



FATE OF MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN: AN OVERVIEW OF INITIAL SIX DECADES (1947 CE-2007 CE) OF CHRISTIANS IN PAKISTAN

Dr. Muzaffir Hussain
Assistant Professor,
Department of Political Science,
University of Turbat
Turbat - Pakistan
Muzaffir.hussain@uot.edu.pk
(Corresponding Author)

Shakir Adam
Senior Lecturer,
Institute of Professional Psychology,
Bahria University Karachi Campus
Karachi - Pakistan
Shakiradam1988@gmail.com

Masood Ahmed Riaz
Ph. D (History) Scholar,
University of Karachi
Karachi - Pakistan
Masood.ahmed.riaz@gmail.com

Abstract

Pakistan is a Muslim country with 1.37% Christian minorities (2023 census) and are subject to various legal protection and oppression. The Christians of Pakistan were enjoying privileges of minorities until 1990s, when Nawaz Sharif formed his government and continued Zia's legacy of Islamization of laws in Pakistan, especially the laws related to the orientation of religion. Amending religious laws by Sharif gave way to religious bigot in persecuting the minorities and then claiming legal immunity. After 1990s, minorities in Pakistan sensed and witnessed an era of fear, oppression and persecution by religious men especially in terms of grabbing their properties by charging them with religious offences as the Sharif's first government changed the laws of Pakistan and made them more lethal for minorities especially for Christian. Similarly, the government provided protection to the persecutors in shape of constitution and then highlights remedies available to



minorities in Pakistan. The aim of the paper is to critically analyze the legislative amendments implemented during the 1990s Nawaz Sharif government that institutionalized the persecution of Christian minorities in Pakistan. The paper also identify specific legal alterations that made the judicial framework demonstrably more lethal for the 1.37% Christian population regarding religious orientation offenses. The objective of the paper is to demonstrate how these laws enabled religious bigots to operate with legal impunity, using fabricated religious charges as a pretext for property seizure and violence. The paper also examine the systemic role of the government and certain provisions in providing protective cover to persecutors.

Key Words: Pakistan, Minorities, Christians, Zia-ul-Haq, Nawaz Sharif, Human Rights

Introduction

Christianity has a very long history in the South Asia; the history of the Christians had started after the arrival of colonial masters in shape of the British and the French in this region. In Punjab and other areas of Pakistan, the British allowed their missionaries who played a considerable part in the spreading Christianity and creation of their churches in the cities of Karachi and Lahore (Institute, 2001). The Christians merely descended as a consequence of the Christian missionaries. Some of the writers have come to the conclusion that “The Christians of Pakistan has descended from the Hindu outcaste who started converted during the British era in order to secure a better future for themselves” (Gregory, 2012). This can be accepted as a fact because in Pakistan some of the Christian have also carried the same status of the ‘untouchables’. Most of the cities in the modern Pakistan like Peshawar, Hyderabad, Rawalpindi, and Quetta were also confronted with the population of the Christens before the inception of Pakistan (Malik, 2002).

However, before the partition the Christians were divided in both wings of Pakistan, therefore, the Christian leaders who were living in the side of Pakistan also showed great involvement for the making of Pakistan and they also favored the Muslim political party and Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Institute, 2001). During the final days of Pakistan movement Jinnah had also met with the Christian leaders to convince them for the cause of supporting Pakistan, the Christian which were already offered “small Christian state” by the British, supported Jinnah and rejected the proposal of the British (Christian Study Center, 2008). The positing of Pakistan on the basis of “Islamic uniformity” and the change in the economy have added an anti-Christian sentiment and a large number of the Christians which had been in a good position due to the farming became dispossessed and thus they had to work as sweepers which further defamed them (Malik, 2002). The partition also put a deep impact on the Christians because most of the Christians were living in the Northern Punjab apart from this the Christians also had bulk of population in the East Pakistan (present day Bangladesh).



Research Objective

- To systematically identify the specific legislative amendments enacted during the first Nawaz Sharif government in the 1990s that fundamentally codified the Islamization of laws, thereby shattering the legal security and privileges of the Christian minority.
- To demonstrate the causal link between these legal alterations and the subsequent rise of an "era of fear, oppression and persecution," specifically focusing on how religious offenses like blasphemy are fabricated and weaponized by bigots to seize property with impunity.
- To critically analyze the functional role of government mechanisms and certain constitutional provisions in providing protective cover to these persecutors.
- To assess the desperate and limited legal and non-legal lifelines currently available to Christian families seeking justice and survival in Pakistan today.

