphemy law under section 295-C PPC has come into effect through the

Federal Shariat Court, therefore that court is appropriate forum to take up this matter.

In views of the dismissal of this writ petition in the Lahore High Court the Pakistan Christian Congress decided to file writ petition in the Federal Shariat Court Islamabad.

I filed writ petition no 8-1/97 in Federal Shariat Court versus Federation of Pakistan, to repeal section 295-C PPC as the said law being un-Islamic and un-constitutional, praying that it was felt to great extent, that section 295-C of PPC has created frustration among the citizen of the state and built an iron wall between the communities. It has provided machinery for taking life of innocent citizen in retaliation. Even law enforcing agencies have badly failed to afford protection of life and liberty as guaranteed under Article 9 of fundamental rights by the constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973, ' no person shall be deprived of life or liberty save in accordance with law ' Its important that after the filing of this Lawsuit, the government of Pakistan, registered many false cases against me to prevent my presence in court hearing.

The said petition was put before the full Bench of Federal Shariat Court and accepted for regular hearing but the hearings never came on being and blasphemy case was threatened against me to prevent my presence in proceedings of the court.

## **My Lawsuit against Blasphemy Laws**

Writ Petition No. 15048/97

Pakistan Christian Congress, through its President, Nazir S. Bhatti son of Sant Bhatti .....PETITIONER

VERSUS

Federal Government of Pakistan, through Secretary Law and parliamentary Affairs, Islamabad...RESPONDENTS

Writ petition under article 199 of the constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973 for direction to respondents for making necessary procedural amendments in section 295 – C of PPC in the interest of the principle of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice for promotion of political unity among the citizens of the state and solidarity by creating an egalitarian society and for harmonious environment among the citizens of the state.

Respectfully Sheweth: -

1) That the names and particular of the parties are correctly and completely enshrined in the heading of the writ petition for effectual service of summons, notices and other process of the court in this behalf to the respective parties.

2) That the petitioner is President Pakistan Christian Congress which is a recognized party as sole and absolute

Representative of the Christian Community. The claim of the party is to have its allegiance and integrity with the State, they are living in and the said party is exercising its strenuous efforts for the betterment fraternity, prosperity and unity among the citizens of the State and interest of the party is not adverse in any manner whatsoever.

3) That the party feels it to great extent, that section 295- C of PPC has created frustration among the citizens of the State and built an iron wall between the communities. It has provided machinery for taking life of innocent citizens in retaliation. It would not be out of place to mention here that in the prevailing surroundings circumstances citizens is not feeling safe and protected. Even law enforcing agencies have badly failed to afford protection of life and liberty to the citizens. The fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973 the right to live and respect for the human life i.e. security of person (Article No. 9)

“No person shall be deprived of life or liberty saves in accordance with law”.

“The HOLY QURAN” lays down that “whosoever kills human being (without any reason like) manslaughter or corruption on earth, its thou he had killed all mankind.” (5:32) Human rights in Islam by Mualana Abul Ala Maududi, P-14 Section 295-C has played havoc role and has created up heaval in society. Its victims are facing starvation and destruction; effected families are completely ruined due to this tyrant section and non-existence of unequivocal and specified procedure. The procedure provided by the Cr.-P.C. is insufficient, crippled and disabled.

4 That Section 295-C of PPC was introduced in 1986 under the numerical discreption, this, when, read in conjunction with Sariat Court Judgment (1990) is punishable with death mandatorily. The harshness of law has brought sudden change, the severity of the punishment has over-sensitised the more fanatical elements, who

interpreted their duty and its extent to guard their religious sentiments in conjunction with this law. The said section has given legal sanctity to acts ranging from murder to open violence against peaceful elements. It would be of great significance to mention here that section 295-C of PPC was enacted in 1860 by the British India Legislature, whereas section 295-A to 295-C of PPC added by legislature of Pakistan. Section 295-C PPC does not prove its existence in the HOLY QURAN AND SUNNAH, nor does it have any nexus with Shariat law Divine Law viz law given by Allah, are unchangeable and no authority on the earth can alter them and make any sort of amendments in them, rights which have been sanctioned by God are permanent, perpetual and eternal. They are not subject to any alteration or modification. It is beyond apprehension how section 295-C PPC has been categorised as Islamic Law. whereas it has no relation with the "HOLY QURAN AND SUNNAH".

5) That there are many instances where human rights have been violated and trampled upon at different places in Pakistan and innocent people have been made scapegoat, slaughtered mercilessly, ruthlessly and relentlessly at the alter of section 295-C PPC. The following are the instances for the kind consideration of this August Court:

(i) Ases against Ahmedies: Case registered against Mst. Amtulla Saleem and aisera Shahzadi, students of Government Girls High School, Dunyapur, Lodhran, under section 295-C of PPC.

(ii) Ases against Muslims: r. Sajjad Farooq, Dr. Akhtar Hamid Khan, Maulana Ibrahim Khateeb at Lahore Township Mosque, Muhammad Arshad Javid and Zia-ul-Haq of Sargodha ere accused under the said section.

(iii) Ases against Christians: Gul Masih, Tahir Iqbal, Naimat Anmar, Bantu Masih. Chand Barkat, Rehmat Masih, Salamat Masih, Manzoor Masih, Miss Cahterine, Anwar Masih, Munir Masih, Mukhtar Masih were accused under the said section.

6) That on 6th February, 1997, the poor Christians of Khanewal city and of adjacent of village, Shanti Nagar, old Tibba of District Khanewal were attacked by the religious fundamentalists in such a way and in such a manner which has no precedent in the history of Pakistan. Holy Bibles, Churches and Christian Properties were set on fire at the pretext of Blasphemy laws; ruthless and severe attack was launched on peace loving harmless and armless community at the strength of Blasphemy laws. Section 295-C has created an atmosphere of hatred, prejudice, and jealousy among the citizens, who have been loyal and faithful to the State. From the attack, on the Christian inhabitants of the village Shanti-Nagar, it was proved that it was pre-planned plot against the Christians to eliminate them completely. Blasphemy law i.e. section 295-C of PPC provided vehicle for atrocious and tyrannous act and killing of innocent people without affording opportunity to face their trial. It would be of noteworthy that Dr. Hafiz Sajjad Farooq (Attai Doctor) of Gujranwala, who was a prominent figure was put to death by fanatics mercilessly and the treatment, with which, he was treated has no example in the history of the world. He faced death and his dead body was dragged in the streets of the town mercilessly. He was killed at the spot due misunderstanding, being Essai (Christian) instead of Attai. No-body care to look into the mater, or to inquire the facts and the circumstances in which he was at that time, when he was put to death. The cruel hands of section 295-C PPC strangulate a prominent figure of the society. Similarly Naimat Ahmer was brutally killed by' a religious activist. Manzoor Masih was gunned down by a fanatic Muslim. Mukhtar Masih was killed and Buntu Masih was killed in Police custody. Tahir Iqbal was killed in judicial lock-up. Where as no Muslim accused was made to face trial. He was not given a chance to face trial, was he not a citizen of the State? Was he not bestowed with fundamental rights by the Constitutional of Islamic Republic of Pakistan?

1973? It has become indispensable to invoke the constitutional jurisdiction of this Honourable court to amend procedural law. So that people may not be encroach rights of other people, modesty, other'shonour's and commits murders. So, that every citizen of the State may enjoy fundamental rights guaranteed by he Constitution. That prior to the enactment of section 295-C of there are rare cases or there is not even a single case where any member of Christian community or any other person became guilty of Blasphemy, no member of society specially Christian is given mouth to speak proud words, to utter Blasphemy against any religion, no one can open his mouth to utter Blasphemies against the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him). Every Christian citizen of the State is under obligation according to teaching of Christianity to revere - the Prophets of all the religions on the earth. The Holy Bible does not allow any body to Blaspheme the Prophets or the religions. But, it is beyond apprehension how the angry mob, instigated throng and sentimental crowd can be restrained fonn taking law and order situation into their hands. The example of village Shanti-Nagar, where dewellers are Christians by faith was caused to distress and tribulation to the great extent for no fault of theirs. The person who is alleged to have been guilty of Blasphemy was not proved by concrete and substantial evidence. The said incident has created anguish not only for the inhabitants of the village Shanti-Nagar, but for the Government too. The Government of Pakistan has lost its reputation at international level and is defamed for the reason that; the Government of Pakistan is unable to protect the citizens of the State and their fundamental rights and specially the rights, guaranteed to minorities by the Constitution of Pakistan.

7) That keeping in view the stability and security of the State and rights of the citizens in the Islamic State - the Holy Quran enjoins on the believers and says in this respect:

"do not kill a soul which allah has made sacred except through due process of law"

(6:151), (Human Rights in Islam – P/14)

Here also homicide has been distinguished from destruction of life carried out in pursuit of justice, only a proper and competent court will be able to decide whether or not an individual has forfeited his right to life by disregarding the right to life and peace of other human beings. The Prophet may God's blessing be upon him has declared homicide as a greatest sin, only next to polytheism. The tradition of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him), reads:

"The greatest sins are to associate something with god to kill human beings."

In this verse of the Holy Quran and the traditions of The Holy Prophet (PBUH) the word sought (Nafs) has been used in general terms without any distinction or particularisation, which might have been lent itself to the elusidation that the person belonging to one's nation, the citizens of the one's country, the people of particular race or religion should not be killed. The injunction applies to all human beings and the destruction of human life in itself has been prohibited. (Human Rights in Islam, by Syed Maulana Abu Ala Maududi, p-14 & 15).

8) That the fundamental principle is that we are all citizens and equal citizen of the State. The non- Muslims who a tiny minority of Pakistan specially the Christian community is being largest single minority of Pakistan is fully conscious of its obligations towards the State. It would not be out of place to mention here that the Christian community has been loyal and patriotic in all facets of the national life. But now does not feel secure in its own motherland. It seems that Section 295-C of PPC has implicitly sanctioned discrimination and violence against them. In such state of affairs the Christians of Pakistan find themselves segregated and alienated from the mainstream

of national affairs. Sedition privy conspiracy, heresy, and schism, terrorism, prevailing in the society has created worst law and order situation and Christian community is terrified by repercussions of serious nature. It is regret to say that Christian community has been denied from taking share in all facets of national life

9) That Federal Shariat Court while passing its judgment held in PLD 1991 FSC 10 para 66 which is reproduced here for kind consideration: "66. Practically, all the jurist consults and scholars agreed, that in view of the above verses and the equal status of all the Prophets as such, the same penalty of death as determined above shall apply, incase any one utters contemptuous remarks or offers insult in any way to any one of them. In para 68 of the same authority, it was held that 68."A clause may further be added to this section, so as to make the same act or things, when said about other Prophets also offence, with the same punishment as suggested above.

The Honourable Federal Shariat Court sent its copy to the President of Pakistan under Article 203 D(3) of the Constitution to take steps to amend the law so as to bring the same in conformity with the injunctions of Islam. In case, this is not done by 30th April 1991, the word "OR IMPRISONMENT FOR LIFE"; in section 295-C of PPC shall cease to have effect on that date. It would be pertinent to mention here that amendment as directed by Honourable Federal Shariat Court was not implemented in soul and spirit. It was partly amended and words "shall be punished with death were inserted in section 295-C PPC without description regarding all other Prophets, legislature while approving bill regarding section 295-C of PPC intentionally and deliberately has ignore to take steps to amend the law mentioned in para 68 to keep Christian community under their thumb.

10) That it is evident from the surrounding circumstances that section 295-C of the PPC is being

misused and abuse. In some instances cases have been also instituted to settle rivalries between two Muslim sects, giving further vent to the fires of sectarianism. Federal Government, the respondent, has failed to enforce section 295-C of PPC, in accordance with the soul and spirit of the judgment passed by the Honourable Federal Shariat Court. The enforcement of Shariat Act came into existence in 1991 wherein legislature has protected fundamental rights of the citizens as guaranteed under the constitution and as ensured peace in following words: "And whereas it is one of the fundamental obligations of the Islamic State to protect the Honour, life, liberty and the fundamental right of citizens as guaranteed under the Constitution and to ensure peace and provide inexpensive and speedy justice to people through an independent Islamic System of justice without any discrimination." Section 1(4) of the Act lays down that nothing Contained in this Act shall effect the personal law, religious freedom, tradition, customs of way of life of the non-Muslims – Section 10 of the Act further lays down that in order to protect the life, honour, liberty, property and rights of the citizens, the State shall take legislative and administrative measures. The State i.e. Federal Government has failed to afford protection and safeguard, legitimate rights of the Christian community of Pakistan. Section 10 and section 1 (4) of the enforcement of Shariat Act 1991 has open the door to invoke the Constitutional jurisdiction of this Honourable court. Present law and order situation and circumstances has constrained the poor Christian community to seek necessary amendments in section 295-C of PPC through this writ petition under the rule of necessity.

11) That it would be not out of place to mention here that Pakistan is a Member of United Nation and is signatory of Charter of Human Rights and the State has undertaken to act in accordance with Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Since the State /respondent could not act in

accordance with the Shariat Act, and fundamental rights guaranteed to the Christian community by the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973, and fundamental rights guaranteed by the Shari at Act, 1991, necessary amendments sought by the petitioner in section 295-C of PPC, through the instant writ petition will promote harmony and cohesion in the National Life. If amendment in section 295-C of PPC sought by the petitioner is not allowed, the danger of life and liberty of the Christian community of Pakistan will remain as sword of Damocles. The present section 295-C of PPC which is not in accordance with the soul and spirit of the judgment has abridged the fundamental rights of the minority communities and has placed them between scylla and charybdis.

12) That as mentioned relevantly in foreging para of instant writ petition that the respondent failed to afford protection of life and liberty to minorities in accordance with the fundamental rights as envisaged in chapter one of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan of 1973 and the fundamental right enshrined in he enforcement of Shariat Act 1991 and in accordance with the charter of Human Right by the U.N.O. The petitioner is constrained to file instant writ petition that section 295-C of the PPC is amended at the direction of Shariat Court in contravention of fundamental rights as well as the Shariat Act. It is further stated respectfully that section 295-C PPC was not amended in accordance with the soul and spirit of judgment delivered by the Federal Shariat Court in 1991. As the copy of the same was sent to President of Pakistan under Aritcle 203-D (3) of the constitution of Pakistan amendment of section 295-C PPC is against all codified laws mentioned earljer relevantly.

13) That it would be of great significant to mention here that Supreme Court of United Arab Emirates delivered its judgment and same was published in daily Jang of Lahore

dated 23rd October 1993 according to judgment of the Honourable Supreme Court of UAE non-Muslims are exonerated from the application of Shariat Act and Sentence passed under Shariat Act. It is further elaborated that non-Muslims cannot be penalised and convicted. All Islamic Countries except Pakistan have afforded protection of life and liberty to minorities living in their countries. According to the doctrine of Holy Quran and Sunnah Shariat Act is not applicable to non-Muslims.

14) That it would be not out of place to mention here that council of Islamic Ideology of Pakistan has expressed its opinion vide his letter no. FNO 10(10)/93-R-C11) 893 dated March 3, 1994 this letter was addressed to Alama Daniel Tasleem with reference to his open letter sent to Islamic Ideology Council for his opinion according to said letter on behalf of Honourable Maulana Kausar Naizi (Late) then Chairman, Hafiz Mohammad Latif Saleemee, chief research officer of Islamic Ideology Council expressed his opinion about 295-C PPC " It is correct that the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) did not inflict punishment to any one who Bhasphemed the sacred and Holy name of the Prophet, since the Holy Prophet (PUBH) was the Blessings for the whole universe he excused all those who Blasphemed his name, called bad names to him, he did not even admonish them. The Holy Prophet (PUBH) rather prayed for them. It is further stated in his letter that Islam does not allow even blaspheming the names of other gods and other religions. It is of great significance that the Holy Quran and Sunnah have given dictates to believers to respect all prophets and the revealed books. Section 295-C PPC is not in accordance with the Sunnah. The photocopy of the same is appended as Annexeure "A".

15) That his Lordship Mr. Justice Javaid Iqbal (Rtd.) expressed his highly valuable opinion in daily Nawa-e-Waqat dated July 14, 1994 wherein this Lordship was pleased to refer opinion of Mr. Justice M-B Ahmad and

reference was made to his work in his book Viz. The "Administration of, justice' published at Ali Garh University (India) in 1941 at page 76 and 77 that if a non-Muslim the eat meat of Khanzeer or sells the same if they did not acknowledge the Holy Prophet as Prophet of A11ah no legal action can be taken against them but contrary to this if a Muslim becomes guilty of doing such acts he shall be penalized under Shariat Act. His Lordship further expressed that Shariat Act is not applicable to non-Muslim as section 1(4) of enforcement of Shariat Act 1991. It is as clear as crystal from its wording that this Act shall not affect the personal laws, religious freedom, tradition, customs and way of life of the non-Muslims. A copy of statement is appended as annexure "B".

16) That at this juncture it is a significant to draw the kind attention of this August Court to evolutionary history of the constitution of Pakistan. The constitution of Pakistan is the Supreme Law of Pakistan. The Article 5 of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan of 1956.

a) All citizens are equal before law and entitled of equal protection of law.

b) No person shall be deprived of life or liberty save in accordance with the law Article 27 of the same constitution ensured protection of minorities, the same is reproduced here "the state shall safe guard the legitimate rights and interest of the minorities including their due representation in Federal and Provincial services."

17) That Constitution of Republic of Pakistan of 1962 in chapter 2 under the heading of principal of polices it was framed as under. Article No. 3 it was held "the legitimate rights and interests of the minorities should be safeguard and members of minorities should be given due opportunities to enter in service of Pakistan."

In chapter 1 of the constitution of Pakistan Article 2 guaranteed the right of individuals dealt with in accordance

with the law. Article 2(1) is reproduced here for kind consideration of this August Court

"To enjoy the protection of the law and to be treated with in accordance with law and only in accordance with law is a inalienable right of every citizen, where ever he may be and every other person for the time being in Pakistan."

Article 2(2)

a) "No action detrimental to life, liberty, bodily reputation or property of any person shall be taken except in accordance with the law." Under heading of Principle of law making (Article 2)

Equality of Citizen

All citizens shall be equal before law and be entitled to equal protection of law and treated alike in all respects.

The constitutional history of Pakistan speaks itself that the minorities in Pakistan were afforded protection of life and liberty, fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution of Pakistan, salient features of the constitutional history of Pakistan say that constitution have ensured protection of life and liberty to all citizens and it has further ensured the legitimate rights of minorities shall be safe guarded. It is beyond apprehension that those Christians who were killed at the spot at the pretext of Blasphemy were not afforded opportunity to explain, were they afforded opportunity to face trial in accordance with the law? They were deprived of their lives against the constitutional rights. They faced their death; their families are facing starvation due to sudden death at hands of religious activists.

18) That Zakat and Usher Ordinance XXIX of 1979 came into force on 14 June 1979 and was extended to the whole of Pakistan. It has been specifically expressed in its preamble.

"That where as Shariat enjoins all Muslim, who are Sahib-e-nisab, to pay and the state arrange to proper collection and utilization of Zakat & Usher and also allows such Muslims to

utilize for the purposes authorised by Shariat the part thereof not collected by the state.

And where as the constitution also provides, in Article 31 that the state shall endeavour as respects of the Muslim of Pakistan to secure, interalia, the proper organisation of Zakat."

From the reading of the above part of preamble, it has become crystal clear that the application of the ordinance was made purely to Muslims and all minorities in Pakistan were exempted from the operation of the said ordinance being purely Shariat law.

It was done in accordance with Section 1(4) of the enforcement of Shariat Act 1991 If section 295-G18 purely Islamic Law; it cannot be made applicable to minorities living in Islamic State.

19) That the exemption as exception has already been provided in the case of Haddood Ordinances specially enforcement to Hadd order of President's orders No.4 of 1979 and Hadd is not liable as punishment to the Non-Muslims. Thus the exception may be provided in application of Section 295-C of PPC.

20) That the petitioner has no alternative or perficient, speedy and adequate remedy available to him under the law for redress of his grievances other than filing this constitutional writ petition and to evoke constitutional Jurisdiction of this August Court.

## PRAYER

In these circumstances it is respectfully submitted that instant writ petition may kindly be accepted and respondent may be directed to take step to make necessary amendment in section 295-C PPC under the rule of necessity to the extent that same is against the spirit of the Islamic law and is not applicable to minorities in Pakistan

being defective and against the public policy. It is further prayed that procedure adpted under Cr. PC is in-sufficient and in-adequate and does not cater the need of time and has badly failed to protect the minorities from overflowing flood of religious activists. Any other relief, which this honourable court deems fit and proper, may also be awarded.

Pakistan Christian Congress  
Through its President  
Nazir S. Bhatti .....PETITIONER

T. S. Gill, Advocate High Court, Certified on oath at this day of 20th June 1997 at Lahore that no such writ petition has been preferred earlier on this subject...Advocate

From 1986 to 2003, at least 291 blasphemy cases were registered against Christians. President Pervez Musharraf called on reform of blasphemy laws, but proposals offered only procedural reform. Under the draft amendment to Section 295C, no police officer below the rank of Superintendent shall have the authority to investigate blasphemy accusations.

Blasphemy suspects remained targets of extremist violence during trial, imprisonment and after their release. Samuel Masih, aged 32, was beaten with a brick cutter by a police officer, and died of his injuries. He was awaiting trial for blasphemy. "I offered my religious duty for killing the man. I am spiritually satisfied and ready to face the consequences," said the policeman who killed him.

On August 24, 2003 Naseem Bibi was beaten to death in Kot Lakhpat Jail, three months after she had been detained on blasphemy charges.

In 2002, Mushtaq Zafar was shot dead in Lahore soon after he left a court hearing. Justice Mian Nasir Akhtar of the

Lahore High Court said in 1999 that those accused of blasphemy should be killed without trial.

Iqbal Tahir, a convert from Islam to Christianity, was imprisoned under 295 C and poisoned in Lahore jail in December 1990.

Bantu Masih was accused of Blasphemy and stabbed to death in a Lahore police station, in 1991.

Chand Barkat, of Karachi was booked under 295C, in October 1991 but session Judge, acquitted him. He was to refuge abroad, since then.

Nehmat Ahmer, a school teacher was accused of Blasphemy and stabbed to death in January 1992.

Sarwar Masih, of Sanghar Sind, was booked under section 295 B, in June 1992 acquitted and since then he is living a hidden life.

Gul Masih, of Sargodaha, was sentenced to death under 295 C, on January 1993, later acquitted by Lahore High court. He is in refuge now.

Anwer Masih of Samundri was booked under section 295 C, on February 1993.

Habib Masih of Shahkot Sheikhpura was booked under section 295 B, in November 1993.

Manzur, Salamat & Rehmat Masih, were booked under section 295 C. they were shot at, on 5th of April 1994 near the High Court building, Lahore. Manzur Masih died on the spot; Salamat and Rehmat Masih were seriously injured. They received death sentence (Salamat was only 12 years old, at that time), later acquitted by Lahore high court.

Catherin Shaheen, a school teacher in a town near Multan. She was accused of Blasphemy in June 1995. Since then she has not received her pay, She is hiding because some fundamentalists have sworn to kill her.

Carol Shakeel, a fourteen years old student of class nine, from Sukhar, Sindh, was accused of blasphemy; in June 1995, was forced to become Muslim by 225 Maulvis who had signed a document to kill her.

Mukhtar Masih, accused of blasphemy, killed by police in a Lahore police station, in November 1995.

Nelson Rahi, a stenographer in Genrenal Hospital Rawalpindi, booked under section 295 B, and imprisoned in January 1997. He is out on bail; the case is still going on.

Ayub Masih, of Arif wala, Sahiwal, booked and imprisoned under 295 C, in October 1996, shot at in the premises of Sessions Court, Sahiwal, in November 1998.

Muhammad Arif Iqbal, a high court judge was shot and killed on October 1997, because he had acquitted Salamat Masih and Rahmat Masih, who had been sentenced to death by a lower court, under 295 C.

Samuel Masih was charged under blasphemy but never got a chance to prove him innocent while police guard killed him on Saturday 28th May 2004 by the police.

Asghar Masih A Christians from Kasur an accused of 295-C, had exchanged hot words with Haji Anwar. He also had a dispute with Tufail, Abid and Mohammad who wanted to take over his land. Asghar managed to escape but the police abducted his Father Bagh Masih and uncle.

Ranjha Masih, a vendor in bus was booked for paying respects to Late Bishop John Joseph He was charged under Blasphemy and is behind the bars waiting for his trial.

Pervaiz Mashih sent to jail under blasphemy charges was successful Christian school owner. School owner Muhammad Ibrahim became jealous because the school run by Pervez Masih was attracting more pupils. Muhammad's response was to victimize his Christian rival by falsely accusing him of speaking blasphemy against the Holy Prophet Muhammad, and of making his comments in front of school children. However, Mr. Najam-UI-Hassan, Additional Session Judge, Daska, ruled that Pervez Masih had defiled the sacred and exalted name of the Holy Prophet Muhammad and used indecent words in front of his students. Accordingly, Pervez was being sent to jail.

Saleem and Rashid Masih under blasphemy laws were imprisoned on 11 May 2000, by Additional and Sessions Judge Pasror, for 25-years and 10-years.

