Role of Minorities in the Political System of Pakistan

(A Case Study of the Christians of Lahore Division)

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ABSTRACT

The minorities play a very important role in the development of a country. The minorities in Pakistan have also been playing a very significant role in the development of the sacred homeland, especially the Christian Community, of Lahore Division, being the largest minority has been working side by side with the Muslim and contributing its share in the progress of the country. This research aimed to explore and hi-light services of the Christians of Lahore Division in different fields of life. Qualitative research has been carried out and interviews of the Christians, serving in different departments, have been conducted to explore the role of the Christians in the political system of Pakistan. The results show that they participated very actively in the Pakistan Movement and at the time of partition of the sub-continent they supported the stance of the Muslims unconditionally. After independence, when Muslim refugees were coming to Pakistan, the Christian Community came forward for their help. Since independence, they have been seen working serving the nation in different fields especially in education, health and care, judiciary, defense etc. At present, they are running some world-famous educational institutions in Lahore. The Christian doctors and nurses are serving the ailing humanity in almost all the hospitals of the Lahore Division. Their role in the defense of the country is also praise-worthy. Some of them have even sacrificed their lives for the sacred homeland. They have given their blood to secure the future of the nation. In the development of the country their contribution is no less than the Muslims’ role but unfortunately, they seem less interested in political process of the country. They have apprehensions about electoral system. The representatives of the Christian Community, in the Assemblies, are selected but not elected. It is a big hindrance in their way to political participation. Moreover, illiteracy, poverty, and social discrimination, etc. are among some of the major hurdles in their way to political participation.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

All praise is to Allah Alone, the Merciful, the Kind and the Grace of Allah is on the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be upon Him), who is a recurrent source of guidance and knowledge not only for me but for all the humanity. All praise to Almighty Allah, due to his boundless blessings that the researcher has achieved the task of completion of doctoral dissertation. The researcher is highly indebted to his parents for their love and support. This task could not have been accomplished without their encouragement, support, and co-operation. The researcher is also highly obliged to the management & administration of Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab as well as the Higher Education Department, Government of the Punjab that made the researcher the Ph.D. earner from this University.

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Chapter No. 1

Role of Minorities in the Political System of Pakistan

(A Case Study of the Christians of Lahore Division)

Introduction

Political system refers to political activity in a social system. It has different institutions which work collectively for the achievement of goals, set by the society; government is one of them. Government works within the boundaries of a state to provide basic needs to the people. At present, the political systems working in different states of the world are differentiated into conservative and liberal with regard to their institutions and their working. This political system of a state tells us about the relation of an individual and the state i.e. what type of rights have been given by the state to its citizens with regard to the participation in the formation of the government and interference in the decision-making process.

Pakistan is an ideological state which was established so that the Muslims living in subcontinent might enjoy their fundamental rights and live their lives according to the principles of Islam. At present, several non-Muslim minorities are also living in Pakistan along with the Muslims. They are also a part of the political system and for the proper functioning of the political system in Pakistan, participation of these minority groups as well as their full support is necessary.

The theories of political participation suggest such type of parliament in a democratic state that has representation of all segments of the society so that their voice is to be heard and policies of the government should be made according to their will. An effort has been made in Pakistan to give representation to all the minority groups living here so that they may participate in the progress of the country. If government has full support of all the segments of society, it will be able to cope with internal as well as external challenges.

Pakistan was established on the ideology of Islam and Quaid-i-Azam was fully aware of the fact that people belonging to other religions would also be there in Pakistan. That was why in his speech at the Constituent Assembly on August 10, 1947 he declared that all the people living in Pakistan were citizens of Pakistan and there would be no discrimination on the basis of caste,
creed or religion. In the ‘Objectives Resolution’ minorities were guaranteed all their fundamental rights. Later on, all the three constitutions of Pakistan included all these fundamental rights of the minorities. All the citizens are equal before law. State has the responsibility to protect all the citizens irrespective of caste, color, creed or religion. Seats have been reserved for minorities in the National Assembly, Senate as well as in the provincial assemblies of Pakistan. Moreover, 5% quota has been reserved for them in government jobs. Arrangements have been made to include the minorities in the national stream.

Minorities are working shoulder to shoulder with the Muslims for the progress and prosperity of the sacred homeland. The largest minority group in Lahore Division is of Christians. According to the Church World Service, at present, Christians make 5.8% of the total population of Lahore. They are the largest minority of Lahore, but unfortunately, they seem less interested in the political process of the state. The level of political participation on their part is very low. But they have been playing a very vital role in various fields, especially in education, health and care departments in Lahore. Educational services of Christians started in sub-continent in 1583 during the reign of Mughal Emperor, Akbar, the great, when a mission of Catholic Jesuit Fathers arrived in India. During the British Rule, several missionary groups came to India from Belgium, Holland, Britain and Ireland. In 1833, Lord Macaulay introduced Educational Reforms in the Indian Educational System.

At that time, the medium of education was Persian, but Macaulay proposed English as a medium of education. First Christian educational institution named as “Mission High School” was established in Lahore in 1849. The educational institutions of the Christians in Pakistan and, particularly, in Lahore have good reputation with respect to their standard, discipline and secular trend. The education in these institutions is being imparted on the basis of secular trends. That is why even the Muslim parents prefer to send their children to the Christian educational institutions.

There are a number of world-famous educational institutions in Lahore which had been established by the Christians e.g. Convent of Jesus & Mary, Sacred Heart Cathedral High School, St. Anthony High School, Government College University, Forman Christian College and University of the Punjab, etc. The number of students which have completed their education is in millions and many of them are the prominent personalities of today and are serving the
sacred homeland in various fields of life, among them are politicians, social reformers, leaders, scientists, teachers, professors, poets, doctors, writers, journalists, human right activists, intellectuals, judges and lawyers, etc.

The Christians are also very active in the fields of health and care. These services have been spread over 200 years. Just after the establishment of Pakistan, when refugees were coming to Pakistan, they needed food, shelter as well as medical facilities. Christians came forward and a number of relief camps were established for the rescue of the incoming refugees from India. They played a very vital role in the relief work. Catholic Sisters and Fathers also provided medicine, food and other relief to the refugees. Today, Christians are working in the fields of health and care. This work can be classified as Christians Hospitals and Dispensaries, Mobile Clinics, Free Medical Camps, Free Eye Camps and Other medical Services.

These medical institutions of Christians have performed services not only in normal days but also during emergency and calamity. The United Christian Hospital was established with the establishment of Pakistan. Refugees were coming to Pakistan from India. They were helpless and needed food and shelter. At that time many refugee camps were established by the UCH at Lahore near the Wahga Border.

This hospital has a long history of serving the ailing humanity not only of Lahore but also the whole nation. Patients are treated here without any discrimination on the basis of caste, colour or creed. Pakistan’s first close heart surgery was performed by a Christian doctor Dr. Donald Bose in 1959 at the UCH Lahore. Again, Pakistan’s first open heart surgery was also performed in the same hospital. So many Christian dispensaries are also working in Pakistan. These medical institutions are rendering valuable services in various medical fields and are also providing training facilities to junior doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians, X-rays personnel and mid-wives etc.

All the Churches also have emergency medical centers which are called mobile clinics. These clinics provide free medical facilities not only in daily routine life but also play a significant role during emergency like flood, earthquake, war and epidemics, etc. Free medical camps are also organized by the Christian Medical Organizations and institutions. These camps are organized for different diseases. These camps are also very useful and helpful in emergency.
These camps are organized usually in remote areas where the people are poor, and they do not have access to big hospitals.

Their role in the political system is not confined only to education and health and care; instead, they are seen serving in almost every field of life in Lahore. A sizeable number of Christians are serving in judiciary and a reasonable number of Christian lawyers is also practicing in Lahore and helping the people get justice. Literacy rate of Christians is very low; so most of them are seen working with Lahore Waste Management Company as sweepers and sanitary workers.

The Christians who are working in government or private institutions at high positions are very much satisfied, but the lower-class Christians are victim of discrimination in society. Their financial position is very poor and majority of them are illiterate. They have to face so many problems in the daily routine, so it is not easy to participate actively in the political system of Pakistan.

Moreover, the Christian community of Lahore shows its apprehensions about the discriminatory laws of the constitution and about Blasphemy Laws. There are complaints that most often these laws are misused against the minorities for personal grudges and vengeance. They are not happy with the present electoral system which doesn’t provide them an opportunity to elect the members of their community by themselves. They are also faced with a number of problems which are a hurdle in the way of their participation in the political system.

**Literature Review**

Before conducting the proposed research, evaluation of the matter available in written form in shape of books, journals etc. can be very helpful to get the general understanding of the political system as well as the role of minorities in a political system, particularly, the role of Christians in the political system of Pakistan.

So many books have been written on the political system, the human rights and the responsibility of states towards the citizens, but the rights of minorities have not been discussed in the majority of books written on the human rights. In other words, it can be said that a little work has been done on the role of minorities in any political system and work on the role of
minorities in the political system of Pakistan is rare. So, it is worth-mentioning here that a lot of hard work and a number of hurdles were involved in this attempt as well as the utmost care has been taken in the collection of matter on the issue under discussion.

In the book “Political Systems”, H.V. Wiseman defines the political system as; “political system is a system of action which includes empirically observable behavior and the factors which affect this behavior. Within a political system, different roles are played by different actors, i.e. political institutions and persons. A political system is a set of interacting roles. According to the writer, in a political system, role is more inclusive than institutions, organizations or groups working in that system.”

A distinguishing property of political system is the fact that it exercises ‘the legitimate monopoly of physical coercion over a given territory’. For this purpose, special tools are applied, but roles of different participants interacting in the political system affect the employment of a physical force. A significant change in anyone’s role affects changes in others and therefore changes in the system as a whole.

The writer is of the view that all political systems in the world have four features in common. Firstly, they all have political structure. This political structure is very important and plays a vital role in maintaining internal and external order. Secondly, in all political systems, the same general functions are performed although they may have different types of structure or style. Thirdly, all political structures are multi-functional. Even in the modern political systems, different institutions are interlinked. Finally, all political systems are mixed in the cultural sense. They have qualities of primitive cultures as well as we can see reflection of modern values in them at the same time. This book will be very helpful in understanding different features of a political system and conduct further research in this respect.


Dr. Hans Raj, in his book, “Comparative Politics” has discussed in detail the typology of political systems. He puts a political system under two categories i.e. totalitarian and democratic. Every country adopts a particular political system on the basis of the historical forces and compulsions. A democratic system may be parliamentary or presidential. Totalitarian states
mostly have one party system whereas democracies are characterized by bi-party or multi-party system.

Totalitarian states have one party which holds all the political authority. There is no distinction between the party and the government. The party leaders hold all the key posts of the government. There is no concept of separation of power. Legislature, executive and judicial functions are performed by a single body. There is no concept of independence of judiciary. The courts are also under the control of the party and are supposed to support norms, laid down by the party. All social, economic and political policies are framed by the party.

One-party system also operates in some of the African countries. In these countries one party is encouraged only to avoid the existing differences and divisions which they consider are not good for the integration of the society. It is also said that these countries are not fully developed, and they are not at a stage that the game of election can be fought at a high level by the political parties. It is the need of the hour to concentrate on the national development and not on party development.

Some thinkers are of the view that two-party or multi-party system is very important for democracy because difference of opinion is the very soul of democracy. But, then, it is argued that the right of expression and the rule of law are two essentials of democracy. If these two features are present, then we can say the system is democratic. So far as difference of opinion is concerned, the internal criticism can play the role of opposition in one-party system.

A modern democratic system is further divided into two categories i.e. the parliamentary system and the presidential system. Both these systems have their own special features. In the parliamentary system, the executive and the legislature are fused. The Prime Minister and his ministers are the part of the legislature. They are the elected representatives of the people. The executive is responsible to the legislature. All policies are formulated by the executive and approved by the legislature. The Head of State is usually a non-political figure.

On the other hand, in the presidential form of government all the powers are vested with the President. He is elected directly by the people. He and his ministers are not a part of legislature; hence, they are not responsible to it. Here we can see the principle of separation of power. Legislature make laws, executive impose them; judiciary is independent and has the
power of judicial review. Both the parliamentary and the presidential systems are working successfully in different countries and no country is prepared to leave the system, it is following.


Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr. Kaare Strom, Russell J. Dalton in the book “Comparative Politics Today: A World View”, are of the view that there are many types of systems, but all have two common features i.e. all have a set of interdependent parts and boundaries towards the outside environment. The political system also has different institutions which work collectively for the achievement of goals, set by the society.

Government is also a part of political system which is established or formulated to exercise sovereignty of the state. Government requires obedience from the masses. For this government must have legitimacy i.e. the right to implement its decisions. When citizens think that they ought to obey the laws of the state, and then it is said, the legitimacy of the government is high; or if they obey the law by fear of government, then, the legitimacy is low. A government with high legitimacy proves very helpful to overcome problems and hardships of the people.

The political system is affected by the domestic and international environment. System receives demands in the shape of inputs and these inputs are transformed into inputs in the shape of decisions. A political system works within the defined boundaries in terms of persons, territory and property. Most human beings are the citizens of only one state, so they belong to the political system of that state. A political system works within a state and the state has the defined territory. Everything present within the boundaries of a state is the property of that state. So, we can say, a political system has defined boundaries.

The writers further explain that a state is a political system which has sovereignty and this sovereignty rests with the people who have the power of decision making i.e. the government. The government performs so many functions i.e. from operating school system, providing the basic facilities to the citizens to fighting wars. For these activities, governments have specialized structures which perform specialized functions. With the help of these institutions, a government is enabled to formulate, implement and encourage its policies. These policies reflect the goals of the society and the agencies provide the means to achieve these goals. Normally, all the political systems have six types of political structures i.e. the political
parties, interest groups, legislature, executives, bureaucracies and courts. These structures are present in almost every political system, but they are organized differently and have very different functions across the political systems.

Three political functions i.e. socialization, recruitment and communication, are of great importance in any political system. Political socialization involves families, schools, media, churches as well as all those political structures which transform the attitude of political significance in a society. Selection of people for political activity is called political recruitment while political communication refers to the flow of information through society and through the various structures that make up the political system.


Dorothy Pickles in her book “Introduction to Politics” has given detail of the rights of citizens as well as the rights and duties of citizens in a modern democracy. While defining rights, a distinction must be made between the legal rights and the moral rights. Second distinction must be made between theoretical and enforceable rights. The writer is of the view that rights are accorded to people on paper, but necessary steps to implement these rights are never taken by the governments.

Human beings are granted fundamental rights by U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. In modern states, rights are generally granted by constitution. But constitution can also have mistakes because constitutions are made by the people according to the consent of the majority. Different people in different states have their own customs and traditions. They demand rights according to their customs and traditions e.g. if an American citizen wants to know about his rights, he can find them in the constitution. But if a British citizen wants to know about his fundamental rights, he cannot find them in a written form. In the modern democratic states, rights are connected with duties. More the people demand rights from the state, more they have responsibilities towards the government or the state. In other words, we can say that the right of one person is the duty of someone else.

Dr. Manzoor-u-din Ahmed in the book, “Islamic Political System in the modern Age”, has undertaken an extensive survey of the basic sources of Muslim Political Theory in order to determine what constitute the key political concepts of Islam. He has elaborated different terminologies related to the system of politics in Islam. Then, an effort has been made to reconstruct these concepts in the context of the requirement of the modern age.

The Islamic Concepts of a political system are entirely different from the Western Concepts. The Islamic political concepts, such as, Jamaah (society), Qaum (nation), Millah (a human group which is united by a prophet on the basis of Divine guidance), Ummah (Muslim community), Sha’b (the largest kinship group which comprised a large number of tribes), Ahd, Aqd and Mithaq (contract), Amanah (trust), Wilayah (responsibility), Khilafah (institution of choosing the successor of the Prophet as the Head of the Islamic Community), al-dawlah (state), al-siyadah (sovereignty), al-mulk (kingship).

The writer discovers from the writings of different Muslim jurists that Ummah was fundamentally a religious community based on a common faith in the oneness of God, Divine guidance through God’s Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon Him), and Divine Laws. The foundations of Ummah were laid at Madina by the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon Him) and it was universal because the Islamic teachings were not only for the people of Arab or the people belonging to specific area, but Islam addressed the whole mankind. So, this concept is non-territorial and cannot be equated with the territorial concepts of modern state and nationality.

In an Islamic Political System Ummah (Muslim community) is not bound to territorial boundaries. The Muslims living in any part of the world are a part of the Ummah. According to the writer, an Islamic Political Theory is based on theological doctrines of the Quran, so we can concentrate on different sets of theories, (1) political theology of Islam, (2) political theory of Islam. The Political Theology of Islam provides us with political norms which form the foundation of the Islamic Political System. On the other hand, the Islamic Political Theory centers around four basic concepts of Islam i.e. the Ummah, the Shariah, the Shura and the Khuruj as a form of Jihad.

The Ummah must be structured in such a manner that it should not only provide scope for an organized collective life, but also guarantee the individual rights, equality and social justice.
Only then a true Islamic form of society emerges. The Islamic Political System is different from totalitarianism or communism because in these societies people are deprived of their fundamental rights.

The Shariah is the second basic principle of the Islamic Political System. It is the fundamental law to regulate the individual and the collective lives in the society. The state cannot interfere in the individual rights; it deals only with the matters of the collective concern. So, we can say that the Islamic government is a constitutional government. The third basic principle is the Shura. It consists of a group of people which come to power with a popular consensus. It is responsible for conducting legislative business, keeping a regular check on the Head of the State. It also provides a constitutional procedure on which the Head of the State can be impeached, deposed and removed in case he is found to have violated the Shariah. The fourth and the last principle is Khuruj (resistance) which means that if the constitutional mechanism fails to provide for the lawful change of government or if the Shariah is disregarded by the Head of the State, then, people have the right and power to rise against him and throw him out of the government.

The writer says that if these basic principles are rationally constructed in the light of the requirements of the present age, they would necessarily imply a welfare society, rule of law, a democratic system and an ultimate right of people to resist against the unlawful authority.


John D. Lees in the book “The Political System of the United States” explains a political system as a set of formal and informal arrangement (values, political institutions, laws, electoral procedures, political parties and interest groups, etc.) by which a society decides what is to be done. The writer has carried out a comprehensive study of the political system of America, keeping in view the above definition. His study includes details of the environment of politics in the United States, constitutionalism, and nature of the American Federalism, the American political culture and the political parties.

The American political system is very unique in the world as it promotes unity while allowing for social and political diversity. It is designed in such a way as to provide the basic
needs to all the members of the society through political decisions. For this, they have a developed system of constitutionalism and federalism. They have the written constitution and defined powers of different organs of the government i.e. legislature, executive and judiciary. Powers of federal government and of state governments have been written very clearly.