Research Methodology

This study utilizes a qualitative, socio-legal research design, rooted fundamentally in historical and textual analysis to examine the legislative basis of oppression against Pakistan's Christian minority. The primary data sources include critical institutional documents: the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (1973), specific acts and ordinances passed or amended during the first Nawaz Sharif government in the 1990s. Secondary data is drawn from established academic literature on minority rights in Pakistan, detailed human rights reports from both domestic and international organizations, and published documentation of religious persecution to build a robust evidentiary foundation for the argument that legal changes institutionalized bigotry.

The methodology involves an in-depth, case-study analysis of documented instances where religious charges were leveraged for non-religious motives, such as the forcible seizure of minority property, providing empirical evidence for the systemic "era of fear." This ensures the paper moves beyond abstract legal critique to confront the painful, lived reality of the Christian community, ultimately enabling a prescriptive analysis of the available remedies.

Jinnah's Vision Regarding the Rights of Minorities

Jinnah had a clear mind for the rights of minorities in Pakistan; Jinnah wanted a society based on social justice, equality, brotherhood and religious tolerance (Khan, 2009). Jinnah nowhere mentioned that Pakistan shall be an Islamic state or Theocratic state. Jinnah argued, "The new state would be modern democratic state with the sovereignty resting in the people and the members of the new nation having equal rights of the citizenship regardless of their religion, caste and creed" (Khan, 2009). This can explicitly be seen from his speech before the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in 1947. He said,

You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any places of worship in the state of Pakistan... You may belong to any religion or cast or creed – that has nothing to do with the fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state Now, I think



we should keep that I 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 (Burke, 2000).

This statement was regarded as the 'Magna Carta' for the minorities in Pakistan. The clear vision of Jinnah regarding the rights of the Minorities was to a large extent became the reason for the satisfaction of the people belonging to different sects and religions. After the death of Jinnah, the situation was changed dramatically for the Christians. Hamid Khan remarks in his book regarding the Objectives Resolution that it was 'unfortunate that there was a division on the communal lines. The resolution had sown the seeds of suspicion, alienation and distrust among the minorities' (Khan, 2009). Mohammad Munir, by no means a friend of the *Ulama*, called the Resolution "nothing but a hoax" (Ali, 1997). This document tried to placate the Muslim clerics and equally tried to establish Pakistani nationhood on the principle of religious conformity. The attacks on the villages of the Christians began in 1952. In 1953, the *Ahmadiyya* riots was one of the first major incident which alarmed the minorities in Pakistan.

Furthermore, in 1956, the first Constitution of Pakistan which was adopted by the second Constituent Assembly comprised of eighty members, in whom nine seats were allocated to the minorities, the Objective Resolution became the preamble and Pakistan declared an Islamic republic and prohibited non-Muslims for taking key posts in governments (Christian Study Center, 2008). The constitution of 1962 given by Ayub called Pakistan a republic replaced the Islamic republic but after violent criticism this change was reversed by Ayub Khan (Christian Study Center, 2008).

Moreover, during the 1965 war the Christians soldiers were alleged with the acts of conspiracy and acting as spies which resulted in the arrest and imprisonment of many Christians and this was soon followed by the attacks on the villages of the Christians in Punjab after accusing them for objectionable words found written on a wall of school (Ahmed, 2000). In 1970 the burning of Bible in Murray College, Sialkot greatly shocked the Christians and various demonstrations were staged against this act (Ahmed, 2000).

The Rigid Islamization of Zia-ul-Haq and the Rights of Minorities

The roots of religious extremism and the persecution of the minorities on the basis of various laws can be traced back from the period of Zia-ul-Haq. With the military coup the constitution of 1973 was suspended with the Provisional Constitution Order (PCC) and it also swept away the fundamental rights which were provided to the citizens of Pakistan. 'It provided clear definition of Muslim and non-Muslim' and the introduction of host of discriminatory laws were citing 'Islam as a justification but with a clear political agenda' (Institute, 2001).