Ashiq Masih alias (Kinghamari) from Faisalabad was charged of insulting Prophet Mohammed on May 2, 2000. His brother said that Ashiq had converted to Islam three years ago and Rana Nisar Ahmed, the complainant of this case had a brawl with the accused on March 17, 2000, because Mr. Ahmed did not want Ashiq to meet with his Christian relatives. Six weeks after the incident, blasphemy case was registered.

Hussain Masih along with his son Isaac Masih and Christian neighbor Sehr Ghuri from Gujranwala were charged of Blasphemy under section 295-C PPC on 25/11/1998 FIR No: 523/98.

## **Our Christian Martyrs**

According to me, every Christian living in Muslim dominated society of Pakistan, who prays, who practices Christianity, who confess his faith, who even speaks about his rights, who demands his rights, who writes about his rights, who supports true cause of Christian nation, who leads prayer services, who walks in protest against discrimination and who do not bargain on principals is a Hero.

All Christians arrested under Blasphemy law, All who served time in jails under such discriminatory laws, all women who were abducted and raped by Muslims, all youth who were denied employment and equal education opportunity being a Christian, all elders who faced hate and racism on religion and all mothers who felt sorrow and miseries on hardship of their daughters, sons and husbands are Heroes

No doubt, future generation of Christians shall feel pain when they shall read these words but I am sure that they shall expedite their struggle to regain rights of son of soil and to lay down yoke of slavery of invaders. The stories of Christian Martyrs shall be an encouragement and energy of future movements.

Presently we beg around world to built churches, we beg to built schools, we beg to build community centers, we beg for our safety of life and we beg for funds for our uplift program but youth of my future generation shall depend on their resources instead of begging.

My future generation youth to commemorate these martyrs shall fight against oppression to live like their forefathers as rulers in their own land. My future youth shall celebrate anniversaries of these Martyrs like feasts to pay homage to their sacrifices.

There may be many Christians in small villages and town of Pakistan who might have been martyred by Muslims

on saving respect of any widow, elder or Christian daughter. There may be hundreds Martyred in far flung areas by Muslims on enmity or Christian faith which are not honored by me in this book but I salute them.

I appeal to my youth in Rawalpindi and Islamabad to find graves of Martyr James Masih and Martyr Nawaz Masih in Christian Cemetery of Rawalpindi to build their Tombs. They are waiting for you since 1973, when they sacrificed their lives in a peaceful procession against nationalization of missionary schools, colleges and hospitals by Zulifqar Ali Bhutto. The missionary schools are de-nationalized but souls of Martyr Nawaz and Martyr James are waiting in graveyard and complaining that none of Christian came to visit them to say words of thanks. I warn youth not to look at clergy and non-government organization for support of families of our Martyrs. The clergy is back in business with de-nationalization of those schools and human right activists are busy in collecting foreign funds and settling their families abroad. These are our Martyrs and we have to honour them.

I feel bit satisfaction when my eyes fall on Martyrs of Essa Nagri, Karachi. The Martyrs of Essa Nagri are not lying in any graveyard but in heart of this biggest Christian colony in Pakistan. The five Martyrs of Essa Nagri, sacrificed their lives to defend thousands of Christian daughters, children, women and elders when Muslims attacked to demolish their homes and grab their land

I owe my homage to Martyr Feroze Masih, who sacrificed his life on February 13, 1997, in a peaceful protest procession of Pakistan Christian Congress against incident of Shanti Nager. Martyr Feroze Masih was not a politician but he had Christian love in abundance, which compelled him to join this protest of 25 thousand Christian, the ever-biggest gathering of Christians in history of Pakistan. Feroz Masih was martyred by discriminatory firing of Karachi Police in front of Sindh Governor House. I

appeal to youth of Karachi to build tomb on his grave in Christian graveyard of Kashmir Colony and to celebrate his anniversary. Do Christians of Shanti Nagar know that one Feroze Masih in Karachi sacrificed his life for them? Have any one from Shanti Nagar prayed on his grave?

It is foremost duty of Faisalabad youth to rise up and build monument of Martyr Bishop John Joseph who sacrificed his life for revival of Christian equal rights in Pakistan. Martyr Bishop John Joseph is our pride and honor, he addressed press conference, staged hunger strikes and led rallies for our safety and security. He was always ready to help every persecuted Christian and spoke for them on national and international forum, which was never appreciated by Government of Pakistan.

We salute Martyrs of Bahawalpur Church firing, who laid down their lives worshipping our Lord, we salute Martyrs of Taxila Hospital, we salute Islamabad Church Martyrs, we salute Muree School Martyrs, we salute Chianwali Church Martyrs and we salute all Christian Martyrs who were martyred by indiscriminate firing of militant Muslim groups. I appeal, Christian youth in respective cities to build monuments of these martyrs and to observe their anniversaries.

I personally salute Martyr Aslam Martin who was martyred in Karachi office of Justice and peace. He was prominent Christian leader who approached at grass root level to Christian youth. He was martyred along with six other Christians in attack by Muslim fundamental groups.

## **Leaders of Pakistan Christian Congress**

In a convention at Lahore on January 10, 1985, the delegates from all districts of Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and N.W.F.P representing youth, students, labor leaders, ladies forums, lawyers and businessmen adopted a resolution to formulate Pakistan Christian Congress, a Christians political party to launch struggle to safeguard social, religious and political rights of Christians.

The martial law regime of Zia Ul Haque, issued Presidents order 4 of 1979, on February 9, 1979, and implemented Prohibition (Enforcement of Hadd) order 1979, on Christians. This ordinance created unrest among Christian because it was feared that laws of compensation and evidence should damage religious freedom in Pakistan. We witnessed that our leaders have always welcomed every regime weather democratic or dictator since 1956. They welcomed dictators like General Ayub Khan, General Yahya Khan, Zulifiqar Ali Bhutto and General Zia-UI-Haq. Our leaders from different groups also met Zia-UI-Haq and extended their support to his regime and expressed satisfaction on implementation of Sharia Laws in Pakistan.

The formation of PCC was aimed to resist implementation of Islamic laws and to launch campaign for religious freedom and social justice in society. Therefore, the Following Six Point manifesto was adopted in Annual General Convention of PCC at Karachi, in 1986.

- To struggle for Equal Basic Democratic Rights.

- To achieve Representation Proportional to Population in Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies.
- To press for demand of Dual Vote.
- To campaign for Equal Rights for Youth in Employment and Education.
- To work for Religious Freedom.
- To struggle for due share in Power and Resources of State.

PCC six-point manifesto and declaration to oppose Islamic Laws was challenge for government as well as for those Christians who have joined “Majlis-E-Shoora,” an Islamic assembly nominated by Zia-ul-Haq to replace National Assembly. There was immense government pressure on PCC leadership but we refused to bargain on principal.

The government announced to hold national general election on non-party basis in 1985, but Pakistan Christian Congress decided to boycott election because seats reserved for Christians were not proportional to population. There was no seat in Senate of Pakistan for Christians. The PCC Central Council leaders campaigned through out Pakistan against elections of 1985, when their meetings were stoned and disrupted by supporters of martial laws. We were of opinion that all Pakistan being a constituency for reserved seats shall make impossible to hold transparent elections.

Pakistan Christian Congress expressed grave concern on government’s decision to issue liquor permits to Christians on religious grounds. The brewery industry of Pakistan was closed when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto imposed ban on consumption of liquor on demand of Muslim religious parties in 1977. This profitable liquor industry had shares of bureaucrats and military Generals and Zia-UI-Haq conspired to use Christian as back door to protect brewery

Business, we presented memorandum to government to cancel liquor permits on religious ground, as it is sin to consume alcohol in Christianity while poor Christians has no buying power to purchase expensive liquor. The Central council members of Pakistan Christian Congress decided to launch campaign against distribution of liquor and burnt down liquor permits in Regal Chowk, Saddar, Karachi and Mall Road, Lahore. PCC also filed lawsuit in Federal Shariat Courts Islamabad to cancel liquor permits issued to Christians.

The Karachi city was under emergency rule and to take out processions and public gatherings were prohibited when government announced to add religion column in National Identity Card. PCC decided to take out procession against government policy on ID Cards and protested in Regal Chowk, Karachi, when Police arrested 32 PCC leaders and locked them in Saddar Police Station under charges of section 144, 146, 148 and 224.

May 13, 1997, shall ever remain Black Day in history of Pakistan when PCC launched peaceful protest procession against Shanti Nagar attack by Muslims. 1000 Christian protestor were arrested from Karachi Press Club and Sindh Governor House. The charges were filed against 382 leaders and rests were released from lockups of eleven Karachi police stations as they were students under age of sixteen.

There is history of Pakistan Christian Congress's struggle and achievements but apart from that I wish to pay homage to services of PCC leaders in this chapter who are not with us now but in presence of our Lord in heaven.

Lazar Bhatti was Vice Chairman of Pakistan Christian Congress and pride of Christian nation. He was very popular among friends and foes due to his hospitality, soberness and wisdom. He was frontline Christian leader who court arrested in campaign against liquor permits and inclusion of religion column in national ID card. He traveled

to far-flung areas to organized PCC units in villages and towns of Pakistan. Lazar Bhatti was true Christian and patron of Presbyterian Church, which he built in Nasri Colony, New Karachi, where he was based with his family. He suffered heart attacked during Christmas Eve celebration on the stage of this church in 1994. PCC shall ever remember this Christian warrior and able leader.

Shakeel Bhatti was Secretary Information of Pakistan Christian Congress. He was soul and heart of PCC. I must accept that PCC was Shakeel Bhatti and Shakeel Bhatti was PCC. He was one to keep alive PCC during pressure of government by close contacts with national media to express PCC policies. He was friend of friends and brave leader. Many court arrests fall on his lot but he never bowed to government oppression. He traveled through out Pakistan to spread message of PCC but his kidney infections brought him to hospital bed. His love and affection for Christian nation was immense till his last breath in Civil Hospital Karachi in 1995.

Saleem Masih khokhar was President of Karachi Division of Pakistan Christian Congress. He was well known for his able leadership and hospitality. He was based in Korangi area of Karachi. He courted arrests and arranged protest processions in Karachi. He suffered heart attack in 1995.

Dr. Saleem Sohtra was among frontline leaders of PCC. He was very popular among Christians as well as Muslims. He used to keep every one smiling with his jokes in jails when PCC leaders were arrested during protests and rallies. He was always leading processions without any fear. He had true love for his Christian community. The heart attack separated him from us in 1997.

M Joseph Gill was Vice Chairman of PCC and only Christian leader in Pakistan history to be sentenced for one year imprisonment, 25 lashes and one hundred thousand rupees fine by the martial law government of Zia Ul Haq for

raising voice for poor Christian community. He played leading role in campaigns of Pakistan Christian Congress. He left behind grieving family and friends in 2004.

## **The Christian Political Parties**

The Christians have one political party in every village, town and city of Pakistan while there are dozens of leaders in every Christian colony. The Christian councilor in Union Council of any village, Municipal Committee of any town, Municipal Corporation of any city or City Government claims to be a national leader. The social welfare organizations claim to be national political parties. There are such leaders who claim Christian leadership on simply writing personal letter to president and prime minister on Christian issues. Therefore, we have an army of leaders and large number of political parties.

In personal sittings, most of our friends complained on claims of such leaders and their political groups but I maintained an opinion that it indicates first stage of awareness when every Christian is seriously taking notice and struggling in his own way for freedom. I expressed my belief that there will be one crucial incident which shall unite all these groups and leaders on one platform. I presented situation of Muslims in sub-continent of India before formation of All India Muslim League in 1909, they were also divided in small groups but Hindu unity forced them to launch Pakistan movement to demand independent homeland of Pakistan.

The political parties are being formed to safeguard rights of people in democratic countries but in underdeveloped countries, the political parties are formed to safeguard assets and interests of privileged class of people in the name of people. As Pakistan is an agricultural country where land is a major asset and feudal lords form parties in name of people to protect their lands and factories. The Christians were peasants in rural areas and among middle class in cities before division of Indian Punjab when they casted their decisive votes in formation of Pakistan. The

poor Muslims also became rich after looting properties of Sikhs and Hindus who migrated to Indian Punjab in 1947. The Muslims forcibly occupied factories and agricultural lands of Hindus, Sikhs and Christians.

The founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was killed and Khan Liaquat Ali Khan was also shot dead by conspirator Muslims to change ideology of Pakistan. Now, Pakistan administration was in hands of feudal lords who used name of Islam to rule and evacuee properties were allotted on bogus claims. The Christian leadership of S P Singha, Mrs. S P Singha, C Gibbon, Chandu Lal and Joushwa Fazal Din failed to protect and ensure equal due share in resources of Pakistan for Christians. The All India Christian League headed by S P Singha was re-named All Pakistan Christian League which lost confidence of Christians being a family party and unconditional support to Muslim administration.

The Christian assets were not lands or factories but schools, colleges and hospitals, which were owned by clergy. The clergy had policy to cooperate with government to secure their properties instead of relying on any Christian political party and discouraged such elements who believed in political process. Therefore, Christian remained without any political forum for decades after All Pakistan Christian League became defunctional in 1956. The Christian employee in Church establishments and government health departments enjoyed peaceful life while peasants from villages were forced by Muslims to migrate to cities for livings.

The Christian peasants who migrated from villages to cities in 1950-1960, were not skilled workers. The untouchable, known as schedule cast in Hindus and Muslims were performing duties of cleaning streets from centuries in united India, were left vacant after mass migrations on partition. The Muslims who were janitors during British rule became rich with looting properties of

Hindus and Sikhs and left this profession and imposed on Christians. The miserable life of Christians in cities compelled some laymen to form a Christian political party named All Pakistan Masihi League in 1969.

The leaders of All Pakistan Masihi League belonged to Protestant Churches in Pakistan while Catholic Church of Pakistan refrained from active participation in League. Meanwhile, the military regime of General Yehya Khan announced to hold national general election and directed Justice A R Cornelius to prepare Legal Framework Order LFO for power transfer to democratic elected government. Justice A R Cornelius inducted Joint Electorate for minorities in LFO on intimation of Catholic Bishops as he was always in their close contacts. The clergy was on government VIP lists during British rule until Separate Electorate was introduced from 1947-1956 in Pakistan. The Catholic Church never favoured laymen leadership nor liked Separate Electorate and Justice Cornelius ended history of Separate Elections.

The Pakistan Masihi League was reluctant to participate in national general elections of 1970, under Justice Joint Electorate. The Supreme Council of APML, in a meeting at Peshawar was divided when Francis X Lobo group stressed to participate in elections under Joint Electorate while majority demanded to boycott election until revival of Separate Electorate. The APML group in favour of Separate Electorate announced new political group named Azad Pakistan Masihi League under leadership of Joshua Fazal Din. The Muslim government became successful again to hammer Christian unity and united platform of All Pakistan Masihi League with support of Christian tools.

Joshua Fazal Din was elected Member of West Pakistan Assembly who favoured Separate Electorate during British rule. He was of opinion that Joint Elections are a conspiracy against Christians hatched by power

hungry Muslims who want to capture our vote bank. The All Pakistan Masihi League applied for election symbol with Election Commission and filed nominations of 33 candidates to contest on general seats of National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies under joint electorate. The Azad Pakistan Masihi League launched boycott campaign of joint elections.

The doubts about joint election system appeared true when Muslim voters did not vote to Christian candidates and All Pakistan Masihi League was unable to win a single seat. As a result, Pakistan Awami League emerged as majority party in elections of 1970, while Pakistan Peoples Party won majority seats in West Pakistan. The military government refused to transfer power to Pakistan Awami League based in East which ended on division of Pakistan, and East Pakistan became an independent Muslim state of Bangladesh. The martial law regime handed over power to Pakistan Peoples Party in West Pakistan after separation of East Pakistan. The government of Pakistan Peoples Party nominated 6 Christian members in the National Assembly under Constitution of 1973 of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. We will not discuss role of these first six Christians nominated by Pakistan Peoples Party because they were voiceless, powerless and tools of the ruling PPP leadership.

But, I must present one incident with Samuel Bedi in National Assembly of Pakistan. The PPP chairman Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto mostly used derogatory remarks about Muslim religious leaders of opposition but one day when PPP nominee Suleman Bedi criticized Mufti Mahmood Ahmad, the treasury benches protested against him. The PPP Muslim leaders warned Mr. Bedi that he being a Christian he has no right to comment about Muslim religious leader. It was first incident in history of Pakistan that the ruling party Speaker called Sergeant at Arms against his party member to throw Samuel Bedi out of house. The Pakistan Peoples Party nationalized Christian Schools, Colleges and

Hospitals but our six nominated members kept silent. There was no motion presented by them in parliament. On other hand Christians condemn PPP nationalization decision and launched protest campaign while All Pakistan Masihi League, Churches and Christian parliamentarians supported authorities. The Zulifiqar Ali Bhutto government opened fire on peaceful procession against nationalization in Rawalpindi and martyred James and Nawz. The All Pakistan Masihi League bargained on martyred blood to receive government benefit packages.

The Azad Pakistan Masihi League lost image after death of Joshua Fazal Din and many of its workers and leaders joined Muslim political groups except Albert U Mall and Ch. James Dean. The All Pakistan Masihi League became inactive and efforts of M M Buksh to keep leaders united were foiled by Francis X Lobo. The Muslim political parties announced Minority Wings to attract Christian membership to raise vote banks and majority of Christians joined PPP, PML and PDP. We can say that Joint Electorate scattered Christians. The PPP government was ousted by General Zia-ul-Haq and martial law was imposed in 1977. The Bishops extend support to martial law regime in visits to President House but Zia-ul-Haq was fundamental Muslim and convinced clergy to not comment on his Islamization moves and in a deal promised to de-nationalize missionary schools.

Zia-Ul-Haq announced national general elections of 1985, on none political party basis under separate electorate which made Christian clergy upset again but martial law regime turned down their requests of Joint elections. According to an ordinance issued on January 10, 1985, four seats were allocated to Christians in National Assembly, five reserved seats in Punjab Provincial Assembly, Two seats in Sindh Assembly, one seat in NWFP and one seat in Balochistan Assembly. The Separate election on reserve seats for Christians on multiple system

with all Pakistan to be a constituency for National Assembly seats and all provinces for Provincial Assembly seats respectively. There were no seats allocated for Christians in the Senate of Pakistan.

Nasir Mahmood Khokhar, W. Hubert Col (Rt), Sana Ullaha Cap. (Rt) and Emmanuel Zafar were four elected members in National Assembly of Pakistan under Separate Electorate of 1985. During my one visit to Emmanuel Zafar in Lahore, I saw hundreds gathered in early morning from far flung areas for solution of their problem in his home but what surprised me was a question to problem seekers "have you brought letter of Parish Priest Fr.". It meant that he was sold in lot of Catholic Church which was not a healthy sign for him or for Christian political struggle. W Hurbert Col (Rt.) was an army officer and selected in Majlis-e-Shoora by his senior regiment officer and Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Zia-Ul-Haq. He was active member of Church of Pakistan and elected with support of CoP congregations. He became Parliamentary Secretary of Defense and was available to every Christians but was not appreciated due his strict army officer like attitude and behavior with his civil voters. Nasir Mahmood Khokhar was a Christian businessman in Islamabad who splendid huge amount to contact voters throughout Pakistan and succeeded in winning and became famous for his hospitality to every one who visited Islamabad for petty works but he failed to play significant role for Christian rights. His doors were open for boarding and lodging for Christians from all over Pakistan which shall be ever remembered. Sana Ullaha was from Rawalpindi but not significant to write any word because he never left any impact of his presence in house nor in public. The blasphemy law was presented and legislated in National Assembly of Pakistan in presence of these four Christian parliamentarians who voted in favour of bill instead of presenting any motion or question. Bashir Alam Bhatti, a labour leader, was elected for Sindh

Assembly and very efficiently worked for betterment of Christian labour. He voiced to raise their standard of living and job opportunities in higher grades. M Michael from rural Sindh was elected but passed away without completing his tenure. Bashir Masih was elected for Balochistan Assembly but failed to play any role for Christians in presence of strong tribal political leaders. The five members elected in Punjab Assembly were not so important to be recorded while Christian member in NWFP remained unknown on national level.

Bishop John Joseph, who funded many Christian candidates, was not satisfied on their loyalty after winning, decided to launch new Christian pressure group. He recruited Shahbaz Bhatti and announced him to be head of "Christian Liberation Front" in hopes to keep control over elected leaders.

General Zia-ul-Haq dissolved Mohammad Khan Jonejo government and new elections on political party basis were announced in 1988. The Christian voters rejected all those leaders who failed to play any positive role in parliament and elected new leaders. Julius Salik bagged highest votes and poor Christians looked at him as their saviour. J Salik was an illiterate but ambitious person who ran for Lahore Municipal Corporation seat and successful entered in politics. When we talk about Lahore, we talk about culture and values where people are great admirer of poetry, music, fiction and drama. J salik adopted drama to win Christian voters by his slogan of time on radio and television for hymns and Bible recitation which touched hearts who always dreamed to hear Word of Lord in media like Muslims. He was also in constant contact with Muslim fundamental groups like JUP to fund his campaigns. He presented dramas like throwing his home effects on street and living in tents with his wife, candlelit marches singing hymns in streets, wrapping him in barbed wires, wearing

jute dress, putting ash in his head and blacken his face. He announced long marches to end Iran-Iraq war and atrocity on Muslims in India to satisfy his Muslim fonder. I always wished him to win National Assembly seat that his true face may be exposed to poor Christians. He preferred to be Federal Minister for Population Planning instead of Minister for Minorities and Religious Affairs after winning elections. He never pressed upon demands for time on electronic media for hymn and Bible nor did he solve problems of Christian who approached him in Islamabad. He left Lahore and settled in Karachi but he was no more popular Christian leader.

Fr. Rufin Julius was a Catholic priest in Gujranwala city and supporter of Emmanuel Zafar in 1985 elections. He went to Bihop House in Lahore along with two other priests and pressured for permission to contest elections of 1988. Fr. Rufin Julius was elected Member of National Assembly which compelled Catholic Church to increase funding of Christian Liberation Front to avoid future threats against Bishops by priests. The elections of Fr. Rufin Julius brought millions of church funds in bag of Shahbaz Bhatti, who lavishly drained it in hotels of Islamabad and Lahore. Fr. Rufin Julius MNA married and left a lesson for clergy to "Keep away from politics"

Sanaulaha Cap (RT) was re-elected as Member of National Assembly but he shall be ever known as sleeping leader and spending Christian development budget for his vested interest or expanding his school in Rawalpindi. The Christian shall never remember Peter John Sohtra and Tariq C Qaiser as they never led any protest rally or raised voice for Christian rights...

It is very important to pay homage to Christian women leaders Raj Hameed and Monica Kamran who were Members of Punjab Assembly and Sindh Assembly respectively, played their role as leaders and raised voice for rights. The Christian leaders Saleem Khokar, Michael

Javeed, J Salik, Peter Sohtra, Tariq Qaisar, Johnson, Adil and Julius Rufin made millions but there were true leaders like Patras Ghani, Saleem Hamdard and Khadim Wilson who were sincerely struggling with their limited resources.

The 1988, elections brought many Christian political parties on record which were duly registered with Election Commission of Pakistan for allocation of election symbols. This number suddenly jumped because Members of National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies formed their new political parties. The following were listed for elections:

- Pakistan Masihi League
- Azad Pakistan Masihi League
- All Pakistan Christian Movement
- Pakistan Christian Front
- Pakistan Christian Awami Party
- Pakistan Minority Front
- Pakistan Minority Tehreek
- Pakistan Christian Congress
- Pakistan Christian Kissan Party
- Pakistan Bhatta Mazdoor Party
- Pakistan Christian Consul

There was not a single political party enlisted above having roots throughout Pakistan but with simple strength on district or provincial levels. I traveled to meet many leaders to form one platform but no one agreed to work united. I tried to convince them that government shall do rigging in elections to impose candidates of their own choice as All Pakistan is constituency and no party can put polling agents on 42,000 stations for Christians. I was positive to doubt government's claims of transparency when Christian election results were announced after one week. The figure of results of 1985, were before every one when number one returned candidate secured 21,000 votes and other three

Received 18,000, 16,000 and 11,000 respectively in multiple resulting. It proved that none of a candidate was able to depute one polling agent on every polling station because he might have secured 42,000 votes if only his polling agents have voted him. In the national general elections of 1998, 1990 and 1992, Christian political parties increased in numbers to make rigging more easily for government.

It is interesting to note that Christian parliamentarians, who campaigned on registered political parties, never hesitated to join ruling Muslim political groups in the house. Therefore, there is no Christian political party on record of National Assembly of Pakistan or four Provincial Assemblies which applied to speaker for their party seats in house. As it was violation of political parties act and peoples representation act of Pakistan, I decided to file reference to disqualify such Christian members but it were never forwarded to Election Commission for hearing and action.

The chapter of Christian leaders and political parties came to an end in national general elections of 2002, when Shahbaz Bhatti, Joseph Francis, Justice and Peace and Catholic Bishops Conference became successful to abolish Separate Electorate to end Christian voice in Pakistan.

## **May 13, 1997 and Shanti Nagar**

On February 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>, 1997, fundamental Muslims who have gathered from Multan, Kbirwala, Mian Channoo and Khanewal attacked a Christian village Shanti Nagar. The police of Khenewal Sadder Police Station was also present when these Muslims equipped with fire arms and patrol bombs burned down 300 hundred homes and destroyed rest in this village founded in 1916, by Salvation Army. The Muslim mob also burnt down churches, community centers, dispensaries and Holy Bibles. The Salvation Army Commander in Pakistan described this attack horrifying in village of 1000 families.