The government has been limited by the written constitution while sovereignty has divided between national and state governments through federalism. Judiciary has been given the power of judicial review, which has brought the Supreme Court into a policy-making position with a direct involvement in the political process. Judiciary also performs so many other functions which are of political nature. But the most important political responsibility of the Supreme Court is the protection of fundamental rights and to determine the specific limitations of the constitution.

The Americans accept certain basic values, beliefs and traditions above themselves and their political system. The combination of both these constitutes the political culture of the United States. In the American political system, political socialization is of great importance because the Americans have always been insecure about their identity as individuals within their own nation. The political socialization is important because it induces loyalty to the nation and also includes certain values in an individual which produce support for the political system. The process of political socialization is carried out through family influence, education, group and generational influences as well as mass-media influences.

The interest groups are also important actors in the American political system. They affect legislation through different tactics and means. Different types of interest groups are always active all the time for the protection of their interests. They influence the legislature as well as executive for their voice to be heard and their demands to be fulfilled.

The political system is incomplete without the active participation of national political parties. In America we see two-party system. The political parties in America have a very loose structure at the national level but they are very united and active at the local level. It is only because they have a common desire to win control of the Presidency.

In the end, the writer concludes that the world has changed and so many changes have been taken place in the American culture since the Convention of Philadelphia 1787, but
somehow or the other, the American Political System is based on the principles laid down in that Convention in 1787.


Khalid Bin Sayeed, in his book “The Political System of Pakistan” has stated that Pakistan was created on 14th of August 1947. There are different views about its creation. Some people say that the creation of Pakistan was the result of hatred of the communal-minded Hindus towards the Muslims. They regarded the Muslims as “Maleech”. Some say, the Muslims, particularly the upper-class Muslims, had in their minds, the memories of the Muslim rule in India. They did not want to be ruled by Hindus. Another view is that the creation of Pakistan is solely the result of the Quaid’s sheer fanaticism.

No state on the earth had started with greater handicaps than Pakistan did. It had to face a number of problems i.e. refugees coming to Pakistan, administrative issues, water crisis, Kashmir issue, constitutional problem, etc. In the early years the government was under the influence of three institutions i.e. Constituent Assembly, the Civil Service and the Army.

The Muslim League won independence for the Muslims of the Sub-continent under the charismatic leadership of Jinnah in slightly over seven years after the Pakistan Resolution was passed in March 1940. Most of the Pakistanis were misled by the fact that if Pakistan could be achieved in such a short period of time, they could make Pakistan a modern and prosperous country merely by the Islamic unity and the slogans of unity, faith and discipline. But the circumstances went vice versa. The Muslim League became only a regional party after independence.

The best training ground for politicians or a political party in any political system is election, but Pakistan never had a general election during the first decade of its birth; so political process could not be started during the early years. The first constitution was promulgated in 1956, but no election was held under this constitution. In these circumstances, the army got a chance to interfere in politics. The Martial law was imposed by Ayub Khan in Oct 1958 and the constitution of 1956 was abrogated, the provincial cabinets were dismissed, National Assemblies were dissolved and all the political parties as well as political activities were banned.
General Ayub Khan was successful to make people believe that the political leadership had brought Pakistan to the brink of disaster while he had saved Pakistan and would bring political stability to the country. In June 1962, the new constitution was promulgated according to which the political parties were allowed to work, and elections were held under this constitution. The Presidential form of government was introduced in the country and all powers vested with the President. Ayub Khan won the elections and controlled the country with the help of army and police. That was why; this constitution was described by Chaudhry Mohammad Ali as “government of the president, by the president and for the president”.

While discussing the role of bureaucracy in a political system, the writer explains that in a modern political system policy-making is largely in the hands of the elected political leaders while bureaucracy performs the function of execution of these policies. But in the societies of the developing countries, a strict line can’t be drawn in the functions of different institutions i.e. in some countries powerful political leaders interfere in the operation of bureaucracy. On the other hand, in some other countries, strong bureaucracies interfere in the process of the policy formulation. Same is the case with Pakistan. Here, political leadership is not so strong while bureaucracy is highly qualified and professional; so, it interferes in the process of the policy formulation.

Pakistan was established in the name of Islam and preamble to every constitution has emphasized the commitment to the setting up of a political system in which Islam will be the guiding force. So, the preamble states, “Sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Allah Almighty. It further says, “The Muslims of Pakistan should be enabled to order their lives according to the teachings of Islam. No law could be made which is against the teachings of Islam”.

The political parties and elections are very essential for a political system. Most of the political parties are regional they neither have a national outlook nor support at the national level. They do contest elections, but on the basis of regional issues. This book can be very helpful in this proposed research.

Hamid Khan in the book “Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan” has thrown light on the constitutional development of Pakistan. He has explained that the first step towards the making of constitution was the “Objectives Resolution”. It was not a full-fledge constitution but laid the foundation for the future constitution of Pakistan. The resolution stated that sovereignty over entire universe belongs to Allah. Principles of democracy, equality, freedom, tolerance and social justice shall be fully observed. All the fundamental rights i.e. equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, freedom of thoughts, expression, belief, faith, worship, association etc. It also included that efforts shall be made to safeguard the interests of minorities. The Minorities were given all their fundamental rights on equal basis but still they demanded to make Pakistan a secular country.

Birat Chandra Mandal, in his speech in the Assembly, stated that individuals might have religion, but the states have no religion. He was of the view that a state has nothing to do with religion. But the majority of the members supported the “Objectives Resolution”. So, it was passed. After nine years of its birth, at last in 1956, the first constitution was promulgated in Pakistan. It included all the fundamental rights of all the citizens of Pakistan irrespective of their caste, color or creed. According to this constitution, citizens were granted all their fundamental rights i.e. right to life, liberty, property, freedom of speech, expression, religion, worship, etc. It also included that all citizens were equal before law. There should not be any discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. All forms of slavery, forced labor, cruel or inhuman treatment were declared illegal.

This constitution included provisions to safeguard the interests of the minorities. The doors of government services were open for them. They were free to receive education in their own religious institutions. They were free to move in any part of the country. They were free to earn their livelihood through all legal means. They had the right to possess property. In short, all the citizens were treated equally under this constitution. Unfortunately, this constitution could not last long because in 1958, the Martial Law was imposed in the country.

In 1962, a new constitution was given to the country by Ayub Khan. Under this constitution, the presidential form of government was introduced in the country. All the powers vested with the President. There was not much focus or attention on the fundamental rights because all the institutions were under the control of the army and police. The writer has
discussed in detail the powers of the President and the fundamental rights did not seem to be there. This constitution also did not last long. It was abrogated with the departure of Ayub Khan.

A new constitution was framed in 1973. It was framed by the National Assembly. It also guaranteed all the fundamental rights to people. The fundamental rights granted by this constitution are; equality before law, no discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth, hold and dispose of property, all have freedom of speech, expression, freedom to assemble peacefully, freedom to associate. Moreover, everyone is free to profess, practice and propagate any religion. All the minorities were also given the right to establish, manage and maintain their religious institutions. All the citizens were free to preserve and promote a distinct language, script and culture. This constitution gave more rights to the citizens than the previous constitutions. Now, the minorities are more secure and free under this constitution.


G. W. Choudhury in the book “Constitutional Development in Pakistan” has given an analytical account of the constitutional development of Pakistan. He regards Pakistan a laboratory for the constitutional experiments. In the first twenty years three constitutions were changed. Pakistan was established by the Muslims in the name of Islam, but at that time, nearly fifteen million non-Muslim people were also present in the total population of nearly seventy million. Among these were Hindus, Buddhists, Parsees and Christians. They were playing a very vital role in the economic and educational life of the country.

The Pakistanis did not want to have a secular constitution, because in a country where religious feelings are far more important than anything else, secularism cannot have secure foundations. It was recommended that Pakistan should have an Islamic system of government where the principles of democracy, equality, tolerance and social justice should be fully observed as enunciated by Islam. The Constituent Assembly and the political leaders were all aware of the rights and safeguards of the minorities living in Pakistan. Jinnah in his inaugural speech in the Constituent Assembly laid down the policy of the new state towards its minorities. He made it clear that religion, caste or creed had nothing to do with the business of the state. There would be no discrimination or distinction on the basis of caste, creed or another thing.
The Quaid’s speech was regarded as the Magna Carta of the minorities in Pakistan. But during the process of the constitution-making, so many issues were brought under discussion. Some Ulemas were of the view that non-Muslims should not have equal rights with those of the Muslims. They should not be appointed at the key posts in Pakistan. They should have the status of ‘Dhimis’ in Pakistan. But the minorities were granted all their fundamental rights in the 1956 constitution. There was no discrimination on the basis of caste, creed or religion. They were granted all their fundamental rights, like the equality of citizens before law, equal protection of the law to all citizens, no discrimination with regard to access to places of public entertainment, recreation, welfare or utility, every qualified citizen should be eligible for the service of the state irrespective of religion, race, caste, sex, descent or place of birth, etc. However, the minorities in Pakistan were not allowed to be raised to the office of the President because it was argued that Pakistan was an ideological state based on the principles of Islam. A non-Muslim cannot understand this ideology; so, he cannot run the country according to the Islamic teachings. That was why; the minorities were not allowed to hold this office. This book can also be very helpful in this proposed research.


In the book “National Minorities in Yugoslavia”, Ljubisia Stojkovic and Milos Martic have stated that the United Nations Charter has no clear provisions about the protection of the minorities. However, there exists a sub-commission for the prevention of discrimination and the protection of the minorities as an auxiliary organ of the Economic Social Council. It has also been emphasized time and again at the forum of the United Nations that “the United Nations cannot be indifferent to the fate of the minorities”.

Several resolutions passed by the U.N. with regard to the protection of human rights also include the rights of the minorities. They are free to live their lives freely without any type of discrimination by other sects of society. But the writer is of the view that the guarantee of human rights is not the guarantee of minority rights in a true sense. He says that the minorities living in any society must possess some special rights e.g. the use of mother tongue in courts, maintenance of special minority institutions with the help of state, primary schools, etc.
In this regard the rights of the minorities have not been defined clearly in the U.N. Charter, but they are inferred from the basic human rights. The right to freedom and non-discrimination has been clearly recognized, but the right to use of language in everyday life and in the public affair, the right of association, the right of autonomous educational establishments, the right of autonomous cultural development and assistance by the state, and so on, has been omitted from the provisions of the United Nations.

Most of the countries in the world do not give special rights to the minorities. Only basic freedom and non-discrimination has been guaranteed. But if a state has established provisions for the rights of the minorities, it will be called an exceptional regime.


Muhammad Ali Taskhiri in the book “Human Rights: A Study of the Universal and the Islamic declarations of Human Rights” has made a comparison of the human rights as mentioned in ‘Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ and ‘Islamic Declaration of Human Rights’. He is of the view that the first document about the protection of the basic human rights was framed by Ali Ibn Hussain, Sajjad (the fourth Imam of Ahle Bait) but the western historians of the human rights regard the French Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1789) as the first declaration about the human rights. However, the focus of the writer is on ‘Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ (UN 1948) and ‘the Islamic Declaration of Human Rights’ (OIC 1989).

The rights guaranteed to human beings by both these declarations have been given in detail and a comparison has been made. The writer concludes that Islam has given more rights to human beings and there are so many rights which have not been mentioned in the Universal Declaration e.g. the right of human funeral and the dead to respect, the rights of persons that their forms and civil constructions will not be destroyed during conflicts, the right to follow the faith of one’s natural disposition etc. Both these declarations grant equal rights to all human beings with respect to life, religion, faith, freedom but we do not see any special rights for the minorities. They have the right to be treated as equal citizen of the state, but their special rights have not been mentioned.
Lalita Sharma in her book, “International Human Rights”, has thrown light on the history of human rights, international human rights’ law, international human rights’ instruments, international human rights’ conventions and issues related to human rights in the present-day world. Many scholars are of the view that the human rights exist in order to protect the basic dignity of human life. Human rights are not just a product of morality but Gewrith has described three types of human rights i.e. the basic rights which protect one’s basic well-being, non-subtractive rights which maintain the capacity for fulfilling purposive agency while additive rights provide the requisites for developing one’s capabilities. Human rights are, literally, the rights that one has simply as a human being. All human beings are equal; so, all have equal human rights.

The human rights have got so much importance in the present-day world; so much work has been done in this regard. There are many declarations, covenants and conventions about human rights i.e. the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. The Vienna Declaration adopted at the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993, gave the comprehensive picture of the human rights. In this convention, the rights of the minorities living in different parts of the world have been included. This declaration urges states and international community to promote and protect the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. This book has the detail of all the declarations, covenants and conventions about the human rights. This book will also be very helpful in this proposed research.


Joshua Fazal Din in his book, “Future of Christians”, has stated that at the time of partition, Christian community gave a proof of great adjustability. They remained neutral during the process of partition of the sub-continent and after the partition they settled peacefully whether they were in India or Pakistan. But their sincerity was doubted in both the states in case
if they helped the Hindus in Pakistan or they helped the Muslims in India, but they showed patience and forbearance. Pakistan is claimed to be an Islamic State because the Muslims are in majority and they want an Islamic system of government. Islam has a complete code of the art of government in which the rights of the minorities have been settled. So, if a group is recognized as a minority in an Islamic State, it automatically gets the minority rights.

In the Islamic State, the Christian minorities lay more emphasis on their religious and economic rights rather than the political rights. When Pakistan came into existence, it had to face so many problems. Delay in the process of formulation of constitution was one these problems. So, the ‘Objectives Resolution’ was passed by the Constituent Assembly, according to which sovereignty belongs to Allah Almighty. The Christians did not have any objection over this provision of the ‘Objectives Resolution’. The minorities were given all their fundamental rights.

According to the writer, these were not rights but these were only concessions given to the minorities by Islam. He further says that the rights of the minorities in Pakistan will get constitutional protection only if they are in accord with the Islamic principles as indicated by the will of the majority and not by the voice of the minorities themselves. The writer also seems dissatisfied with different terms used in the ‘Objectives Resolution’. He is a lawyer, so he interprets it in terms of law. This book will also be very helpful in understanding the thinking of the minorities in Pakistan.


Philip L Din Khanna in his book, “Educational System in Pakistan”, has analyzed in detail the educational system of Pakistan and the role of the Christian community and the Christian institutions in the educational system of Pakistan. He writes that some people in the present day criticize that the British introduced their system of education only to produce clerks and groups of like-minded people who could help strengthen the British Rule in India, but the fact is that these educational institutions produced personalities who led the people of the sub-continent to fight for freedom. He quotes the examples of Quaid-i-Azam, Allama Iqbal, Liaqat Ali Khan, Pandit Nehru as well as Ghandhi; all these personalities received their early education from the institutions established by the British.
After the partition, much attention has not been given to establish a proper system of education in Pakistan. Neither the rulers nor the parents have paid much attention to this issue. The result is that our literacy rate is very low as compared to other countries of the South Asia. The writer has studied in detail the government as well as private educational institutions. The role of the Christian educational institutions has also been discussed very beautifully. The Christian institutions are playing a very vital role to educate the people but these institutions lack facilities. He has also proposed that these Christian institutions can be strengthened by the cooperation of all the communities living in Lahore. This book can also be useful in this proposed research.


Sister Najma Daniel in her book, “Taleemi Taraqi or Maseehi Idaray, (Urdu)”, has explained very beautifully the meaning of education and the services of the Christians in the educational field to pay homage to the missionary organizations of the Christians. She is of the view that the process of education was started in the sub-continent by the Christians with the arrival of a disciple of Lord Jesus Christ, Apostle Thomas, in the first century. After his death several governments in the sub-continent supported the Christians but many adopted the policies which went against the Christians.

The writer admires the policies of Akbar towards the Christians. During his reign, the Christians had full freedom to establish their religious, educational and other institutions of social welfare. But Shah Jehan was not in favor of the non-Muslims. During his reign several Churches were demolished, and the Christians were forced to live a miserable life. When Punjab came under the British Rule, so many Christian missionaries came here to preach Christianity. Several missionary institutions were established along with the educational institutions.

The writer tells that a proper educational system in India was set up by the Christians during the British Rule. Since then, the services of the Christians in this field cannot be ignored. They have done much to educate people. But, unfortunately, their services do not get much recognition in the society. In the end, she has also given suggestions and proposals for more research in this respect. She has told that in the sub-continent, the educational process was
started in the Christian missionary institutions at first. These missionary institutions have a very important role in the social and educational development of Lahore.


Lawrence John Saldana in his book, “Hamari Dastan”, has thrown light on the presence of the Christians in Lahore from the Mughal period to the present age. He has explained all the ups and downs of the Christian community in Lahore. The Christians have been in this part of the world for hundreds of years. They have always tried to serve humanity as much as possible. But the behavior of different governments toward the Christians over the years had not been very friendly. Some governments favored them and provided help, but the majority of the governments showed a negative attitude towards them. According to the writer, Akbar’s period was the ideal with respect to the facilities given to the Christians.

When India came under the British Rule, the Christians felt free to live their life freely according to their will. The Christians worked with regard to social welfare got momentum. After the partition, when the constitution of Pakistan was framed; it guaranteed all the fundamental rights to the minorities, but according to the writer; practically, the attitude of the government was not so positive towards the minorities. In this regard, a special focus of the writer is on the nationalization of the Christian institutions by the government of Pakistan in 1970s. This step, taken by the government, was not appreciated by the Christians anywhere in Pakistan. The writer is of the view that the Christian institutions were recognized for their quality, discipline, and high standards, but the performance of these institutions was affected badly after the nationalization of these institutions. This book can be helpful in this research to reveal what were the effects of nationalization of institutions on the educational system of Lahore.


Fr. Emanuel Asi in his book, “Christian Education and Christian Practice, (Urdu)”, has stated the objectives of the Christian education in Pakistan. He says that education is a superior and sacred action. He is of the view that every education system is established with specific aims and objectives. Education without objectives is of no use. These objectives must match the
national objectives of a nation. Education is a source to produce feelings of patriotism in people. The Christian education also has its objectives. He has also elaborated the impact of the Christian education on the society. He has given recommendations for the development of the Christian institutions.


In the article, “The White in Green”, published in the daily, “The Nation”, on 15-08-2015 the formation of our national flag has been discussed very beautifully i.e. the green color represents the Muslims, white the color represents the minorities while the crescent and the star are the symbols of light and progress. In his inaugural address to the Constituent Assembly, Quaid-i-Azam stressed on the legislation towards brotherhood, inclusiveness and pluralism, secondly the governance to spread light and progress. Thirdly, he discussed the sufferings of the Muslims in the United India and reiterated that discrimination, faced by the Muslim in India, would never be repeated by them in Pakistan as a majority.