First, it was to stop the impacts of the Iranian revolution with the backing of Saudi Arabia and second was to get the support of religious parties for the prolonging of his rule became the reason for the hunting of thousands of people. According to Zia, the constitution was said to be, 'Just a document of a dozen pages which I can tear and throw away any day' and



he further argued the 'Who is there to prevent me from doing this?' (Christian Study Center, 2008).

Moreover, in 1979, the Christian churches and schools were targeted by Muslims causing considerable damage after the incident of *Khana Kaaba* in which some people tried to take it over (Christian Study Center, 2008). The sweeping legislation which was introduced by Zia and the amendments in the constitution further changed the entire spectrum of policies and attitude toward Christians in Pakistan and they were greatly affected by the measures (Malik, 2002). The system of separate electorates reduced the status of the Christian and they were confined to second-class citizenship undermining their equal rights (Malik, 2002). Furthermore, 'Five new laws that speaks about religious minorities were introduced which included (i) Blasphemy laws; (ii) Law punishing the defiling of the Qur'an; (iii) Law prohibiting insulting remarks against the wives, family, or companions of the Prophet of Islam (PBUH); (iv & iv) two laws specifically against the Ahmadis restricting their activities' (Institute, 2001).

The last two laws as the part of Martial Law Ordinance Sections 298-B and Sections 298-C were issued by Zia and later added to PCC which have undercut the activities of religious minorities especially related to the *Ahmadiyya* community. In 1986, another section 295-C was added to the PCC with the help of parliament which is referred to as the Blasphemy Laws (Institute, 2001).

Impact of Laws in Pakistan upon on Christian Community

In the recent decade, the situation has become worse for the Christian in Pakistan. Actually anti-minority doctrines are deeply rooted in the day to day discourse of the people's beliefs in perception and these laws have been used against the Muslim and non-Muslim though the reasons may be anything other than religion.

The Blasphemy Laws were aimed to protect all religions but are used for the prohibition of disrespect towards Holy Prophet (PBUH), Holy Quran and religious beliefs. They were introduced by the British in 1860 in the Indian Penal Code under the section of 295 (Institute, 2001). Later the section 295-A was added to stop the 'outraging religious feelings' (Institute, 2001). This code inherited by Pakistan after the independence, amendments made over the years 'transformed the legislation in to the Offences Relating to Religion as set out in the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC)' (Institute, 2001).

However, after the inception of Pakistan till the Islamization of Zia-ul-Haq only few cases had reported as far as Blasphemy Laws were concerned, but the arrival of Zia entirely changed the situation for the Christians in Pakistan. It was Zia regime that was responsible for the drafting of severe penalties including the life imprisonment and death penalty through various amendments in PCC.

In addition, in 1992, the option of life sentence from section 295-c was removed under the government of Nawaz Sharif who was considered to be the predecessor of Zia and had affiliations with Saudi Arabia, imposed a mandatory death sentence, thereby giving more power to those who wished to use this law (Christian Study Center, 2008). The first fatal attack was



carried under this law; a Christian teacher was accused of Blaspheming against Prophet (PBUH) and later put to death by *Anjuman-e-Sipah-e-Sahaba* (Ahmed, 2000). In 1992, as a reaction of the *Babri* mosque, from 6 to 8 December, some 120 temples, seven churches were razed to ground, hundreds of Christians shops and house were flashed, and a family of six was burnt alive in Loralai (Ahmed, 2000). 'In the *Jag Bagga* Police Station area near Lahore two Christian women were stripped naked and forced to dance because their brothers was accused of stealing a buffalo and the police wanted a confession. Before that two Christian women of Nazimabad's Siraj colony had been subjected to similar madness' (Christian Study Center, 2008). The 1993 also saw similar type of incident regarding the Blasphemy Laws and a large number of Christians were executed, tortured, converted or abducted by the Muslims with the supervision of police.