The Muslims of Khanewal on suspicion of desecration of copy of Koran by one Christian in village Shanti Nagar, gave call to other Muslims of nearby cities to join attack to punish Christians and then there were cries, smoke and fire on night of February 5<sup>th</sup> which continued till morning of February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1997

The Christian Human Rights organizations, Justice and Peace Commission and Bishops based .in Multan received news of attack late night and prepared reports and issued to national and foreign media which was covered by BBC Urdu Service on February 6<sup>th</sup>, but it was neglected by majority of international media.

But on May 13, 1997, our demonstration in Karachi attracted international attention. The CNN World News reported on February 13, 1997: "Police on Thursday beat and fired tear gas at Christian demonstrators protesting anti-Christian clashes last week that left one person dead and two churches destroyed. "Hundreds of Christians joined the march through this southern port city to mark riots last Wednesday in Khanewal, 600 miles (950km) to the north.

"About 200 policemen charged the marchers with batons as they approached the residence of the governor of the Sindh province. At least one marcher was seriously injured when a tear gas shell hit him. Many were severely beaten by police, witnesses said. Police said they arrested more than 300 people. Last week's clashes have increased tensions between Pakistan's majority Muslim community and minority Christian population."

The Toronto Star (Canada) of the 14th of February, published pictures of the Christian demonstrators who were restrained with rope in Karachi. The police used tear gas. The police also fired shots in the air and used batons to disperse them. Several demonstrators, including children, were injured with the batons. The police detained about two hundred Christians. "A Christian protester, Naveed Kauser, who had a head injury, said the police manhandled peaceful demonstration." The commissioner of Karachi told that in all five hundred and seventy-four persons, including several children, were arrested. Sixty children were released and many more were in jail for days. Christians were arrested under unlawful assembly, rioting with deadly weapons, disobeying the orders of the public officers and acting with the intention to murder people. The punishments under the Pakistan Penal Code ranged from one month to ten years of rigorous imprisonment, fine and blood money.

Several protesters were released on bail within a week. Police firing injured one protester Feroz Maqbool severely. He died in the hospital.

Why Shanti Nagar incident drew world attention on February 13?

It was time of national general elections of 1997 when I visited shanti Nagar to meet Christian voters during election campaign. I ran for elections on Christian reserved seats in National Assembly from Karachi and was leading in votes from Sindh province.

The Pakistan Christian Congress called a meeting of all Christian political groups on incident of Shanti Nagar in Hotel Poonam where it was decided to lodge protest. On February 10, 1997, Deputy Commissioner, Karachi South, called me told not to join protest. He said 'Government has decided to give representation to Christians of Sindh in National assembly. He further said "As I am winning from all polling stations from Sindh and many rural areas of Punjab and I am on winning list but if I will protest it can force government to look otherwise" He added "government do not mind my press conference and statements on Shanti Nagar but my participation in protest can effect my position"

The Military Intelligence officer Javeed also visited me on same day and enquired about my protest announcement about Shanti Nagar procession. He has been continuously following me since 1993, when I first received Indian visa to participate in an International Conference in Bangalore. The Intelligence Bureau agent Inspector Riasat also came and insisted on not launching protest on Shanti Nagar.

On February 13, at 9.00 AM, I was in my drawing room serving breakfast to some elders from interior Sindh, when I heard people shouting slogans outside my home which gave impression that I have won elections and my supporters have come to congratulate. It was very large crowd of more than 2000, and my street was full with youth. As, I was only Christian living in street, the Muslim neighbors also came out homes, on their roofs and in street. The youth leaders asked me to address gathering and lead the protest procession to Karachi Press Club. I delivered short speech standing on steps of my door and assured them to join them at press club at 1.00 PM. The youth kept on shouting slogans and one Christian resident of my colony, named Feroze Masih, suggested joining procession from my home. My wife who never participated in my social or political life asked me to join procession. She said "These are all young and our election workers and police can

agitate them, so I must join them to avoid any confrontation with police” She encourage me by her daring comments “we lost already two elections and if government steals our success this time also but you shall never leave your people and community”

I joined protesting youth and we reached Azam Basti Mahmoodabad, where thousands were ready to join us. We marched towards Shahrah-e-Faisl where a procession from Manzoor Colony joined us near Mahmmodabad Police Station. We received information that one procession from Shah Faisal Colony is also heading to unite us at Nursery on Shahrah-e-Faisal. When we reached at Nursery, it was a big procession of more than 5000.

Meanwhile, the contingents of police also arrived with magistrate who told us that administration shall not stop procession but it’s our responsibility to be peaceful. The volunteers took over control and announced to march toward Karachi Press Club very peacefully where different small processions from Jut Lines, Ranchoor Lines, Lyari and Karachi west joined us in Saddar. The magistrate asked to deliver speeches and later to disperse after lodging protest but I told him that we are waiting for processions from Lanhdi Korangi and Essa Nagri.

When protestors were passing resolution to condemn attacks on Christian village Shanti Nagar, the news reached that Police have stopped the procession of Landhi Krangi near Kashmir Colony and are firing tear gas shells on peaceful Christians. The other news reached that Baxter Bhatti is injured by police baton charge near Christian graveyard on Shahrah-e-Faisal during police firing and tear gas shelling on procession of Essa Nagri.

At Press Club, magistrate asked us to disperse but I insisted to present a resolution to Governor of Sindh. We moved to Sindh Governor House and Feroze Masih was walking alongside me. It was co-incident that he was wearing blue color shalwar kameez. When we reached in

front of Artillery Medan Police Station, I saw a police officer coming out of police station with five other policemen in plain clothes who opened fire at us. Suddenly, Feroze Masih fell down and two other youth were injured. I heard more firing and teargas shelling and procession started dispersing.

Same evening in a meeting at residence of Naziran Begum at Qayyum Abad, we collected information that police have arrested more than 1,000 youth and locked them up in ten different police stations. The six Christians were in hospitals with bullet injuries by Police firing and Feroze Masih was fighting for his life in Jinnah Post Graduate Medical Center. There were many leaders present in meeting and discussions were in progress to launch a protest on police brutality next afternoon at Regal Chowk, Saddar.

I received calls that police have raided my home and homes of other leaders to arrest to stop next day protest. We were also informed that Bishops have met Commissioner of Karachi and assured to use all their contacts to fail next day procession and urged administration must take severe action against me and our other leaders.

The procession of February 13 was also a challenge for Members of Provincial Assembly Saleem Khursheed Khokhar and Michael Javeed who put their efforts to fail procession but people joined us.

The Karachi administration released more than six hundred detainees who were students and teenager but filed charges against 382 Christians under section 144, 146, 148 and 324.

The Karachi police as leader of procession filed three FIR against me under, 144, 146, 148, 324, 298-A, 324,326 and 302.

Under new developing situation, we decided to contact our legal team to submit bail bonds for detainees and to

arrange funeral of martyr Feroze Masih. The sacrifice of Feroz Masih and our Karachi protest brought Shanti Nagar in notice of world leading electronic and print media for first time in history of Pakistan.

After February 13, sacrifice of martyr Feroze Masih helped thousands illegal Christian to adjust their status in western countries, who have forgotten him and Karachi protest.

The government of Punjab constituted a "Tribunal" headed by Justice Faqir Mohammad Khokhar, Justice of Lahore High Court of Multan Bench, on our demands. The one hundred appeared before this Tribunal to investigate Shanti Nagar incident and fifty from them were Christians.

Some government officials in Ministry of Justice and Law revealed to me that Christians appearing before Tribunal recorded their witnesses that Christians desecrated Holy Quran in shanty Nagar, so there shall be no action against police and Muslims involved in attack. It made me sad and I decided to uncover those Christian agents of government. I filed a petition to publish reports of Tribunal that every one may see those black sheeps among Christians who always stab at our back.

## **My Lawsuit in Lahore High Courts about Shanti Nagar**

Writ Petition 1997

Pakistan Christian Congress, through its President, Nazir S. Bhatti son of Sant Bhatti .....PETITIONER

VERSUS

Federal Government of Pakistan, through Secretary Law and parliamentary Affairs, Islamabad...RESPONDENTS

That the names and particular of the parties are correctly and completely enshrined in the heading of the writ petition for effectual service of summons, notices and other process of the court in this behalf to the respective parties.

2) That the petitioner is President Pakistan Christian Congress, which is a recognized party as sole and absolute representative of the Christian community. The claim of the party is to have its allegiance and integrity with the state, they are living in and the said party is exercising its strenuous efforts for the betterment, fraternity, prosperity and unity among the citizens of the State and interest of the party is not adverse in any manner what so ever.

3) That the party feels it to great extent, that section 295-C of PCC has created frustration among the citizens of the state and built an iron wall between the communities. It has provided machinery for taking life of innocent citizens in retaliation. It would not be out of place to mention here that in the prevailing surroundings circumstances citizens is not feeling safe and protected. Even law enforcing agencies have badly failed to afford protection of life and liberty to the citizens. The fundamental rights guaranteed by the

Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973 the right to live and respect for the human life i.e. security of person (Article No. 9)" No person shall be deprived of the life or liberty save in accordance with law". The HOLY QURAN" lays down the "whosoever kills human being (without any reason like) manslaughter or corruption on earth, its thou he had killed all mankind." (5"32). Human rights in Islam by Mualana Abdul Ala Maududi, P-14. Section 295-C has played havoc role and created up heaval in society. It's victims are facing starvation and destruction. Effected families are completely ruined due to this tyrant section and non-existence of unequivocal and specified procedure. The procedure provided by the Cr. P.C. is insufficient, crippled and disabled.

4) That Section 295-C of PPC was in 1986 under the numerical description, this, when reas in conjunction with Shariat Court Judgment (1990) is punishable with death mandatory. The harshness of law has brought sudden change; the severity of the punishment has over-sensitized the more fanatical elements, who interpreted their duty and its extent to guard their religious sentiments in conjunction with this law. This said section given legal sanctity to acts ranging from murder to open violence against peaceful elements. It would be a great significance to mention here section 295\_C of PPC was enacted in 1860 by the British India Legislature, where as section 295-A to 295-C of PPC added by legislature of Pakistan. Section 295-C PPC does not prove its existence in the HOLY QURAN AND SUNNAH, not does it have any nexus with Shariat law Divine Law viz law given by Allah, are unchangeable and no authority on the earth can alter them and make any sort of amendments in them, rights which have been sanctioned by God are permanent, perpetual and eternal. They are not subject to any alteration are modification. It is beyond apprehension how section 295-C PPC has been

categorised as Islamic Law. Whereas it has no relation with the "HOLY QURAN AND SUNNAH".

5) That there are many instances where human rights have been violated and trampled upon at different places in Pakistan and innocent people have been made scapegoat, slaughtered mercilessly, ruthlessly and relentlessly at alter of section 295-C PPC. The following are the instances for the kind consideration of this August Court (I) Cases against Ahmedies: Case registers against Mst. Amtulla Sallem and Kaisera Shahzadi, students of Government Girls High School, Dunyapur, Lodhran, under section 295-C of PPC. (II) Cases against Ahmedies: dr. Sajjad Farooq, Dr. Akther Hamid Khan Maulana Ibrahim Khateeb at Lohore township Mosque, Muhammad Arshad Javid and Zia-ul-Haq of Sargodha were accused under said section. (III) Cases against Ahmedies:

gul Masih, Tahir Iqbal, Naimat Ahmar, Bantu Masih, Chand Barket, Rehmat Masih, Salamat Masih, Manzoor Masih, Miss Cahterina, Anwar Masih, Munir Masih, Mukhtar Masih were accused under the said section

6) That on 6th February, 1997, the poor Christian of Khanewal city and of adjacent of village, Shanti Nagar, old Tibba of District Khanewal were attacked by the religious fundamentalists in such a way and in a such manner which has no precedent in the history of Pakistan. Holy Bibles, Churches and Christian Properties were set on fire at the pretext of Blasphemy laws, ruthless and severe attack was lunched on peace loving harmless and armless community at the strength of blasphemy laws. Section 295-C has created an atmosphere of hatred, prejudice, and jealousy among the citizens, who have been loyal and faithful to the State. From the attack, on the Christians inhabitants of the village of Shanti-Nagar, it was proved that it was preplanned plot against the Christians to eliminate them completely. Blasphemy law i.e. section 295-C of PPC provided vehicle for atrocious and tyrannous act and killing of innocent

people without affording opportunity to face their trial. It would be of noteworthy that Dr. Hafiz Sajjad Farooq (Attai Doctor) of Guranwala, who was a prominent figure was put to death by fanatics mercilessly and the treatment, with which, he was treated has no example in the history of the world. He faced death and his dead body was dragged in the streets of the town mercilessly. He was killed at the spot due misunderstanding being Essai (Christian) instead of Attai. No-body care to look into the matter, pr to inquire the facts and the circumstances in which he was that time, when he was put to death. The cruel hands of section 295-C PPC strangulate a prominent figure of the society. Similarly Naimat Ahmer was brutally killed by a religious activist. Manzoor Masih was gunned down by a fanatic Muslim. Mukhtar Masih was killed and Buntu Masih was killed in Police custody. Tahir Iqbal was killed in judicial lock-up. Where as no Muslim accused was made to face trail. He was not given a chance to face trial, was he not a citizen of the State? Was he not bestowed with fundamental rights by the Constitutional of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973? It has become indispensable to invoke the constitutional jurisdiction of this Honorable court to amend procedural law. So that people may not encroach rights of other people, modesty, others honour's and commit murders. So that every citizen of the State may enjoy fundamental rights guarranted by the Constitution. That prior to the enactment of section 295-C of PPC there are rare cases or there is not even a single case anywhere any member of Christian community or any other person became guilty of Blasphemy, no member of society specially Christian is given mouth to speak proud words, to utter Blasphemy against any religion, no one can open his mouth to utter Blasphemy against the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him). Every Christian citizen of the State under obligation according to teaching of Christianity to revere – the Prophets of all the religions on the earth. The Holy Bible

does not allow any body to Blaspheme the Prophets or the religious. But its beyond apprehension how the angry mob, instigated throng and sentimental crowd can be restrained from taking law and order situation in their hands. The example of village Shanti-Nagar, where dewellers are Christians by faith was caused to distress and tribulation to the great extent for no fault of theirs. The person who is alleged to have been guilty of Blasphemy was not proved by concrete and substantial evidence. The said incident has created anguish not only for the inhabitant of the village Santi-Nagar, but for the Government too. The government of Pakistan has lost its reputation as international level and defamed for the reason that; the Government of Pakistan is unable to protect the citizens of the State and their fundamental rights and specially the rights, guaranteed to minorities by the Constitution of Pakistan.

7) That keeping in view the stability and security of the State and rights of the citizens in the Islamic State the Holy Quran enjoins the believers and says in this respect:"DO NOT KILL A SOUL WHICH ALLAH HAS MADE SACRED EXPECT THROUGH DUE PROCESS OF LAW"(6:151), (Human Rights in Islam - P/14). Here also homicide has been distinguished from destruction of life carried out in persuit of justice, only a proper and competent court will be able to decide whether or not an individual has forfeited his right to life by disregarding the right to life and peace of other human beings. The Prophet may God's blessing be upon him has declared homicide as a greatest sin, only next to polytheism. The tradition of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him), reads: "THE GREATEST SINS ARE TO ASSOCIATE SOMETHING WITH GOD TO KILL HUMAN BEINGS," In this verse of the Holy Quran and the traditions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) the word (Nafs) has been used in general terms without any distinction or particularization, which might have been lent itself to the elucidation that the

person belonging to one's nation, the citizens of the one's country, the people of particular race or religion should not be killed. The injunction applies to all human beings and the destruction of human life in itself has been prohibited. (Human Rights in Islam, by Syed Maulana Abu Ala Maududi, P/14&15).

8) That the fundamental principle is that we are all citizens and equal citizen of the State. The non-Muslims who are a tiny minority of Pakistan especially the Christian community being largest single minority of Pakistan is fully conscious of its obligations towards the State. It would not be out of place to mention here that Christian community has been loyal and patriotic in all facets of the national life. But now does not feel secure in its own motherland. It seems that Section 295-C of PPC has implicitly sanctioned discrimination and violence against them. In such state of affairs the Christians of Pakistan find them selves segregated and alienated from the mainstream of national affairs. Sedition privy conspiracy, heresy and schism, terrorism, prevailing in the society has created worst law and order situation and Christian community is terrified by repercussions of serious nature. It is regret to say that Christian community has been denied from taking share in all facets of national life.

9) That Federal Shariat Court while passing its judgment held in PLD 1991 FSC 10 para 66 which is reproduced here for kind consideration:"66. Practically, all the jurist consults and scholars agreed, that in view of the above verses and equal status of all the Prophets as such, the same, the same penalty of death as determined above shall apply, incase any one utters contemptuous remarks or offers insult in any way to any one of them. In Para 68 of the same authority, it was held that 68," A clause may further be added to this section, so as to make the same act or things,

when said about other Prophets also offence, with the same punishment as suggested above. The Honorable Federal Shariat Court send its copy to the President of Pakistan under Article 203 D(3) of the Constitution to take steps to amend the law so as to bring the same in conformity with the injunctions of Islam. In case, this is not done by 30th April 1991, the word "OR IMPRISONMENT FOR LIFE"; in section 295-C of PPC shall case have effect on that date. It would be pertinent to mention here that amendment as directed by Honorable Federal Shariat Court was not implemented in soul and spirit. It was partly amended and words " shall be punished with death were inserted in section 295-C PPC without description regarding all other Prophets, legislature while approving bill regarding section 295-C of PPC intentionally and deliberately has ignore to take steps to amend the law mentioned in Para 68 to keep Christian community under their thumb.

10) That it is evident from the surrounding circumstances that section 295-C of the PPC is being misused and abuse. In some instances cases have been also instituted to settle rivalries between two Muslim sects, giving further vent to the fires of sectarianism. Federal Government, the respondent, has failed to enforce section 295-C of PPC, in according with the soul and spirit of the judgment passed by the Honorable Federal Shariat Court. The enforcement of Shariat Act came into existence in 1991 wherein legislature has protected fundamental rights of the citizens as guaranteed under the constitution and as ensured peace in the following words:

"And whereas it is one of the fundamental obligations of the Islamic State to protect the Honour life, liberty and fundamental right of the citizens as guaranteed under the Constitution and to ensure peace and provide inexpensive and speedy justice to people through an independent Islamic System of justice without any discrimination. Section 1(4) of the Act lays down that nothing contained in

this Act shall effect the personal law religious freedom, tradition, customs of way life of non-Muslims - Section 10 of the Act further lays down that in order to protect the life, honor, liberty, property and rights of the citizens, the State shall take legislative and administrative measures. The State i.e. Federal Government has failed to afford protection and safeguard, legitimate rights of the Christian community of Pakistan. Section 10 and Section 1(4) of the enforcement of Shariat Act 1991 has opened the door to invoke the Constitutional jurisdiction of this Honorable court. Present law and order situation and circumstance the poor Christian community to seek necessary amendments in section 295-C of PPC through this writ petition under the rule of necessity.

11) That would be not out of place to mention here that Pakistan is a Member of United Nation and is signatory of Charter of Human Rights and the State has undertaken to act in accordance with the Shariat Act, and fundamental rights guaranteed to the Christian community by the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973, and fundamental right guaranteed by the Shariat Act, 1991, necessary amendments sought by the petitioner in section 295-C of PPC, through the instant writ petition will promote harmony and cohesion in the National Life. If amendment in section 295-C of PPC sought by the petitioner is not allowed, the danger of the liberty of the Christian community of Pakistan will remain as sword of Damocles. The present section 295-C of PPC, which is not in accordance with the soul and spirit of the judgment, has abridged the fundamental rights of the minority communities and has placed them between Scylla and Charybdis.

12) That as mentioned relevantly in forging Para of instant writ petition that the respondent failed to afford protection of life and liberty to minorities in accordance with the fundamental rights as envisaged in chapter one of the constitution to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan of 1973 and

the fundamental right enshrined in the enforcement of Shariat Act 1991 and in accordance with the charter of Human right by the U.N.O. The petitioner is constrained to file instant writ petition that section 295-C of the PPC is amended at the direction of Shariat Court in contravention of fundamental rights as well as the Shariat Act. It is further stated respectfully that section 295-C PPC was not amended in accordance with the soul and spirit of judgment delivered by the Federal Shariat Court in 1991. As the copy of the same was sent to President of Pakistan under Article 203-D(3) of the constitution of Pakistan amendment of section 295-C of PPC is against all codified laws mentioned earlier relevantly.

13) That it would be of great significant to mention here that supreme court of United Arab Emirates delivered its judgment and same was published in Daily Jung of Lahore dated 23rd October 1993, according to judgment of the Honorable Supreme Court of UAE non-Muslims are exonerated from the application of Shariat Act and Sentence passed under Shariat Act. It is further elaborated that non-Muslims cannot be penalized and convicted. All Islamic Countries expect Pakistan have afforded protection of life and liberty to minorities living in their countries. According to the doctrine of Holy Quran and Sunnah Shariat Act is not applicable to non-Muslims.

14) That it would be not out of place to mention here that council of Islamic Ideology of Pakistan has expressed its opinion vide his letter no. FNO 10(10)/93-R-C11)893 dated March 3, 1994 this letter was addressed to Alama Daniel Tasleem with reference to his open letter sent to Islamic Ideology Council for his opinion according to said letter on behalf of Honorable Maulana Kausar Naizi (Late) then Chairman, Hafiz Mohammad Latif Saleemee, chief research officer of Islamic Ideology Council expressed his opinion about 295-C PPC "It is correct that the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) did not inflict punishment to

any one who Blasphemed the sacred and the Holy name of the Prophet, since the Holy Prophet (PUBH) was the Blessings for the whole universe he excused all those who Blasphemed his name, called bad names to him, he did not even admonished them, The Holy Prophet (PUBH) rather prayed for them. It is further stated in his letter that Islam does not allow even blaspheming the names of other religions. It is of great significance that Holy Quran and Sunnah has given dictates to believers to respect all prophets and the revealed books. Section 295-C PPC is not in accordance with the sunnah. The photo of the same is appended as Annexure "A".

15) That his Lordship Mr. Justice Javiaid Iqbal (Rtd.) expressed his highly valuable opinion in daily Nawa-e-Waqat dated July 14, 1994 where in this Lordship was pleased to refer opinion of Mr. Justice M-B Ahmad and reference was made to his work in his book Viz. The "Administration of Justice" published at Ali Garh University (India) in 1941 at page 76 and 77 that if a non-Muslim the eat meat of Khanzeer or sells the same if they did not acknowledge the Holy Prophet as a Prophet of Allah no legal action can be taken against them but contrary to this if a Muslim becomes guilty of doing such acts he shall be penalized under Shariat Act. His Lordship further expressed that Shariat Act is not applicable to non-Muslim as section 1(4) of enforcement of Shariat Act 1991. It is as clear as crystal from its wording that this Act shall not affect the personal laws, religious freedom, tradition, customs and way of life of the non-Muslims. A copy of statement is appended as annexure "B".

16) That is this juncture it is a signification to draw the kind attention of this August Court to evolutionary history of the constitution of Pakistan. The constitution of Pakistan in the Supreme Law of Pakistan. Article 5 of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan of 1956. a) All citizens are equal before law and entitled of equal protection of law. b)

No person shall be deprived of life or liberty saves in accordance with the law. Article 27 of the same constitution ensured protection of minorities; the same is reproducing here "The States shall safe guard the legitimate rights and interest of the minorities including their due representation in Federal and Provincial services."

17) That Constitution of Republic of Pakistan of 1962 in chapter 2 under the heading of Principal of polices it was farmed as under. Article No. 3 it was held "the legitimate rights and interests of the minorities should be safeguard and members of minorities Should be given due opportunities to enter in service of Pakistan." In chapter I of the constitution of the Pakistan Article 2 guaranteed the right of individuals dealt with in accordance with the law. Article 2(1) is reproduced here for kind consideration of this August Court." To enjoy the protection of the law and to be treated with in accordance with law and on ly in accordance with is inalienable right of every citizen, where ever be may be and every other person for the time being in Pakistan." Article 2(2) a) "No action detrimental to life, liberty, badly reputation or property of any person shall be taken except in accordance with the law." Under heading of Principal of law making (Article 2) Equality of Citizen All citizen be equal before law and be entitled to equal protection of law and treated alike in all respects. The constitutional history of history of Pakistan speaks itself that the minorities in Pakistan were afforded protection of life and liberty, fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution of Pakistan, salient features of the constitution history of Pakistan say that constitution have ensured protection of life and liberty to all citizens and it has further ensured the legitimate rights of minorities shall be safe guarded. It is beyond apprehension that those Christian who were killed at the spot at all pretext of Blasphemy were not afforded opportunity to explain, were they afforded

opportunity to face trial in accordance with the law? They were deprived of their lives against the constitution rights. They faced their death; their families are facing starvation due to sudden death at the hands of religious activists.

18) That Zakat and Usher Ordinance XXIX of 1979 came into force on 14 June 1979 and was extended to the whole of Pakistan. It has been specifically expressed in its preamble.