Several non-Muslims like S.P. Singha, Mandal, Joshua Fazal Din, Chandu Lal and Gibbons were close companions of the Quaid and they participated very actively in the Pakistan Movement. After the establishment of Pakistan, they were given very important posts by Quaid-i-Azam. During the early days of Pakistan when refugees were coming to Pakistan from India, these were not only the Muslims, but a number of Christian families also migrated to Pakistan. The Christian Community already present in Pakistan, established relief camps and provided facilities of food, shelter as well as medical facilities. Later on, they played their role in the setting up of railways.

Quaid-i-Azam wanted Pakistan to be a modern state where people belonging to all walks of life were equal citizens, but according to the writer, unfortunately; he could not have enough time to put Pakistan on this track. He further says that now it is claimed that if any non-Muslim wants to live in Pakistan he should live within the construction of a Muslim Nation so as to enjoy the residual equality. In the end, the writer explains that most of the leaders are educated in the Christian institutions, but they have never raised a voice to stop discrimination against religious minorities.
Zubaida Mustafa, in the article, “Pakistan’s Social Development: the Christian’s role”, has highlighted the role of the Christian Community in the development of Pakistan. It has established schools and many of the Christian schools were established during the British Rule. The students of these institutions have been serving the sacred homeland in various walks of life. Thus, it can be said that these institutions have shaped Pakistan’s history as well as the future. Women empowerment is the hot issue of the present age and the Christian Community has done much in this respect. So many institutions have been established for girls. The Christians are also very active in the field of medicine. They serve the humanity with religious fervor. So many Christian hospitals, dispensaries and mobile clinics have been working in Pakistan for so many years. The writer is of the view that the Christians have been working side by side with the Muslims for the development of the country with the view that we all are Pakistanis and our destiny is fused together by this land.


Emmanuel Zafar has elaborated in detail, in his book, “A concise history of Pakistani Christians”, the history of the Christians in Pakistan; he has also discussed in detail the services of the Christians in different fields of social life i.e. politics, economics, judiciary, defense, art, music, the film industry and, especially, in the departments of education, health and care in Lahore. Even before the establishment of Pakistan, they were very active in the political field and participated in the Pakistan Movement.

When the Punjab Assembly in the United India was asked to decide about the future of the province, at that time; the Christian members favored unconditionally the Muslims and it was decided that the Punjab province would be divided between India and Pakistan. In the Assembly, 88 votes were against the partition while 91 votes were in favor of Pakistan and it included 3 votes of the Christian members. So, it can be said that the future of the province was decided by the casting votes of the Christian members of the Assembly.

After the establishment of Pakistan, when the ‘Objective Resolution’ was introduced in the Constituent Assembly, the Christian accepted it unconditionally although they had
reservations about some clauses of the resolution. During the Indo-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1970 the Christians played a vital role in defending the sacred homeland. They are also rendering their services in the fields of education, health and care. So many educational institutions, renowned for their high standard, are run by the Christians.

The writer has also given the detail of the famous Muslim personalities who were the students of the Christian institutions among them are Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Quaid-e-Azam, Allama Mohammad Iqbal, and the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif. In the field of health and care, the Christians have served the nation without any type of discrimination on the basis of caste, color or creed. Pakistan’s first heart surgery was conducted by a Christian doctor in 1958 at the United Christian Hospital, Lahore. The writer has thrown light on famous and prominent personalities of the Christians who have contributed to the development of the nation since 1947. This book will be of great use in this proposed research.


According to the Constitution of Pakistan 1973, the political system of Pakistan, relationship of an individual with the state and the study of minority rights under the constitution will be very helpful in this study. The fundamental human rights have been granted to all the citizens, irrespective of their religion but at the same time, it is included in the constitution that the non-Muslims cannot be raised to the position of the Prime Minister and the President. What are the reasons behind this and what is the effect of it on the political participation on the part of the minorities in Pakistan. The minorities, especially the Christians, are not satisfied with the electoral system of Pakistan. The study of various provisions, especially dealing with the fundamental human rights and system of government in Pakistan, will also be very helpful in this research.

*Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan*

Data about the role of the Christians of Lahore in political system of Pakistan is not available in most of the books; so different journals, published by the Christian organizations in Lahore, like ‘Hamsookhan’ will be consulted. Moreover, news about the Christians in Lahore published in the leading daily newspaper of Lahore especially ‘The News’, ‘The Dawn’, ‘The Nations’ and ‘The Christian Post’ will also be consulted to conduct the proposed research.
Hypothesis

The Christians of Lahore are very active in the field of health and care as well as in education, but their role in the political process is passive.

Statement of Problem

The minorities, especially the Christians of Lahore, have a very important role in the political system of Pakistan, but unfortunately, they do not get any recognition from the society or the government. Their services in various fields especially, in health and care, as well as in education departments, are very significant, but the level of political participation on their part is very low. The proposed research is aimed at to explore the nature of their contribution in various departments within the political system of Pakistan.

Research Objectives

1. The objective of this proposed research is to study the fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens by the constitution of Pakistan with special reference to the rights of the minorities.
2. To study, whether the minorities, especially the Christians of Lahore, are being discriminated in the society and which type of measures have been taken to provide the legal security to the minorities in Pakistan.
3. To study the role of the minorities, especially of the Christians of Lahore Division, in the political system of Pakistan.
4. To evaluate the level of Political participation by the Christians of Lahore Division in the political system of Pakistan.
5. To study which type of hurdles the Christians of Lahore have to face in their way to participation in the political system.

Research Questions

1. How the human rights issue is perceived in the norms and values of the political system of Pakistan?
2. In what manner the minorities, especially the Christian Community of Lahore, are discriminated in the Pakistani Society?
3. How far the Constitution of Pakistan provides the legal security to the minorities, especially the Christians?
4. Why the response of the Christians of Lahore is passive in the political process?
5. What immunities are available to the minorities under the constitution?

**Significance and likely Benefits**

A political system is composed of several components, for the proper functioning of a system the participation of all the parts is necessary. In a state, a political system is established for the well being of the people and to provide them the basic needs of life. Sometimes, in a state, people belonging to different religions, races, sects, castes, colors and creeds are the part of the political system. All these people have rights as well as responsibilities toward the state. If any community within a state is denied of its basic rights or not allowed to perform its duties properly, it definitely affects the functioning of the system.

This proposed research is significant in the sense that it is about the largest minority group living in Lahore i.e. the Christians. They have been serving the sacred homeland and providing their services to the society irrespective of caste, color or creed. Common people are not aware of the importance of the role played by the minorities for the development of the country. This research will make the common people realize importance of the role of the Christians in the political system of Pakistan. At present, so many institutions are run by the Christians.

A general perception is that these institutions work only for the Christians. People are not aware of the objectives of these institutions. This proposed research will also be helpful to highlight problems, faced by these institutions, while serving the nation. The educational institutions, run by the Christians, are of high standard and are reputed for their discipline and good results. The study of their infrastructure will also be very helpful for the policy-makers to establish more and more government institutions on these bases.

The Christians of Lahore are active in the field of education and health, but they do not seem to be active in the political participation. They do have their own political parties, but these political parties have a very low membership. This research is significant as it will be helpful to highlight the issues responsible for the low level of political participation on the part of the
Christian Community of Lahore so that they would be able to participate actively in the political process of the state also.

This research also has significance in the sense that if the role and services of the Christians in the political system of Pakistan are acknowledged by the society and the government, it will create a new spirit and passion in the Christians to serve the nation. In the end, if the services of the Christians are acknowledged by the society, this research can be helpful in creating inter-faith harmony among the people, which is badly needed at this time and the government has been struggling hard to achieve this for many years.

Plan of work

It has been planned to complete this thesis within the span of two years i.e. from January 2016 to December 2017. The detail of the tentative plan is as under:

The first chapter as the first draft will be submitted to the supervisor in March 2016 and the revised draft will be submitted after modifications in the light of the supervisor’s instructions in April 2016. The second and third chapters will be submitted in July and October 2016 respectively. The revised drafts will be submitted in November 2016. The next two chapters i.e. 4th and 5th chapter will be submitted in February and May 2017 whereas their revised draft, after certain modifications as advised by the supervisor, will be submitted in June 2017. The last chapter and the complete thesis will be submitted along with references/bibliography and allied details i.e. annexure, appendices, the list of abbreviations, figures, tables, maps and glossary in November 2017. After the approval of the supervisor, finally, the formal submission of thesis will be made in December 2017.

Research Methodology

The science and philosophy behind conducting any research is the methodology. It helps the researcher to understand the different ways in which knowledge can be created. It also enables the researcher to be critical and analytical in the face of knowledge being presented as facts.

There are two basic approaches of the research methodology i.e. qualitative and quantitative. In this proposed research, both qualitative and quantitative approaches will be
applied. The qualitative approach is applied by theorizing and the theory-formulation, while quantitative approach is used to evaluate survey in the shape of bar-graph, based on the questions regarding surveys. Along with these approaches, both the primary and the secondary sources will be used in this study. The primary sources include interviews and surveys from the selective population, and the government documents, while the secondary sources are books, periodicals, journals, magazines, newspapers and the internet. All these sources will be helpful to interpret data and to reach a logical, realistic and practical conclusion.

Both library research and field work will be required for this study. In the library research, the researchers study through collected data in the shape of books, journals, periodicals, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, articles etc. without going to the exact place or field while the field work is a great source of the generation of the primary data. It also makes up the deficiency of the research publications as a very few are available directly on the topic under-discussion. The primary data is generated through surveys, questionnaire and interviews with the relevant personalities. The problem with the present study is that the research material and publications about it are very few. Although there is a well-known problem associated with the use of interview technique as a source of qualitative or quantitative data, decision-makers can exaggerate or simply forget their words, but this source of information is a great contribution.

For this study, the political system of Pakistan is examined. This study is about the minorities, especially the Christians in Lahore. Their history and their role in the social, political and economic spheres of life in Lahore as well as the relation of the Christians with other communities of the society will also be discussed. For this purpose, a compound mixed approach is opted, consisting of official records, documents, analysis of the available data, media resources, reports, discussion papers, the internet, surveys and face to face interviews.

**Break up of Thesis (Chapters)**

The proposed research has been divided into seven chapters. The first chapter starts with the introduction, followed by literature review, the statement of the problem, research questions, and the objectives of the research, significance and likely benefits, research methodology and the research plan.
The second chapter is about the study of the political system, its components, structures and functions. A political system as defined by different political thinkers and theories about working of a political system will be discussed in detail. It will also include the detail of the role played by different structures of the government for the proper functioning of a political system, the rights of the people in a political system, duties of a state towards the people and the responsibilities of people towards the state.

The third chapter will be about the Christian Minority of the Lahore Division. The Lahore Division consists of the ancient cities of Lahore, Kasur, Sheikhupura and Nankana Sahib. The Christians have been residing in these areas for centuries long before the partition of the sub-continent. They played an important role in the Freedom Movement and in the partition process of the sub-continent.

In the fourth chapter, the political participation of the Christians of the Lahore Division will be discussed. They were very organized before the partition, but after the partition, they did not seem very active in the politics of Pakistan. Even though they have been given representation in assemblies and have been given the right of political participation, but they are seen less interested in the political process. Their representatives in assemblies, most of the time, failed to deliver to their community.

The fifth chapter will have the detail of the role of the minorities in the political system of Pakistan. The Christians have been rendering their services in almost all the departments. They are serving the nation with the religious zeal. An effort shall be made to highlight their services in the Lahore Division and the importance of their role in the political system of Pakistan.

In the sixth chapter, the hurdles for the Christians in the way of participation in the political system of Pakistan will be discussed. They are offered menial jobs in the waste management department. They complain of being discriminated in the society. Poverty and illiteracy are among the big hurdles in the way of the participation in the political system on the part of the Christians.

In the seventh chapter, the summary of the thesis, survey results which will be conducted during the course of this research, findings drawn on the basis of this study, suggestions for the future course of action will be given.
References


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Chapter No.2

Role of Minority in a Political System

(A Theoretical Paradigm)

The “Political System” refers to political phenomenon in a society. The concept of political system evolved with the establishment of the state, but in the olden times, terms used to describe a political system were “government, nation or state”. These terms have limited meanings and do not represent the whole political activity within a society. It was in 1950s that David Easton introduced the concept of the system to politics, together with a vocabulary of inputs and outputs, demands and supports and feedback during early 1950’s (Verma, 1975).

He regards political system as a system of behavior which is defined by its distinctive activities i.e.

“The authoritative allocation of values for a society” (Easton, 1953, p. 130).

Every society has its own distinct values like liberty, equality, justice, etc. The political system has the responsibility for the allocation of these values in a society. Moreover, these allocations are binding on the society as a whole. The political system has different institutions for the accomplishment of this task. All the individuals living in a society are required to cooperate with these institutions so that the society may prosper, and the well-being of an individual be ensured. A modern political system has specialized structures or institutions to perform specific functions within a system. Almond defines the political system as:

“A set of institutions and agencies concerned with the formulating and implementing the collective goal of a society or of groups with it” (Almond, Powell, Dalton, Strom, 2011). A political system is a sub-system of the social system. It has different institutions which work collectively for the achievement of goals, set by the society. It has the responsibility of formulating and implementing policies within the boundaries of a state.

A political system has three characteristics i.e. comprehensiveness, interdependence and the existence of boundaries. Comprehensiveness of a political system means that it includes not only all the governmental institutions i.e. legislature, executive, and judiciary but also all the
structures in their political aspects including undifferentiated structures like kinship and lineage, status and caste group, as well as anomic phenomena like riots, street demonstrations, and like. It covers all the political activities of the individuals within a state.

Another characteristic of a political system is interdependence of its parts. Collaboration of all parts of a system is very essential for the proper functioning of a system. Any change in the functioning of any part of a political system affects the working of the whole system i.e. any change of magnitude or quality in one variable of a system causes changes in performance of the whole system.

There are many systems operating within a society. Every system has its boundaries i.e. a system starts somewhere and stops somewhere. Society is made up of individuals and they perform different roles in a society at different times i.e. the same individual, who performs the political role on the election day by casting vote, performs other non-political roles in other social systems i.e. he also takes part in the economic activities to earn his livelihood; he is also a part of the religious community and performs his religious duties; he is also a part of a family or voluntary associations and performs his responsibilities in these associations.

The System Theory divides the interaction process into three phases i.e. input, conversion, and output. The inputs and the outputs of a political system show transactions between a system and its environment. Inputs enter into the system from its environment i.e. they may enter into a political system from other social systems i.e. economic system, religious community or any other organization.

Similarly, outputs may also affect other social systems. Only the conversion process is the internal part of a political system. So, when we talk about inputs and outputs of a political system, it generally refers to the boundaries of the political system. When demands enter into a political system in the form of input, they enter into boundaries of the political system. When policies are formulated in the form of output they leave the boundaries of political system (Almond & Powell, 1996).
Functions of a Political System with regard to an Individual

A political system has different institutions which work collectively for the achievement of the goals, set by a society. Government is one of these. It performs so many functions. For the accomplishment of these tasks, government has specialized structures i.e. interest groups, political parties, legislatures, administrative structures, and judiciary. All these political structures are present in every political system and all types of political activities are performed by these structures.

All these political structures are present in every political system, but they may not perform the similar function. Their organization may differ from country to country; so do the functions. For example, in a parliamentary form of government, executive is part of legislature; it takes part in the law-making. But in the presidential form of government, executive is completely separate from legislature. All these political structures help the government formulate and implement its policies.

For the formulation and implementation of different policies, a political system performs several types of functions. Some of these are called input functions while others are called output functions. The input functions represent the process through which people are made aware of their issues, aggregation of interest of the people and entrance of demands of the people into the system while the output functions are the making of policies or rules, their application and adjudication (Rai & Malick, 1989).

Political Socialization

Political Socialization refers to the formulation of the political values and also the way in which the political culture of a society is transmitted from one generation to the next (Almond, Powell, Dalton, Strom, 2011). Verma (1975) is of the view that it is a process by which the political cultures are maintained and changed. Every society has its own political values and ideologies. It is very necessary to transmit these values to the next generation for smooth working of the political system. Kebschull adds further that “It also includes knowledge of the values affecting, and feelings towards the inputs of demands and claims into the system, and its authoritative outputs” (p. 36).
Political socialization is very important for the survival of the political system. In this process, the individuals are not only made aware of their social values, but they are also convinced to remain loyal to their political system. The process of socialization starts from home and one of the major agents of political socialization are parents. The family influences have deep effect on individual’s initial values. The other major agents of political socialization include the social class, interest groups, political parties, schools, religious institutions, peer groups, and the mass-media.

Political socialization is a first step towards the political recruitment in a political system. The political recruitment function takes up where the general political socialization functions leave off (Kebschull, 1968). Political recruitment is the process through which citizens are recruited for specialized functions in a political system. Curtis (1978) takes the political recruitment as a process of obtaining political leaders. Thus, we can say that all the factors responsible for political socialization have a direct effect on the process of political recruitment.

**Interest Articulation**

In every political system, people make demands and express their needs to the government. The process through which people express their feelings or make political demands to the decision-makers is known as interest articulation (Curtis 1978). In other words, the process by which individuals and groups make their demands in a political system is called interest articulation. This process occurs at the boundary of the political system. Articulation function is performed by particular structures and style of their performance determines the character of the boundary between polity and society (Kebschull, 1968).

There are so many different ways through which people express their needs and make demands to the government. The most common source of interest articulation is the interest groups. According to Almond, four types of interest groups are involved in interest articulation, i.e. anomic groups, non-associational groups, institutional groups and associational groups. All these groups have particular structures and procedure to formulate interests and demands, and express them before other political structures, such as, political parties, legislature or bureaucracies, etc. (Almond, Powell, Dalton, Strom, 2011).
Interest Aggregation

Interest aggregation refers to the process through which political demands of individuals and groups are transformed or formulated into policy programs. The process of interest aggregation may be different in different political systems. It can occur in many ways i.e. in some states, an influential party leader or a military dictator, while in other states political parties and other such specialized organizations may be involved in this process.

Political parties have a very important role in interest aggregation in the democratic states. In such political systems elections are held at regular intervals. The political parties make promises to the public during the election and after winning elections; they get control over the affairs of the government and generally fulfill their electoral promises.

The effectiveness and the stability of a government depend upon the patterns of interest aggregation. A successful public policy is always the result of effective interest aggregation. It clearly shows what a country’s government does for and to its citizens (Almond, Powell, Dalton, Strom, 2011).