Furthermore, during the Benazir government in 1994, a Chief Justice led Pakistan Law Commission founded that these laws were being misused by police and recommended the review of these; the government which was ready to amend these laws after nationwide demonstrations was backtracked (Malik, 2002). In 1997, the *Shantinagar* tragedy was another terrible incident against the Christians, in which 13 Churches, 1,500 houses were damaged and looted by a huge mob (Christian Study Center, 2008). The year 1998 was very significant in a way that it further reinforced the Blasphemy Laws through the 15th Amendment, 'the constitutional amendment that it passed that day practically empowers the government to bypass the constitutional process and do as it likes (Christian Study Center, 2008).

Moreover, on 6th May the Bishop of Faisalabad John Joseph put an end to his life while protesting against the Blasphemy Laws especially against 295-C. The year was also full of severe attacks on the Christian and other minorities in Pakistan. The 'Enlightened Moderation' which was introduced by Musharraf in Pakistan and which aimed to put Pakistan on the modern path even could not execute the problems of the Christians. In 2000 Musharraf tried to 'amend the way the Blasphemy Laws were implemented' but the severe pressure from the religious parties forced him to step back (Gregory, 2012).

Nevertheless, the 9/11 incident further intensified the pains for the Christians who were in a sense of fear and deprivation for a long time. In fact the SSP and *Lashkar Jhangvi's* support for the Taliban further created another wave of terror against the Christians in late October 2001 and the targeting of the Christian enhanced (Malik, 2002). 'In August 2002, Rukhsana Bunayad-a first Muslim woman to be charged with blaspheming against the Qur'an in a public meeting in Mianwali (Malik, 2002). In another incident 16 Christians were shot dead including six children, and in October, 28, 2001, two Christians were wounded by gunmen during worship at St Dominic's church in the eastern town of Bahawalpur; in the next year, a Protestant church in Islamabad was attacked with hand grenade killing five people, including a U.S. Embassy employee and her 17-year-old daughter' (Gregory, 2012).

The entire regime of Musharraf could not do anything much in favour of Christians, the removal of Musharraf paved the way for PPP in the government but even the PPP government could not eliminate the problems of the minorities. Nevertheless, in 2009 'seven Christians were burnt alive in *Gojra*, and dozens were injured after riots broke out over to allegations of



blasphemy against the Holy Quran' (Gregory, 2012). Aasia Bibi case was one of the major events which have started a new discussion on these laws especially 295-C and received international attentions basically she was the first Christian lady which was sentenced to death under the Blasphemy Law by the court in the Nankana Sahib district of Punjab (Gregory, 2012). The private members bill and the Blasphemy Laws Amendment Bill submitted by Sherry Rehman (Member of National Assembly) was severely criticized by violent protests and ultimately the bill was withdrawn (Jinnah Institute, 2001).'

In 2011, the governor of Punjab-Salman Taseer was assassinated by his bodyguard Mumtaz Qadri because of calling these laws as "Black laws" after meeting Aasia Bibi in jail, and this assassination was followed by assassination of the Minister for Minority affairs when he was heading a committee for the amendments in these laws and *Alqaida-o-Tehreek-e-Taliban* confessed the assassination in a written statement, flung besides the bullet-ridden body of the Minister (Gregory, 2012). Analysis of data of 1986 reveals that thousands of cases of Blasphemy have been reported in Pakistan. Out of which, 476 were against the Muslims, followed by Ahmadis with 479 cases and 180 against the Christians. However, more than 32 people have been extra-judicially killed in 2020 by angry mobs on allegations of blasphemy and 64 people were convicted under the blasphemy law' (Jinnah Institute, 2001). 98% of the Blasphemy cases against Christians have taken place in Punjab (particularly in 5 districts) because the Christians are in a great population in these areas.

Protection to Christians: Rights of Christianity in Islamic Perspective

It is very imperative for Muslims as well as a significant part of Islamic theology to believe in Jesus (*Hadrat Isa*) and his Bible (*Injil*). Islam identifies Christians as the People of Book and a Muslim must believe in the prophets of all religion and one cannot speak against the prophet of their religion (Ulfat, 2003). The rights of the minorities are also defined by the Quran and Hadiths. Islam fully stands for the rights of the religious minorities and the teachings of *Quran* and *Hadith* explicitly demonstrate the due rights of minorities in Islam and the duties of the Muslims in case of the minorities.