"That where as Shariat enjoins all Muslim, who Sahib-e-nisab, to pay and the state arrange to proper collection and utilization of Zakat & Usher and also allows such Muslims to utilized for the purposes authorized by Shariat the part there of not collected by the state. And where as the constitution also provides, in Article 31 that the state shall endcavour as respects of the Muslim of Pakistan to secure, interalia, the proper Organization of Zakat."From the reading of the above part of preamble, it has become crystal clear that the application of the ordinance was made purely to Muslims and all minorities in Pakistan were exempted from the operation of the said ordinance being purely Shariat law. It was done in accordance with Section1 (4) of the enforcement of Shariat Act 1991. If section 295-C is purely Islamic law, it cannot be made applicable to minorities living in Islamic State.

19) That the exemption as exception has already been provided in the case of Haddood Ordinances specially enforcement to Hadd order of President's orders No.4 of 1979 and Hadd is not liable as punishment to the Non-Muslims. Thus the exception may be provided in application of Section 295-C of PCC.

20) That the petitioner has no alternative or proficient, speedy and adequate remedy available to him under the law of redress of his grievances other than filing this constitutional writ petition and to evoke constitutional Jurisdiction of this August Court.

**PRAYER**

In these circumstances it is respectfully submitted that instant writ petition may kindly be accepted and respondent may be directed to take step to make necessary amendment in section 295-C PCC under the rule of necessity to the extent that same is against the spirit of the Islamic law and is not applicable to minorities in Pakistan being defective and against the public policy. It is further prayed that procedure adopted under Cr. PC is in sufficient and in adequate and does cater the need of time and has badly failed to protect the minorities from overflowing flood of religious activist. Any other relief, which this honorable court deems fit and proper, may also be awarded. Emmanuel Zafar advocate was attorney in this lawsuit.

## **Pakistani Christian Leaders in Western Countries**

It was relief and support to our cause in Pakistan on reading statements or coverage of protest rallies of Christians living abroad. The Christians in London and New York staged memorial rallies against blasphemy laws, which created immense pressure on government of Pakistan to clarify situations. I feel privileged to pay homage to Naseem Dean, a Christian, settled in UK, who was always on frontline to organize rallies in London on every incident of Christian persecution in Pakistan. I also pledge my appreciation on dedicated support of William Shahzad, Manzoor Alam, Anjum Bhatti, Anwar Siddique, Hameed Gill and others who organized protest rallies in front of UNO offices in New York. It was impact of protest by our brothers settled in west that Islamic Republic of Pakistan was forced to reclaim” Christians are happy with government policies and enjoying equal rights”

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan used so-called Christian leaders to mislead international forums regarding true situation of Christians. Francis X Lobo was first to make statement on government behalf in USA, followed by Fr. Rufin Julius, Sate Minister for Minority affairs during his official visits to USA and Europe. In his visits to Western countries, Mr. J. Salik, federal Minister for Population Planning, favored blasphemy laws and spoke more about Muslim minority in India rather than Christian in Pakistan.

The government also used Pakistani Christian clergy for propaganda against Christians in their tours to West. It's on record that Bishop Alexander Malik, Bishop Coutts, and Bishop Samuel Azriah, Bishop Romal Shah, Bishop Javeed Albert, and Bishop K Dass told media “Christians are enjoying equal rights in Pakistan”. These religious leaders contradicted such statements in meetings with funding

agencies to collect donations for their vested interests. For collection of funds they voiced against blasphemy law and religious freedom.

The Christians settled in Western countries remained very active to support their oppressed nation from 1998-2000. They voiced against every incident of Christian persecution with processions and rallies but their campaigns stopped after 2000. It's very important to discuss such complete silence when Christian worshipers were attacked, Churches were set on fire, Pastors were gunned down, Missionary institutions were destroyed and large number of cases were registered against Christians under blasphemy laws?

The visa policy of Western Countries benefited Pakistani Muslims which enabled millions of Muslims to settle in Europe and North America. These settlers transferred billions of dollars in Pakistan to their families to achieve high living standards while hundreds of thousands of their relatives migrated under immigration rules. The Muslim countries in Middle East also gave priority in jobs and business to Pakistan Muslims but Christians were totally neglected in employment visas. The Christians who settled in Western Countries were affiliated to Churches or Church based organization but their number can be counted on fingers comparing to Muslims. The Christians not being relative to clergy or without affiliation to church based organizations were denied Visas by Western missions in Pakistan.

In 1985, national general elections were held under Separate Electorate after decades which enabled hundreds of Christians to be elected in Town Committees, Local Bodies, District Councils, Municipal Corporations, Provincial Assemblies and National Assembly. The Church leadership spend millions of donation funds to support their candidates in elections but failed to get results of their choice. The new leaders were not under influence of clergy

nor had any affiliation with such, emerged as leadership of poor.

Few newly elected leaders applied for visa to Western countries which was sanctioned keeping in view of their public profile. These new settlers in west who were not connected to church faced hardships in adjustment of status. Meanwhile, incident of Shanti Nagar happened in 1997, which was widely covered by international news media. This incident united Christian west to raise voice and to organize protest rallies in London and New York.

The Union Council or District Council level leaders started claiming to be national leaders of Pakistani Christian in UK and USA and formed their own separate groups. This laws not any standard leadership and failed in formation of any "Pressure Group" Pakistani Muslims.

As these Christian Groups abroad were not true groups or led by capable leaders, therefore became inactive after 2000, because immigration status of all leaders was adjusted. They started enjoying western life style and forgot their poor oppressed brothers and sisters in Pakistan. The duty of such leaders and groups was to visit Pakistani Missions and invite Counsel or Ambassador to their annual dinners.

There are leaders who worked for interests of Pakistani Government and damaged Christian cause. It must be brought on record that one Pakistani Christian settled in USA, who lobbied on behalf of Pakistan government on Presller amendment. When USA administration was considering seriously enlisting Pakistan among states violating religious freedom.

## **My speeches in International Conferences and UN**

The Pakistani newspapers mostly covered my press statements and press conferences which also appeared in international media. My demand to repeal blasphemy law, social justice and freedom of religion attracted attention of many international organizations. The human right activists invited me for presentations on Blasphemy law and situation of Christians in many international conferences. I was very happy on such invitation and felt proud on chance to inform true miseries and oppression of my nation to international community. I was always grieved and upset on statements of our leaders on their tours abroad, so, it was an opportunity to suppress false propoganda that "Christians are happy in Pakistan and enjoying equal rights"

I was unable to attend conferences in India, UK and Australia in 1993-1994, under pressure of government secret agencies. The secret agents followed me round the clock after my demand of "Separate Christian Province" in 1992. The establishment's harassment was so intense that agents followed me in restaurants during my tea and lunch or visits to friends and family.

In 1995, Won Buddhist University in Iksan, South Korea, invited me to deliver lecture in an international conference on "Islamic laws and Pakistani Christians". I decided to participate in this conference instead of interference to stop me. I engaged one famous travel company for renewal of my passport and visited South Korea Counsel offices in Defense Housing Society for visa. After completing my traveling documents, I headed for Karachi Airport with confirm belief to fly to Seoul. It was very tough time at immigration counter to satisfy them on my visit visa as Korea had entry on arrival on Pakistani passport. The Immigration concentrated on validity of visa instead of information's on my profile but stopped me boarding until

checking that visa is genuine. There were few minutes to flight when Inspector of Federal Investigating Agency FIA, arrived at counter and enquired about agents which issued me foreign exchange for traveling. He winked one police officer and gave him my passport to clear me for exit. I was out in free world after years and feeling very comfortable.

It was great experience to visit Korea; I was received at Seoul airport by organizers who escorted me to Iksan city which was at four hours drive. The next day was inaugural session of conference where seven hundred delegates were present from all around world which impressed and encouraged me. The organizers asked about my written speech for printing and distribution among delegates before my deliverance but I reminded that my presentation will be a verbal speech. The hall was full of delegates when organizing secretary introduced invited me for speech. For fourteen minutes, I fluently spoke on Islamic laws and impact of their implementation on Christians in Pakistan; I have pain of my nation in voice and transferred it to hundreds of people. The next thirty minutes were for delegates to ask question which made more to understand the situation of victimization of my nation. I slept very comfortably that night as my duty of sincere son and obedient servant of nation was performed. When different delegates were meeting me in hall after my speech, one woman shake hand with me and asked one question "will you speak this all in United Nations in New York?" I replied, sure, I will, if ever I will get chance. She asked for my visiting card and promised to invite me to UNO. In this conference, I got chance to meet important people from fifty two countries who extended their support to our cause. I remained in Korea for a week and visited historical statues of Buddha carved on hillsides and monasteries.

When I came back in Karachi, there was rush of government agents to inquire about my visit and meetings with Indian delegates in Korea but I was not scared of them as usual. I started my struggle more forcefully to organize Pakistan Christian Congress to achieve rights of my nation. It was busy day in Ghattar Baghicha to listen story of one teenage Christian girl who was forcibly converted and married by Muslim kidnapers, the cries of poor parents were dreadful while police was not cooperating to recover Christian girl. When I reached home late night, I received invitation to visit UNO to speak on occasion of International Day of Human Rights in New York.

It was landmark in history of Pakistani Christians to present true situation in United Nation Offices. The venue of seminar was at first floor of Church Centre of United Nations, where ambassador of Bosnia was also among speakers with me. I presented situation of Christians after implementation of blasphemy law and other Islamic laws. I expressed that Christians have been deprived of their basic democratic rights and urged international community to step forward to save us from atrocities of Muslim Majority. At the end of seminar, one person approached me and introduced him as representative of Pakistani Counsel General in UNO; he questioned me "Bhatti Sahib, what you will get after this speech in Pakistan? Because people who speak here get government posts in Pakistan but I think jail will be waiting for you and your Christian will not come out to save you" I replied "I did my duty as true son of nation, be sure, I will go home and keep my struggle until my nation is free from slavery" Meanwhile, one of organizer came to me and said "why this Pakistani was threatening you, will it be fine for me to go back". Then it came clear to me that expressions are understood and language is secondary but I told him "I will go back and will manage"

One miracle happened in this seminar, one delegate from School of Divinity of Harvard University was present in seminar, who invited me to speak at Student Union Hall of Harvard University, Boston. I must witness that this was institution where I dreamed to study but my parents were not so rich to send me to USA. I accepted this invitation and reached Boston by train from New York. There was my lunch with Deans before my speech which was very interesting to exchange of views. It was 5:00 PM when I was on the stage where Benazir Bhutto spoke and I was second, a Pakistani Christian. In beginning, I told audiences that Harvard was my dream institution to study but my poverty prevented me to reach here and expressed my honour to be speaker in this campus. I expressed miserable life of Christians in Pakistan after implementation of Islamic laws.

## **The Pakistan Secret Services and Me**

The role of secret agencies in third world countries is usually negative. These agencies play vital role to topple legitimate governments on intimation of internal and external forces. The harassment, abduction, extra judicial killings, wrongful detentions of human right activists and opposition leaders is part of dirty play of such agencies.

The establishments also adopt substandard behavior to keep control on political set up of Pakistan. In other words we can say that every political leader remains in power until agencies consider him appropriate and remove them from political scenario of the country whenever want. These secret agencies keep personal and political record of every individual who may be active in public life in any field. They also blackmail politicians and businessmen on their drawbacks in personal life.

There is very important question that why government agencies spend all resources of state to control leaders. Let's shed light on this important issue with one simple example that a political party do not pays to workers or have paid members. There is always difference of opinion among leaders and workers in every political group, which keeps the organizational structure weak.

On other hand, Pakistan Armed Forces have paid employees as soldiers under highly paid commissioned officers. The Armed Forces have strict rules and regulations to eliminate difference of opinion in ranks and files. As political parties have agenda to win vote to control assets of federation, likewise, Armed Forces have motives of free hand on major part of annual budget.

The Armed Forces of Pakistan were not corrupt till 1956 before General Mohammad Ayub Khan toppled democratic government and imposed first marshal law. The Armed Forces made millions in kickbacks from defense deals and billions in bribes by military tribunals and courts.

The Armed Forces tasted blood of eminent power and billion in cash bribes which made them corrupt and power hungry. It is important to note that soldiers in Armed Forces were not beneficiary of corruption by generals or commissioned officers. After first marshal law in Pakistan, the generals decided to make Armed Forces to be an organized political party. Therefore, we can simply say that Pakistan Armed Forces is a strong political party in Pakistan who keeps its members united with monthly payments and other privileges.

The Armed Force of Pakistan have Inter Services Intelligence ISI and Military Intelligence MI as secret services but no one know that how many secret agencies are under this establishment because share of Armed Forces in national budget is never openly discussed in parliament nor reported under national security act.

In 1979, secret service agents came in open contact with me when I joined Church World Movement, a socio-religious organization, founded by Dr. Tajamal Waheed Khan in Karachi. My participation in CWM was very interesting and incidental entry in any Christian organizations or politics.

The city of Karachi was known as city of lights and peace where life was very live in evenings and nights in 1970,s. All our friends had an evening meeting point in center city restaurant named Café New York in Saddar. As it was very close to a cathedral and Christian school, therefore, it was stop over for many to leisure or share cup of tea with us. Inyat Masih Bhatti, a Pakistan Masih League leader was visiting us in this café as acknowledgement of our

capacity to arrange public gatherings. He invited us to join The Church World Movement and introduced me to Dr. Tajamal Waheed Khan.

I have heard of Dr. Tajamal Waheed who became famous by organizing a labor strike of Christian workers in Karachi Municipal Corporation in 1966, on kidnapping of Christian woman by Muslims in Punjabi Para, a Christian Colony in Lalo Kheet. I Joined CWM and was nominated Vice Chairman.

Dr. Tajamal was very efficient leader and keen to highlight Christian issues in national media. He was writing Press statements and giving us handwritten matter for Kitabat, which was skillfully converted in a document by a Katib as there were no Urdu typewriters. It was my duty to pay for Kitabit and Photocopies before distribution of CWM press releases to newspapers.

The offices of newspapers were on Macleod Road and Saddar areas while residence of Dr. Tajamal Waheed was in Civil Hospital Karachi. There was distance of half mile from his home to Urdu Bazar to reach for Katib and then to walk at least three miles to distribute the press release and to report back. So, one press statement was taking 8 miles of walking on foot to deliver on desks of reporters.

I waited anxiously all night for early morning hawkers of newspapers to read that how many have covered our news story but it was disappointed that popular newspapers like "Jang" and Nawa-e Waqat' used to neglect it except "Nai Roshni" an evening Urdu daily.

After few months to joining Church World Movement, I heard a knock at my door one morning. The stranger who introduced himself as CID officer Ghulam Rasool from department of minority wing, wanted to interview me. He asked questions about my sisters, brother, parents, my student life and involvement in Church World Movement. It was making me breathless and scary when he was taking note of every thing, which makes me laugh now. I was

never interested in any Christian political group but I always supported with donations to Christian leaders being a member of National Students Federation NSF in Karachi University. I always preferred to join national political groups because mostly Christian politicians were illiterate and none was even a graduate in political science.

I have heard lectures of Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Tak Kashmiri and many other politicians in Karachi university auditorium on invitation of student union. Their lectures were highlighted next day on front pages of major newspapers but my experience with Church World Movement was enough to remind that national media in Pakistan was not in favour of Christians.

In 1980, I was elected Chairman and Inyat Bhatti President of Church World Movement Council. The CWM was founded to unite Christian denominations or different sects around the world, but I decided to modify its objectives and added revival of human rights. The CWM council approved new manifesto and provided us a chance to work on grass root level to ensure social justice for Christians.

Meanwhile, Mushtaq Masih was picked up by police and tortured to death in Korangi Police Station which shocked local community but administration was reluctant to take action against police officials. We demanded an immediate judicial enquiry in brutal killing of Mushtaq Masih and arrests of involved police officials, on failure to comply with our demands, we announced to stage hunger strike in front of UNO offices in Karachi.

The Sindh government paid no attention to our demands, so, we were left with no other option to stage Hunger Strike. We contributed to prepared banners and hired two pickups to march towards UN Human Right offices in Clifton, Karachi. The UNO office was situated in posh Clifton area where was not much traffic or large

gathering to witness our protest but we hoisted big black cloth banner on wall of UN mission and sat on hunger strike on main gate. Our leaders honoured us with flower garlands and glass of juice to start hunger strike. It was 4:00 PM, when Johnson Bhatti, Shakeel Rehmat Bhatti, Lazar Bhatti and me started indefinite hunger strike till action against police.

Our leaders and workers left us in darkness in that deserted street before office of UNO, where Lazar Bhatti led us in prayers. The time was running very slowly and it seemed that there will be never any morning of it while I was thinking what will be next? No one from UN offices came out to receive our memorandum nor was any police picket present for our security except watchman on gate who was opening gate and looking at us after every hour.

Next morning, one UN official came out to meet us to whom we presented our memorandum. He offered us refuge inside UNO, if we had any fear or differences with government but we decided to continue our protest. One press photographer came to visit our hunger strike camp, took pictures and noted our banners for coverage. In the evening, we saw one paramilitary truck coming toward us and we thought of our arrests but truck parked on other side. It was our second night and there was neither fear nor any appetite instead we felt comfort and satisfaction on our struggle for poor community.

On third day, it was moment of our success when Christians started reaching our hunger strike camp with newspapers in which reports were published about our demands. The officials on truck were watching us and informing some one on wireless about anyone who was reaching in our camp. It was afternoon, when one private car parked and two persons came out who introduced them as Intelligence Bureau officers and talked about our demands to end hunger strike. We demanded registration of cases against killer police officials of Mushtaq Masih and

they assured us appropriate action till next day. The third night brought humor of success when dozens of Christians came to meet us on bicycles and rickshaws. In the morning of fourth day, we saw mother of Mushtaq Masih with a newspaper and publication of district administration notification of suspension of police officers of Korangi Police Station. The government officials came to hunger strike camp and asked us to end strike as our demand of registration of case against police was fulfilled, so, it was another step forward to an achievement.

I ran for elections on reserved seats for minorities in National Assembly for three times and was interviewed by government agents for hundreds of times. In 1992, when I demanded "Separate Province for Christians" the secret agents attacked and tried to kill me. It was cold night of December, 1992, when I was on way home from a meeting in Golimar, planed clothe police stopped me and quickly put me in a van blindfolded. They tortured me in an unknown place, looking like a torture cell and pressuring me to withdraw my demand of Separate Province for Christians in Pakistan. These people asked me hundreds of times only one question: Is Indian secret agency RAW supporting me? On my denial to withdraw my demand and any contact with foreign secret agency, they tortured me more until I was unconscious. Next evening, I found myself in a roadside café on national highway near Thatta.

In the summer of 1978, I was invited in a minorities meeting at Intercontinental Hotel Karachi with Rao Farman Ali, Federal Minister for Petroleum and Natural Resources, which was coordinated by Saeed Ahmad Sukherra and Joseph Gill. During refreshment, General Farman Ali shake hand with me and said "I think we met in Dhaka" we exchanged views about situation of minorities and he assured that government is serious in solution to our problems. After few weeks Sardar Saeed Sukherra came to

my home and offered me to host a reception in honour of General (RT,) Farman Ali. . He introduced himself as an agriculturist in Punjab from Rao tribe. So, I arranged a function at Hotel Jabees, Karachi, in honour of Petroleum Minister. When Martial Law government announced national general elections in 1985, we decided the formation of Christian political party and launched Pakistan Christian Congress PCC, in a convention in Lahore. Over the next several years, Sardar Sukhera paid me many visits. He arranged many gatherings of government ministers and retired military general in Karachi and invited me in every event. It was always a big question mark that Why he arranges such functions and who funds five star hotel gatherings? I doubted that he worked for government agencies.

In 1993, I was invited to attend an international conference in Bangalore, India. As I received clearance letter from ministry of Foreign Affairs of India, for conference, I applied for visa which was promptly issued, but next morning a military intelligence agent, named Javeed was at my door who interviewed me for visit to India. It was first incident of MI agent of armed forces meeting.

I was preparing to travel for India, when Saeed Sukherra, came to visit me with a message of a meeting with very important person. He looked very curious and we fixed meeting at Hotel Mehran at 10:00 AM next day. When I reached in restaurant at Hotel Mehran, Saeed Sukherra has not reached yet but I felt mysterious movement of some persons, who were going in and out, in a manner to check something. I was leaving after waiting half an hour when Saeed Sukhera showed up. We ordered tea and he started telling about person who was coming. "He is very powerful man in government and I am lucky that he wants to meet me" he told

Meantime, we felt extraordinary movement and one slim man entered in restaurant while I felt some people in plain

cloth has encircled hotel lobby and entrance of restaurant. Saeed Sukherra stood up and introduced him as Rao Zafar Iqbal, member of their tribe and Assistant Director of Intelligence Bureau of Pakistan IB, heading Indian Cell. During talks, he disclosed that my visit to India is being taken very seriously and government wants me to raise Kashmir issue in my speech in Bangalore conference.

Rao Zafar assured me that Pakistan High Commission shall take care of my every need in India and I shall receive VIP treatment on returning to Pakistan. He offered more benefits on this cooperation with government, he explained that government knows that I have lost two elections of National Assembly but I can win next elections of parliament. I questioned how I can win?

He said "it is very easy, as, Christians have 42,000 polling stations while returned candidate receives 12,000 votes to win. He said "IB have people in every village, town and city to cast one vote on every polling station in my favour to make me Member of National Assembly but it all depends on my cooperation"

He offered me more benefits and we fixed our next meeting in Hotel Intercontinental after two days for further discussions. Rao Iqbal left but Saeed Sukherra remained with me, telling about lucrative opportunities of supporting government. After departing from Mehran Hotel, I felt very upset and went to Café New York for a cup of tea. My conscious was not satisfied on this meeting and there was a voice inside me "it's a bargaining on rights of poor Christians" In a moment, I decided not to cooperate with establishment and next meeting to make last contact with IB.

This IB meeting was not in lobby or restaurant of Intercontinental Hotel but I was guided to a room on third floor to meet Rao Zafar Iqbal where he ordered food but I was unable to eat as I felt confused and heavy. He explained again all matters which we discussed in previous

meeting but he was speaking very cautiously which flashed idea of secret recording of our conversation. I talked very precisely with brief answers to assure him. He gave me his direct number for contact in any emergent need.

I discussed this situation with Pakistan Christian Congress leaders and informed them about offers of government. I told them that on cooperation, PCC can get one seat in National Assembly, one seat in Sindh Assembly and one in Punjab Assembly. The majority of our leaders were happy to enter in power for sake of poor Christians but one section wanted to turn down the offer and to keep on struggling to win on shoulders of people. I was also of opinion that we shall work hard to unite poor Christian to reach in parliament.

I called, IB director to inform my urgent visit to my ailing mother in Punjab which may cancel my participation in conference in India but we can stay in contact for further cooperation. My call was an end to government offer and start of working with more dedication and commitment.

My direct interaction with high official of very powerful government agencies clarified that minority elections were never transparent while establishment prepares list of returned candidates on reserved seats for Christians in National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies of their choice and selections.

## **My Meetings with Muslim Politicians**

The Muslim political parties never had any minority welfare program in objectives; therefore, formation of true Christian political party was need of time. The formation of Pakistan Christian Congress PCC aimed to secure equal basic democratic rights of Christians in Islamic Republic of Pakistan which was never appreciated by majority community. The Muslim political groups always engaged some Christian elements and used them for vested interests.

I believed that Muslim majority shall never ensure justice due to their aggressive nature and hate toward Christianity. I appreciated Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, G M Syeed, Nawb Khair Buksh Marri, Sardar Atta Ulla Mengal, Khan Abdul wali Khan, Taj Mohammad Langha and Nawab Mohammad Akbar Khan Bughti because these leaders were fighting for rights of their people and democracy which was sabotaged by particular group of Muslims. The Pakistan Muslim League, Pakistan Peoples Party and Islamic parties restricted their membership for Christians and closed door for any cooperation among Muslims and Christians. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Pir Pagara, Mohammad Hussian Chatta, Mullana Moudoddi, Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif were never in favour of Christians.

It was shameful and shall be shameful for those Christian who ever joined hands with Pakistan Muslim League as "only Muslim can be members of Muslim League" Pakistan Peoples Party as it says "Islam are our religion" and Jamat-e-Islami or Jamiat-ul-Islam is only for Muslims.

The Christian who joins or compels other to join or support Muslim political groups, presents the blood of Christian martyrs to drink and flesh to eat. Pakistan Peoples Party formed constitution of Islamic Republic and declare it an Islamic state. It was first Muslim party in history of Pakistan to create hate among religious communities. Pakistan Peoples Party government was first one to open discriminatory firing and martyred two Christians in Rawalpindi. Those Christian who support PPP, they bargain on blood of Nawaz and James while live nations never sell blood of their martyred.

I must bring on record, my meetings with Muslim politicians for future guideline of our youth that Muslim leaders act like fundamental Muslim when in power but become moderate when in opposition. I will mention Pakistan Christian Congress leaders meeting with Benazir Bhutto in Balawal House, Karachi. She assured to repeal blasphemy laws and introduction of Dual Voting right for Christians but forgot her promises when reached in Prime Minister House.

I was invited to participate in first convention of Jamhoori Watan Party led by Nawab Mohammad Akbar Khan Bught in Quetta. I thought to join this moderate nationalist party but I was shocked when Akbar Bughti denied to present resolution condemning attack on Catholic Church in Peshawar. The resolution to condemn the attacks on Hindu Temples in Balochistan was presented in same convention which stunned me and reaffirmed my belief that Christians must unite in Pakistan to solve their problems.