Political Communication

Political communication means sending of messages within the political system and between the system and the outside (Curtis 1978). The political communication is a medium through which other functions of a political system i.e. political socialization, interest articulation, interest aggregation, rule making, rule application and rule adjudication are performed. For the proper functioning of all the structures within a political system, communication among them is very essential. Even in the primitive political systems, drummers and runners, criers and heralds were present to perform the function of the political communication for the noblemen and the kings (Kebschull, 1968).

In the modern political system, the function of political communication is performed by the media. The media keeps an eye on all the political activities taking place within a political system and these activities are regulated through neutral and objective communication.
**Rule Making**

Rule making process is the process which exists in all the political systems. In the primitive political systems, the king or a council of officials was responsible for rule making. It was a very slow process, because in the past, one of the most important sources of law was customs or traditions and these traditions took so much time to develop.

In the modern developed political systems a well-established and specialized structure i.e. the parliament is present to perform the function of rule making.

**Rule Application**

The next step after the rule making is the rule application. It means the enforcement of rules which have been made by the legislature or the law-making authority. The rule application is as important as rule making because any law cannot produce the required results unless it is implemented properly. In the primitive political system, the authority of rulemaking, and application usually rested with the king or a group of people holding the power of the government. In the modern political system, executive department of the government is responsible for the rule application.

**Rule Adjudication**

Another function closely related to the rule making and the rule application is the rule adjudication. It means that rules once enacted are not violated. Sometimes conflicting situations may arise within a political system or some elements may appear who challenge the authority of the government by committing a breach of law, the rule adjudication should be capable of resolving these issues without putting an extra pressure on other structures of the political system.

If examined closely, the characteristics of a political system, stated by Almond, all represent the Western political system, especially the American political system. His analysis is not applicable to the non-Western societies. It proves to be weak and unhelpful when applied to most of the Third World Countries.
In fact, every state has its own political system according to its culture. Different political thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, Cicero, Machiavelli, Jean Bodin, etc. have presented their own classification of a political system. But in the present-day world, the most important distinction is between the democratic system and the authoritarian system. This distinction is made on the basis of the rights and duties of the citizens in a political system.

In the authoritarian political system all the seven functions i.e. political socialization, interest articulation, interest aggregation and the governmental functions of law making, law enforcement and adjudication are performed but citizens are less involved in these functions. Policies are made by the government and the people are socialized to favor the government policies i.e. the process of socialization is from top towards bottom. In this type of political system, the people are only required to obey the government.

While in a democratic political system, the human rights and freedom get the top priority. It is a political system in which citizens enjoy all their fundamental rights i.e. social, economic, religious, etc. and they have the freedom to elect their leaders through the election. In this type of system, leaders are not only elected by the people, but they are also accountable to them also. It is defined as “the government by the people”.

In this type of political system, people are fully involved in all the seven functions of the system. The Islamic model of political system is also very close to this democratic political system. In this system, the Head of State (Khalifa) is elected by the people. Common people are involved in every matter related to the state. Moreover, Khalifa is answerable not only to God but also to the people for his conducts. Nature of participation and the role of the citizens differentiate the political systems from one another.

**Types of Political System**

In the world, at present, there are several types of political systems. In fact, every state has its own political system and these political systems are differentiated on the principles of democracy and modernity i.e. firstly, if a political system gives autonomy of decision making in the governmental system, it is said to be a democratic and if people have no right to choose their government and participate in other affairs of the state, it is the non-democratic system. Secondly, a political system is judged on the basis of its modernity. If a state has modernized its
social and economic system, it represents a modernized political system, if not; it falls in the category of a traditional political system. In other words, it can be said that a political system can be democratic or non-democratic, at and the same time, it can be modern or traditional. According to this criterion, there are four types of political systems, which are as follows:

**Traditional non-democratic Political System**

This type of political system existed in the ancient states of Asia, Africa and Europe. Such a political system existed in the states where the society had been divided into different tribes and clans. The state was governed by a king or emperor who ran the government with the help of the tribal chiefs. The common people had not been given the right to participate in the decision-making process. The ancient Persian Empire and Mughal Empire are the examples of such a political system.

At present, such a political system has virtually become extinct but some countries of the world, i.e. Ghana, Uganda and Saudi Arabia still have this type of political system. In this type of political system, people did not have any role in the formation or the running of the government. They are not given the right to choose their rulers as well as they do not have any role in the decision-making process. The level of political participation on the part of the people is zero.

**Traditional Democratic Political System**

This type of political system is constitutionally democratic i.e. almost all the institutions necessary for the democracy are present in the state. The decision making-process of the government is also democratic. Political parties are present, and elections are held on regular basis, but all the institutions are dominated by the certain kinship groups as castes, tribes or local baradaries, etc. Though the system is democratic by law, but all the institutions remain under the control of the specific groups who operate these institutions for their own interests. The people are given the right of the political participation. They are free to contest elections and cast their vote in the election, but they vote on the basis or religious or baradari attachment.

Such a type of political system is mostly found in the Third World Countries like India, Pakistan, Iran, and Iraq, etc. Though India claims to be the biggest democracy in the world, but it
is the democracy of dominant Hindu class. All the institutions are run on the name of democracy, but these have always been under the control of the Brahmin or the Bania class.

**The Modern Non-Democratic Political System**

The concept of the modern non-democratic political system is new for the world. This concept was introduced with the establishment of the modern dictatorship, like Fascist, Nazi, and Communist, military or nationalist government in different parts of the world. In this type of political system, no constitution is present to run the affairs of the government. The people have no right to choose the government of their own will. They have no participation in the decision-making process. All the powers are in the hands of a single person (dictator) and his group or party. Such a political system has many forms i.e. authoritarian, totalitarian or communist.

In this type of political system, the state is held at a high esteem and the people are not given any type of rights. Instead, they are required only to obey the laws of the state. Any action against the government is considered as a rebellion against the state and the people are given severe punishments for this act of rebellion. Nasser’s Egypt, the Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union and the Communist China are the examples of such a political system.

**The Modern Democratic Political System**

This type of political system is modern as well as democratic. All the institutions, necessary for the proper functioning of democracy, are present i.e. the constitution, political parties, etc. Moreover, all these institutions are run on democratic basis. The people are given the freedom of political participation with the right to vote. The government is formed and run according to the will of the people. The people are fully involved in the decision-making process. America, Germany and most of the countries of Europe are the examples of such a political system.

This is the political system which gives the maximum freedom to the citizens to participate in the state-affairs. All the institutions are established and run for the welfare of the citizens. The government is not allowed to take any step against the interests of the people. In this type of political system, the people are guaranteed their entire fundamental rights in the
constitution and the constitution is regarded as the most sacred document in such a system (www.awamipolitics.com).

**Existing Political Systems in the World**

There are four models of a political system which are present in the world today. Each political system has its own advantages and disadvantages. The states choose a political system which suits the best to its circumstances. The basic function of the political system is to receive demands from the people in the form of input and formulate policies for the welfare of the citizens of the state.

In the states, where people are very much attached to their traditions of the past or not so much literate in those states, the modern democratic set up cannot be successful, because the people don’t like to live their lives against their traditions. These societies are called traditional or conservative societies, and, in this respect, such a political system is established there that is conservative by nature. On the other hand, there are political systems in which the source of power is the members of the society. These political systems are considered as liberal. So, political systems can be differentiated on the basis of conservatism and liberalism.

**Conservative Political System**

A conservative political system represents such a political system as is based on some religion, social or political order that was laid on in the past and accepted unquestionably. In this political system, it is the function of the present government to uphold and perpetuate that order, because it is believed that what has stood the test of time must work. The institutions of the government, based on traditions or religious philosophies, are usually historically continuous (as in monarchy) to perpetuate the rule of a particular family that ruled in the past (Wikiwand, 2017).

In the political point of view, it may be termed conservatism. The political and social philosophy is considered to be a binding force behind retaining traditional social institutions. It emphasizes stability and continuity in the socio-political order (Encyclopedia Britannica). Saudi Arabia is the best example of such a political system.
**Liberal Political System**

In this form of political system, the power is seen to be derived from the people. The ultimate power rests with the people but not with the governing organization. This system is based on the social contract theory i.e. the people have the rights and they surrender these rights to a governing organization in exchange of the protection of life, liberty and property (Encyclopedia Britannica). In this type of political system, sovereignty belongs to the people and is exercised by their elected representatives. Some of the key features of this system include political parties, adult suffrage, elections at regular intervals, independent judiciary, free media, decision by majority vote, and the constitutional guarantee of the fundamental human rights, etc.

**Political System of Saudi Arabia**

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia was founded in 1932 by the king Abdul Aziz and the Islamic Shariah was declared as the basic law of the land. According to the constitution, it is an Islamic state and Islam is the state religion (Article I of the constitution).

So far as models of a political system are concerned, it is an absolute Monarchy (Article 5/A of the constitution). The head of the government as well as of the state is the king. Elections are not held to choose the king; instead, the Monarch is a hereditary king. The citizens don’t have the right to choose their king. If they don’t have the right to choose, they can’t remove him from the throne. It shows that the king in Saudi Arabia is very powerful, because in Saudi Arabia, no one has been given the right to decide about the king whether he would rule or step down. It is up to him to decide whether he would rule or step down. He is assisted by a council of ministers as well as the cabinet ministers. The Saudi Government has been divided into three branches i.e. legislative, executive and judicial.

**Legislative Authority**

In Saudi Arabia, legislative authority of the state has been given to the council of ministers. It consists of 150 members and all these members are nominated by the king for the period of four years. The council of ministers has the dual responsibility in the state i.e. it performs the legislative functions and also assists the king. This is the same as in the parliamentary form of government; the legislature performs the executive functions along with
the legislative functions. According to the constitution, the council has the authority to interpret laws, review laws and regulations, international treaties and conventions and concessions, and provide whatever suggestion it deems appropriate. The council does not have any power, separate from the king who approves all its decisions.

The Executive Authority

The executive authority lies with the king, the council of ministers and the cabinet. According to the constitution, the king is the Prime Minister, the Chief of the State and the Commander in Chief of the Military in Saudi Arabia. The members of the council of ministers as well as the cabinet ministers, all are nominated by the king.

All the legislation is sanctioned by the king. In his capacity as the Prime Minister, he appoints all the cabinet ministers, other senior government officials, the governors of the provinces. As the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, he appoints all the high officials in the Army. As the Chief Executive of the Saudi Government, he has the power to appoint all Saudi ambassadors and other foreign envoys to other states. Moreover, he acts as the final court of appeal and the power of pardon rests with him (Articles 50-58 of the constitution).

The Judicial Authority

There is a ministry of justice which was established in 1970 by the king, Faisal. This ministry is responsible for all the judicial functions of the state. The legal system of Saudi Arabia is based on the Islamic law. The Islamic law has been applied throughout the country (article 48 of the constitution). There are Islamic courts throughout the country. The judges are appointed by the king. There is a supreme judicial council which is made up of 12 jurists. This supreme judicial council advises the king to appoint judges. The judicial system consists of high courts, the appellate courts, and the first-degree courts i.e. regular courts, summary courts, personal affairs courts, commercial courts, and labor courts.

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia consists of fourteen amirates (provinces); each is governed by an Amir (Governor). These governors are directly responsible to the king. These governors are assisted by deputies and in some amirates, by deputy governors. Since 1960s, the Saudi princes expressed their desire to create the local councils in amirates. These councils consisted of
elected or appointed bodies of the local men would assist the governor. So, in 2005, the local bodies elections were held in 178 municipalities in which only men were given the right to vote. In 2011, elections were held again in Saudi Arabia, but astonishingly, according to the official resources, the turnout was only 5%.

Saudi Arabia is an example of conservative, non-democratic political system. At the centre, there is a king who has all the legislative, executive and judicial powers. Then, there are governors of amirates (provinces) who have been nominated by the king. They assist the king to control all the territories of the state. The citizens have not been given any rights to choose their rulers or participate in the decision-making process or interfere in the affairs of the government. So, it can be said that in Saudi Arabia, the role of the citizens in the formation and functioning of the government is almost non-existent.

The Political System of Islamic Republic of Iran

Iran is an Islamic Republic; the government has been established on the principles of Islam. So far as the political system of Iran is concerned, it is quite complex. Some political thinkers consider it as a theocracy, because of the presence of religious clergy at the top, as the entire system functions under a supreme leader. But some others are of the view that though the Iranian political system seems theocratic, yet it offers a high level of political freedom and democracy to its citizens, as compared to the most of other nations of the world.

The government has been established on the Islamic principles; it has three organs, namely; legislature, executive and judiciary. The legislative assembly consists of the representatives of the people and it performs all the legislative functions of the government (Article 58 of the constitution). wilayat al-'amr is the highest office, and after it, the President is the highest official in the country. He is elected for the period of four years (Article 114 of the constitution):

The Supreme Leader (Wilayat al-'amr)

In Iran the supreme leader (Wilayat al-'amr) holds the high position in the power structure. He is the Head of State and is appointed by the Assembly of Experts. He has the power to define and supervise the general policies of the country. According to the constitution, he has
the power to appoint the heads of different departments of the government i.e. judiciary, TV and radio, the armed forces. The clergy members on the Council of Guardians and Friday prayer leaders are also appointed by him. Even, the election of the President is confirmed by him.

**The Executive**

The President is the Head of the Government in Iran who is elected by the people and holds the office for the period of four years. Constitutionally, a person can hold this office for not more than two terms. As the executive head of the government, he exercises the executive powers, but he cannot interfere in the matters related to the supreme leader. The Council of Ministers is appointed and supervised by the President. The executive comprises three oversight bodies i.e. the Assembly of Experts, the Expediency Council, and the Council of Guardians.

**The Assembly of Experts**

The most important responsibility of this assembly is to appoint the supreme leader in Iran. It not only appoints the supreme leader but also monitors his performance and has the authority to remove him from the office if he is deemed incapable of fulfilling his duties. The members of this assembly are elected for the period of eight years. It is noteworthy that only clerics can join this assembly.

**The Expediency Council**

The main function of the Expediency Council is to serve as an advisory body for the supreme leader. It has also been given the responsibility to solve disputes and conflicts between the Iranian parliament and the Guardian Council.

**The Council of Guardians**

This council consists of 12 members (all are experts in the Islamic law). The supreme leader appoints six of them while the remaining six are nominated by the judiciary and approved by the parliament. The council has been given the responsibility to oversee the activities of the parliament. All the bills, approved by the parliament, are to be examined by this council. The council has the power to overturn any bill, passed by the parliament, if it considers to be in violation of the constitution of Iran.
The Legislature (Majlis)

The legislature consists of only one house, comprising 290 members who are elected by the people for the period of four years. They have the responsibility to draft the legislation and also to approve the country’s budget. All the legislation, made by the parliament, has to be checked by the Guardian Council which has the responsibility to examine the Islamic spirit of the laws.

The Judiciary

The Head of the Judiciary is appointed by the Supreme Leader. While the authority to appoint the Head of the Supreme Court and the Chief Public Prosecutor vests with the Head of the Judiciary. The Supreme Court and the High Council of Judiciary both have the responsibility to supervise the enforcement of all laws and for establishing the judicial and legal policies in the country. It has the function to nominate six members of the Council of Guardians. The other types of courts include a special clerical court, a revolutionary court, and a special administrative court.

The analysis of the Iranian political system reveals that, in Iran, the supreme leader holds all the power. All the branches of government function under his supervision. Even, the constitution grants more powers to the supreme leader, rather than any other institution of the government. All the high state officials are appointed by him who is not elected by the people which shows that the people in Iran have been given a little role in the decision making-process.

The American Political System

The American political system has been clearly defined by the basic document i.e. the constitution of the United States of America. According to the constitution, the American political system is democratic, and by the size of electorate, it is second largest democracy of the world with a strong political system. The American political system is different from the British political system. America is a federation of 50 states and it has the Presidential form of government which consists of three branches i.e. legislature, executive and judiciary. The American political system is based on the principle of separation of power which means that each organ of the government works independently without any type of influence from any other
institution. Moreover, no individual is allowed to be the member of more than one institution at the same time. Moreover, all the three institutions work independently without any type of interference or influence of any other institution.

**The President**

The President is the most powerful individual in the American political system because he is not only the Head of the State but also the Head of the Government. Not only this, he is Commander in Chief of the Army and the Chief Diplomat of the country. He is elected by the people indirectly for a period of four years (Article II, Section I of the constitution). A person can hold the office of the President for not more than two terms.

As an executive head of the state, the President has broad constitutional powers which he can exercise to manage the affairs of the federal government; that is why he is considered the most powerful person not only in America but also on the earth.

He plays a very vital role in the law-making also. He has the powers to recommend the measures to the Congress in the form of messages. Any bill, passed by the Congress, has to be signed by the President to become a law and the President has the veto power i.e. he can propose amendment in the bill or completely reject the bill.

Article II, Section II of the constitution delegates him so much power, like, he has the authority to appoint his cabinet ministers, judges of the Supreme Court as well as ambassadors to other countries. He is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and of the Militia of Several states. He has the power to make treaties (although these are ratified later on by the Senate). With the approval of the Congress, he can declare war.

All these powers make him a very influential person in the American political system. Though an effort had been made through the principle of separation of power to keep each department out of influence of the other department, but over the years, the President has got the position where he can influence the other two departments of the government i.e. legislature and judiciary.
The Congress

The American Congress consists of two houses i.e. the House of Representatives (the lower house) and the Senate (the upper house). The House of Representatives is an elected house of 435. It is elected for the period of 2 years while seats are apportioned among the states by population. The Senate is also an elected body consisting of 100 members (Article I, Section 3). Each state has been given two seats in the American Senate irrespective of its size and population. The Senate members are elected for the period of 6 years, one third got retired after every two years.

The constitution delegates all the legislative powers to the Congress as well as the power to amend the constitution. In the election of the President and the Vice President, if no candidate gets the simple majority of votes of the Electoral College, then House of Representatives choose the President while the Senate chooses the Vice President. It also has the power of impeachment of the President. All the treaties signed by the President, are to be ratified by the Senate. All the appointments are made by the President on the recommendations of the Senate.

The Supreme Court

The Supreme Court is the highest court of justice in America. It consists of 9 judges i.e. a Chief Justice and eight associate justices. While voting on a case, all have the equal weight and decisions are made by a simple majority. The judges of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President, and by the constitution, they are appointed for life. They can only be removed by impeachment, the subsequent conviction or by resignation. Below the Supreme Court, there is a system of Courts of Appeal, and, below courts.

Following the principle of separation of power, the judiciary in America performs its duties independently. The judges of the higher court of the country are appointed by the President, but he does not have the power to interfere in the judicial matters or to remove the judges.