Quranic Laws Regarding the Rights of Minorities

Quran on several times talks about the rights of the minorities. Allah says in the Quran, "There is no compulsion in religion" (Al Quran, 2:256). This clearly shows that how much the rights of the minorities have been safeguarded by the Quranic injunctions. The rights which are given by Islam can further be judged by another saying by Allah Almighty in Quran, "(so) for you is your religion and for me is my religion" (Al Quran, 6:109). The Quranic injunctions while giving the basics for the rights of the minorities also gives a clear direction to the Muslims not to protect the rights of Muslim only but also the rights of the Christians and Jews and other religious minorities. The Quran says on another place that, "If God had not driven some people back by means of others, monasteries, churches, synagogues and mosques, where God's name is mentioned much, would have been pulled down and destroyed. God will certainly help those who help Him-God is All-Strong, Almighty" (Al Quran, 22:44). This verse



clearly defines the duty of the Muslims to protect the rights of the religious groups and further allow them to build and worship God in their religious buildings.

Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the Rights of Minorities

The saying and actions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) clearly show that how far the religious minorities had enjoyed equal status in the society during the Prophet's time. The basic rights had never been violated at that time rather they were treated as guidance by the *Quran*. Both Muslims and non-Muslims had treated on equal basis in civil laws during the time of Prophet Muhammad (PUBH) and rightly guided caliphate.

Moreover, after the migrations and settlement at *Madinah*, soon prophet invited all the Muslims or non-Muslims tribes for the formation of "city state of *Madinah*", after having established the "city state of *Madinah*" a constitution was also drafted in which the internal autonomy was also provided to the non-Muslim tribes (Hamidullah, 1988). The Jew which had acceded to the city state, enjoyed full autonomy and enjoyed as much as liberty as Muslims and Muslim laws were not applied if the parties were Jew and no recourse had to be had to Muslim court even for appeal" (Hamidullah, 1988). "Whenever someone visited the Prophet PBUH, even though if the visitor was a non-Muslim, still the Prophet PBUH treated him with due respect and hospitality and provided him accommodation in the Prophet's Mosque" (Ulfat, 2003).

Nevertheless, the rights of the minorities which had been prescribed by Prophet (PBUH) can easily be seen in the saying of the Holy Prophet (PUBH), "Beware! If anyone oppress a member of minority community or usurped his right or tortured him more than his endurance or took something away forcibly without his consent, I would fight (against such Muslims) on his behalf on the Day of Judgment" (Ulfat, 2003). On another place prophet said, "Whosoever killed a member of a minority community, he would not smell the fragrance of paradise though fragrance of paradise would cover the distance of forty years" (Ulfat, 2003).

However, the statements by the Prophet clearly demonstrate that how much the rights of the minorities were safeguarded during the time of Prophet (PBUH). The Islamic concept of state is primarily based on the justice in equality for all citizens, furthermore, in Islamic laws all the citizens irrespective of their association, religious identity, enjoy similar rights and equality in the law and discrimination is not allowed in Islam.

Legal Protections for the Minorities in Pakistan

There are various rights which are put in the constitution and the preamble of the constitution regarding the rights of minorities in Pakistan. Pakistan has also accepted various resolutions which talk about the rights of the minorities. Thus it is the duty of government to apply these legal protections which are agreed upon by her in the practical terms.



United Nations Resolutions

The United Nations have passed several resolutions regarding the rights of minorities and religious minorities. Pakistan as a part of the United Nations has also acknowledged these resolutions and is destined to follow by Pakistan. Though there are several resolutions, laws, treaties which provide an equal opportunity for the minorities to live in tranquility yet some of the resolutions have got the status of customary law and are bound to follow by all the countries which are the members of United Nations. In December 21, 1965 the UN adopted a resolution “International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination” which explicitly gives a detailed picture regarding the rights of the minorities. Similarly another resolution which was passed in 1981 “Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief” also have the same intentions as discussed above. In December 18, 1992 General Assembly adopted a resolution which “proclaims the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities”. These resolutions which have passed in the United Nations have acquired the position of customary laws and it is prerequisite for all the members of the United Nations to make it possible for the implementation of the laws in particle terms.