In a delegation of Sindh Christian leaders, I met with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in Islamabad. The first thing I noticed in beginning of meeting was very surprising, President Ghulam Ishaq with hand movement directed his principal secretary to stop TV team entering the room which left immediate impression in my mind that he do not

want this meeting to be broadcasted. The start of conversation was also amazing when President Ghulam asked Michael Javeed who was Member of Sindh Assembly "It seems PPP government in Sindh have not given you bicycle, so you came to meet me" during that period Pakistan Peoples Party government in Sindh was distributing bicycles and sewing machines among workers. The Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of PPP and President Ghulam Ishaq were in confrontation and there were rumors that President will dissolve assemblies.

The President wanted to know problems of Sindh Christians and treatment of Sindh PPP government: I requested Mr. President to abolish "Irrational Marriages Bill" as it was protecting Muslims who forcibly marry Christian women after kidnapping and raping. Ghulam Ishaq Khan looked at Secretary Law who was present with Secretaries of other ministries. I reminded that this bill was passed during Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto regime to permit Muslims to marry women of other religions, allowing both parties to practice religion of their own. Mr. Shakeel Rehmat Bhatti and Mr. Yousaf M. Gill were present in meeting but it was total failure visit which persuaded me not to meet any Muslim government official in future.

I attended many gatherings where Prime Ministers and Presidents of Pakistan delivered policy speeches but I knew that in drawing rooms these are different persons. I always dreamed Christians to unite and launch a peaceful movement for their rights because there was no other way to prosper.

In 2007, I went to attend meeting of Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in New York. In an open question session after PM speech, Anjum Bhatti raised a point to introduce Dual Voting right for Christian instead of Joint electorate. Shaukat Aziz was so misinformed that he claimed that Musharraf government has given Dual Voting rights to Christians, on which I interfered to correct record that government has

awarded Dual Voting right to Kashmiri Muslims not to Christians.

I always avoided meeting Pakistani ambassador or counsel because I believed that bureaucrats have no solution to our problems or Muslim leaders.

## **PCC and Christian Muslim Dialogue**

The term Christian-Muslim dialogues is creation of western theologians who believe in religious harmony. This was conclusion of Christians where Muslims were in minority. The western Christians exported Christian-Muslim Dialogue phenomena and urged Churches and non-governmental organizations in Muslim majority countries to initiate communal relations. The dark side of such dialogue was nature of Muslims and Islamic teaching, which was not viewed by Christians in west that "Islam urges to dialogues with enemy when they can not win war but to crush them if enemy is weak".

In 1990, Christian-Muslim dialogue theory also surfaced in Pakistan through some non-government organizations. These groups claimed that dialogues can convince Muslims to join Christians in demands to repeal blasphemy law. The clergy also joined dialogues on directions of Vatican with allocation of huge funds.

The dialogues are very effective in moderate society but there is no option of dialogue in Islam. The Islam believes that peace can not prevail on earth until infidels exist which is total denial of dialogues with other religions. The western countries believed in human rights rather than religion before incident of 9/11, but situation changed later.

Here is story of Christian-Muslim Dialogues conducted by Churches and non-government organizations in Pakistan. They invited defunct communist Muslim leaders in parish houses in late night drink parties and lavishly splendid dialogue-funds. They invited district civil service officials, like area magistrates, deputy commissioners and station house police officials to entertain with food and liquors in name of dialogues. They funded human right activists and Muslim organizations to voice against Islamic

laws which were already receiving millions of dollars from western organizations. Some clergy members invited few local area Muslims from mosques and funded Muslim seminaries in name of dialogues.

The Awami Bishop “Peoples Bishop” Bishop John Joseph, a Catholic Bishop of Faisalabad was champion of Christian-Muslim dialogues in Pakistan. The parties in honour of local government officials in Bishop House were mostly witnessed by staff and huge funds were transferred to human right activists as part of dialogues. The Christian Liberation Front, a political group of Christians was formed and funded by dialogue funds. An evangelist Bishop Albert Javeed based in Gojra district established close contacts with Muslim clergy and funded Muslim schools along with lavish parties to local officials. Bishop Alexander Mailk from Lahore played pivoted role in lavishly spending on Christian-Muslim dialogues on organizing late night dinners of Muslim leaders and bureaucrats. Bishop Samuel Azriah, of Riawind dioceses of Church of Pakistan, a beneficiary of Christian-Muslim dialogue made a visible attempt when a Muslim religious-political leader Dr.Tahir-ul-Qadri invited Christians in a Lahore mosque to offer joint prayers. It was not any successful achievement because Tahir-ul-Qadri had many religious institutions in western countries and it was important for him to secure his moderate image.

The Christian-Muslim dialogues conducted by Christian clergy and non-government organizations never served any positive role to convince Muslim population to voice against Islamic laws and revival of religious freedom. These dialogues seemed a drama play where actors established personal relations with government officials and local Muslims for vested interests, like Bishop Albert Javeed, s live telecast of his ordination ceremony in presence of government officials and Muslim clergy to convince his sister churches about his work among Muslims. The

contacts with government officials with funding of dialogue-cash were used against Christians to punish and torture who spoke against Bishops in scams of selling church properties. There was not any important Muslim leader who issued any statement against implementation of Islamic laws on minorities or any Muslim parliamentarian who moved any motion in house to repeal blasphemy laws.

The Muslim political groups which supported Islamic laws in Pakistan were never involved in such Christian – Muslim dialogues. The leaders of Jamat-e-Islami and Jamiat-e-Ulema Islam were never invited to discuss any amendment in repeal of blasphemy laws because these dialogue-fever individual knew that it was impossible to argue with Muslim leaders.

On failure of clergy and non-government organizations dialogues, I decided to present true face of dialogues and nature of Muslims. I announced to hold open dialogues on platform of Pakistan Christian Congress in 1995. The first seminar of Christian-Muslim dialogue was organized at Avari Towers Hotel in Karachi, where Jamat-e-Islami leader Professor Abdul Ghafoor and Christian Scholar Fr. Archie were among other distinguished speakers. It was an open forum for Christians to call for repeal of blasphemy laws and Fr. Archie presented case of Christian persecution under Islamic laws but in response Professor Ghafoor argued that Pakistan was formed for Muslims to practice Islam where Islam ensures rights of minorities.

The Islamabad Hotel in Islamabad was the second venue of PCC open dialogue with Muslim leaders. Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Amir Jamat-e-Islami Pakistan, Senator Hafiz Hussain Ahmad, leader of JUI Pakistan, Allama Naqvi, leader of Tehreek Nafaz-e-Fiqh Jaferia and Professor Salamat Akhtar participated in Christian-Muslim

dialogue seminar which was attended by two hundred dignitaries from different walks of life. It was first of such gathering where heads of Islamic parties spoke openly before camera and people instead of drawing room Christian-Muslim dialogues. After fiery speech of Professor Salamat Akhtar, I thought for a moment that Muslim leaders shall come up with proposals and solutions but it was repeated again that Islam protects minority rights and constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan guarantees protections of religious minorities. The Muslim leaders stressed that blasphemy laws are not used against Christians but infidels.

The Idera Siqafat-e-Balochistan in Quetta seminar under PCC banner was very successful and attended by Baloch nationalist leader like Habib Jalib, Baloch Students Organization President, Deputy Speaker Balochistan Assembly Arjun Das Bughti, Member Assembly Sant Singh, Christian leader Bashir Masih and Jamat-e-Islami Balochistan chief. The Baloch leaders condemned blasphemy laws and urged government to repeal all Islamic laws. It was proudly announced that there was not a single case registered against Christians in Balochistan province under blasphemy laws.

I spend millions on traveling and organizing these open dialogues in five star hotels among high profile Muslims and Christians. After these Christian-Muslim open dialogue seminars, I concluded that Muslim leaders shall never support us in a campaign to repeal blasphemy laws until Christians are not united to launch a movement for new legislative assembly for restoration of 1956 constitution "Constitution of Pakistan" instead of constitution of 1973 "Islamic Republic of Pakistan"

## **Bishop John Joseph was killed**

I was in New York on May 7, 1998; when I heard shocking death news of Bishop John Joseph. I called PCC leader M. Joseph Gill in Karachi for details and confirmation. He told that dead body of Bishop John Joseph was found with gunshots in very mysterious conditions in front of Session Courts of Sahiwal, where he went to meet any government official in urgency and in darkness after a call when he was addressing a protest rally against arrest of blasphemy accused Ayub Masih. I contacted one news agency to record my condolences and demand the arrest of killers but correspondent said that Bishop John Joseph was not killed but he committed suicide according to press statement by Catholic Church in Pakistan. It was difficult to believe that Bishop John Joseph can commit suicide because he was a dedicated spiritual leader who knew that suicide is sin in Christianity.

The death of Bishop John Joseph sparked anger among Pakistan Christians. The laymen and congregates were protesting on dead body and demanding probe in killing while clergy was in fear to accept murder realities. I participated in one protest rally in New York on May 25, 1998, in front of United Nations Office to condemn killing, where all speakers demanded an independent probe. In my speech, I urged government to constitute a Commission headed by High Court judge to investigate and immediate arrest of culprits.

I knew Bishop John Joseph when he was Rector of Karachi Seminary. He opened Seminary doors for Punjabi youth for picnics and retreats where only Anglo Indian were Welcome. The Karachi Catholic Seminary was expanded on acres and located in suburban with gardens, farms and

swimming pools. The European missionaries took control of Catholic Church after independence in 1947; they invited Anglo Indians or Christian descendent from Indian State of Goa to join church service as priests. During Indo-Pak war in 1965, the government blamed foreign missionaries of spying and harassed them to leave Pakistan. They proposed participation of Punjabi Christians in ministry who were 99% of congregation and invited them for priesthood training to fill vacuum after their departure. The Goen clergy took over control of churches, hospitals, schools and other establishments owned by Catholic Church in 1966. The Bishops of Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi Dioceses were Goen but hundreds of Punjabi Christians were in seminary. The heads of schools, colleges, hospitals, Caritas and seminary were also priests of Goen community. The Bishops treatment with Punjabi priests compelled some leaders to raise voice against discrimination and demanded equal participation of congregates in church services. The voice of Khadim Wilson Khadim, a teacher in catholic school in Karachi, shall ever remain part of history, who demanded Punjabi Bishop in Pakistan. It became a movement within church, which forced Goen Bishops to install Fr. John Joseph to be a Rector of Karachi Catholic Seminary.

I visited Karachi Seminary on many occasions with our parish priest and members of Holy Rosary Association. I became eager to meet Fr. John Joseph after reading an article in newspaper "Jang" about his research on Urdu language dictionary. During a trip to seminary, I got chance to talk with him about social and religious issues. He was soft-spoken simple person like a scholar but seemed a warrior of Christ when talking about Christian faith. Due to momentum in movement of reformation in Catholic Church of Pakistan under leadership of Khadim Wilson Khadim, a new Diocese was formed in city of Faisalabad and Fr. John

Joseph was ordained as its first Bishop in 1981.

As Bishop John Joseph was first Punjabi Catholic bishop in Pakistan, he became very popular among Christians of all sects and ultimately government treated him as VIP. He was impressed by Liberation Theology and persuaded seminary student to promote it for betterment of Pakistani Christians. Fr. Emmanuel Assi, who wrote many famous research papers on Liberation Theology, was also in Karachi Seminary when Bishop John Joseph was rector of this institution. The large amount of funds were poured in Faisalabad Dioceses by Vatican and other international funding agencies which were under sole control of Bishop John Joseph who was keen of Liberation Theology and dreamed to be Bishop Toto of Pakistan. He was always worried about poor Christians and planned due change in their social and political status for which he decided to fund political persons and organizations.

In national general elections of 1988, Bishop John Joseph decided to support George Clement on reserve seat for Christians in National assembly, who was a run-away Karachi Seminary student but resident of his native village. He funded election campaign of George Clement and used church machinery to cast vote to make him successful. He also supported Peter John Sohtra from Faisalabad who became member of Punjab Assembly in 1985. He founded welfare trust "Dubara" for uplift of poor Christians as well as generously supported Muslim human right organizations under Christian-Muslim dialogues. The performance of George Clement and Peter Sohtra in government disappointed Bishop John Joseph because they failed to raise voice for Christians. He decided to form a pressure group and recruited Shahbaz Bhatti to lead "Christian Liberation Front" in accordance with his directions.

Bishop John Joseph led two nationwide protests of

Christian community and went on hunger strike. The first protest was in 1992 against the government's proposal to include a column of religion in national identity card. The Christians viewed new identity card system to further victimization of Religious minorities in Pakistan. The second protest was against the murder of Manzoor Masih, a Christian on blasphemy trial shot outside the court on 5 April 1994.

He was like a warrior when on March 20, 1998; Bishop John Joseph led an ecumenical rally for Christian Solidarity in Vienna in which personnel from both the Catholic and Protestant Church hierarchies took part in the program. He gave a homily on the Persecution of religious minorities in Pakistan, especially the impact of the blasphemy laws. He raised slogan "we shall fight till the dawn comes" like a warrior who prefers to fight and struggle not to commit suicide like cowards.

The reaction of Sahiwal Christians negates suicidal death who gathered at the spot in the courthouse and as of 12:35 A.M of 7th May, they refused to remove the dead body until the prime minister would come personally. The Christians mourning the death in Faisalabad took out procession and police used tear gas to disperse them. Several thousand mourners accompanied the body of Bishop John Joseph to his home village Khush Pur and agitated against government.

Does a man who writes an open letter saying "we must act strongly in unity, Christians and Moslems, to repeal 295 B and C without worrying about the sacrifices we shall have to offer," He announced in his last sermon in Sahiwal "It is no longer possible for my people to live in Pakistan." Can any one believe that person who makes such big and daring statements can shoot himself?

The press note issued by the Catholic Bishop Conference totally based on the testimony of Fr. Yaqoob, who

accompanied him to the Session Courts on the night of incident. Fr. Yaqoob, stated that he, Bishop John Joseph left him behind and he heard the gunshot, when he approached the Bishop was dead.

It is still a secret that why Bishop John Joseph left in hurry after a call for Session Courts building of Sahiwal in darkness? Was he meeting there with any high official or it was a trap by militant Muslims? Why he left behind Fr. Yaqoob? Why it was not clarified that after how long Fr. Yaqoob heard gunshots? May be there were some disagreements with government officials which resulted in killing of Bishop John Joseph? Why a person like Bishop John Joseph, who led rallies and hunger strikes to express his views, decided to suicide in darken deserted place instead of in gathering of thousands he left in hurry? Why local Christians not allowed any one to take away dead body for 24 hours and demanded Prime Minster of Pakistan to visit the incident? The simple answer to all these questions is an independent inquiry commission to probe in killing. Most important question was raised by Bishop Coutts during his first visit to USA after taking charge of Faisalabad dioceses "Please, fund me as my dioceses have no money, do, t know what happened to huge deposits in accounts during life of Bishop John Joseph"

## **My Open Letter to Secretary General of United Nations**

Memorandum on:

The Joint electorate, Constitutional package and amendments in Election 2002 in Pakistan for minorities being violation of UN Human Rights Declaration, Article 9-29 of Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Liaquat-Nehru Pact.

His Excellency,

I the undersigned, Nazir S Bhatti, Chief of Pakistan Christian congress, on behalf of 15 million Christians of Pakistan, wish to draw your kind attention on implementation of recent electoral amendments, imposition of Joint Election system, reduction in reserved seats in national assembly of Pakistan and neglecting the obligations of security and safety of the Christian citizen.

The attacks on worshipers in churches at Bahawalpur, Islamabad, Murree, Taxila, and Justice and Peace Organization at Karachi, by militant extremist Muslim groups have created feelings of security and safety of life by the hands of militant or by implementation of Islamic laws on minorities and their arrests under blasphemy law section 295 C PPC, subject to capital punishment or death by hands of extremist groups since 1979, when by the president order no 4 of Prohibition and Hud was introduced.

The legislation conducted in the Senate of Pakistan on Laws of Evidence and Compensation, Article 203 to bar

Christian attorney to represent in Federal Sharia Courts, blasphemy laws and other Islamic laws were endorsed without presence of minorities when they had no representation in senate of Pakistan nor have proportional to population in the National Assembly of Pakistan.

The discrimination in jobs and education of Christian youth, the incidents of conversion by force of women to Islam, rape and abduction by influential Muslim majority is worst part of genocide of Christians in Pakistan.

We wish to submit that founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah declared in his Fourteen Point doctrine, the Separate Election system for minorities in Pakistan, keeping in view his meetings and discussion with the minority leaders during the Pakistan movement. The minorities enjoyed the separate election system from 1947 to 1956 by electing their own representatives for the democratic institutions in Pakistan to raise their voice.

The government entered into an internationally recognized pact with Indian government in 1950, known as Liaquat-Nehru Pact to further safeguard the minority's rights in the neighboring states. The facts to enter in this pact were that problem of religious minorities aggravated a lot during late 1949 and early 1950. At this critical moment of the history of South Asia, Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan issued a statement and emphasized on the solution of the problem of minorities in the two countries. He also proposed a meeting with his Indian counter part to determine how to end the communal riots.

The two Prime Ministers met in Delhi on April 2, 1950 and discussed the matter in detail for six long days. On April 8, the two leaders signed an agreement, which was later given the name; "Liaquat-Nehru Pact". This pact provided a bill of rights for the minorities of India and Pakistan. According to the agreement, the government of India and Pakistan solemnly agreed that each shall ensure, to the

minorities throughout its territories, complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion; a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honor. It also guaranteed the fundamental human rights to the minorities, such as freedom of movement, speech, occupation and worship. The pact also provided for the minorities to Participate in the public life of the country, to hold political or other office and to serve in their countries civil and armed forces. Liaquat Nehru Pact provided for the mechanism to deal with the oppressive elements with iron hand. Both the governments decided to set up "Minority Commission" in their country with the aim to observe and report on the implementation of the pact.

Sir,

The government of India constituted "The Minority Commission" according to the referred pact and legislated according to presentations of the minorities' leaders to their personal laws and election systems but the government of Pakistan failed to constitute such effective "Minority Commission" headed by acting Supreme Court justice for recommendations or the presentations of the Christian leaders in Pakistan.

It's very surprising that Pakistan being a member of United Nation and one of signatory member state of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights announced in UN Charter have always neglected the respect of fundamental right of the creed or language, according to Articles 9-29 of Islamic republic constitution of 1973.

In the elections of 1971, for first time after independence, the Joint Election system was endorsed in the legal framework. During legislation of Joint Electorate system in the 1973 constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, no Christian presence was in the house while Muslim members of parliament created 6 reserved seats for the Christian minority in national assembly on selection

instead of election. It is on record that Christians never demanded Joint Election system nor were any recommendations of Minority Commission according to Liaquat Nehru Pact, as such commission never existed in Pakistan since 1950. The Muslim majority legislators imposed this joint election system.

To discuss the facts of democratic impacts of Joint Election system, it's submitted for information and record that Christian voters have to vote in their respective constituencies for the Muslim candidates, then Muslim members of parliament, vote to select the Christians on reserved seats which is not democratic election for Christian.

On other hand the Dual Voting system for the Kashmiri Muslims is in operation where they vote within territory of Pakistan to elect their legislators for the legislative assembly of Azad Kashmir and also vote for national assembly of Pakistan in their respective constituencies while Christians can not vote for their own representatives on reserved seats.

Therefore, the legislations of Blasphemy law and other black laws were never amended because Christian representation was not elected by them.

His Excellency,

The government of Pakistan has again introduced the Joint Election system for minorities but surprisingly reduced Christian seats from 6 to 4, when Muslim seats in the house have been increased in these forthcoming elections of October 2002.

Therefore we pray your honor to put pressure on the government of Pakistan to constitute "The Minority Commission" headed by acting justice of Supreme Court of Pakistan in light of Liaquat-Nehru pact of 1950, to recommend the election system for the minorities, protection of personal laws, religious liberties and equal

citizenship rights on presentations of Christian leaders to end the injustice and genocide.

The moral pressure may be increased on government of Pakistan to hold these elections under Separate Elections that minorities may vote for their representatives instead of this selection system imposed in these elections on choice of government agencies and Muslim leaders.

The dual voting rights may be given to Christians as a privilege like Azad Kashmiri Muslims living in Pakistan to ensure justice, democracy and revival of human rights. We also demand to put pressure on government of Pakistan to repeal the blasphemy laws, laws of compensation and evidence, section 203 D and to release all the Christians behind bars waiting for trial or sentenced under these laws. The safety and security of Christians may be ensured in Pakistan after these recent attacks on churches and massacre of innocent Christian worshipers by the militant Muslim groups.

Thanking you.

Yours sincerely,

Nazir s Bhatti, Chief of Pakistan Christian Congress  
New York. August, 2002

## **My Open letter to Holy Father Pope**

Memorandum on: The Election System and Religious Freedom of Christians in Pakistan.

His Holiness Pope Benedict,  
Vatican. Italy.

Holy Father,

I, the undersigned Nazir S Bhatti, Chief of Pakistan Christian Congress and Editor of Pakistan Christian Post wish to bring facts about election system and religious freedom issues faced by 15 million Christians in Pakistan.

The comments by His Holiness on occasion of accepting credentials of Ayesha Riyaz as ambassador to Vatican from Pakistan, expressing satisfaction on Joint Electorate system for minorities has hurt the feeling of Pakistani Christian as they never demanded Joint Elections but it was imposed by the regime in 2002.

It's on record that incidents of Christian persecution have escalated after imposition of joint elections since 2002. The priests have been gunned down, Pastors have been brutally murdered, Christian women have been raped, elders have been harassed, churches have been desecrated, worshipers have been martyred, hospitals and schools have been attacked but no motion have been presented in National Assembly of Pakistan by the adopted Christian representatives on reserved seats by the Muslim political parties under joint election system.

Whereas, Christian elected by Christian votes under Separate election rose voice in house on every incident of human rights violation of Christians. The Christian parliamentarians elected under Separated Election utilized

government allocated yearly development funds on construction of worship places in far flung areas, in more numbers than foreign missionaries and non government organizations in past fifty years. The construction of roads, streets walks, drainage system and electric facilities changed the shape of Christian slum areas from 1985 to 2000 during practice of separate elections.

The Christian youth enjoyed grades 16 jobs in government and semi government establishments on quota of Christian elected leaders through separate elections and Christian students got admissions in medical colleges, engineering colleges and other higher academic institutions.

More over the Christians elected under separate elections read Holy Bible in House and offered prayers before expressing Christian issues to witness Lord Jesus Christ among Muslim law makers.

What Joint election has given us? Nothing!

- House of parliament is silent on Christian victimization now!
- The Christian parliamentarians selected by majority political parties have no courage to speak in house without permission of their Muslim party leaders!
- The Joint elections have put complete silence in house on Christian persecution!
- There is no development budget for selected Christian parliamentarians!
- There is no quota of jobs!
- There is no quota of seats in professional colleges for Christian students!

While Muslim parliamentarians have all such privileges!!!

His Holiness,

Few Christian leaders working as agents of establishment and government agencies hatched a conspiracy against Separate Electorate. They were provided with opportunities to speak on national and international forums against separate election system. They tried to prove that blasphemy law and all other discriminatory laws are due to practice of Separate electorate in Pakistan. They never hesitated to say that separate election have made Christians to be second class citizens in Pakistan and misled international community.

But, such elements never dared to speak truth and against provisions of Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan of 1973 which declare Christian a second or third class citizen such as:

- Articles 41 (2), that an adult Muslim can only hold office of President of Pakistan.
- Article 51(A), a total denial on representation proportional to population of minorities on allocation of seats in national assembly of Pakistan when house of 342 seats unjustified with classification of 272 general seats for Muslim men and women, 60 reserved seats for only Muslim women and only 10 seats for Christians, Hindus, Ahmedi Muslims and other religious minorities.
- Article 203(D), to bar Christian advocates to plead in Federal Shariat Courts of Pakistan.
- Article 42, a schedule of Oath of President of Pakistan to declare him a Muslim.
- Article 91(4), a schedule of Oath for Prime Minister of Pakistan to declare himself a Muslim.
- Article 227, Islamic Provisions in Constitution.

Moreover the adoption of Objective Resolution as preamble of Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan of 1973 by

president order no 14 of 1985 is clear declaration that Pakistan is a state of only Muslims which confirms Christians to be second class citizens.

His Holiness,

The Christian elements that issued welcome statements and arranged prayers on January 16, 2002, when Martial Law Administrator General Pervaiz Mushraff abolished Separate Electorate and introduced Joint Electorate is same who welcomed Shariat Bill of General Zia-Ul- Haq. These Christian are those who were rejected by Christian voters in separate elections.

The Christians are 13% of total population of Pakistan who are living under poverty line. In rural areas, they are working on agricultural farms of Muslim Land Lords and in urban areas as sanitary workers in municipal corporations. The Muslims majority hates to eat and drink with Christians and treats them as untouchables.

The poor Christians have bitter experiences of voting against instructions of land lords in Joint elections from 1956 to 1985. Their cattle were stopped to feed on fields of Muslim lands lords and grain sale was refused to Christian families to forced them to starvation after elections as punishment on voting against influential Muslim feudal lords directives. The worst incident of rape and disrespect of women and elders are also on record in rural and urban areas through out Pakistan after every election of Local Bodies and Parliament under joint elections.