In the American political system, the people are involved in every matter of the state. From the formation of government to the decision-making, they are very much active and involved. A general practice all over the world is, that the states don’t have the head of the state
elected directly, but in America over the years this trend has developed that the election of the President has become a direct one i.e. the people now choose the Electoral College of that party whose candidate they want to be the President.

**The British Constitution**

Britain has the parliamentary form of government but at the same time, it is the constitutional monarchy (Constitution of the United Kingdom) i.e. the head of the state is a hereditary monarch while the head of the government is the Prime Minister. The people don’t have the right to choose the Head of the State. In the past, the monarch was very powerful, but with the passage of time these powers have been transferred to the parliament. Now he/she has become only the nominal Head of the State. Now, he is expected to act with a strict political neutrality and exercise his/her powers on the advice of the Prime Minister. Constitutionally, there are three arms of the government i.e. legislature, executive and judiciary.

Unlike the political system of America, where the principle of separation of power is strictly observed, Britain has parliamentary form of government in which executive is the part of legislature and one minister, the Lord Chancellor, is actually a member of all the three arms of the government.

**The Head of the State**

The Monarch is the Head of the State in the United Kingdom. He is not elected by the people, but he/she is nominated on hereditary principles. At one time he/she was very powerful, but now his powers are formal, ceremonial and non-political. Although he/she is the titular Head of the State, but still he/she has a very important role to play in the British political system i.e. he/she grants assent to the bills, approved by the both of the houses of the parliament. After the elections to the lower house, he/she appoints the leader of the majority party as the Prime Minister. All the ministers of the Crown are appointed by him/her. He/she also has the power of granting honors and titles.

**The Prime Minister**

In the United Kingdom, the Head of the Government is the Prime Minister, and he is assisted by the cabinet and ministers who are all members of the parliament. All the powers,
once exercised by the king, have now been transferred to the Prime Minister. So far the powers of the Prime Minister are concerned, in fact, in the British political system, the Prime Minister holds the same position as is held by the President in the American political system i.e. he is the executive head of the government, has the power to sign treaties, issue passports as well as issue pardons.

The Prime Minister and his ministers are the members of the parliament; they are responsible to the parliament for the exercise of the powers.

The Parliament

The legislature in the British political system has been given the name of parliament. It is a bi-cameral legislature, the lower house is called the House of Commons and the upper house is called the House of Lords. The House of Commons is an elected house of 650 members. The number of the members of the House of Lords is not fixed; it varies time to time; at present, it consists of 826 members who are not elected, but selected or nominated by the Queen.

The British parliament is a very powerful body. It can make laws; can amend the constitution by a simple majority. It has complete control over the treasure of the state. The Prime Minister and his ministers, all are responsible to it, and they can hold their office as long as they have the confidence of the House of Commons. In fact, when we speak of the powers of the British parliament, it means the lower house i.e. the House of Commons, because the upper house has limited powers. The Prime Minister is chosen from the lower house; so all the legislative and executive powers belong to this house from where the Prime Minister is chosen.

The British people are given the right to choose their representatives and these representatives keep a check on the government as well as on the treasure of the state. They are directly involved in the decision-making process. If any government makes policies against the interest of the people, it has to face the vote of no-confidence in the house. So, people in the United Kingdom are completely involved not only in the formation of the government, but also in the decision-making process.
The Judiciary

In the United Kingdom the court system is administered by the Ministry of Justice. The highest court in the country is the Supreme Court since 2009 (constitutional reform act, 2005). Senior judges are appointed by the Head of the State on the advice of the Head of the Government. Judges are appointed by the king/Queen, but they perform their duties independently impartially without any type of influence from the government or the Head of the State.

Though the Head of the State is a hereditary monarch; yet in the British political system, the people’s participation is seen at every level from the formation of the government to the functioning of the government. The people get chance to choose the representatives they like, and then, they are completely free to influence the government to make policies which are in the best interests of the people and the state.

The Political System of Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a newly independent state which was established in 1971 after the secession of Pakistan. Soon after the independence, the people wanted to establish the democratic political system in the country. The Constitution of the country was promulgated in 1972 according to which a democratic system of government was adopted in the country. The models of the British and the American political systems were followed by the framers of the constitution and the parliamentary form of government was established in the country.

Though the constitution was formulated on democratic principles which laid the foundation of a democratic government in the country; yet soon the constitution was amended to strengthen the powers of the then President, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. After those amendments, he assumed the dictatorial powers in the country. His successors also followed his style of governess. The military got the chance to get involved in the government affairs. The result was that the people were deprived of their fundamental rights and the struggle for a true democracy is still alive in Bangladesh.

In the constitution, an effort had been made to establish independent legislature, executive and judiciary in the country. The original constitution of 1972 established the British
style executive in which the Prime Minister was very powerful whereas the Head of the State i.e. the President was only the titular head. In 1975, the constitution was amended to strengthen the President. After those amendments, the President became very powerful. The political system of Bangladesh is an example of a developing political system which is under the transitional phase. At present, the three branches of the government work as under:

The Legislature

Bangladesh has a uni-cameral legislature (Jatiyo Sansad) consisting of 300 members. It has the responsibility to make laws for the country. According to the constitution, it is a directly elected house which is elected for the period of five years (Article 65, constitution of Bangladesh). All the bills, passed by the legislature, are to be approved by the President.

The President

The President is the Head of the State and is elected by the people for a five-year term. Constitution grants him so much power i.e. he appoints the Vice-President, the cabinet ministers, the members of Election Commission, judges of the Supreme Court. He is the Commander in Chief of the country; the foreign policy of the state is formulated under his supervision. Even, the Prime Minister and the cabinet ministers are appointed by the President.

The Council of Ministers

The council of ministers (cabinet), headed by the Prime Minister is there to assist the President. All the powers delegated to the Prime Minister in the original constitution have now been transferred to the President through the constitutional amendments. Under Article 55 of the constitution, the council of ministers is appointed by the President (up to one fifth of members can be from outside the parliament).

The Judiciary

Under section 22 (part III), the judiciary has been separated from the executive organs of the state. The Supreme Court is the highest court, headed by the Chief Justice. The number of judges is not fixed; it can be increased or decreased by the President, depending on the burden of work on it. The President has been given the power to appoint the judges (Article 95). A judge
can remain in office till the age of 60. The Supreme Court has the responsibility to make rules for the lower courts with the assent of the President.

The Political System of Pakistan

Pakistan came into being in 1947 since then three constitutions have been experimented in the country; the first constitution of the country was promulgated in 1956, the second in 1962 while the present constitution was promulgated in 1973. According to this constitution, Pakistan has been declared an Islamic Republic (rather than a theocratic state), but all the institutions of the government have been established on the modern democratic lines, following the British and the American political systems. According to the constitution of 1973, Pakistan is a federal state and the system of government is parliamentary with Prime Minister as the Head of the Government while the President as the Head of the State. The political system works as follows:

The President

The President is the Head of the State in Pakistan. He is elected by the parliament and provincial assemblies of federating units for the period of five years (Article 41, constitution of Pakistan). He is a titular Head of the State; constitutionally, he is only required to be kept informed about the functioning of different state departments by the Prime Minister. He exercises all his powers on the advice of the Prime Minister.

The Legislature

The Parliament consists of two houses; namely, the National Assembly (lower house) and the Senate (upper house). Seats in the National Assembly are allocated to each province on the basis of the population while in the Senate each province is given an equal representation. The National Assembly consists of 342 members. They are elected directly by the people for a period of five years whereas the Senate consists of 104 members who are elected indirectly for six years (half of the members getting retired after every three years). The Parliament has all the legislative powers as well as control over the national exchequer. The members of parliament keep an eye on the government and all the ministers are responsible to it (Article 50-89, constitution of Pakistan).
The Executive

The executive authority of the government is exercised by the federal government which consists of the Prime Minister and the federal ministers (Article 90, constitution of Pakistan) all of whom are a part of the parliament. The Prime Minister and his cabinet are the most powerful body in the country, according to the constitution. The Prime Minister, with his cabinet, holds the same position in the political system of Pakistan which is held by the British Prime Minister and his cabinet in the British Political System.

The Judiciary

All the judicial system works under the supervision of the Supreme Court which is the highest court in the country. It consists of a Chief Justice and so many other judges as determined by the parliament (Article 176) who are appointed by the President on the recommendations of the Prime Minister.

The political system of Pakistan cannot be rated as conservative of traditional in any sense. All the state institutions have been developed on the modern democratic lines. The people are given a chance to choose the government they like. Political parties are present in the country; they contest elections, but the influence of religion, baradaries, and families is very prominent. People cast their vote on the name of personalities, baradaries and religion. In the past, this trend was very powerful, but over the years with an increase in literacy rate this trend is on the decrease, gradually. Now a wave of change is being seen and the young generation does not seem to be attracted towards the slogans of family politics or baradarism.

The State and the Individual

The great political problem of all ages has been to determine the relation between the state and the individual. In the ancient times, some political thinkers generally regarded the state as an end in itself while the individuals were regarded less important. On the other hand, there were groups of writers, even in the old ages, which have minimized the importance of the state, emphasized the individual freedom and the natural rights of man and opposed extensive state action (Bukhari, 1984).
Both these views are extreme and one-sided. In the modern times, the aim of the constitutional government is to protect liberty of an individual and at the same time, to maintain its authority. On the other hand, every human is in search of a good life and the rights provide conditions essential for it. A man cannot live a good or happy life without the basic or fundamental rights. As Kapur (2012) says:

“Rights are those opportunities, the absence of which deprives man of something essential” (Kapur, 2012, p 208).

Rights are also very important for the freedom of man. Without fundamental rights, no one can enjoy freedom. According to Laski:

“A state is known by the rights that it maintains” (Laski, 1984, p. 89).

Some thinkers are of the view that every human being is provided by the fundamental human rights; the nature right from his birth, without any type of discrimination, the rights have not gifted to citizens by any state, ruler or government (Singh, 2007).

According to the Islamic Perspective, these rights have been guaranteed to man due to his honor and dignity because Islam regards man as “the crown of all creations”. There are so many verses of the Holy Quran as well as a number of Ahadites (sayings) of the Holy Prophet emphasizing the human rights.

In the West, the concept of human rights is not very old. It is a new concept which was developed in its clear form during the 18th century A.D. Though some thinkers consider the Magna Carta (1215) as the beginning of the concept of human rights in the West, but most of the scholars do not agree to this view. According to them, it was only a charter of landlords and funerals. In the 18th century A.D., the French Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizens, August 27, 1789, and the Declaration of Independence of the American States are considered as the beginning of the fundamental human rights in the West.

Historically, the human rights are divided into three generations. The first generation of rights belongs to the civil and political rights which have been derived from the reformist theories of the 17th and the 18th century. At present, these civil and political rights have got so much importance that most of the states of the world have guaranteed these rights to their
citizens in their constitutions. Moreover, the majority of international conventions and declarations since the World War II have adopted these rights. These rights include freedom from discrimination; slavery or involuntary servitudes, torture and from cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment as well as the right to life; liberty, and the security of the person.

The economic, social, and cultural rights belong to the second generation and these rights got importance during early years of the 19th century. These rights include the right to social security, the right to work and protection against unemployment, the right to education, etc. The third-generation rights got recognition during the 20th century. These rights belong to political, economic, social and cultural development (Britannica, 2005).

**The Fundamental Rights of Citizens in a State**

At present, the human rights have been granted and protected through the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 and approved in December 1966. The 30 articles of this declaration grant the fundamental rights (i.e. the right to life, liberty and security, equality before law, freedom of movement, the right to marry and form a family, the right to education, no discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, language, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property birth or other status, etc.) to all the humans irrespective of their caste, color, creed or the place of residence.

These rights have been guaranteed by the constitutions of almost all the democratic states of the world, but practically, governments of even the most advanced countries of the world fail to provide these rights to their citizens. Especially, the people belonging to the minority groups mostly seem complaining that they are being treated as the second-class citizens of the state.

**Duties of a Citizen with respect to the State**

Every citizen, in a modern state, demands rights, but rights are connected with duties. The rights are inseparable from duties. Both are equally important. The possession of rights does not mean the possession of claims that are empty of all duties. There is a famous maxim in Political Science i.e. “rights imply duties (Bukhari, 1984)”.
Both the rights and duties are interdependent i.e. my rights are the duties of someone else whereas my duties are the rights of others. Thus, it can be said that rights and duties are two aspects of the same thing. If the state provides rights to its citizens, it also implies duties upon them. The following are the most important among the citizen’s duties to the state.

**Allegiance to the State**

Every citizen owes allegiance to the state to which he belongs. This implies the duty of defending the state in case of war, and service and loyalty to the state to maintain its integrity. If a state provides security of life to its citizen, then it is their duty to defend the state against all enemies and dangers and also to assist in the maintaining of peace and order. The state can call upon any citizen to take up arms in its defense.

**To obey laws**

In every state, it is the supreme duty of citizens to obey its laws, respect its institutions, obey the orders and directions of the government and assist in creating that atmosphere wherein should flourish the spirit of law-abidingness. Laws are made and imposed for the good of people and if someone obeys the laws of the state, it means he is striving for the good of the people which ultimately results in the good of the state, as Aristotle said;

“A good citizen makes a good state (Kapur, 2012)”.

**Payment of Taxes**

The state needs huge sums of money for performing functions of the government. It is the duty of every citizen to pay taxes so that the state could spend them for the welfare of the people. If citizens of any state do not pay taxes, it will definitely affect the functioning of the government.

**Honest Exercise of Franchise and Holding a Public Office**

In a modern democratic state, all the adult citizens, subjects to certain qualifications, enjoy the right to vote. Through this right, they are given the freedom to elect their representatives according to their own will. But at the same time, it is their duty to exercise their right honestly and in the interest of the state.
The right to vote should be exercised with judgment, discretion and rectitude. On the other hand, the people who are elected as the public representatives should occupy the public offices in a spirit of service and justify the trust the electorate has reposed in them. Moreover, every citizen should take an active part in the civic affairs of his village, city and society.

It is also the duty of every citizen to educate him so that he may understand and discharge his civic duties properly. A citizen is also a member of a family. If he is the head of the family, he must perform his duties to maintain discipline in the family. As a member of society, he must take keen interest in the issues, faced by his village or town, and take active part in their solution. He must co-operate with others to further its welfare.

Apart from all these duties, a citizen must also have an international outlook. The citizens of every state must regulate their activities with reference to the international peace and the welfare of humanity as a whole.

**The Status of Minorities in a State**

Before discussing the status of minorities in a state, it is better to understand the term ‘minority’ in depth. It is the most commonly used word in the present age. Generally, when we speak of a minority in a state, it means often a numerical small group or a group of people who have a sense of separate identity from the majority group. As Panday explains:

“A group characterized by a sense of separate identity and awareness of status apart from a usually large group of which it forms or is held to form apart” (Panday, 1997).

Normally, a minority represents the group of people who are numerically less, and they do not have a dominant position in any political system or state, but they are endowed with ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics which differentiate them from the majority of the population.

Deschenes defines minority as:

“A group of citizens of a state, consisting of a numerical minority and in a non-dominant position in that state, endowed with ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics which differ from those of the majority of the population, having a sense of solidarity with one another.
motivated, if not implicitly, by a collective will to survive and whose aim is to achieve equality with the majority in fact and in law” (Deschene, 1985).

According to Encyclopedia Britannica, a minority is defined as:

“Minorities are groups held together by ties of groups held together by ties of common descent, language or religious faith and feeling themselves different in these respects from the majority of the inhabitants by a given political entity” (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1967).

In an Islamic State, no discrimination is made between the masses on the basis of caste, color or race; instead, Islam distinguishes the masses on the basis of their religion. In an Islamic State, the Muslims are in majority while the non-Muslim population is regarded as a minority and they are called ‘dhimis’. As the Quran says:

“Unto your religion, and unto me my religion” (Quran, 109:6).

These definitions refer to the following characteristics of a minority i.e. the people of a minority group may belong to a certain ethnic group, race or religion. They may also be differentiated from the majority on the basis of language. On the basis of these characteristics, minorities may be of many type i.e. racial minority, religious minority or linguistic minority.

In every state, minorities are present, and they play their role in the political system according to the rights guaranteed to them by the state. Ali (1980) is of the view that despite the widespread education, enlightenment and the constitutional guarantees in most of the states of the world, minorities are neglected, and they have to face discrimination in every walk of life.

Though it is considered that the secular states guarantee protection to minorities, but practically, the situation is not like that. Even, in America and other developed countries, minorities are treated as the second-class citizens (Rasool, 2004).

Unfortunately, even in the modern political systems, minorities have not been granted their due rights and they are forced to face discrimination in a society. Constitutionally, they have been guaranteed all their fundamental rights, but practically, most of the time; the government could not succeed to provide all these rights to minorities in true letter and spirit. In order to investigate the relationship of the individual (especially of minorities) and the state (with
regard to fundamental rights) in the modern times, the study of liberal and conservative political systems of the present-day world can be very helpful.

**Saudi Arabia (Conservative Model)**

The political system of Saudi Arabia is based on Islam (Sharai’h). It is a classical model of conservative political system, because the government institutions derive and exercise their authority from the religion. But it is not a theocracy, because clergy has no role in the running of the government. The king is not a religious leader. The government has been established on the Islamic Principles; so, the fundamental rights to the citizens have also been granted under the Islamic Law. All the fundamental rights have been included in the constitution.

Islam lays so much stress on the fundamental human rights and the rights of the non-Muslims have been given a special position in the Islamic Jurisprudence owing to the fact that every Islamic Society includes the non-Muslims. The non-Muslims in Saudi Arabia are called ‘residents’, as their residency in the country is non-permanent. The Saudi law does not distinguish between the Muslim and non-Muslim residents in a number of matters e.g. both the Muslims and the non-Muslims are permitted to utilize the public utilities, they can get employment without any type of religious discrimination, the criteria for getting a job is only merit and experience (Constitution of Saudi Arabia).

Minorities have been granted the fundamental rights in the constitution, but practically, the situation is somehow different. They have no freedom of speech or religion. So far as the religious freedom is concerned, the public worship of the non-Muslims is not tolerated. Even there are reports of discrimination against the Muslim religious minorities i.e. Twelver Shia and Ismailis. (Human Rights Watch Report, 2018) reveals that minorities in Saudi Arabia have no freedom of expression, association or belief. They have to face discrimination in every walk of life from the public education to the justice system, and from religious freedom to employment.

**The United States of America (Liberal Model)**

America is an example of the modern democratic system. It is said to be the champion of liberalism. Its constitution was implemented in 1789. It consisted of only 7 articles which did not include the fundamental human rights for the Americans. Later on in 1791, the first ten
amendments were made to the constitution and the fundamental human rights were included in the constitution. So, the first ten amendments are related to the fundamental rights of the Americans. The Americans were granted the freedom of religion, the freedom of speech, press, the right to a peaceful assembly, and to petition the government for redress of grievances, etc. (Constitutional amendments Article I-X).