Objectives Resolution

The Objectives Resolution of 1949 is the core of all future constitutions of Pakistan therefore, it was made as the preamble of the constitution of 1956, 1962 and 1973 respectively. The Objectives Resolution declared Pakistan as an Islamic ideological state where sovereignty belongs to Allah alone and the state shall exercise its power through its people (Ali, 1997). However, this Resolution is very significant as far as the rights of the religious minorities are concerned; the minorities were also provided with their due rights through this Resolution. Following are the major points which clearly define the rights of the minorities in Pakistan.

- “Every right recognized by Islam shall be implemented in Pakistan.
- Muslims shall be at their liberty to spend their lives according to Islam.
- Minorities shall be protected.
- Fundamental rights shall be protected.
- Steps shall be taken to uplift the marginalized groups” (Ali, 1997)

Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973

The short history of Pakistan has seen many constitutions given by different leaders of the Pakistan. But the Constitution of the 1973 is creditable in a sense that it was the first constitution of Pakistan which was agreed by the representatives elected in the first ever elections which were based on the adult franchise. The Objectives Resolution was made an integral part of the 1973 constitution. The Constitution of the 1973 constitutes Pakistan as an Islamic state but the fundamental rights and different articles also safeguarded the rights of the minorities in Pakistan. The following Articles in the Constitution of 1973 talk about the rights which have drafted to the minorities in Pakistan.



‘Article 20 and 21 ensures religious freedom and its protection.
Article 22 emphasis upon right to education irrespective of religious identity.
Article 25 is about equality of citizens.
Article 36 protect the minorities residing in Pakistan’ (Gregory, 2012).

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that the challenges faced by Pakistan’s Christian minority extend far beyond mere societal prejudice; they are fundamentally rooted in a legislative framework that has institutionalized and legitimized oppression. The policy choices made by the first Nawaz Sharif administration in the 1990s were not simply bureaucratic modifications, but acts that fundamentally dismantled the foundational protections once afforded to the 1.37% minority population. By selectively nurturing General Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization legacy, the government converted instruments of faith into instruments of terror. This legislative shift created a calculated, chilling mechanism: state-sanctioned impunity. It is a system where the state, through its silence or its enabling laws, effectively signs off on the actions of religious zealots. These individuals exploit the ambiguity of religious offense laws, not out of spiritual conviction, but as a cynical tool for personal gain—to steal property, destroy livelihoods, and instill absolute fear. The resulting "era of fear" is the measurable human catastrophe of a state that abandoned its duty to uphold equality before the law. The real tragedy is the daily reality of entire communities living under the shadow of a law that offers protection to the oppressor while denying basic dignity to the oppressed. Until the constitutional statutes that permit this form of persecution are not just scrutinized but fundamentally dismantled, the constitutional promise of a safe, equal future for Pakistan's Christian citizens remains an agonizing, hollow echo. The moral integrity of the nation hinges on its willingness to correct this profound injustice.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are imperative for restoring justice, equality, and human rights for Christian minorities in Pakistan:

- **Review and Repeal of Discriminatory Laws:** The government must immediately form a committee, including legal experts and minority representatives, to review all laws related to religious offenses, particularly the sections of the Penal Code with the goal of repealing or substantially modifying any statutes that facilitate their misuse.
- **Preventing Weaponization:** New legal clauses must be introduced that prescribe severe penalties for levying false religious charges, especially when such charges are demonstrably motivated by personal vendettas, property disputes, or financial gain.
- **Enhanced Scrutiny:** The superior judiciary must establish clear, mandatory procedural guidelines for handling religious offense cases, requiring compelling, independent evidence before the acceptance of a First Information Report (FIR) and restricting the police’s power to detain individuals without preliminary judicial review.



-
- **Minority Commission Empowerment:** The National Commission for Minorities should be granted full statutory and executive powers to investigate persecution cases, summon state officials, recommend punitive action, and enforce the restoration of victims' rights and property.