The Christians have enjoyed Separate Elections since 1947, until abandoned in 'Constitution of Pakistan" of 1956. Therefore it remained an outstanding demand of Christians to revive Separate Elections system for minorities for decades until it was re-enforced on January 10, 1985

Apart from these election procedures the dual voting system is also allowed for Kashmiri Muslims. To define the joint elections, it means elections when Christians and other religious minorities vote for Muslim candidates in their respective constituencies of national assembly and provincial assemblies and Muslims political parties adopt or select to nominate Christians on reserved seats in parliament under Amendment of 2003 in Constitution of Islamic republic of Pakistan. But Separate elections are elections when minorities elect their leaders by their votes on reserved seats in parliament under Eighth Amendment in Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan of 1985.

There are 60 Muslim women seats reserved in parliament but minority women have no right of nomination on those seats nor any Muslim political party have ever nominated minority women on these reserved seats in joint elections whereas minority women have contested on reserve seats for minorities under separate elections.

There is third election known as Dual Voting system being practiced by Kashmiri Muslims in Pakistan. The Kashmiri Muslims living in Azad Kashmir territory cast their votes for Azad Kashmir Assembly and Kashmiri living in Pakistan elect Kashmir Assembly members on reserve seats from all over Pakistan and also cast votes to elect National Assembly of Pakistan and Provincial Assemblies of Pakistan candidates in their respective constituencies.

The Muslim minority ruled India for more than 200 years under Mughal kingdom but insisted on demand of separate elections. The delegation of Muslim leaders headed by Agha Khan called upon Lord Minto in October 1906 in Simla and presented memorandum pleading safeguard of Muslim

During practice of Separate Electorate Christians also demanded Dual voting rights like Muslims of Azad Kashmir in Pakistan and we still press upon government for dual

voting rights to Christian that they may elect their own representatives and may also vote for Muslim candidates in respective constituencies.

In the light of above mentioned facts, we hope that His Excellency shall review your comments about Joint Electorate system for minorities in Pakistan. We also wish to bring in your kind notice that Bishops Conference of Catholic Church in Pakistan has played a role to end Separate Electorates which will be ever marked as action against interests of general Christians in Pakistan. The participation of Catholic Bishops in press conferences of Christian agents of establishment in Lahore, Faisalabad, Karachi and Islamabad are surprising for Christians and we appeal His Excellency to issue directives to Catholic Church in Pakistan to stay away from political statements and let Christian leaders to decide their fate.

His Excellency,

Religious Freedom is under constant threat by fundamental Muslims while involvement of Churches in politics shall worsen the conditions.

The Christians of Pakistan wish to submit that Joint Elections are not acceptable on any level and they strongly protest against implementations of joint elections and demand Dual Voting rights with Separate Electorate. The Christians condemn all provisions of Constitution of Pakistan which declare them second class citizen while they are son of soil and reserve equal rights in resources of Pakistan. We challenge government to hold referendum on elections system for Christians.

Dr. Nazir S Bhatti,  
Dated: June 4, 2007

**PCC Appeals to George W. Bush to press upon Pakistan government to restore Separate Electorate with dual voting rights.**

George W. Bush, President,  
USA.  
Washington. DC

Pakistani Christians appeal for restoration of Separate Electorate system to elect their leadership in Parliament instead of imposed Joint Electorate system by Musharaf regime.

His Excellency,  
I, the undersigned Nazir S Bhatti, Chief of Pakistan Christian Congress and Editor of Pakistan Christian Post wish to bring in your kind notice that Pakistani Christians never demanded Joint Elections but it was imposed by the regime in 2002.

Continued..... copies of this letter were mailed to EU leaders also. The content of letter was same as mailed to Holy Father.

Dr. Nazir S Bhatti  
Chief, Pakistan Christian Congress  
Editor, Pakistan Christian Post  
June 14, 2007.

**PART 3**  
**Christian Persecution in Pakistan**

## **Dateline of Persecution**

### **December 8, 2007**

Dr. Rejinald, Secretary, Church of Pakistan, kidnapped at gunpoint on way to D G Khan from Bunu in NWFP province bordering Afghanistan. He was MS of Christian Missionary Hospital in Bunu.

### **November 1st, 2007**

Muslim extremists threatened Christians to convert to Islam or face bombing to homes in Swat. Muslim cleric Fazalullah demands to enforce Sharia law in Northern regions of Pakistan.

### **October 10, 2007**

The New Apostolic Faith Church in village Gowindhi, Lahore attacked by Muslim mob in which Church loud speakers were destroyed and boundary walls damaged and the Copies of Holy Bible and hymnbooks were torn of and desecrated by Muslims.

### **September 4, 2007**

US based Pakistani evangelist Joseph K Din shot dead in Lahore. Evangelist Joseph K. Din was settled in Virginia State with three daughters, a son and wife who decided to preach word of Lord in Pakistan after his retirement in USA. He was involved in evangelism at age of 30 but became full

time evangelist and headed to his native city of Lahore. On August 25, 2007, Joseph K Din returned home at 3:00 PM after preaching and was sitting with his sister. He was planning for evening visits to a family for prayers when he saw two bearded young men in home who shot him.

### **September 18, 2007**

Shahid Masih aged 18, acquitted from blasphemy charges by Faisalabad courts. Dr. Arshad Masood who said he tore pages from the Quran he kept in his clinic in Madina Town district of Faisalabad for study at nighttime accused him

### **August 30, 2007**

Pastor Arif Khan and his wife Kathleen were shot dead in their home Church in Rawalpindi. The killer who was a Christian from tribal belt bordering Afghanistan confessed shooting as an “honor killing”

### **July 23, 2007**

Militants threatening letter to Bishop Nasir: “Convert to Islam or die”. Bishop Timotheus Nasir is target of Muslim militant groups in Pakistan after receiving a threatening letter to ordering him “convert to Islam or they would kill him”. Such threatening letters were dropped in Charsadda and Shanti Nagar in homes of Christians in months of May-June but letter to Bishop Nasir is first to any high profile Christian religious leader in Pakistan.

### **June 1, 2007**

Hundreds of Christian Nursing Students in Pakistan Institute of Medical Sciences (PIMS) Hospital Islamabad are under threats of Blasphemy Charge There are fifty Christian

student nurses and three hundred Muslim students in this institute who were sharing cordial relations before threats of Islamic laws by clerics of Lal Masjid in capital city of Pakistan. Somebody crossed the Quran verses written on the board on which Muslim Nursing students became very aggressive and started arguing Christian students. Muslim groups demand blasphemy charges Christian nursing students Simab, Adna, Nabeela and Kanwal.

### **June 17, 2007**

The Muslims attacked Christians and injured children and women to force residents of village 248 RB, district Faisalabad to cancel conventions under Salvation Army. Shahbaz Masih, Sardar Masih and Ms. Nabeela were brutally beaten by Muslim mob while Nazir Masih was admitted to hospital where Muslim doctors denied his treatment.

### **May 21, 2007**

Walter Fazal arrested by Samanabad Police and sent to jail under section 295 B PPC on complaint of his Muslim servant Raja Mohammad Riaz who alleged Walter Fazal aged 79, of burning a copy of Koran in his house.

### **May 22, 2007**

Mohammad Asif, their employer in broad daylight, raped Sumera 15, in fields near Nursery where she worked as laborer with her mother. He added some medicine in tea of Sumera and her mother to make them unconscious and then took teenage girl in fields and raped her.

May 25, 2007. Four Muslims gang raped a Christian girl in graveyard of Mughalpura, Lahore, on night of May 23. Mochah Masih was passing by the graveyard with her fiancé when four drunken Muslims threatened them and hold up on gunpoint. They ordered Mochah Masih to run away and handover her future wife to them. On refusal of Mochah Masih, four Muslims dragged both of them inside graveyard and torn off his clothes. Two Muslims took control over girl and two over Mochah Masih and raped girl and committed adultery with Mochah Masih turn by turn. The girl kept on crying for help and Mochah Masih also shouted for help but no one dared to come to rescue.

### **May 30, 2007**

Younas Masih charged under blasphemy sentenced to death by Lahore courts. Younas Masih was arrested on September 10, 2005, by Lahore police when he sparked an outcry by asking a Muslim living nearby to turn down the volume of Islamic Mystical Sufi Music on a Saturday night as people gathered in the Christian's home to mourn the death of his one-year's old nephew.

The Muslim, identified as Baba Chaby, refused and Muslim men became angry and next morning, Muslims in the local mosque were allegedly encouraged to participate in ransacking homes of Christians and to damage their properties and local Churches in the area.

Younis Masih was brutally beaten and his wife, who came to save him, was not spared...Her cloths were torn to shreds by the mob. He went to a local police station to get a complaint registered against Muslims. However police officers refused and instead filed a blasphemy case against him.

**April 4, 2007.**

Toba Tek; Salamat Masih was arrested under blasphemy allegations on April 1, 2007, in Toba Tek Singh, a remote district of Punjab province and police is raiding Christian residential localities in search of four other accused Christians nominated in FIR under section 295 A&C PPC, on complaint of one Muslim named Abdul Ghaffar.

**April 15, 2007.**

Lahore: A Christian girl named Cheena Bibi age 12 years was kidnapped and gang raped by four Muslims on Easter Day in Punjab province of Pakistan. Cheena Bibi belongs to a poor family of nine siblings. She was unable to join any school due to poverty but seeking informal education from an area Church. Police arrested four culprits but later released three who were from families of local influential and detained one who was from North Western Province of Pakistan.

**April 27, 2007.**

Kotri: A mob of Muslims tortured a Christian man on April 13 in Kotri, Sindh province, accusing him of writing blasphemous words against Prophet Muhammad. When the Police intervened, it arrested the tortured man. In prison he was tortured again in order to get him to "confess." He was supposed to get married the following day.

**March 21, 2007.**

Rawalpindi: Christian Prisoners in District Jail Adiala protest against jail management for not allowing them congregational prayer. Jail superintendent castigated

Christian Prisoners for offering their congregational prayer in the jail. All Christian Prisoners in District Jail Adiala refused their meal provided by jail staff and announced hunger strike till the grant of permission of congregational prayer in the jail.

### **March 27, 2007.**

Sheikhupura; A Christian named Amanat Masih aged 45; resident of Village Nabi Pur Virkan District Sheikhupura has been booked under Blasphemy law on March 23, 2007. He is reportedly accused for burning Quranic papers.

### **January 27, 2007.**

Lahore: A Christian lady named Martha Bibi aged 45, has been accused for passing derogatory remarks against Prophet Mohammad and sent to judicial lockup on 22nd January 2007. Martha's husband Boota Masih is mason by profession. Who said that about 6 months ago a quarrel took place between Martha and a Muslim lady of the area.

### **November 28. 2006.**

Faisalabad: A court sentenced two Christian men to 10 years in prison on committing "blasphemy" against the Quran. After postponing the verdict for four consecutive days, Judg of Faisalabad's Anti-Terrorism Court delivered the prison sentence and a 25,000 rupee (US\$414) fine in a closed hearing. James Masih, 65, and his neighbor, Buta Masih, 70, were accused to burn pages of the Quran on October 8 in the street near their homes in Faisalabad's Munir Park district.

**October 18, 2006.**

Bahawalpur: A Christian man who was sentenced to seven years in prison by a lower court in February 2005 for profaning the Quran, the Muslim holy book, was found dead in a prison cell in the Central Jail in Bahawlnagar, Pakistan, on September 30, Bashir, 40, was accused of desecrating Quran in occult practices.

**August 14, 2006,**

Sharkpur: Church and house burnt by Muslim in small village called as Moman Pura Thaiki situated at Sharak Pur District Sheikhpura, about 35 Km away from central Lahore.

**August 21, 2006.**

Okara: Pastor Akram, Rasheed Masih and Bashir Masih (Councilor) all resident of Chack No 55/II-L District Okara (about 2 km away from main city Okara) have been accused to desecrate Quranic verses.

**July 31, 2006.**

Lahore: Three Christian sisters Najma 20, Bushra 16 and Asiyaa 15 abducted and forcibly converted to Islam. Bushra and Asiyaa are teenagers and need parent or guardian according to law to execute any legal document but Islamic law very openly permits to convert them and give them to marriage to any man of even 70, if these minors have experienced monthly periods. Christian girl Najma among abducted sisters is 20, who was forcibly converted and

given in marriage to Muslim man immediately by Muslim kidnapers.

**March 5, 2006.**

Kasur: Naseem Bibi daughter of Chanan Masih aged 30 is married and resident of Kot Fattah Din, a small town in District Kasur, currently living with her father who is councilor of the locality. Naseem Bibi is known to be mentally retarded but on 3rd March 2006, Muslims accused her for doing shit on the picture of “Khana kahba” the Holy Temple of Muslims in Saudi Arabia where Muslims perform Hajj rituals and throw it in the street. Some Muslim people caught her from her house and started beating her meanwhile someone made a phone call to emergency police. Police came and arrested Naseem Bibi.

**March 31, 2006.**

Multan: Unidentified intruders broke into a church and torched its furniture, in what officials described as an attempt to stir up religious tensions.

**February 20, 2006.**

Sukkur. The protests against cartoons of Prophet Mohammad are turning violent day by day and now Muslim protestors are attacking Christian properties in Nusrat Colony Sukkur and Christians are in Danger. The Muslim mob set on fire two Churches and Christian school named St. Friar and St. Mary Churches.

**February 3, 2006.**

Sialkot: Muslims attack Church in Kanwanlit village, Daska sub-district of Sialkot in Punjab province of Pakistan. The village is few miles from Daska Town and in vicinity of Daska Saddar Police Station. The Muslims damaged Church windows, door and altar. The attackers also desecrated Holy Bibles and hymn books in the church and spited on them after putting under their feet.

**November 11, 2005.**

SHEIKHUPURA: A mob of 3,000 people, mostly youth, set to fire three Churches and homes of two Clergymen as well as destroyed a nursing hostel, nuns' hostel, a convent school and four other houses in Sangla Hill area of district Nankana on Saturday. The rampaging crowd was protesting against alleged desecration of the Holy Quran. Some 300 Christian families reside in the Tehsil.

**October 05, 2005.**

Yazman: (Bahawalpur) Christian girl Rukhsana age 13 was raped on gunpoint in church on august 30, 2005, by one influential Muslim named Mohammad Ahmed alias Jeera. The incident of rape happened in a village named Chak No. 110 D.B, Yazman in district Bahawalpur at 9.00 pm on 30 August 2005. Rukhsana was returning visiting her aunty to her home when Nazir Ahmed (Jeera) allegedly kidnapped her at gunpoint and took her to the nearest New Apostolic Church. He entered through broken window of the church where he raped Rukhsana.

**September 30, 2005.**

Lahore: The mob attack on Christians in Chungi Amer Sidhu on September 10, where on the evening of September 9, Younis Masih requested Qawali singers at his Christian neighbor Baba Chabay's house not to sing loudly because his nephew had died. Baba Chabay and the Muslim men listening to the Qawali quarreled with him and beat up his cousin Faisal Masih. On the evening of September 10, about 40 Muslim men looking for Younis found him in a billiard club and thrashed him with sticks. They also hit his wife Meena when she tried to intervene and her clothes were torn.

**September 28, 2005**

Faisalabad: 22-year old Ribqa Bibi, testified in court that Ghulam Abbas and Mohammad Kashif drugged and kidnapped her on September 2. Ribqa's ordeal reportedly began when they took her to a house in the city of Lahore, about 100 kilometers (62 miles) where they raped her repeatedly throughout the night. They apparently threatened to shoot her and to kill the rest of her family if she did not repeat the Islamic creed; an act if done in the presence of two Muslims is considered a valid form of conversion to Islam. Ribqa refused to convert, saying that she "would rather die" than change her religion. The next morning her kidnappers transferred her to another Muslim man, whom they said would return her home. Her new captor, however, repeatedly raped her as well over the next three days and threatened to kill her if she told anyone.

**Mar 28, 2005**

Lahore: Irshad Masih, in his early 20s, died in the church yard from a bullet that struck his head during a half hour of indiscriminate shooting by four attackers. The deceased leaves behind an 18-year-old wife and an infant daughter. Seven other victims suffering severe gunshot wounds in their legs, abdomen and other parts of their bodies were hospitalized at Lahore's Jinnah Hospital. Pastor Riaz Gill of Victory Church International had completed Easter Sunday celebrations and then dismissed his congregation at 10:30 yesterday morning. As the people left the church, located in Khamba village in the Wapda Town Phase II sector of Lahore, four young men started shooting at the worshippers.

**May 02, 2005.**

Lahore: A large gathering of Christians on Tuesday protested against Baghbanpura's assistant superintendent of police (ASP)-Investigation for allegedly supporting a kidnapper. The protestors chanted slogans against police and appealed to higher authorities for justice. They said that Muhammad Abbas, a resident of Gohawa village, had kidnapped 14-year-old Christian girl Asma. They claimed that Asma's family had appealed to the South Cantt police station to register a case but had been denied. They added that Abbas's uncle Bashir had assured the family during a 'Panchaiyat' that the girl would be returned in a few days. However, Bashir later produced a fake marriage certificate saying Abbas and Asma had wedded. Asma's brother Nadeem Masih had tried to contact higher authorities but Bashir and Abbas shot him and fled, said the protestors

**June 30, 2005.**

Nowshera. June 30, 2005. The NWFP government run by MMA charged one Christian under blasphemy laws on desecration of Quran. The first victim is 60 years old Yousaf Masih, who works in Nowshera Municipal vicinity as sanitary worker to support his family. It is learnt that Yousaf Masih had an argument on religion with one Muslim in his neighborhood who threatened him of dire consequences. As the news of desecration of Quran spread in Nowshera city, the Muslims started agitation and an angry mob torched a Hindu temple in Cantonment Police Station's jurisdiction.

**April 23, 2005**

Mandi Bahauddin: Shahbaz Masih was attacked by a group of eight Muslims from his village on April 23 and left for dead, with both legs broken. His assailants are believed to be jealous of any success within the Christian community, and apparently singled him out because his Muslim boss favorably treated him. Shahbaz Masih lives in a predominantly Muslim village called Chak No. 2 Mandi Baha-Uddin.

**April 7, 2005**

Peshawar: The bullet-ridden, mutilated bodies of Pentecostal pastor Babar Samsoun and his driver and fellow evangelist, Daniel Emmanuel, were found dumped on a roadside near the outskirts of Peshawar on April 7, two days after they were kidnapped. Both had been severely beaten and disemboweled, with their arms and legs broken and noses and ears cut off. Dozens of bullets had been shot into their bodies, and their hands were left shackled back-to-back with a heavy chain.

**April, 2006.**

LAHORE: About eight people severely tortured a Christian in Chak 2 (South) near Mandi Bahauddin district for not reciting the kalma. Shaahbaz Masih, who worked as a tractor driver for a local landlord, was picked up by several people from his house on the night of April 2 and taken to an undisclosed location. Later, the people told Shahbaz's family that they had killed him and his body was lying in a field near his village.

**April, 2006.**

One Killed and Six Injured as Assailants Attack during Easter Morning Service of the Victory Church International (also known as the New Apostolic Church) in the village of Khambay near Lahore, was disrupted as four armed assailants opened fire on the church property, murdering one Christian. Killed was Arshad Masih, a young husband and father of a one-year-old daughter.

**April, 2006.**

Bahawalnagar. The session court sentenced Bashir Masih to seven years in prison for desecrating the Quran. Bashir Masih, 35, was arrested last August in the district of Bahawalnagar and charged with tearing pages out of Islam's holy book to write magic spells on them.

**December 25, 2004.**

Chianwali: Three of the wounded survivors of a deadly Christmas night attack against a Chianwali village church have sustained permanent eye damage. Afzal Masih and his brother Aslam Pervaiz Masih both underwent delicate eye surgery at Lahore General and Mayo Hospitals,

respectively. Eye specialists remain uncertain whether Afzal will be blinded in just one or possibly both of his eyes. Both men have lost the use of at least one eye from splintered glass fragments driven into their faces by the grenade blast. Aslam Pervaiz Masih himself filed the First Information Report with the police against the Muslim leader accused of inciting the attack, just three hours after he was injured. Shakila Bibi, Asia Bibi and Nasreen Bibi were also among injured in this Christmas attack on Church.

### **September 8, 2004**

Siekhupura: Nasir Masih, aged 26, was arrested on false charges of theft on August 16, and died three days later after sustaining 20 injuries. According to his father, Mukhtar Masih, Nasir was taken from his home in Baldia, Siekhupura, 45 kilometres from Lahore, by a group of Muslims, and a few hours later his family was informed by the police that he had been arrested and charged with theft. The accusation had been made by one of the group which took Nasir from his home. A case has been registered against ten people, including six policemen, for allegedly torturing Nasir Masih to death, on the orders of the District Police Officer Shahid Iqbal. No arrests have yet been made.

### **May 30, 2004**

Lahore. May 30, 2004. The Lahore Police killed Samuel Alias Salamat Masih in hospital who was arrested under blasphemy laws and was admitted after torture by Civil Line police Station in custody. The dead body of Salamat Masih was handed over to deceased family without postmortem and forced by police to bury it in their presence. Salamat Masih was arrested on a blasphemy law case under section 295 B & C PPC on complaint of one Muslim

Mosque Leader that salamat Masih by entering mosque have made it unclean and dishonored the Mosque in the Lawrence Garden, Lahore. F.I.R No 350 in Civil Line Police Station was lodged against Salamat MASIH and he was arrested. As Salamat MASIH was the patient of T.B and inhuman torture of police made his health conditions serious in Police Station. Police admitted him in Ghulab Devi Hospital, Lahore, but he was under the custody of Police in the Hospital where in the night, one constable, namely Mohammad Dilavar, who was on duty for his safety gave iron blows on Salamat Masih,s head and attempted to murder him, taking the revenge of blasphemy act.

### **May 17, 2004**

Quetta: Pastor Wilson Fazal of the Pakistan Gospel Assembly in Quetta has been missing since Sunday morning, when his family believes he was abducted by an unknown group of Muslim extremists. Fazal, 41, was reportedly enroute to Sunday morning services in Quetta's Bashirabad suburb when he disappeared yesterday. In the letter addressed to Fazal and delivered to his house five days ago, the Pentecostal pastor was told, "Christians of Quetta, you are displeasing God ... Accept the faith of jihad. Stop the teaching of all schools, hospitals and churches. Join with us in Islamic evangelism." "Get ready, ready, ready, or else," the letter concluded, with a hand-drawn rifle for a signature at the bottom.

### **May 12, 2004:**

Kasur: The Muslim cleric and influential Muslim leaders forced Saddar Police Station Kasur to lodged report under 10-11/7/79 of Sharia laws against all the family members of Pastor Samuel Masih to punish them on intention of Miss

Shazia, a Muslim cleric's daughter to marry Mr. Saleem Zafar, brother of Pastor Samuel.

### **May 2, 2004**

FAISALABAD: A 23 year-old Pakistani Christian has died of injuries as a result of five days of severe torture by Islamic militants for refusing to convert to Islam. Javed Anjum, a Christian from Toba Tek Singh District, was tortured for five days and nights by Islamic extremists from a 'madrassa' or Islamic school in the district. The torture included electric shocks and burns from warm iron rods. He suffered 26 injuries. He was hospitalized for 11 days, and died at the Allied Hospital in Faisalabad.

### **April 7, 2004.**

Manawala, Lahore: The pastor of a small church in Pakistan was shot and killed last Friday in the village of Manawala, near Lahore. George Masih, aged 42, was the leader of a small village church which met in his home. He and his wife, Aniata, were active in reaching out to other villagers in the primarily Muslim village in order to share the gospel with them. Masih became a Christian seven years ago, and had worked previously as an elder in a Church of Pakistan congregation in Lahore. He and his wife relocated the family two years ago to Manawala and were working to plant a church there.

### **April 6, 2004**

Rahwali (Gujranwala): Two year-old girl Neha Masih was brutally raped by a 24-year-old Muslim man, Abid Hussain in a straw pile of a dairy farm, and was subsequently left in a ditch.

## **January 2004**

The pastor of a small church in Pakistan was shot and killed last Friday in the village of Manawala, near Lahore, Pakistan. George Masih, aged 42, was the leader of a small village church which met in his home. He and his wife, Aniata, were active in reaching out to other villagers in the primarily Muslim village in order to share the gospel with them.

## **January 2004**

Toba Tek. Christians in Pakistan fear a 14-year-old girl kidnapped by several men will be forced to convert to Islam and marry a Muslim.

Shamim Kausor, of the district of Toba Tek Singh in Punjab province, was abducted from her home Dec. 31 by men who pulled up in a jeep and took her away by gunpoint, according to the Washington, D.C.-based persecution monitor International Christian Concern.

## **December 2005**

Lahore. Hanifan Bibi, a 55 years old Christian mother abducted, tortured and stripped off in front of her sons and husband by Muslim gangsters supported by Muslim member of Punjab Assembly. Sons of Hanifan Bibi named Pervaiz Kala Masih 25, Kashif Aslam 17, and Husband Kala Surjan Masih 58, were also abducted and brought blindfolded to that den where she was prisoner. Aslam said, "There were empty wine bottles in a large number. Some heavy physique gangsters were present there. Moreover, 16, 17 young girls were also sitting over there. I came to know later that four/five girls were Christians. My clothes were taken off; they hanged me by tying my feet with cord

and turned my body upside down on the ceiling. Those cruel people started beating me with hot iron pipe.” Kashif told (weeping bitterly) “they put red chillies on the wooden stick and inserted in the anus. I got severe injuries on my sex organs.” Hanifan Bibi said those cruel people took off my clothes in front of my husband, son and nephew. They put bottle of wine on my lips and said “take this wine” they took off my clothes and made movie and took photographs”.