One may think that in the presence of democratic institutions and strong civil society the fundamental rights have been protected. But the situation is vice versa; the strong civil society and the democratic institutions of America having been tested over the years where the minorities, especially the Blacks and the Muslims, are discriminated in almost every walk of life. Under the Trump Administration, the situation of the human rights in America is very pitiable. He has targeted refugees and immigrants, calling them criminals and a security threat. Under the cover of this prelude, he tried to strengthen the white nationalism and, consistently, championed the anti-Muslim ideas and policies. He has put a travel-ban on the people of seven countries (having majority of Muslims). The people of these countries cannot get the American visa for any purpose.

The American administration is introducing so many drastic changes in the system which is affecting the racial and ethnic minorities, immigrants, children, the poor, and the prisoners. These people are unable to defend their rights in courts or via political process.

**The Status of Minorities in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan**

Pakistan was established on the ideology of Islam. Most of the population in Pakistan was Muslim, but the non-Muslim minorities were also present in Pakistan. They were anxious about their future. Quaid-i-Azam was fully aware of the fact. So, in his first address to the Constituent Assembly, on 11 August 1947, a special attention was given to the minorities in these words:

“You are free; you are free to go to your temples. You are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—, that has nothing to do with the business of the State” (Jinnah Speeches, 2013, p. 17).

He further said;
“Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in the course of time the Hindus would cease to be the Hindus and the Muslims would cease to be the 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” (Jinnah Speeches, 2013, p. 18).

The political system of Pakistan is a combination of both Islamic as well as Western Political System. Islam has been declared as the state-religion while the parliamentary form of government has been established in the country. Though the modern democratic system has been adopted, but the entire system is founded on the very basis of Islam. The human rights have been guaranteed in the constitution according to Islam as well as the United Nations Declaration of the Human Rights to all the citizens (Muslim & non-Muslims) i.e. the right of equality before law and entitlement to equal protection of law, equality regarding accessibility to the public places, safeguard against discrimination in services, the right to security, safeguards as to arrest and detention, the right to fair trial, protection against retrospective punishment, protection against double punishment and self-incrimination. Above all, a person has the freedom of movement, assembly, association, trade, business or profession, and speech, the freedom to profess religion and to manage religious institutions, the right to preserve language, script and culture, the freedom from slavery, forced labor. The constitution further guarantees safeguard against taxation for the purposes of any particular religion, safeguard as to the educational institutions in respect of religion, etc. (Constitution of Pakistan).

But, practically, the conditions are not satisfactory as they should be. The minorities as a part of the political system are playing their role while providing their services in different departments, but they have to face discrimination by some factions of the society.

**The Christians in Lahore**

The presence of the Christian community in Lahore can be traced back during the Akbar Reign when some Christian missionaries visited his court in the latter half of the 16th century. Since then, they had been an important part of the demography of Lahore. After the end of the Mughal Empire, when the British got control over the sub-continent, the missionary work of the Christians got momentum and their population increased to a reasonable extent. So many Christian institutions were established during that period.
At the time of partition in 1947, the Christians opted to live in Pakistan and they continued to serve the nation with the passion of patriotism. Lahore had been the centre of all the social, political and religious activities of the Christians even before the partition. The role of the Christian community in the development of Lahore is worth-mentioning. They have been living side by side with other communities of Lahore and have very cordial relations with the Muslims.
References


Constitution of United States of America.

Constitution of United Kingdom.

Constitution of Bangladesh.


The Holy Quran.


Chapter No. 3

Lahore Division and the Christian Minority

Geography of the Lahore Division

Before partition, the Lahore Division was an administrative division of the Punjab province. It was located on the bank of the Sutlej River from the Himalaya to Multan. At that time, it consisted of six districts i.e. Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujranwala, and Sheikhupura districts (Ahmed, 2012). Before 1947, about 60% of the total population was the Muslims while the remaining 40% included people belonging to other religions i.e. the Hindus, the Sikhs, the Janis, the Buddhist, the Parsees, and Christians (Lahore Division - Imperial Gazetteer of India, v. 16, p. 96).

After the partition of the sub-continent in 1947, the Lahore Division was divided into two parts with the Eastern half becoming Amritsar Division (https://www.revolvy.com) which was included in India. At present, the Lahore Division is located 31° 10' 0" North and 74° 30' East. It consists of four districts i.e. district Kasur, Lahore, Nankana Sahib and Sheikhupura. It occupies total area of 11729 sq/km while the total population according to 2017 census is 19,398,000.

The Kasur District

Kasur is an ancient city of Pakistan. It was a big village consisting of Katcha (houses made of mud) houses established on the bank of the River Beas in 1 A.D (http://mykasurcity.blogspot.com). In different eras, it had been given different names i.e. Kusara, Kassara, (Ka-ssa-ra), Kashawar, (Ka-sha- uur), KashuPur, Kesh Pur, Shaker Pur, ShakarPur, Kasupur, Kashurpur, Kashoor, Qasur, Kasoor, Kasur (http://www.kasur.org).

Kasur was a tehsil of the Lahore District and in 1976 it was given the status of a district, consisting of four Tehsils i.e. Kasur, Chunian, Pattoki, and Kot Radha Kishen. Geographically, it has a great importance for Pakistan, because it is located on the Indo-Pakistan Border. It is famous all over the world for its fertile lands because three renowned rivers of Punjab (Ravi, Beas, and Sutlej) flow in this city. Its neighboring districts include Lahore, Okara and Sheikhupura (http://www.kasur.org).
The Sheikhupura District

Sheikhupura is also an historical district of the Punjab. It was founded by the great Mughal Emperor, Nor-u-Din Muhammad Jahangir in 1607 (http://sheikhupura1.blogspot.com). The word Sheikhupura had been derived from a nick name of King Akbar’s son, Jahangir, who was called as Sheikhu by his father. In the olden times, through the course of history, it had been given different names like Kot Dayal Das, Qila Sheikhupura and Singhpuria. In Tuzk-e-Jahangiri, it has also been called as Jahangirpura. During the reign of Emperor Jahangir (1605 to 1627), Sheikhupura was used as the royal hunting ground. In 1920; it was given the status of a district (https://www.punjab.gov.pk). At present it consists of five Tehsils, namely, Sheikhupura, Ferozwala, Muridke, Sharaqpur, and Safdar Abad (http://pakistani-cities.blogspot.com).

The Nankana Sahib District

Nankana Sahib is a newly-adjusted district of the Lahore Division. It is a very sacred place and the pilgrimage site for the Sikhs (http://downloads.nha.gov.pk). According to the Sikh encyclopedia, Nankana Sahib is named after Guru Nanak (1469-1539), who was born here on Baisakhsudi 3, 1526 Bk/ 15 April 1469. It is also an ancient city and in different times of history it had been given different names as Talvandi Rai Bho Ki or Talvandi of Rai Bhoe. History tells us that the first fifteen or sixteen years of Guru Nanak’s life were spent at Talvandi. That is why it is a sacred place for the Sikhs (https://www.thesikhencyclopedia.com).

Nankana Sahib was a sub-division of Sheikhupura district and it was given the status of a district on July, 2005 comprised four Tehsils i.e. Nankana Sahib, Shah Kot, Sangla Hill, Safdarabad. In December, 2008, Tehsil Safdarabad was made part of District Sheikhupura w.e.f 01-12-2008 (https://www.punjab.gov.pk).

The Lahore District

Lahore is one of the leading cities of Pakistan. It is the hub of culture and the provincial capital of Punjab. Located in the latitude of 31° 34’ N and longitude of 74° 20’ E, 702 feet above the sea level, many historians include it in the list of those cities in the world which have no record regarding their foundation date; so, it is not easy to locate its origin (Khalid, 2015 A). Historians and researchers have different views about the foundation of the city. Some are of the view that Lahore may have been founded between 1st and 7th century A.D by the Rajput. Some
say the name, Lahore, has been derived from the word Lohar i.e. a blacksmith while others say it is named after Lohar Chand who founded the city. The Hindu version is that it is named after Rama’s son Lav or (Loh) who is believed to have founded the city (Quddus, 1992).

Khawaja Abdul Rashid is of the view that “Lahore is one of the oldest cities of the world and its time period may date back to the time of Mohenjo Daro and Harrapa. But this city is unique and supreme in the sense that it was never completely or irrevocably destroyed” (1962, p.18). There are many areas in the sub-continent which have been given names similar to Lahore but the name, Lahore, located in the Punjab is first mentioned in the well-known book ‘Hudud-ul-Alam’ written in 990 A.D. Irrespective of the fact when the city was founded, it reached the peak of its glory during the reign of Mughal rulers, particularly, from the time of Akbar and during those days the Christian missionaries also arrived in Lahore to visit the court of Akbar (Quddus, 1992).

During the British rule also, Lahore was the center of social activities and the British took a special interest in the development of this city, the construction of so many important buildings like the High Court, the Government College, The Central Museum, the National College of Arts, the Montgomery Hall, the Tollinton Market, The Punjab University (old campus), etc. is the clear proof of it. In the census of 1941, the total population of Lahore city was recorded as 671,659. While in 1947, it was recorded as 700,000. The majority of the population was the Muslims i.e. 64.5 per cent and the rest of the population consisted of the Hindus, the Sikhs as well as a small Christian community (http://lahore.city-history.com).

Since the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, Lahore has been the centre of social, cultural, literary, political as well as religious activities not for the Muslims but also for the non-Muslim citizens. The grandeur of Lahore is a historical city, famous all over the world for its marvelous buildings, gardens, monuments and other historical places. Its atmosphere, its moods of joy and sorrow, fairs and funs, pains and pleasures, and, above all, the colorful life of its people inspire the people all over the world (https://www.punjab.gov.pk/lahore). At present, it has been divided into nine towns i.e. Allama Iqbal Town, Aziz Bhatti Town, Cantonment, Data Ganj Baksh Town, Gulberg Town, Nisthar Town, Ravi Town, Samanabad Town, Shalimar Town, and Wagah Town (Lahore Division - Imperial Gazetteer of India, v. 16, p. 96).
The Demography of Lahore Division

The population according to the census held in 1951, 1961, 1972, 1981 and 1998.

**The Population of Pakistan and the Punjab**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Area Sq. K.M</th>
<th>Census population (Thousand person)</th>
<th>Annual Growth Rate (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>796096</td>
<td>33740</td>
<td>42880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>205345</td>
<td>20541</td>
<td>25464</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 3.1  Source: -(i) For Area: Cartographic Office, Survey of Pakistan, Rawalpindi.

(ii) For Population: Population Census Wing, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Govt. of Pakistan, Islamabad. p. 279

The area and the population of the Lahore Division and the Lahore District according to 1951, 1961, 1972, 1981, 1998 and 2017 Census is as follows:

**The Area and the Population of the Lahore Division**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Div/Dist</th>
<th>Area Sq. K.M</th>
<th>Census Population (Thousand Persons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Lahore Div</td>
<td>11729</td>
<td>2818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Lahore Dist</td>
<td>1772</td>
<td>1135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 3.2  Source: -(i) For Area: Cartographic Office, Survey of Pakistan, Rawalpindi.

(ii) For Population: Population Census Wing, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Govt. of Pakistan, Islamabad. P.284

**The Christians in Lahore**

The Christians in the sub-continent are not new-comers; rather their presence in this part of the world may date back to the days even before the dawn of Islam when this region was heavily dominated by the giant religions i.e. the Buddhism and the Hinduism. The traces may reflect their existence at a very micro level and under the strong shadows of the local religions. In the sub-continent, Christianity was introduced in the first century A.D. It is said that the Apostle, Thomas, one of the original twelve disciples of Jesus, visited the Punjab. He came to India through the sea-route with the Arab sailors, but some historians are of the view that he
might have reached India crossing the Asia Minor. However, all the historians are unanimous that in the 40 century A.D. St. Thomas reached Taxila, a place 30 Km north to Rawalpindi, Pakistan. Taxila was the capital of Gandarah ruled by a Buddhist king, Gonophores (Zafar, 2007).

In 1935, in the same area, a farmer found a 3 inch long cross while ploughing. It is considered as an evident proof of the presence of St. Thomas in the sub-continent. The local Christians give so much respect to this place and hold a religious festival on 3rd of July every year. St. Thomas passed rest of his life in India until he was killed by the Hindu Brahmins in 72 A.D. at Malapore. He was buried there, and his Mausoleum was constructed. Thousands of Christians visit his Mausoleum every year. It is believed that because of the preaching of St. Thomas, till 3rd century A.D. a reasonable number of people had accepted Christianity and were leading their lives as his followers. At present, these people are called “Thomai” (Saldana, 2011).

In Lahore, Christianity was introduced during the reign of Akbar when a mission of the Catholic Jesuit Fathers arrived in India in 1580. Three missions visited Akbar’s Court at Lahore from 1580 to 1595. It is believed that more reliable starting point might be May 5, 1595 when the third Jesuit mission visited Akbar at his court in Lahore. It consisted of three members i.e. Father Jerome Xavier, Father Emmaneul Pinheiro and Brother Benaduct Dusgos. They sought the Emperor’s permission to preach Christianity to his people. Akbar showed a great interest in Christianity. He himself did not accept Christianity, but as a gesture of good will, he allowed his subjects that if they liked they were free to convert to Christianity. So, as a result of untiring efforts of the mission the first, described as persons of humble birth, were baptized on September 15, 1595 (Payne, 1926).

The educational services were also started, and a school was opened for the education of children of the court. The first church in Lahore was constructed near the royal palace in September 1597 (Brien, 2011). On Sundays, regular sermons were started by Fr. Emmaneul Pinheiro. As a result of this practice, some well-borne Muslims also converted to Christianity. But the majority of the converts included the Hindus and the people from ‘a low grade of society’, many of whom were in the economic distress (Mackagan, 1932).
In 1600 A.D., Akbar gave a written permission to the Christian Fathers that if any person wanted to convert to Christianity willingly, he would be allowed. It was a great favour from the ruling emperor. As a result, in 1606 A.D., the number of the Christians in Lahore was almost 100. Most of them were the servants of the Europeans. Some Barahman families also accepted Christianity. In 1614 A.D., the number of Christians reached almost one thousand. The Christians in those days used to wear cross. Father Xavier worked day in and day out to convince the local people to accept Christianity (Zafar, 2007).

After the death of Akbar, Noor-ud-Din Jehangir became the emperor in 1605 A.D. He was a very kind-hearted ruler. He treated the Christian Fathers as well as Christian masses very kindly. The Fathers felt very relaxed and they were free to carry on their missionary work. He was so sympathetic towards the Christians that it was thought that he might accept Christianity, but he did not.

He gave so many facilities to the Christians e.g. he allowed the Christians to build a church at Ahmad Abad and he also allotted a plot for the Christian’s graveyard in Lahore. In 1615 A.D., Sir Thomas Roe, a prominent scholar came to India from Britain. He met the Emperor Jehangir and remained in his court for three years. The Emperor also gave the trade facilities to Christians. By that time the number of Christians in Lahore was in thousands (Saldana, 2011).

The period of Shah Jehan was not as good for the Christians as that of Akbar or Jehangir. Shah Jehan did not allow the Christian Fathers to continue their missionary work. In order to stop preaching of Christianity he ordered so many churches to be destroyed. In 1632, he ordered the Lahore Church to be destroyed and there is no information about it after that (Maclagan, 1932).

The Emperor, Aurangzeb, was a conservative Muslim. He did not allow the establishment of Christian or other non-Islamic educational institutions throughout the sub-continent. But, at the same time it was decided that the ancient temples or worship places of the non-Muslim should not be overthrown. He was tolerant about the non-Muslims. Several educational institutions run by the Christians or the Hindus were also demolished during his reign. But only those institutions or temples were ordered to demolish which had been erected on
the destruction of the mosques and which had been the centers of sedition and political intrigues (Ali, 1979). The Christians, on the other hand, claim that several Christian missionaries were charged by him that they were converting the Muslim children to Christianity. That was why the Christian preachers had to close their mission and go back to Goa (Saldana, 2011).

A large number of the Christian missionaries came to India after the establishment of the British rule. Apart from preaching these missionaries also provided educational and medical facilities to the local population. Many educational institutions and hospitals were established all over India. As a result of these developments, the local people started to embrace Christianity (Ali, 1979).

The British Forces occupied Punjab completely in 1848. In order to establish good governance in India, they established cantonments, civil lines, schools, railway stations and parks, etc. Apart from this, many churches were also established in different parts i.e. Peshawar in 1848, Rawalpindi in 1853, Murree in 1867, Nowshera in 1872 and Quetta in 1870. Many foreigner missionaries were invited from abroad to fulfill religious requirements of the newly-converted Christian families. The Italian Chaplains were called for the Punjab and the NWFP. Fathers of Carmelites and Jesuits were called for the Sindh and Balochistan. One French priest was called for Peshawar. Meanwhile, Sisters were also invited from abroad to educate the children. Jesus and Mary Sisters came first of all and they established a school at Sialkot in 1856 (Saldana, 2011).

In 1947, at the time of the partition of the sub-continent, the Christians voted in favor of Pakistan and, afterwards, the government of Pakistan welcomed them with open arms. Since then, they have been playing a vital role in the political system of Pakistan. Lahore has been the centre of their activities like education, health and care, business and trade, etc. even before the birth of Pakistan. Here are some of the gifts from the Christians which the Pakistani nation in general and the people of Lahore in particular enjoy:

**Education**

Lahore has long been the centre for excellent education and many of the schools and colleges were formed by the Christian religious bodies. The Christians consider it their religious duty to educate the people. Teaching is a sacred profession for them. They teach the people with
religious fervor. That is why their role in the educational development is recognized by the society also. The Christians feel proud of their educational services.

The educational services of the Christians were started in Lahore in 1583 during the reign of Akbar, and the first Christian educational institution named as “Mission High School” was established in Lahore in 1849 (Daniel, 2005). At present, there are so many world-famous Christian educational institutions in Lahore which had been established by the Christians e.g. the Convent of Jesus & Mary, the Sacred Heart Cathedral High School, the St. Anthony High School, the Government College University, the Forman Christian College and the University of the Punjab, etc. These institutions have been playing a very active and significant role in the development of the country and, particularly, Lahore.

These institutions have imparted quality education without any type of prejudice or discrimination on the bases of religion, region, race or color. Special emphasis is laid on character-building. That is why the students of these institutions are disciplined, open-minded and have the religious tolerance.