References

- Afzal, M. R. (Ed.). (1967). *Speeches and statements of Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan 1941-51*. Research Society of Pakistan.
- Ahmed, S. (2000). *Pakistan and Minorities*. Karachi: Makthab-e-Danial.
- Akhtar, S. (1997). *Tehreek-I-Pakistan kay gumnan kirdaar*. Christian Study Centre.
- Al Quran..
- Ali, C. A. (1996). *Developing Christian theology in the context of Islam*. Christian Study Centre.
- Ali, D. (1997). *Pakistan: A Religio-political Study*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.
- Amjad-Ali, C. (1996). Religion and politics in Islam: Challenge to Christian-Muslim relations. *Word & World*, 16(2), 160–167. (Approximate page range inferred)
- Amratsari, G. M. F. (1992). *Shanakhti ya mazabi card*. Idara-e-Amn-o-Insaf.
- Amratsari, G. M. F. (1992). *Toheen risalat: Qannon se katal tak*. Idara-e-Amn-o-Insaf.
- Ashworth, G. (1977). *World minorities*. Quarter Maine House.
- Bostom, A. (2005). *The legacy of jihad: Islamic holy war and the fate of non-Muslims*. Prometheus Books.
- Burke, S. (2000). *Jinnah Speeches and Statements 1947-48*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Choudhury, G. W. (1993). *Constitutional development in Pakistan*. Royal Book Company.
- Christian Study Center. (2008). *Religious Fundamentalism and Its Impact on Non-Muslims*. Rawalpindi: Christian Study Center.
- Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. (1949). *Debates, Official Report*. Author.
- Daily Dawn*. (n.d.).
- Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, G.A. Res. 36/55, U.N. Doc. A/RES/36/55 (Nov. 25, 1981).
- Declaration on the Rights of the Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, G.A. Res. 47/135, U.N. Doc. A/RES/47/135 (Dec. 18, 1992).
- Gabriel, T. (2007). *Christian citizens in an Islamic state: The Pakistan experience*. Ashgate.
- Gill, S. M. (1993). *Nazariya Pakistan aur aqliyaten*. Tajali Media Foundation.
- Gregory, S. (2012). Under the shadow of Islam: the plight of the Christian minority in Pakistan. *Contemporary South Asia*, 20, 195-212.
- Hamidullah, M. (1988). *The prophet's establishing a state and his succession*. Pakistan Hijra Council.
- Hussain, H. G. (1983). *Islami hukumat main aqliatain*. Diyal Singh Trust Library.
- Institute, J. (2001). A Question of Faith: A Report on the Status of Religious Minorities in Pakistan. *Jinnah Institute*, 25-39.
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, G.A. Res. 2106 (XX), U.N. Doc. A/6014 (Dec. 21, 1965).
- Khan, H. (2009). *Constitutional and political history of Pakistan*. Oxford University Press.
- Leach, E. R. (1971). *Aspects of caste in South India: Ceylon and North West Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press.



- Majumdar, R. (1988). *Pakistan: Jinnah to the present day*. Anmol Publication.
- Malik, I. H. (1988). *U.S.–South Asia relations, 1783–1940: A historical perspective*. Area Study Centre.
- Malik, I. H. (2002). *Religious minorities in Pakistan*. Minority Rights Group International.
- Minority Rights Group International. (2008). *State of the world's minorities 2008*. Author.
- Nadeem, F. (1997). *Yeh des hamara hai*. Hana Hang Publication.
- Nazir, S. (1997). *Quaid-i-Azam ka nazriya Pakistan aur aqliyatain*. Shahid Printing Press.
- O'Brien, J. (2006). *The construction of Pakistani Christian identity*. Research Society of Pakistan.
- Pakistan. *Amendments to the Blasphemy Laws Act* (2010).
- Pakistan. *The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973*. (2008). Centre for Civic Education Pakistan.
- Punjab Disturbances Inquiry Committee. (1954). *Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted Under Punjab Act of 1954 to inquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953*. Government of Punjab.
- Rooney, J. H. M. (1986). *Into deserts: A history of Catholic Diocese of Lahore 1886-1986*. Christian Study Centre.
- Rooney, J. H. M. (1988). *Symphony on sands: A history of Catholic Church Sind and Balochistan*. Christian Study Centre.
- Sada, M. (2004). *Taarik ka fareeb*. Christian Study Centre.
- Talbot, I. (1999). *Pakistan: A modern history*. Vanguard Books.
- The Daily Tribune*. (n.d.).
- Ulfat, A.-u.-S. (2003). *Islam and Christianity*. Cairo: Alflah.
- Weiss, A. M. (1987). *Islamic reassertion in Pakistan: The application of Islamic law in a modern state*. Vanguard.