### **January 8, 2004**

Khanewal: Pastor Mukhtar Masih, 50, was shot once in the chest at close range with a 32 caliber pistol sometime after 3 a.m. in Khanewal, 180 miles southwest of Lahore. Just 45 minutes after Masih left his home, two policemen arrived at the door to inform his family that the pastor’s body had been found on the road about 100 yards from the train station. Officials said his body was laying face down, his hat just a few feet away, and there were no signs of a struggle. Because of dirt and grass stains found on the back of the pastor’s suit jacket, it appeared that his body had been dragged some distance from the actual murder site.

### **November 30, 2003**

Shadhra: Anwer Masih, 30, was arrested by police officials in Shadhra, an industrial town on the northern outskirts of Lahore. Two days before his arrest, Anwer met a former neighbor in Paracha Colony whom he knew as Naseer Masih, unaware that the man had become a Muslim about three months earlier and changed his name to Naseer Ahmad. According to Anwar, Ahmad scolded him for questioning his new beard. But the next morning, Ahmad arrived at his house with about 100 Muslims.

**May 10, 2003**

Lahore: A 9-year-old Christian girl Razia Bibi has been severely beaten -- the result of a religious hate crime inflicted upon her because of the war in Iraq. Razia Bibi, s father is deceased and her mother has a mental illness. This tragic situation forced the 9-year-old girl to work as a servant in the house of Mohammad Asim Malik, a resident of Faisal Town Lahore. After hearing his sister's complaints of abuse, Razia's brother Farooq, sought her release on April 17 and on Easter but was rebuffed and warned not to come again. Subsequently, Farooq took a delegation of 10 people to Mr. Mohammad Asim's house seeking her release and was again rebuffed. Farooq then took the delegation to Faisal Town Police Station for help. On April 24, in the presence of police, an agreement was signed by both parties, in which it was clearly written that Mohammad Asim would return Razia to her brother on May 1.

On April 26 at 11:00 pm, Razia was brought to Farooq's house. Razia was crying and blood was oozing from her elbow and leg. Her arm was broken as well. He immediately took her to the hospital where she was admitted to the Intensive Care Unit (ICU). Farooq immediately informed the police. After two days, Razia shared her story. Mr. Malik and his wife started beating and torturing Razia during the bombing of Iraq. It is reported that while watching Iraqi war footage they would beat her and burn her and Mr. Malik is said to have sexually abused her. He and his wife told her "we will take revenge for the American bombing of Iraqi Muslim children from you because you are an infidel and a Christian."

**December 30, 2002**

Frightened Christians stayed away from church services in the tiny village of Chianwala, yesterday, after a deadly

Christmas Day attack on a Presbyterian congregation killed three girls and wounded 13 others. Two assailants in burqas -- the all-encompassing garment worn by women in some Islamic countries -- burst into the white cement church, tossing grenades at about 40 worshipers. Six people have since been arrested and five others are being sought. One of those detained was local Islamic cleric Mohammed Afzar, who had allegedly told his congregation to kill Christians just days before the attack on the tiny, one-room church.

### **October 23, 2002**

A detained Christian was dragged from a courthouse and beaten yesterday shortly after a judge ordered his release. Police declared Robin Piranditta, one of two survivors of last month's massacre of seven Christian charity workers in Karachi, a suspect in their murder inquiry and formally arrested him.

### **October 04, 2002**

Two men on a motorcycle threw a grenade at a Christian missionary hospital today, but no one was hurt. Labeling the act 'ineffective,' police said both men escaped after the incident at the hospital, located in the northwestern town of Bannu, Reuters reported. There have been at least five major attacks on Christian targets in Pakistan in the last year, including the massacre of seven Christian charity workers in the southern city of Karachi last week. The attacks have been blamed on Islamic militants angered by Pakistan's support for U.S. military action in neighboring Afghanistan. In the last year, almost 40 people have been killed in attacks on churches, a hospital, school and charity.

**September 30, 2002**

A bomb exploded yesterday outside a remote village church. Police said the crude device was planted near a wall that surrounds a nondenominational church in the Sibi district of southwestern Baluchistan Province.

**September 25, 2002**

Seven Christian human rights workers were executed today in the latest attack by Islamic extremists. Police said two gunmen burst into the offices of a Christian charity in the city of Karachi, and tied up and gagged the Pakistani believers before shooting them at point-blank range. Six men died instantly, and doctors said a seventh died shortly afterward. Doctors said an eighth man faced permanent paralysis of his left side from a head wound, while a ninth was under sedation after being beaten up in the attack.

**September 23, 2002**

Police are removing signs from outside some churches in an effort to prevent possible attacks by Islamic militants. Most of the signs are being taken down in the city of Rawalpindi, outside the capital of Islamabad, said a local police official. The action was taken in order to deter violence after a rash of deadly attacks targeting Christians in the overwhelmingly Muslim country. Authorities believe Islamic extremists are targeting Christians and Westerners in retaliation for the government's support for the U.S.-led war on terrorism.

**September 06, 2002**

A Christian who faced the death penalty for alleged blasphemy has fled the country following his acquittal. Ayub Masih's life remains under 'constant threat from Muslim extremists,' said Open Doors USA, which revealed that the 31-year-old mason had arrived in an undisclosed Western country this week. Masih was freed last month after spending six years behind bars. Sentenced to die in 1998, he was acquitted and released by the country's Supreme Court. Masih had been accused of insulting the prophet Muhammad by praising Salman Rushdie's controversial novel 'The Satanic Verses'

**July 26, 2002**

A teenage Christian has been badly scarred after having acid thrown in her face. Seventeen-year-old Gulnaz Aftab suffered burns to her face, arms and upper body in the attack by a Muslim man whose advances she had rejected. The incident occurred in a township in Faisalabad, where Aftab had been working as a telephone operator to help support her family. Muslim visitors to the public phone office used insulting words, tried to persuade the teen to embrace Islam and told her 'beautiful girls like her should not remain in Christianity.' When one man tried to touch her inappropriately, she slapped him in the face. He returned the next day and threw sulfuric acid at her, blinding her.

**July 19, 2002**

A Christian high school principal jailed for alleged blasphemy against Islam has been attacked while asleep in his cell. Pervaiz Masih, 34, was struck twice in the head by

another inmate before he awakened enough to wrestle with his attacker and call the prison guards.

### **July 08, 2002**

Another Pakistani Christian has been sentenced to death for alleged blasphemy against Islam. Augustine Ashiq 'Kingri' Masih, 25, was convicted last month on charges of slandering the Muslim prophet Muhammad in May 2000.

### **June 11, 2002**

Two lawyers known for defending Christians over alleged blasphemy charges received death threats over the weekend, the threats were part of a series of overt warnings given to perceived 'enemies of Islam' by local extremists during the last two weeks. Christian lawyer Pervaiz Aslam Chaudhry said he was driving to court Saturday morning with another colleague when four men on motorbikes forced his car to stop along the main street in Lahore. 'They shouted abuses and filthy language at me and my associate.

### **May 17, 2002**

Eight Christian women gang-raped by a group of Muslims have expressed their horror at the end of a trial that saw the men they had accused walk free. Three men were acquitted and three others who were found guilty will be free soon because the time they have spent in custody since the May 2000 assaults meets the two-year sentences they received. The victims, aged 16 to 35, wept when the verdicts were read. The men had been accused of raping the women as they returned to their homes after finishing work at a clothing factory. The women told how they were raped after their attackers ordered Muslim women passengers to stay in the vehicle.

**May 13, 2002**

Aslam Masih, a Pakistani Christian, has been given a double life sentence and fined the equivalent of \$1,150 for blasphemy, who was charged and imprisoned four years ago, is to appeal to the High Court.

**April 10, 2002**

A group of Muslim youths disrupted the Sunday service of a Presbyterian church, the second attack on a Protestant congregation in a month. The seven to eight youths, between 14 and 25 years old, fired automatic weapons into the air when they burst into the church in Satrah, near Gujranwala.

**March 18, 2002**

At least five worshipers, including two Americans, were killed yesterday in a Protestant church in Islamabad during a grenade attack that came in the middle of a sermon on 'forgiveness and restoration.' Two attackers hurled several grenades inside the Protestant International Church (PIC) in the capital city's diplomatic enclave wounding about 45, most of them foreigners

**January 09, 2002**

More than 350 Christian women have been kidnapped and forcibly married, according to Bishop Ashaar Kamran. Speaking at a protest rally on Monday, the leader of the Methodist Church in Multan City said that most of the women involved with divorced shortly after their marriage.

**September 12, 2001**

A 23-year-old Bible college student has been killed by militant Muslims for proselytizing. On Aug. 2, the student, identified only as Sheraz, went to work in a factory in Lahore and never came home. According to a Christian co-worker, Sheraz got into an argument with some militant Muslims, and was reportedly kidnapped. On Aug. 9, Sheraz' body was found in front of the gate of his church with a letter attached that read, 'Stop Preaching to Muslims,'

**July 11, 2001**

The elder brother of two Christians jailed on blasphemy charges was robbed and his wife raped last month when four men raided their home in a village near Pasrur, 45 miles north of Lahore, has appealed for special police protection for Hamid Masih and his family, who fear further possible attacks. Masih has been providing for the wives and eight children of his brothers Saleem, 30, and Rasheed Masih, 34, since the two were arrested two years ago after a fracas with an ice cream vendor. The men were accused of blasphemy against Islam, and after being held for a year without bail, they each were sentenced to 35 years in jail.

**April 10, 2001**

A personal grudge is said to be behind the blasphemy charge made against a Christian school principal, which, if proven, would mean a death sentence. Parvez Masih, 35, was arrested when police raided his home in a village near Sialkot, Punjab state, where he has run Iqbal Memorial High School for 15 years.

**April 02, 2001**

A 14-year-old girl kidnapped and raped for sharing her faith with Muslim school friends had still not been traced almost two months after her disappearance. Naira Nadia's family only learned of their daughter's ordeal after being mailed a certificate of her conversion to Islam -- although as a minor she is prohibited from changing her religion.

**January 29, 2001**

Three Christians have been acquitted of blasphemy, marking the first time since 1995 that evangelicals have been cleared of such charges -- which carry the death penalty. The Lahore High Court in Istanbul last week cleared Hussain Masih; his son, Isaac Masih; and Iqbal Sahar Ghouri of the charges,

**January 12, 2001**

Around 50 Christians were detained and several injured when police in Islamabad used batons and tear gas to break up a crowd of several hundred believers demonstrating against the country's tough blasphemy law Wednesday. Introduced in 1985 and intended to apply to Muslims, the law that permits the death penalty for blasphemy against Islam has mainly been used against Christians, dozens of whom have been arrested.

**October 31, 2000**

A Christian whose faith cost her job as a head teacher is setting up a new school for children from different religious backgrounds. Beulah Shakir said that she feared for her life after an opponent urged a Muslim cleric to announce during

a prayer time that it was against Islam for a Christian to head a school. 'I feared that a religious fanatic might kill me, Shakir was appointed headmistress of a Lahore girls' school in 1998, but soon after was told that a Christian could not head the school.

### **May 22, 2000**

Two Christian brothers have been jailed for 35 years on blasphemy charges. Rasheed and Saleem Masih were sentenced after a court found them guilty of insulting Islam and the prophet Mohammed--an offense that carries the death penalty--in a dispute with a Muslim ice cream vendor.

### **March 21, 2000**

A 78-year-old nun died after being attacked by a gang of Islamic extremists who accused her of witnessing to Muslims. Sister Christine was beaten unconscious when about a dozen men armed with clubs forced their way into the Lourdes Convent in Karachi a week ago. She suffered several broken ribs and other serious injuries in the assault, and died in the hospital a few days later without coming out of a coma. A member of the order of Franciscan Missionary of Mary, Sister Christine was well known in the area for her work among the poor and needy.

### **December 10, 1999**

An armed group of some 30 Muslims attacked women and children when they surrounded a church in Punjab's Sheikhpura district. Wielding firearms, sticks and axes, the mob chased and beat members of the congregation of Sangla Hill Presbyterian Church as they tried to flee the

building. Threatening to murder the worshipers, the assailants went into the church and set fire to the pulpit Bible and altar cloth. In the other incident, the sanctuary of St. Peter's Church in Lahore, capital of the Punjab province, was doused with gasoline and set on fire in October. The flames destroyed some Bibles and hymn books and a large wooden cross before they were brought under control. The man responsible told police he had tried to burn down the building to protest pressures from 'Christian America' forcing Pakistan to withdraw its support for Islamic militants fighting in India-held Kashmir, Compass reported.

### **October 07, 1999**

A teen-age girl molested and abused while in prison for her faith witnessed to other prisoners and her captors by singing choruses and writing Christian poetry. Now 19, Saleema is in improving health following her ordeal earlier this year; she was jailed after a school friend who came to Christ ran away from home to avoid an arranged marriage with a Muslim. The friend's family accused Saleema's family of hiding her. Saleema and her parents were all interrogated and Saleema held in jail on charges of converting a Muslim.

### **April 15, 1999**

A 23-year-old Pakistani preacher, Ejaz Masih of the Pakistani Gospel Assemblies, was killed by a young Muslim neighbor on April 9 in the town of Baddomalhi in the Narowal district. Few details have been reported, but another pastor from the area says the police are searching for Masih's 15-year-old killer, who fled the scene of the crime. A church leader from the area says Christians who fear persecution were horrified that Masih was 'killed like a dog.'

**Part 4**  
**Arguments of Trial**

## Separate Christian Province in Pakistan

Jamiat ul Ulama-e-Islam, a religious political party now headed by Mulana Fazal Ul Rehman, son of late Mufti Mahmood Ahmad who was prominent religious leader in sub continent of India, will be widely respected by Christians also.

I feel privileged to present, one, very important favour of Mufti Mahmood to us when he was Chief Minister of North Frontier Province. After elections of 1971, Mufti Mahmood Ahmad decided to form coalition government with National Awami Party NAP of Khan Abdul Wali Khan in NWFP and Balochistan. Zulifqar Ali Bhutto became Prime Minister of Pakistan and his Pakistan Peoples Party PPP formed governments in Sindh and Punjab. When Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto announced to nationalize missionary schools, colleges and hospitals in Pakistan, Mufti Mahmood being CM of NWFP opposed nationalization and announced to resist it. The missionary schools and colleges were not nationalized in provinces govern by NAP and JUI.

Moreover, 5% quota of admission for Christians in medical colleges, engineering colleges and universities in NWFP and Balochistan also remained intact which was abolished by PPP governments in Sindh and Punjab after 1973.

In 1995, Fazal-ur-Rehman issued a statement that Christians are planning to form a separate Christian province in Pakistan. We shall discuss this issue in the light of prevailing situation and frequent comments by the Amir of JUI. The Muslim leaders have been demanding division of Pakistan in more provinces instead of existing four. These demands got momentum after independence of East Pakistan as Bangladesh after 1971 elections. The two nation theory as basis of creation of Pakistan was criticized by many Muslims. The formation of Bangladesh was a big

blow to “Two Nation” theory and challenge to sovereignty of reaming Pakistan where movements of independent Sindh, Balochistan were very strong.

The Pashtoon of North West Frontier Province was demanding “Pakhtoonistan”, Sindhi demanded “Sindhodesh” and Balochi wanted “Greater Balochistan”. The Seraiki ethnic Punjabi was not in favour of independence but demanded division of Punjab and formation of “Seraiki Province” within federation of Pakistan.

Sardar Atta Ullaha Mengal left Pakistan and announced “Government in Exile of Balochistan” in London after reference against Awami National Party NAP by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in Supreme Court of Pakistan. Sardar Khair Buksh Marri challenged government writ with armed struggle for independence of Balochistan and fought battles with Pakistan army during Bhutto regime.

Sindhi nationalist leader G M Sayyed, who moved motion in Sindh assembly and confirmed formation of Pakistan, soon after independence, viewed Pakistan to be Punjabi Pakistan, where smaller provinces like Sindh can not survive. G M Sayyed launched movement for “Jai Sindh’ an independent homeland for Sindhi nation.

The Pakistan Army operation against independence of ‘Balochistan” failed but Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, then Premier, succeeded to convince few Baloch leaders on provincial autonomy for Balochistan instead of independence. Thousands of Baloch freedom fighters sacrificed their lives against federation of Pakistan.

The confederal system of government came under consideration by leaders of smaller provinces where federation may have limited powers and rest may be transferred to provinces that assets and natural resources may be under sole control of respective provinces.

The independence movements spread in many more parts in 1980, when Hazara and Balochi Pashtoon demanded their provinces. The formation of MQM in urban Sindh was also taken as a step toward "Mohajar Province".

So, there were demands of Greater Balochistan, Sindhodesh, Pakhtoonistan, Hazara Province, Seraiki Province and Mohajar Province, by Muslims. It was ironic that Christians were silent who were most persecuted and oppressed within federation of Pakistan.

To suppress independence movements, Pakistan armed forces emotionally blackmailed people on Kashmir issue. The local religious groups were funded and trained by ISI to wage Jihad in Kashmir. The Soviet aggression in Afghanistan changed geo-political landscape in Asia. To prevent Christians to support or involve in any independence movement, the ISI hired thousand of Christians to affiliate with major political parties which favoured federation.

In 1990, being leader of Pakistan Christian Congress, I met with all leaders who were fighting for the independence from military ruled Pakistan. I proposed them to support Christian demand of "Separate Christian Province" after division of Punjab in four units "Seraiki, Hazara, Christian Province and Punjab" but it was argued that religion can not be basis of nationhood. These were same leaders who demanded Pakistan on religion grounds in British Raj.

In spite of all negotiations with Muslim leaders, I decided to demand "Separate Christian Province" within Pakistan. I called a press conference in Hotel Jabees Karachi in 1992, and pressed for demand of our separate province. I argued that hate among Christian and Muslim on religion is at worst and we are deprived of due share in resources. The Christians are facing miserable situations in every walk of life and Muslim majority is creating continuous hardships. When we discuss the future of this demand its fact that this is the voice of every Christian and Muslim majority is forcing

them to press for this demand seriously. After my demand of "Separate Christian Province", the establishment turned against me started harassing me. The ISI also bargained with me and employee me like thousands of other Christians but I decided to continue my struggle for my nation.

Allama Bishop Daniel Tasleem from Lahore, repeated demand of Separate Christian Province which was published The Sunday Observer on March 30 - April 5, 1997

"Anti-minority riots are not new to Pakistan, which has a long history of religious violence. Yet, the recent anti-Christian riots stunned Pakistan observers by their sheer barbaric intensity.

So shocking was the violence perpetrated on the minority community that Archbishop Daniel Tasleem has demanded separate province for Christians, called Takistan, in the area between the Ravi and Satluj rivers.

On February 5 and 6, two villages in Multan division Shantinager and Tibba - were looted, burned and ransacked by 20,000 people and, hold your breath, 500 policemen!

The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, which visited the riot-hit villages, claimed the communal conflagration was sparked by an alleged act of blasphemy committed by a Christian. Some burnt pages of the Holy Koran bearing a Christian name presumably of the desecrator - were reportedly found outside a small roadside mosque close to Shantinager.

Immediately, an announcement of "the act of desecration" was made through loudspeakers from a mosque in nearby Khanewal town. The faithful were urged to pick up arms and gather round the mosque. The HRCP report states, 'A crowd of people from the surrounding areas gathered round the mosque. The frenzied mob ransacked several Churches in Khanewal.'

The town's main church St Joseph's - and a children's hostel surrounding it, were also ransacked.

The rampage continued on the morning of February 6. The mob first attacked Tibba, and then moved to Shantinager town.

Shockingly, the police and the district administration were themselves party to this carnage. Pakistani press reports claim the mob was led by clergy, the police and the district magistrate, who asked the Christian inhabitants to leave their houses which were looted, torched and then blown up.

A fact-finding team of Christian leaders that visited the villages said over 1500 houses and shops, 13 churches, hostels and dispensaries were destroyed by the mob. They even tried to forcibly convert 10 girls to Islam.

Several women were molested and raped.

The executive editor of Friday Times; a Pakistani newspaper, wrote, 'the police first evacuated the Christian population of 15,000, then helped the raiders use battlefield explosives to blow up their houses and properties.'

The report goes on to state that a Pakistan army unit, sent to protect the villages, was stopped by some police officers outside Shantinager. The officers claimed that 'things were under control.'

The unit moved in only hours later, when it saw several Christian villagers fleeing. By then, most houses in the village were burning and they could save only a few from destruction.

Another report published in the country's premier newspaper, Dawn, quoting eyewitnesses claimed, 'The Pakistani police actively participated in the vandalism.' The policemen were reportedly upset with some Christian residents of Shantinager, whose complaints had led to the suspension of some of their colleagues.

The police sought the help of the pro-Islamic party, the Anjuman Sipah Sahaba, and the Harkat-ul-Ansar fighters to carry out the rampage.

While the Sipah Sahaba is known to be one of the most virulent of Pakistan's parties, the Harkat-ul-Ansar is its terrorist offshoot. The Harkat is notorious for spearheading Pakistan-sponsored terrorist activities in Jammu and Kashmir.

Founded in Khanewal, the Sipah Sahaba has turned the area into a hotbed of sectarian violence.

In October 1996, activists of the Sahaba assassinated the Khanewal deputy commissioner of police Ali Raze Kharal, a Shia Muslim.

In January this year, Sahaba chief Maulana Ziaur Rehman Farroqui, who had stood for elections from Khanewal, was assassinated in a bomb explosion in Lahore by suspected Shia militants.

According to the Dawn, 'The criminalisation of the Sipah Sahaba and its metamorphosis into a terrorist organization was confirmed by the police high command at a press conference, where the offenders confessed to bank dacoities and other crimes.'

However, it is unlikely that the Pakistani government will take any steps to curb their terrorist activities. As the report in the Dawn says, 'The Sipah is strengthened and given immunity by its offshoot, the Harkat-ul-Ansar, which the state authorities tolerate because of its participation in the Kashmir jihad.'

Even in the recent riots, there was complete official apathy and the district administration remained paralyzed.

Journalist Eqbal Ahmed in an article in the Dawn described the carnage as the 'worst incident of sectarian violence in recent memory.'

The HRCF report asserts, 'the loot and destruction of a whole civilian habitation was unprecedented... It was reminiscent, in part, of the days of partition in 1947.'

The HRCP said that its members returned from the scene of the carnage 'not just shaken by what they saw and heard, but felt alarmed at the omen it held for the future.' For the ten million Christians residing in Pakistan, the attacks have been traumatic.

Several youth from Karachi, Islamabad and Rawalpindi took out protest marches, which turned violent.

How deep the insecurity within Pakistan's Christian community runs is reflected by the formation of the Sipah Maseeha (Army of Christ). Archbishop Daniel Tasleem, in a press conference after the riots, claimed the Sipah Maseeha would protect and safeguard the Christians, as the government had failed"

- To launch peaceful struggle for our Separate Province we must have our own Daily Newspaper:

Quaid E Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, during Pakistan Movement frequently repeated in public gatherings "Power of pen is more effective than sword" and urged Indian Muslims to commission their own newspapers to highlight their issues in colonial rule. They followed his directions and many more English, Urdu, Bengali and other regional daily newspapers joined publications, which played positive role in formation of Pakistan. These newspapers in British Raj, successfully presented Muslim minority case as oppressed community among Hindu majority. Apart from facts that Muslims have ruled Hindu majority for 200 years, newspapers propagated that Muslims rights can not be safeguarded without formation of Pakistan. The Muslim media highlighted fearful Concorde stories of hate by Hindus toward Islam.

After independence of Pakistan, Muslims started practicing hate toward Christians and treated them as

untouchable. They victimized and persecuted Christians and snatched their rights. The media also denied that Christians were their ally in Pakistan Movement. The Muslim newspapers never covered wrongful confinement cases of Christians, never reported rapes of Christian women by Muslims, never highlighted arrests of Christians under Islamic laws, the hunger strikes, the press Conferences and protest rallies of Christians to demand their equal basic democratic rights also never found any space.

The Christian poets and writers with great potential, ability and literary skills are not famous because they are never introduced in national media of Pakistan. Our artists and intellectuals are dying in darkness of solitude because Muslim newspapers and magazines ignore to publish them. The millions of Christians are a voiceless nation due to negligence of Muslim print and electronic media. Unfortunately, Christian leaders have not realized importance and need of daily newspaper; therefore, there is not a single daily Christian newspaper in Pakistan. Why we do not have our own newspapers, radio stations and TV channels?

If Christian has voice they might have achieved goal of equal share in resources of state to uplift their social and economic condition, which can never be expected by support of any non government organization or by other funding agency.