Millions of students have completed their education in these institutions and many of them are prominent personalities of today and are serving the sacred homeland in various fields of life, among them are politicians, social reformers, leaders, scientists, teachers, professors, poets, doctors, writers, journalists, the human right activists, intellectuals, judges and lawyers, etc. For example, the founder of the nation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Imaginator of Pakistan, Allama Muhammad Iqbal and even the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, and the Chief Minister Punjab Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif and many other prominent personalities are old students of the Christian institutions.

**Health and Care**

The Christians are also very active in the field of health and care. These services have been spread over 200 years. Just after the establishment of Pakistan, when the refugees were coming to Pakistan through Wahga Border at Lahore, they needed food, shelter as well as medical facilities. The Christians of Lahore came forward and they established the relief camps for the help of the incoming refugees from India. Their role in the relief work is a glorious chapter in the history of Pakistan. The Catholic Sisters and Fathers also provided medicine, food
and other relief to the refugees. Today, the Christians are working in the fields of health and care. This work can be classified as the Christian Hospitals and Dispensaries, Mobile Clinics, Free Medical Camps, Free Eye Camps and other medical services.

These medical institutions of the Christians performed services not only in normal days but also during the emergency and the calamity. The United Christian Hospital was established with the establishment of Pakistan. The refugees were coming to Pakistan from India. They were helpless and needed food and shelter. At that time, many refugee camps were established by the UCH at Lahore near Wahga Border. This hospital has a long history of serving the ailing humanity not only of Lahore but the whole nation. Patients are treated here without any type of discrimination on the bases of caste, color or creed.

Pakistan’s first close heart surgery was performed by a Christian doctor, Dr. Donald Bose in 1959 at the UCH, Lahore. Again, Pakistan’s first open heart surgery was also performed in the same hospital (Zafar, 2007). So many Christian dispensaries, training institutions and nursing schools are working in Pakistan. These medical institutions are rendering valuable services in various medical fields and are also providing training facilities to junior doctors, nurses, laboratories technicians, X-rays personnel and mid-wives, etc.

All the churches also have the emergency medical centers which are called mobile clinics. These clinics provide free medical facilities not only in daily routine life but also play a significant role during the emergency like flood, earth-quake, war and epidemics, etc. Free medical camps are also organized by the Christian Medical Organizations and institutions. These camps are organized for different diseases. These camps are also very useful and helpful in emergency. These camps are organized usually in remote areas where the people are poor, and they do not have access to big hospitals.

**Business and Trade**

Though a very few Christian business men are present in Lahore, but their role is very important in the commerce of the city. Though very small in number, but the Christians are seen dealing in every type of business in Lahore i.e. from an ice cream vendor or fruit seller to a company owner providing jobs to other members of the community. They claim to have worked
with the former rulers of the sub-continent and have a better training of running the commerce of the country.

There are so many well-reputed schools and other institutions possessed by the Christian owners. These institutions are earning a reasonable profit as well as producing useful members of the society. It is worth-mentioning that most of the railway engineers are still recruited from the Christian Community. The Christians are seen in almost every government sector from income tax and customs to the municipal offices, from police to judiciary, and from art to media.

Though the majority of the Christians are living in poverty, yet there are families who live in fine houses, run their cars and belong to their club. They are social people and like to meet one another, to make music and to dance and to discuss the day’s doings and the world in general.

Art and Music

The Christians of Lahore have a great love for music and many are excellent performers either on musical instruments or with their voices. Lahore has produced a number of Christian singers and musicians who have earned a good name not only for Lahore but also for the country.

Sports

The Christians are good and enthusiastic sportsmen. They take part in almost every sport. They are excellent in tennis, swimming, cricket, and in many other games. Lahore has produced so many international players of cricket, football and athletics. Sports and games are the activities which are very essential for the health of the youth of a nation. The Christians are very well aware of it. That is why in the Christian Community, a special attention is given to sports and games.

Social and Religious Activities

In Lahore, there are various Christian societies for the promotion of the Christian knowledge. “The Bible Society” in Lahore is one of these societies. It publishes the Holy Bible
in, practically, every known language. It is published in Lahore but in every regional language of Pakistan.

Then, there are the YMCA (Young Men’s Christian Association) and the YWCA (Young Women Christian Association). These associations have been established especially for the service of youth in general and students in particular. “The Church Union” is also a very significant movement which forms a liaison between the various sectors of faith. Although the majority of Christians in Lahore are Roman Catholic, but there will be found in Lahore at least one Church of every major sect of the Christian Faith i.e. the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Methodist Church, and the Presbyterian Church.

The Christians of Lahore have their legacy of serving not only their own community but also the people of their sacred homeland as a whole. They voted for Pakistan at the time of partition of the sub-continent and have been working side by side with the Muslims for the betterment of the society and the development of the beloved homeland.

**Christians in Politics**

The Christians are also very active in the field of politics. There are many political parties of the Christians, such as, Masihi Awami Party (MAP), The World Minorities Alliance (WMA), All Parties Minorities Alliance (APMA), Pakistan National Christian Party (PNCP) and Pakistan Minorities Front (PMF), etc. The Christians of the sub-continent also played a very decisive role in the Pakistan Movement.

**The Role of the Christians in the Freedom Movement**

After about 150 years, under the British Rule, the freedom movements started flourishing in the sub-continent. If studied warily, the history of the freedom movement in India shows that the Christians played a very significant role in the process of the political socialization in India. The British Christians were, directly, the part of the British political system whereas the western education of the native Indians gave them awareness of the concept and practice of the parliamentary democracy.

The British government introduced its own system of education in India on the western pattern. The modern concepts of liberty, equality, nationalism and, above all, the concept of
democracy, all were introduced in India with the spread of the western education in India. These concepts had direct effect on the social, political and religious life of the Indians. All this had happened only because of the modern education which was introduced and administered by the Christians. It was the beginning of the journey towards political consciousness in India (Daniel, 2005).

The educational institutions run by the Indian Christians played a very important role in creating political awareness and in the political training of the majority of renowned leaders of the freedom movement. These institutions not only provided for education but also a sufficient political training to the people who were connected to the freedom movement, for example, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan received education in a Christian institution and, later on, devoted all his life to provide education to the Indians. The founder of the nation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, received his early education at C.M.S. Mission High School, Karachi (Mehmood, 2014). The Imaginato of Pakistan, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, received his education in the Scott Mission High School and Murray College, Sialkot, and after that he studied in the Government College, Lahore (now Government College University, Lahore) under the supervision of a Christian Professor, Thomas Arnold (Ikram, 2014). The other prominent Christian Institution of that time included Bandera Convent School Bombay, St. Stephen College, Delhi, Gordon College Rawalpindi, F.C. College Lahore, Kinnaird College for Women Lahore, and Edwards College Peshawar (Zafar, 2007).

The Christians and the Birth of the ‘Indian National Congress’

The British got complete control of India after the war of independence in 1857. The British needed help of the native Indians to run smoothly the affairs of the government. On the other hand, the Indian youth was also demanding for participation in the affairs of the country. This problem was overcome with the establishment of the first political party of India namely the ‘Indian National Congress’ in 1885. The object of the Congress was to press for the introduction of the democratic institution into the country (Ali, 1979).

The credit of establishing the party went to a British Christian, Allen Octaviam Hume. Moreover, a Bengali Christian, Mr. Banerjee, was made its first President. It is worth-noting that the Christians had a leading role in the establishment and nourishment of the All Indian National
Congress. The Indian National Congress projected itself to be a secular party and its slogan of secularism attracted the youth from all the religious communities (Ali, 1993). Even the great Muslim leaders including Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Maulana Abu Al Qalam Azad and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan joined the Indian National Congress.

The Establishment of ‘All India Muslim League’

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had advised the Muslims to stay aloof from the Indian National Congress (INC) because he wanted the Muslims to first give attention to their education (Mujahid, 2001). In 1906, the time came when the Muslims of the sub-continent thought of establishing a party of their own to protect their interests in India. So, a political party ‘All India Muslim League’ (AIML) was established in 1906 to represent and safeguard the interest of the Muslims of India (The Times, 1907). The Muslims started their struggle for the protection of their rights at the platform of All India Muslim League. A renowned Christian professor Eric Siperian, with a view to raise voice for the rights and well being of labourers and peasants, worked with the Communist Party of India (CPI). The political consciousness among the Muslims and the Christians arose to their own entities having separate political platforms (Zafar, 2007).

Christian Representation under the Government of India Act, 1919

Three seats were reserved for the Christians in the Punjab Legislative Assembly in the Government of India Act, 1919 and the members nominated against these seats were Dr. W.C.A. Overman (European), W.R. Mafferson (Anglo-Indian), and K.L. Ralia Ram (Indian). They worked very enthusiastically and actively to safeguard the rights of the minorities in India (Zafar, 2007).

Nehru Report and Response of the Minorities including the Christians

In 1927, the British Government, with a view to introduce some constitutional changes in India, appointed a commission headed by Sir John Simon to inquire into the working and future of the constitution. All the members of the commission belonged to the British Parliament. No Indian was nominated as the member of the commission. It created a wave of unrest in India. Muhammad Ali Jinnah issued a press statement on behalf of the various political parties
emphasizing that the exclusion of the Indian representatives was a political blunder on the part of the British Government.

When the political parties protested against it, the then Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead, remarked ironically that nobody among the Indians could claim to represent all the communities of India. In response, all parties conference was convened by the Indian National Congress in 1928 to deliberate on the future constitution of India. This conference appointed a committee headed by Moti Lal Nehru, with a view to design a constitutional formula which could be acceptable to all the communities of India.

The report, presented by this committee, was given the name of ‘Nehru Report’. According to this report, the Hindus were given so much importance and it was accepted in the report that being in majority they could dominate all the other communities of India. The report was not acceptable to the Muslims; so they rejected it under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. The Christians’ political party, ‘All Indian Christian Conference’, also rejected this report along with other minorities, to express their disbelief in the Hindu leadership and to support the stance of the Quaid (Qureshi, 1965).

**The Round Table Conference**

Nehru Report was rejected by the minorities and, in its response; Quaid-i-Azam presented his famous fourteen points in 1929. Simon Report was published in May 1930. The Indian political parties reacted to it differently. The Indian National Congress launched a ‘civil disobedience movement’. The Muslims reserved their judgment, knowing that the Report’s recommendations were not final and that the matters would be finally decided at the Round Table Conference.

Three sessions of the conference were held. The Congress boycotted the first session. In the second session, Gandhi also participated and claimed to be the sole representative of the Indians because all the other participants were nominated by the government. The issue of the minorities came under discussion in the second round of the conference. Gandhi insisted on India being treated as a single nation and all other questions being discussed and decided in the light of this assumption. But it was not acceptable to the minorities.
Disappointed by the attitude of Gandhi and other Hindu leaders, all the minorities under the leadership of Sir Agha Khan signed an “Agreement of Minorities”, the Christians were a part of this agreement, but the Sikhs were not a part of it. This agreement was signed by Aga Khan (Muslims), Dr. Ambedkar (Depressed Classes), Rao Bahadur Pannir Selvan (Indian Christian), Sir Henry Gidney (Anglo-Indian), and Sir Hubert Carr (European). This proof is more than enough to show the Christians’ support for the disposition of the Muslims in the course of the history of the freedom movement (Ahmad, 1968).

The Elections of 1937 under the Government of India Act, 1935

In 1937, elections were held in India under Government of India Act, 1935. In these elections, the Muslim League won 102 seats while the Congress succeeded to win 26 seats out of 482 reserved for the Muslims. The Congress won the majority of seats and formed its government in eighteen provinces. It was a dark period for the minorities in India (Qureshi, 1965).

In 1939, when the ‘Congress Ministries’ resigned to record their protest with respect to war policies of the British government and also to show their non-cooperation towards the war effort, it was a sigh of relief for all the minorities living in India including the Muslims as well as the Christians and the lower caste Hindus and Sikhs, etc. The “Salvation Day” was celebrated by the Muslims on the call of the Quaid-e-Azam on 22nd December 1939 (A History of Pakistan Movement, 1970). A distinguished journalist of “Paisa Akhbar”, Maqbool Anwar Dadu, reported that not only the Muslims but the people belonging to other minority communities of India i.e. the Christians, the Parsees and the scheduled castes also participated in the celebrations of the Salvation Day (Francis, 1997).

The Participation of the Christians in the ‘Pakistan Resolution’ 1940

On the 23rd March 1940, many Christian leaders throughout India participated in the annual meeting of All India Muslim League, held at Minto Park (now Minar-e-Pakistan) Lahore. The Christian leaders like S.P. Singha, C.L. Sunder Dass commonly known as Chaudhry Chandu Lal, C.E. Gibbon, R.A. Gomes, S.S.S. Albert, Fazal Elahi, John Mathae, Alfred Parshad, F.E. Chaudhry and Raj Kumari Amrat Kaur were among the prominent participants of the meeting.
Due to their presence, when the Pakistan Resolution was adopted, the following words for the minorities were incorporated in the Resolution:

“The minorities will enjoy all the rights which have been set up by Islam”.

**The establishment of the All Indian Christian Association**

In 1942, when the Congress was demanding independence from the British Rule without the partition of the sub-continent while the Muslim League was working for the safeguard of the Muslim Community of India and demanding the partition of the sub-continent, the Christians also felt that they must have a political party of their own to protect the interests of the community. A prominent Christian leader, Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha, established the All Indian Christian Association (AICA) in 1942. It was established to protect the interests and fundamental rights of the Christians of the sub-continent. The All Indian Christian Association extended its unconditional co-operation to the Muslims in their struggle for the freedom of India (Zafar, 2007).

**The Christians’ struggle with the Muslim League for independence**

During the independence movement, the Christian Community completely supported the Muslims. Quaid-i-Azam as well as all the prominent Muslim leaders promised that in Pakistan all the minorities would have all the fundamental rights as guaranteed by Islam. The Christians were promised more privileges in Pakistan than India by the Congress. So, the All Indian Christian Association preferred to make agreement with the All India Muslim League. According to this agreement, the All India Christian Association struggled side by side with the All India Muslim League.

At the time of partition of India, the Christian Community of India was against the division of the province of the Punjab into two parts and they demanded that in spite of dividing, the whole of the Punjab should have been included in Pakistan. The Christian leaders warned that if the province was divided it would bring sufferings for its people and the result would be nothing but a crisis. Their demand was not heard by the government and it was announced that the fate of the province was to be decided by the Punjab Assembly.
To decide the future of the province, a session of the Punjab Assembly was held on 23rd June 1947. The then Speaker of the Punjab Assembly, Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha, chaired the session. The Unionist Party was in majority in the assembly while the votes of the minority community in the assembly were of great importance for the Muslim League because without their support they would not have been in a position to get Punjab. In these circumstances, the votes of the Christian members of the assembly got the importance of casting votes in the House. On the request of the Muslim leaders, the Christian members of the Assembly assured their full support to Quaid-i-Azam. As a result, all the Christian members of the Assembly voted in favor of Pakistan also for the inclusion of the Indian Punjab in Pakistan. Had the Christian members not voted in favor of Pakistan, the future of the province would have been different? The Sikhs were demanding the whole of Punjab and they were not happy with the situation. The Sikh community was not happy and expressing the sentiments of the Sikhs at this occasion Akali Dal leader, Tara Singh, raised a slogan:

“Who demands Pakistan would get Kabaristan (graveyard)”

Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha, a Christian leader, responded very courageously to this slogan in this way:

“Seenay pay golekhaien gay, Pakistan banaien gay (we would die for the establishment of Pakisan)”

According to some circles at the time of the partition, the British Government offered to the Christians the plan of a Christian State consisting of some Tehsils of the Punjab but the Christian leaders turned down this offer and voted for Pakistan. They had complete confidence and faith in Mr. Jinnah that would be the genuine protector of their rights and interests in Pakistan (Zafar, 2007).

The Christians’ Stand before the Boundary Commission

In the last days of the Pakistan Movement, the All India Muslim League started a campaign to attract the accompaniment of the minority communities for Pakistan under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. During this campaign, he also came to Lahore and had meetings with different minority parties. Mr. Jinnah held a meeting with a
Christian leader, Chandu Lal, and also with a Sikh leader, Gianni Kirtar Singh, to get support of these communities. His offer was turned down by the Sikh leader while the Christian leader, Chandu Lal, responding to the request of the Quaid, announced unequivocal support of the Christians in favor of Pakistan (Chaudhry, 1989).

When the Boundary Commission started its proceedings, the Christian leaders demanded that the Christian population of the Punjab should be included in the Muslim population during the process of demarcation of the Boundaries in the Punjab. Chaudhry Chandu Lal appeared before the commission as a lawyer for the Christian community.

C.E. Gibbon, a prominent Christian leader, appeared before the Boundary Commission and demanded that the Lahore city must be included in the Western Punjab. He also requested the commission to provide facilities for the transportation of all the Anglo-Indian Christians to Pakistan as they considered it to be their final destiny. The Christians of Lahore also expressed their grief over the ‘Red Cliff Award’ which was announced in August 1947. They thought it nothing but a tailored decision which was aimed to creating problems for Pakistan economy. It was also a step towards facilitating the Indian occupation of Kashmir. S.P. Singha strongly criticized the award saying that it was one-sided and the unfair division of the boundaries in which the principle of majority had been brutally crushed.

The Creation of Pakistan and the Status of Minorities

Pakistan was established on the ideology of Islam. Most of the population in Pakistan was Muslim, but the non-Muslim minorities were also present in Pakistan. They were anxious about their future. Quaid-i-Azam was fully aware of the fact that was why special attention was given to the minorities; in his first speech in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 11 August 1947. He ensured the non-Muslims that they were free to go to their temples or any other place of worship in Pakistan. He also made it sure that religion, caste, or creed would have nothing to do with the business of the state (Jinnah Speeches, 2013, p. 17).

He further added that;

“Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in the course of time the Hindus would cease to be the Hindus and the Muslims would cease to be the
Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as the citizens of the State” (Jinnah Speeches, 2013, p. 18).

Soon after the creation of Pakistan, the Constituent Assembly was given the task of framing the future constitution for the country; till then, Govt. of India Act, 1935 with some changes was declared as the working constitution of Pakistan. The first step towards it was taken in March 1949, when the “Objectives Resolution” was passed. It was considered as the foundation stone for the future constitution of the country. It also included the guarantee of the fundamental rights for all the citizens of Pakistan i.e. the Muslims as well as the non-Muslims.

According to this resolution, the minorities were free to profess and practice any religion and it was the duty of the government to protect their interests. They were allowed to enter into the government services of Pakistan. The Non-Muslims and even some Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly wanted Pakistan to be a secular state, but the constitutional foundation of the country was laid on the principles of Islam and the minorities were given all their fundamental rights, as guaranteed by Islam.