For instance, any foreign funding agency or non-government organization cannot funnel one million dollars per year for our any project and why we shall expect from others? If, we distribute one million dollar on total population of Christians in Pakistan, it comes 0.10 cents per head which is not enough for any revolutionary change. On other hand, if we have our own medium or voice in democratic institutions, we can contribute millions of funds by our self. Our members in parliament can get development budget

like Muslims of one million dollars per year for tenure of five years. It means only one Christian parliament member shall be able to spend 5 million dollars on Christian uplift program which is not possible for any international funding or non governmental organization. According to present representations in parliament, 4 Christians in National Assembly and 9 members in Provincial Assemblies can spend budget of 65 million dollars on our rehabilitation and development project. The Christian daily newspaper can enable us to elect sincere and dedicated Christian in parliament by covering their actions, manifestos and commitments. The imposed leadership of Christian by Muslim political parties can be brought to an end and true leadership shall safeguard our rights. It is need of time that we may have daily newspaper to be our voice in Pakistan to have share in resources and to become self sufficient in uplift projects.

I do not meant that we not need the moral support of international communities and organizations but Pakistani Christians settled in Europe, North America and Middle East have very important role to play in crucial time of Christians who have been living as second class citizens while Muslim majority have intentionally made them voiceless.

When we meet our Pakistani Christians living abroad and witness blessings of Lord for providing opportunities to bring them in lands where they can live in peace to profess their faith in freedom without fear. Some of them claim to be struggling for rights of poor and persecuted brothers but in fact, they have been bargaining on Christian persecution, by misleading different ministries in western countries.

The intentions of these immigrant Christians to join different rich western-based churches and non-government organizations is only to transfer funds to their relatives in Pakistan, in name of persecution of Christians. Few clever Pakistani Christians have formed their so-called organizations in name of rehabilitation of Christians in

Pakistan but it is only for their legal status. That is why these Christians living in West have been not successful to establish any institution in Pakistan by their own contributions and donations!!<sup>1</sup> It seems like beggars in Pakistan, are still beggars in western countries.

Let's make the record straight that struggle for voice of Christians is the only solution to their problems and issue and we must concentrate on this one issue "to give voice to voiceless" Let us all Pakistani Christians living in west unite on this issue of our daily newspaper in Pakistan and lunch it.

I commissioned Pakistan Christian Post on internet in 2000, with a vision to launch it as an independent daily newspaper which people may find in every morning on every newsstand like Muslim national newspapers. Pakistan Christian Post Internet edition was a successful attempt which I initiated alone but became a caravan of correspondents, writers and contributors.

In 2004, I contacted my friends in Pakistan to apply for "Declaration" to publish Pakistan Christian Post from Karachi. The Information Ministry of Sindh through DPO rejected my application after six months processing. I started Pakistan Christian Post print edition from New York and sending it in bulk to Pakistan. It was very expensive by courier service to distribute PCP in Pakistan, so, I decided to apply for "Declaration" from Islamabad this time in 2005, which was again denied. My friends informed me that government is reluctant to issue any NOC for publication to me in capacity of editor.

Under unavoidable circumstances, I suspended print edition of Pakistan Christian Post from New York because payments of advertisements and subscription was zero. I kept Internet edition online which is still updated till writing these lines.

But, it shall not be an end of struggle to have our own news media. We have seen few Christian magazines from UK and Canada but such are not enough to meet our present needs. We have some magazines circulated in Pakistan which are funded by churches and edited by clergy or their associates but these do not reach on public book stalls like Muslim publications. We have couple of independent monthlies from Lahore and Rawalpindi. The Monthly "Sawan" is serving Christians but we are in desperate need of daily newspaper.

If we have our own daily then our poets and writer shall be famous, our leaders shall get appropriate coverage to convey their demands to government and persecution incident shall not be left unspotted. So, let's unite.

- Our university shall lead us to our Separate Province

The oppressed nations need a symbolic leader to be regarded as "Leader of Nation" for liberation but "Leader of Nation" also require one "Father of Education" who shall provide modern educational system to them to understand difference between freedom and slavery. No one on earth can enslave educated individual nor can any oppressive force snatch their right.

Unfortunately, after independence of Pakistan in 1947, oppressed Christian nation was not gifted with such "Father of Education" who have opened an independent college and upgraded to a University, where he have brought youth from villages to graduate in higher education.

The Christians were in desperate need of "Father of Education" like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who established Ali Garh University for Indian Muslims and lined up his youth along with Hindus on merits. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan begged on streets to raise funds to provide free and modern

education for his youth. He invited youth from every corner of India to avail opportunity of education to compete in every field of life with Hindu Majority.

Truly speaking, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was founder of Pakistan because his students launched Pakistan Movement and adopted Mohammad Ali Jinnah to be a "leader of nation" to lead them to final horizons.

We claim that Christians played positive role in education sector in Pakistan, sure, there is no doubt that Christian school known as "Missionary Schools" educated millions of Muslim children. These missionary schools with English as medium of instruction, better buildings and experienced staff attracted wealthy Muslims who disliked sending their children to government run Urdu medium schools. The government owned Urdu medium schools and colleges were free of charge but conditions of buildings and staff was low comparing to missionary schools. The government schools in villages and towns were only option for peasants and poor people while feudal lords, bureaucrats, industrialists and businessmen preferred to pay heavy fees of missionary schools to educate their children.

Foreign missionaries founded these schools in major cities during British colonial rule in India, adjacent to cathedrals or in cantonment facilities for Anglo Indians, British Army officer's children and special class of Muslims or Hindus. This special class of Muslims consisted on spies of British rulers who were being awarded with ranches of agriculture lands, ranks in civil services and monthly cash bag. Majority of Muslim feudal lords in Pakistan belong to same special class of Muslims. The missionary schools were not established for poor, so, nor served poor Christians after independence of Pakistan.

The services of schools and colleges established by Protestant Church cannot be ignored on preference in admission to Christian students while Catholic Church in Pakistan, having 70% of congregation of total Christian

population neglected Christian youth. Instead of admissions in English medium schools, the Catholic Church established few Urdu medium Schools after 1960 for poor Christians to match Protestant Church education policy, but it failed to initiate any revolutionary changes.

I was student in government primary school on distance of one mile from my village in 1956. In this government school, where students used to sit on ground in classes, we three Christian students were forced by teacher to sit at end of rows after Muslim students. We have to wait to drink water. The wrestling, Kabaddi, and football were only sports in school but Muslim students never wrestled with Christian schoolmates because they hated to feel their breath. In such circumstances, when hate prevailed in government schools and denial in missionary Schools, the literacy rate dropped in Christian youth.

The missionary schools and colleges with better buildings, experienced staff and English medium of instruction in Pakistan remained business concerns and only served wealthy Muslim while Christians never enjoyed privileges nor were beneficiary. If missionary schools have preferred to educate Christian, there might have been 80% literacy rate of Christians in comparison with 13% till 1972. In that case Christian youth might have dominated Muslim in competition on merit for government jobs but Christian nation never had any "Father of Education" to fulfill their dreams.

Ch James Dean, a Christian leader based in Karachi was the first to present idea of Christian university in 1972. He presented feasibility reports of Christian university in public meetings and appealed for donations but there was strong opposition from clergy, which disheartened him to migrate abroad. The Agha Khan community established a university in Karachi, which is now a leading professional institution to educate their community youth as well as general public.

There are incidents when some individuals working in Christian establishments scammed in name of Christian University in Pakistan. They opened such universities in their homes or in premises of Church institutions to collect huge donation only. Such people fled to Western countries with heavy amount and opened their businesses after taking refuge in shelter of persecution in Pakistan.

Pakistan Christian Congress demanded denationalization of missionary school since 1985. It was proposed to government that all missionary schools and colleges may be handed over to "Christian Education Board" comprising of leaders and elders instead of clergy. The Christian feared that clergy should turn them to business concerns again after denationalization but government ignored memorandums and handed over these institutions to clergy or their nominated foreign agents.

Therefore, its need of time to establish Christian University in Pakistan with campus of primary school, high school, degree college, medical college, engineering college, teaching hospital and higher studies. This Christian university can fill vacuum of education among youth who can play their role in society after professional studies, which shall be not available to them from government institutions or from clergy owned denationalized missionary schools and colleges. Its established fact that better education and higher education than Muslim community is the only solution to the problems of Christians.

There were missionary schools and colleges which might have been upgraded to a university but our "Step-fathers of Education" were not sincere with us. The Christian university can give "Father of Education" to our nation who may lead us to destination of freedom and liberty.

- Our educated youth shall be leaders of successful movement for Separate Christian Province

After commission of daily newspaper and establishment of university, our leadership shall be no more an illiterate and coward. The education shall enable youth to investigate and write our history in Indian sub-continent. The educated Christian society shall launch peaceful movement to achieve due representation in Senate of Pakistan, National Assembly of Pakistan and Provincial Assemblies. They shall be able to raise voice to demand their share in resources and land. It shall be only possible if Christians have their united political party and opportunity to contest elections under Separate Electorate. That's why Pakistan Christian Congress PCC, demands separate electorate.

The Senate of Pakistan was never taken very seriously because it was viewed as rubber stamp institution to consume and favour feudal lords and tribal chiefs who fail to win elections of National Assembly or provincial assemblies in franchise vote.

The members of National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies cast votes to elect Senators of their political groups to whom they want to pull in privileged class. These senators are mostly relatives of Muslim politicians and businessmen who fund political parties. There are special seats for technocrats, selected by Muslim political parties but none of special seat was reserved for religious minorities.

The importance of Senate of Pakistan was felt by minority leaders in 1990, when President of Pakistan forwarded rulings of Federal Shariat Court instead of National Assembly to Senate for legislation on blasphemy laws. The ruling by Federal Shariat Court on petition of Mohammad Iqbal for decree of death sentence on blasphemy laws, the Senate legislated death sentence on

blasphemy laws and forward it to National assembly to amend life imprisonment on section 295 B PPC.

The Muslim political parties shall never nominate any Christian from their platform for election of Senate or if they shall ever do so, then minority senator shall be just a puppet. If, Christian want to have voice in Senate of Pakistan then they has to select their Senators from their united political party, which is only possible by Separate Electorate.

Only youth leadership can achieve goals of oppressed Christian nation. Such youth leadership must be elected by independent youth groups, which are not under influence of any church or any other organization. These youth groups shall appeal to common Christian to contribute to raise funds. The Christians can collect millions of rupees every month if they contribute one rupee per family. The youth must be self sufficient to support their movement because funding agencies dictate rules, which can restrict youth agenda. It is fact that if any church or any funding agency provides you fund then you shall not be independent in your struggle or movement.

We have observed that leaders, who came on shoulders of funding agencies, bargained on Christian rights on directions of their masters. The bishops are enjoying feudal class lifestyle with millions of bank accounts, with line of luxury cars and their children studying in best foreign universities while common Christian is living below poverty line. Our youth have to fight on two fronts, one Christian feudal lords and secondly Muslim feudal lords.

The Christian youth shall organize themselves in units at Mohalla (Colony) level. Then every unit shall elect their representatives to form Town or City Unit. A convention shall be called to represent every Mohalla, Town and City units to elect Central Council of Christian Youth. The Central Council shall lead Christian nation to destination of freedom with a peaceful movement.

The Christian youth must keep an eye on organizational structure that any mole may not enter to sabotage their peaceful movement or change their agenda. The government and Churches shall try their best to break up true and independent youth organization by paid agents. The Christian youth shall closely study organizational structure of MQM, Sindhi and Baloch nationalist organizations to set up their rules and regulations.

The Christian writers, scholars, businessmen and elders shall extend their full support to Christian Youth leadership. The youth shall elect their "Quaid" who shall be honored by every one and those who oppose "Quaid" shall be socially boycotted by Christian nation.

We know that there shall be resistance to young leadership by the old corrupt and so called leaders but that shall end because Christian youth shall be ready to face such elements.

- The Christian-Muslims can not co-exist in Punjab due to hate by Muslims. Therefore division of Punjab shall be creation of our own Province

The religious fanaticism among Muslims of sub-continent is a historic fact. The Khilafat movement by Indian Muslims was the reaction on fall of Khilafat in turkey when they were never part of that government nor they have any political and social benefits from khilafat rulers but the reaction on the fall was based on religious sentiments by the Muslims of South Asia, after the First World War, to protect the Ottoman Empire from dismemberment. On fall of khilafat rule there was no such reaction witnessed among the Muslims of any other part of the world except the Indian Muslims.

Unfortunately, it allowed fundamentalist Muslim leadership to alienate Muslims and commit atrocities against Hindus in Mopla, now the Malabar district of Kerala, on Aug1, 1921. Dr. Annie Beasant records the following in her report titled "Malabar's agony" in New India, dated 29

Nov 1921, "that from that date August 1, onwards thousands of the forbidden war-knives were secretly made and hidden away and on August 20, the rebellion broke out; Khilafat flags were hoisted on police stations and Government offices, when one of the Muslim leaders of this movement, Maulana Modini called the "looting and killing of Hindus a military necessity". This inhuman defending of the barbaric Mopla atrocities prompted Annie Beasant to comment bitterly: Men who consider it "religious" to murder, rape, loot, to kill women and little children, cutting down whole families, have to be put under restraint in any civilized society. This was the very first incident of communal riots and terrorism in the sub continent, committed by the Muslims in the name of Islam under the slogan of Jihad. Furthermore, the sub-continent's Muslims were the first on globe to demand the partition of India on religious ground and formation of Islamic state, on two-nation theory. The poverty and social disaster remained the fate of Muslim religious minority in Indian continent, being in power as minority to rule on majority of Hindu community for more than two hundred years but still this Muslim minority ever remained emotional on religious issues. When other Muslim world always ignored them and even feared to support their demand of independent state of Pakistan on any international forum. The Muslim leaders always looked upon the rich oil Muslim states after formation of Pakistan in 1947 and even pleaded their religious sects' teachings for their financial aids and vested interests, which never seemed deemed fit according to the cultural and social values of the subcontinent Muslims. This was the major reason that Muslim sects' establishment was more in India than any other Muslim country on globe. This race to establish the different sects of Islam in Pakistan, moved some religious leaders to follow the terror organizations, rooted in other Muslim states and to prove the terror as per religious

teachings of Islam. The moderate Muslims witnessed that these Pakistani Muslim religious leaders tried to prove monarchy and one-man rule of dictatorship not contrary to the Islamic values. The strong emotional support to PLO have been ever remained on priority agenda of Pakistani Muslim religious leaders when PLO leadership always preferred the better bilateral relations with Hindu majority neighboring state of India.

The concept of Jihad was very firstly used by the Egyptian Muslim organization against their government, terming it not to be following the true teachings of Islam in Egypt. The PLO used the slogan of Jihad against the Israel too as the Muslims of Pakistan adopted it decades ago in sepoy revolt of 1857 and Khilifat movement in 1921. The Iranian Muslims used the same weapon of Jihad against the emperor of Iran to take over the powers. Its very amazing and surprising that Muslims of Pakistan who hailed the Muslims of Egypt, Palestine and Iran on practice of jihad against the governments never imagined to use the same against the military dictators in Pakistan but supported them to crush the democratic values in Pakistan and always tried to use the back door to share powers with dictators in Pakistan.

The terms of particular conception very firstly appeared in Pakistan and Egypt by some religious leaders like this; S.A.A. Maududi, The Amir of Jamat Islami Pakistan said on "Jihad in Islam" at Lahore, in 1991, that "Islam wishes to destroy all States and Governments anywhere on the face of the earth which are opposed to the ideology and program of Islam. Islam requires the earth, not just a portion, but the whole planet." And that God's Law (Shariah) should be enforced in the world "by force of arms." Truth cannot be confined within geographical borders. "The allegiance of a Muslim does not rest on his domicile in the country which is his, but on the faith to which he belongs ... wherever there is the rule of Islam, there is his own country." Like wise –

Shayk Muhammad Abu Zahra, Egyptian member of the Academy of Islamic Research said, "Jihad has been decreed to repel aggression and to remove obstructions impeding the propagation of Islam in non-Islamic countries." Now let's discuss this word Jihad which is often heard and associated with the acts of certain individuals, claiming to act in the name of Islam, is the Arabic word: Jihad. Other Commonly Used Spellings: JIHAAD, it is an Arabic word the root of which is Jahada, which means to strive for a better way of life. The nouns are Juhd, Mujahid, Jihad, and Ijtihad. Its significance plays an extremely crucial role in the image of Islam. But what does this so widely known word mean? Jihad has a great significance in the lives of Muslims. Like any language, Arabic has unique words, which have a particular meaning, which cannot be translated precisely.

"The Hereafter is far better for you than this first (life.)"(93:4) "Say," O my people, do your best, and so will I. You will surely find out who the ultimate victors are." Certainly, the wicked will never succeed."(6:135). The Jihad involves noticeable effort for righteousness. This means that the effort concentrated in the Jihad is a step in the true and ultimate path of Islam; the effort imposed on one's self. Thus Jihad is solely individual, self-centered and self-interested. This effort is only the doing of good for salvation and pardon of God. The Quran points this out in the following verse: "The day will come when every soul will serve as its own advocate, and every soul will be paid fully for whatever it had done, without the least injustice." (16:111).

In respect to the above Quranic verses, God tells the believers that all acts will reflect the soul of there. Jihad also includes the striving and establishing of justice. Before one can strive for justice in his community, justice must be one of his main religious and moral principles.

Jihad may also reflect the war aspects in Islam (Submission). The fighting of a war in the name of justice or

Islam, to deter an aggressor, for self-defense, and/or to establish justice and freedom to practice religion, would also be considered a Jihad "You shall strive for the cause of GOD as you should strive for His cause." (22:78). This Quranic verse incites man to strive, in the cause of God. The cause of God is justice and freedom for all, keeping the Quranic principle "NO COMPULSION IN RELIGION" (2:256) on top of the list.

Since this verse shows that God accepts only justice, fighting in the name of God is fighting in the name of justice. But, contrary to many people's interpretation, Jihad is anything but a holy war. In the light and essence of Islam (Submission) and the Quran, there is no war, which is holy; this, under any circumstances whatsoever.

In fact the whole text of the Quran and the religion of Islam (Submission) revolve around the concept of peace, not war. To many people's ignorance, Islam (Submission) is also a word that shares the same root of the Arabic word Salaam meaning peace.

To Islam (Submission), war is unholy; Jihad must mean anything but holy war. In Brief, This word Jihad does not mean a holy war, for there is nothing holy about a war in Islam (submission). There are times when war is tolerated, permitted and even, in some case, to a point accepted, but never considered holy. Islam is a religion of peace, no matter what certain deranged individuals say or claim. Islam (Submission) revolves around the concept of peace. "If they resort to peace, so shall you, and put your trust in GOD. He is the Hearer, the Omniscient."(8:61).

The other meanings of Jihad are: endeavor, strain, exertion, effort, and diligence, fighting to defend one's life, land, and religion. Jihad should not be confused with Holy War; the latter does not exist in Islam nor will Islam allow its followers to be involved in a Holy War. The latter refers to the Holy War of the Crusaders. Jihad is not a war to force the faith on others, as man people think of it. It should never

be interpreted as a way of compulsion of the belief on others, since there is an explicit verse in the Qur'an that says:

"There is no compulsion in religion" Al-Qur'an Al-Baqarah (2:256). Jihad is not a defensive war only, but a war against any unjust regime. If such a regime exists, a war is to be waged against the leaders, but not against the people of that country. People should be freed from the unjust regimes and influences so that they can freely choose to believe in Allah. Not only in peace but also in war Islam prohibits terrorism, kidnapping, and hijacking, when carried against civilians. Whoever commits such violations is considered a murderer in Islam, and is to be punished by the Islamic state. Even during wars, Islam prohibits Muslim soldiers from harming civilians, women, children, elderly, and the religious men like priests and rabbies. It also prohibits cutting down trees and destroying civilian constructions.

In 1977 Walter Laqueur predicted accurately "the disputes about a detailed, comprehensive definition of terrorism will continue for a long time, they will not result in a consensus and they will make no notable contribution towards the understanding of terrorism."

Attempts to incorporate all the many manifestations of terrorism within a single definition were doomed from the start. The term "terrorism" has been applied across the whole spectrum of political violence, and over the centuries of history. It has been applied to times of war and of peace; to the actions of states, groups and individuals; to actions against liberal states and to actions against repressive states and dictatorships. To treat terrorism as a general concept separates the action from its context, consequently from its intention and its justification.

When we discuss the general options of terror organizations, the history follows the state operated

terrorism to snatch the will and end the voice of general people. The movements against the government remained equipped with terror acts to change the rule of law in countries. The terror was in form by the drug and land mafia syndicates to protect their illegal business in the state. We see the all forms of terrorism was curb able by the power of the law because that terrorism never has any ideology behind it but the recent terrorism in the world is put on the roots of one religious interpretation and theology.

After these discussions on the spirit of Jihad in Islam we witness that Muslims of subcontinent of India interpreted the word Jihad and its concept very differently from the teachings of Islam. Now again this slogan of Jihad is being used to protect and practice terrorism under Islamic teachings, which is not very new concept when we discuss the Khilafat movement in 1921 in India. It's easy to curb state operated terrorism and harboring terrorism but it needs more effective measures to curb terrorisms from individuals and groups who move terrorisms in name of religion with interpretation of Jihad to their own concepts. It's easy to calm down the guns and tanks of terrorist states but it's difficult to end the suicide bombers who get ready to sacrifice their lives on the sermon of one religious leader, very expert to ignite his religious emotions and to exploit the religious theology.

But Jihad is being promoted in concept of "Holy War against infidels" in Pakistan. The establishment is supervising Jihadi elements and using them against selected targets to prolong their rule has created religious apartheid. In such circumstances, there is big question mark, Can Christian-Muslim co-exist in Pakistan?

I will repeat comments of Joshua Fazal Din, made in Lahore in 1970, "Christian can not live like slaves in Pakistan any more, open borders of us to leave in protest". The last speech of Bishop John Joseph in Sahiwal in 1998, "I think Christians are being forced to leave Pakistan".

I want to comment “We shall not leave Pakistan because we are son of soil and reserve right in Land of Pakistan. We want Separate Christian Province within Pakistan, until it is too late”

The division of Pakistan in autonomous provinces of Greater Balochistan, Pakhtooistan, Sidhodesh, Jinahabad, Haraza, Seraiki and Christian Provinces is only solution to integrity and solidarity of Pakistan.

The unity among Christians of Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bangladesh is very essential for peace and harmony in South Asian continent. There are misunderstandings among religious minorities which can be resolved through united platform. For instance:

I published this article in Pakistan Christian Post in 2004, "Hounded, Beaten and Shot, What you can do to help persecuted Christians in India. By Jeff M. Sellers" but one of my Indian Christian reader expressed his anger in a letter. My Indian brother wrote “Christians in India have equal rights and religious liberties to profess and preach Christianity while people are free to convert to which ever religion salves their consciousness”.

He further wrote “There is no bonded labour in India solely on the basis of community; Christians have been the head of the Army, Navy, Air force, Supreme Court. How many Pakistani Christians have held the same post in Pakistan?”

He adds “We have never had electorates on the basis of religion. Christians almost made it to the highest posts of PM and President, large numbers of Christian is recruited into the Indian military and police. Are Christians even recruited into the Pak military, largely checked the khalistani militancy that was launched by the ISI? There are quite a few Christian states in India viz, Goa, Mizoram, Nagaland, etc. How many Christian states are there in Pakistan? When there are atrocities against Christians in India the

accused go the jail. When there are atrocities against Christians in Pakistan the perpetrators get the Hillal-I-Jurat!" There are many un-answered question which we can raise about situation on religious minorities in South Asia. I appreciate views of Indian Christian reader but what if they raise voice on our persecution?

The countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Srilanka; Nepal and Bhutan have large number of population of minorities like, Christians, Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists. These minorities are persecuted and deprived of their equal basic democratic rights in one way or other. If there is united platform of the minorities of these south Asian countries then it's possible to launch joint efforts from that platform to press upon respective governments to sanction privileges accordingly.

**Continued..... The Trial of Pakistani  
Christian Nation. volume 2**

**Also my next novel  
“In Exile”**



## Christians demand separate province

By our correspondent

The News International, Wednesday, April 22, 1992

**KARACHI:** Nazir S. Bhatti, the president of Pakistan Christian Congress, addressing a press conference on Tuesday, demanded formation of Christian province and expressed his support for Seraiki and Pakhtun province. He said the decision was recently made in the supreme council of his party.

At a time when the policy makers are talking about their plans for the 21st century, the conditions of more than ten million Christians continue to deteriorate despite the sacrifices of Christian leaders like S.P. Singha and Ralyaram for the formation of Pakistan, party president said.

"Christians voted in favour of Pakistan during the round table conference, but today an educated Christian in Panjab can't eat in any Muslim house and even a Christian MNA was humiliated in Kasur, Panjab, for eating at a Muslim restaurant", Bhatti said.

He said that Christian youths had

to face discrimination in jobs, partisan approach of bureaucracy and Christians were not even represented in the assemblies according to their population strength. He also lamented that police continued to play with the sanctity and privacy of Christians by breaking into their houses.

Momentous changes taking place in the world were being ignored by the rulers, while the country continued to face serious ethnic, religious and communal strife, he said.

The only solution of the problems being faced by Christians was the formation of separate province by dividing Punjab into three parts for Seraikis, Punjabis and Christians. The party president said that they were patriotic people and by demanding a separate province they wanted to close the chapter of hatred which had become the hallmark of Panjab.

He announced the party support for the Seraiki and Pakhtun province and appealed them to reciprocate the same.

The Trid of Pakistani Christian Nation