The most important feature of the “Objectives Resolution” was that it sought the base of the Constitution of Pakistan on the ideals of Islam. It included that the principles of equality, freedom, democracy, and social justice, should be observed in the constitution, as they had been enunciated in Islam.

All the citizens were guaranteed their fundamental rights. The Minorities were free to practice their religions and promote their culture. But some non-Muslim members of the Assembly were not satisfied, and they expressed their apprehensions about the Islamic nature of the political system of Pakistan. Birat Chandra Mandal, while expressing his views in the Assembly said;

“Individuals might have religion, but the state has no religion” (Khan, 2014, p. 60).

The “Objectives Resolution” was passed but the Hindu members of the Assembly, especially; Birat Chandra Mandal and Bhupendra Kumar Dutta strongly opposed the ‘Resolution’ with regard to its Islamic provisions. No Christian was the member of the Assembly
(National Assembly Profile), so there is no evidence of criticism or opposition of the ‘Resolution’ on the part of the Christians at the forum of the National Assembly.

The “Objectives Resolution” was the first step towards the formulation of the constitution. After the passage of this resolution in 1949, several committees were framed by the Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution on the basis of the principles laid down by the resolution. Among these committees, “The Basic Principles Committee”, was the most important. It consisted of twenty-four members and was headed by the Prime Minister. A committee on the “Fundamental Rights of the Citizens of Pakistan” and on “Matters relating to the Minorities” had been established by the Assembly in its inaugural session on 12 August 1947. The committee was divided into two sections; one was given the task to deal the Fundamental Rights while the other was to deal with the minority affairs. The interim report was presented in the Constituent Assembly in 1950 while the final report in 1952 by this committee” (Choudhury, 1969).

The “Objective Resolution” was passed by the Assembly, but the future constitution of the country was yet to be framed. In the light of the “Objectives Resolution”, the Basic Principles Committee presented the first draft constitution in September 1950. The people of the East Pakistan were not satisfied with the principle of representation proposed by the committee in the federal legislature, so the draft was severely criticized in the East Pakistan. As a result, the report was referred back to the Assembly for further considerations.

The second draft was presented to the Constituent Assembly by the Committee in December 1952. This time the report was not acceptable to the people of the Punjab because they did not like the idea of a single unit as well as the principle of representation in the federal legislature. This report was presented by the Prime Minister, Nazimuddin. His government was soon dismissed, and Muhammad Ali Bogra replaced him as the Prime Minister who seemed committed to surmount the constitutional stalemate. The issue of representation between the East and the West Pakistan in the federal legislature was resolved successfully. His formula is known as ‘Muhammad Ali Formula’. It was presented to the Assembly in October 1953 while adopted in October 1954.
In the meanwhile, the provincial election was held in the East Pakistan in March 1954 in which Jugto Front (an alliance of parties opposed to the ruling Muslim League) won the election with an overwhelming majority. In these elections, the Christians also participated, and some Christians were also elected to the Punjab Assembly. It gave birth to another serious crisis. They demanded that the present Constituent Assembly did not consist of true representatives of the people of Pakistan; so it should be dissolved and a new assembly consisting of true representatives of the people of Pakistan should be elected. The crisis became serious with every passing day. At last the Assembly was dissolved on 24 October 1954.

So, a new Constituent Assembly (consisting of 80 members of whom 11 seats were reserved for the non-Muslims) was elected indirectly by the members of the provincial legislatures. Of these 11 non-Muslim members, only one Christian C.E. Gibbon, from Lahore, was elected as the member of the National Assembly (National Assembly Data). The reason behind it was that the Christians did not have their political party. They were not politically organized and most of the prominent Christian leaders of that time had joined other political parties (Zafar, 2007). The Assembly first met on 7th July 1955 and immediately passed the Validation of Laws Act of 1955 which legitimized 38 Acts of the first Assembly. The Governor General, Iskandar Mirza, assented to these in October. This Assembly also succeeded in framing a constitution for the country in 1956. So, after nine years of the struggle, the First Constitution of Pakistan was implemented on 23rd March 1956, proclaimed Pakistan as an Islamic Republic as visualized by its founders (Khan, 2014).

**The Constitution of 1956**

This constitution was a lengthy and detailed constitution. It also included the fundamental human rights of the citizens (Muslims and non-Muslims) i.e. equality before law, the right to life and property, freedom of religion, speech, expression, association, occupation, and a peaceful assembly, the right to profess, practice and propagate any religion etc. under articles 5 to 18 (Constitution of Pakistan 1956).

**Abrogation of the Constitution**

Unfortunately, the first constitution of Pakistan which had been formulated after nine years of great struggle could not last for more than two and half years. The first general elections
to be held under it were repeatedly adjourned from one date to another, till it was abrogated by
the then President, Iskandar Mirza, on October 07, 1958 and Martial law was imposed in the
country by General Ayub Khan. It introduced a number of reforms in the country.

The Constitution of 1962

General Ayub Khan wanted to introduce a controlled and limited democracy, as he
believed that the Western style democracy did not suit Pakistan. Therefore, he introduced the
constitution of 1962. Under this constitution, the system of government was changed from
parliamentary to Presidential form of government while the fundamental rights of the citizens
were also guaranteed in the constitution.

Abrogation of the constitution

The system of government, introduced by Ayub Khan, was not based on the democratic
principle of political participation. It looked very smooth and stable outwardly, but it was hollow
from within. All the authority vested with the President and the people were not given the right
of political participation in the system. The anti-forces continued to gain strength and, at last, the
people stood up against the government. The stage was set, and all the opponents of the
government joined hands and also organized the people to stand against the government. Ayub
khan had to resign and, once again, the constitution was abrogated.

The Constitution of 1973

The third constitution for the country was formulated by the National Assembly and it
was enforced on 14th August 1973. According to this constitution, Islam has been declared as the
state religion. The fundamental rights of the citizens have been included in the constitution,
which are as follows:

The Rights of Equality

The constitution grants the equality of rights. This right is based upon the supremacy of
law. It means that the minorities living in Pakistan are also provided equal protection of law and
all are treated equally without any kind of discrimination. For example, on Friday February 17,
2012, the Lahore High Court granted custody of 11 years old girl, Amina Tarrar, to her non-
Muslim mother, ruling that a minor girl should live with her mother. The order was passed by Justice Manzoor Ahmad Malik on a petition filed by the French national Ingrid, Branden Burger, seeking the custody of her daughter, Amina, from her ex-husband Razzaq Tarrar, a resident of Phalia, Tehsil Mandi Bahauddin district (The Express Tribune, 2012).

All duly qualified citizens are eligible for the appointment to the service of the state, irrespective of religion, race, caste, sex, descent or place of birth. In the services of the state, a special quota is reserved for the non-Muslim citizens of Pakistan. That is why the non-Muslims are serving in almost every walk of life i.e. education, defense, judiciary, bureaucracy, etc. Zafar (2007) elaborates they are even given high ranking posts e.g. the first two Chiefs of Army Staff General Frank Walter Messervy and General Sir Douglas Gracy both were the non-Muslims.

The first three Vice Air Marshals of Pakistan Air Force were also non-Muslims. Another non-Muslim army officer Cecil Chaudhry played a very significant role in Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 and was awarded “Sitara Jurat” award as recognition of his valuable services.

So many non-Muslims are serving in judiciary also. Rana Bhagwandas, was raised to the post of the Chief Justice of Pakistan in 2007. Thousands of non-Muslims are working in education and health care departments. In fact, the first close heart surgery in Pakistan was carried out by a Christian doctor Dr. Donald Bose in 1959. The non-Muslims also get equal opportunities in the electronic media and some of them have won great honor for Pakistan. Some famous non-Muslim personalities are Shabnam, Dr. Durdana Butt, Neelo, Rachel Gill, Jia Ali, Sunita Marshall, Binita David etc.

The rights to life and personal liberty

This is the most cherished of all fundamental rights and is the basis of the ‘rule of law’. It means that a person cannot be deprived of his/her life or liberty except in accordance with the law i.e. no person can be arrested; detained or put under restraint except the law authorizes such an arrest or restriction. The minorities freely enjoy their right to life and personal liberty.

The rights to freedom

The minorities have the freedom of speech, expression, association, occupation, and a peaceful assembly. They can fully participate in the political system of Pakistan and have the
right to criticize the government. The “Pakistan Christian Post” is a Christian daily newspaper in which the Christian point of view about the policies of the government is presented without any type of fear.

So far as the right to freedom of association is concerned, the minorities are free to assemble peacefully in any part of the country. They also have the right to move freely all over the country and to reside in any part of the state. There are so many areas all over Pakistan and, even in the big cities of Pakistan; the non-Muslim communities have been residing freely and peacefully with the Muslims. Under the constitution, they have been guaranteed the freedom of conscience and the right to profess, practice, and propagate any religion, subject to the public order and morality.

The minorities are free to profess any religion. They are not forced to accept any type of religion. They are also free to build their worship places and perform their religious rituals freely. Even, the Muslims participate in their religious festivals. There are so many temples and churches in Pakistan. These worship places of the non-Muslims are respected by the Muslims, and even protected by the government.

The minorities are free to attend any educational institution and have the exemption from any kind of tax which could be used for the propagation of the religion other than one’s own. There are so many Christian educational institutions run by the Christians. Students get education of Christianity in these institutions. In Lahore, the Forman Christian College and University is run by the Christians and students from all over Pakistan come here for education. These Christian institutions are run freely without any interference from the government or any other segment of society.

There is never any incident of collection of money from the minorities for the propagation of religion other than their own. The minorities are also free to move or reside in any part of the country. Nobody has ever been denied residing in any part of the country on the basis of caste, color, creed or religion.
The right to property

The minorities have the freedom of acquisition and disposal of property. They can sale or purchase any property according to their own will. No person can be deprived of his property without an adequate compensation. No discrimination is shown to the sale or purchase of property from the non-Muslims.

The right to culture

The people residing in any part of the country have the right to preserve their culture. No one is discriminated on the basis of his culture. The Christians living in the Punjab and the Hindu community of Sindh have never been forced to leave their culture; instead, the Muslims and the non-Muslims respect each other’s cultures.

Social rights

All the minorities living in Pakistan have the protection of social rights. They are given an equal social status everywhere in the society.

When Pakistan came into being, so much propaganda had been made by its enemies about the future of the non-Muslims living in Pakistan. But the Muslims had bitter memories of the past in their minds when they had been maltreated in the sub-continent by the Hindu majority. Now, they did not want to treat the non-Muslims in the way the Muslims were treated in the united India before the partition. That was why the minorities in Pakistan were given all their fundamental rights in the constitution.

Along with these constitutional guarantees of the fundamental rights, practical steps were taken by the state and the society for the protection of these rights. As a result, the minorities are able to live their lives according to their religion and culture. Guarantee of the fundamental rights proved very helpful for the progress of the country, because the minorities are playing a very vital role in the national progress. Their contribution in every walk of life is visible. The non-Muslim politicians, philosophers, lawyers, judges, bureaucrats, doctors, engineers, teachers all are serving the sacred homeland only because they have the freedom of religion, speech, association, thought, profession etc.
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Chapter No. 4

The Role of the Christian Minority (of Lahore Division) in Politics

The political participation is the part and parcel of democracy. Broad participation in the process of decision-making is imperative for the proper functioning of a democratic government (Dahl 1971, 1998; Pateman, 1970). Even in democracy, which was present in its simplest form in Athens, it was founded on the general rule that all the citizens should have taken an active part in the decision-making and, at the same time, being eligible to the public office.

Nowadays, the political participation is not confined only to participation in elections i.e. contesting elections or to cast a vote in elections; rather it has taken various forms, such as, voting, participating in electoral campaigns, contacting government officials, attending protests or demonstrations, working with the community members for solving some problems faced by the community, working with the social welfare organizations, being active politically or contributing money to political causes (Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., & Brady, H., 1995).

Bourne (2010) is of the view that, in the present day world, the political participation has taken different forms i.e. a person can be a member of a political party or community-based organizations, he can play; can be very active within the cultural or leisure interactions, he can contact a local politician to express his concerns over different social issues, he may put forward his suggestions or ideas about the solution of different issues, he may sign a petition, all these activities are related to the political participation. It may take the worst form, such as, setting public buildings on fire, and even shooting at policemen during demonstrations, and riots.

The term political participation is most often being related to the political engagement on the part of the public or involvement of the public in the decision-making process. Munroe (2002) is of the view that the political participation is closely associated with the political rights of the people in a state. He explains that if the people are free to exercise their right to engage in political activities, the level of the political participation will be high. If the people are denied of their political rights, the political participation on the part of the people will be very low. Huntington and Nelson (1976) are of the view that the political participation refers to that activity of the citizens of a state which is designed to influence the decision-making of the government, whereas according to Verba et al. (1995) the political participation is a process
which provides an opportunity to the citizens of a democratic state to communicate information to the government officials about their concerns and preferences, and to put pressure on them to respond to their demands?

It shows that in a democratic form of government, the citizens have been guaranteed the freedom of expression, and they can freely express their views about the things happening around them in the political system, concerned with their own interests, in a way that the government should know this and respond.

The right of the political participation is useless in the presence of discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, color or religion i.e. if the citizens belonging to different minority groups are discriminated; they usually are denied enjoying the right of the political participation with all the other members of the society, on the basis of equality. The International Covenant, the European Convention on Human Rights as well as UN Declaration on Minorities; all grant the right of the political participation to all the citizens of a state without any type of discrimination on grounds of race, language, national origin or other status (Article 25, & Article 15). The inclusion of the minority groups in the national stream is also very important.

For the minorities, the use of the right of the political participation does not mean to seek power and authority over the majority, but in this way, they try to maintain their separate identity and help the state to achieve national goals. The participation of the national minorities in public life is an essential element of a peaceful and democratic society. Experience in many developed countries of the world like Europe has shown that the governments of these countries have made special arrangements to promote the participation of the minorities in the political system (Wheatley, 2002 A).

The parliament of a modern democratic state must have representation of all segments of the society and the power of expressing the will of the people must be allocated to it. Moreover, it must have the authority to have a check on the actions of the government (Inter-Parliamentary Union’s Universal Declaration on Democracy, 1997).

The international law does not grant any right of autonomy to the minorities. The minority rights in international instruments do not include autonomy for the minority groups. However, measures may be taken in a political system to safeguard the cultural security of the minority group. In this respect, they might be provided funds for cultural activities, they might be
issued license to run a television or radio channel of the minority group, or any minority language may be given the status of the official language of the state.

The minority groups may also be given the right to decide about the curriculum for those schools in which a majority of students belong to this group, because education, culture, and the minority language are very essential and have a direct effect on the cultural autonomy (Wheatley, 2002 A).

**The Models of Minority Political Participation**

Most often, to explain the factors responsible for variations in rates of the political participation in minority groups, the socioeconomic status model is regarded as the primary factor (Verba, 1995). However, this is not the only model for participation; instead a wide range of theories has been presented by the scholars in this regard, beyond that of socio-economic status. Several models have been presented by different scholars to explain the political behavior of the masses as well as the minority groups in different parts of the world. Some of these theories are discussed below in order to have a clear concept of the political participation of minority groups in a political system.

**Socio-economic Status**

The socio-economic status model (SES) was first elucidated by Verba and Nie (1972) as an explanation of the mass political behavior. According to this model, the individuals having more socio-economic resources e.g., education and income, are more likely to participate more actively in the political system. It has been proved in the later studies that unlikely the people of lower status, the educated people belonging to higher class with high levels of income, and occupational status are more active to cast vote, more active to join organizations, and they have the tendency to campaign more actively in a political system (Conway 1991; Verba et al. 1993, 1995)

**Psychological Resources**

The SES model suggests that individuals with a high level of education or income participate more actively in the political system, but there are evidences of decrease in the level of participation in some countries of the world, as the level of education or income increased in the masses. The critics of this model say that the social norms, expected benefits as well as the psychological behavior of an individual are also very important factors which must be considered with respect to the political participation in a political system. Psychological
orientations of an individual e.g. his political interest as well as the political efficacy, trust in government, and civic duty play a very important role in the political participation (Conway, 1991). An individual (no matter what the level of his qualification or income is ) will participate more actively if he believes that it will bring him benefits. If he believes that participation in a political system will not bring any benefit to him or the society, he will probably not participate actively.

**Social Connectedness**

While living in a society, a man develops relationship with the society, this relationship may be positive or negative i.e. he may choose the way of connectedness or isolation. This attitude of connectedness or isolation from the society has a direct effect on the political participation of individuals i.e. connectedness with the society leads to active political participation, on the other hand, isolation from the society results in decrease in the political participation in a political system. Various studies about the political participation in the US political system have confirmed that there is a continuous decline in the political participation, on the part of the citizens, over the past twenty years. This decline is the result of the lack of connectedness between individual citizens as well as between the larger political and social community (Leighley & Vedlitz, 1999 A).

According to the Scholars of Social Connectedness Theory, Organizational involvement, church attendance, home ownership, and marital status are the indicators of social connectedness. Many studies about the political participation in the US political system suggest that for minorities, more significant resources are ethnicity-based institutions than connectedness with the whole of the community. This conclusion is very much consistent with the critical role played by the black church for mobilizing the black political participation in the U.S.A. (Harris 1994; Vedlitz, Alston, and Pinkele 1980; Verba et al., 1993).

**Group Identity or Consciousness**

Research in political science and other social sciences has also verified that the group identity is also an important factor which influences the political behavior of an individual (Hardy-Fanta, 1993). The group consciousness model of the political participation seems possibly to be more relevant as an explanation of the minority behavior. It suggests that minorities participate in the political system more actively only because of group consciousness.
The people with a higher level of group consciousness take an active part in the political activity e.g. in the US; the blacks participate more actively than the whites. Wilcox and Gomez (1990) conclude that an active participation of the blacks in the US political system is only because of group identity and group consciousness. However, group identity is not always linked with the political participation when estimated separately for other ethnic groups (Lien 1994; Uhlaner, Cain, and Kiewiet, 1989). So, in some places group identity may be a factor affecting political participation, while in some other place, it may not be.

**The Group Conflict**

This theory accentuates that individuals as well as their groups always had relations with other groups (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). These inter-group connections may create tension or conflict between the individuals or groups, either over the division of limited resources, the use of the political authority, or the basic cultural values, like religion (Sherif, 1961).

The group conflict theory suggests that a competition exists between different groups living within a society over insufficient resources, in-group identification, and out-group enmity; all these things are revealed in the social, political, and economic behaviors of the individuals. Consistent with group conflict theory, Blalock (1967) explains that if there is an increase in the percentage of any minority group at any place, it may result in an increase in discrimination against this group on account of a heightened perceived competition and an increased power threat on the part of the majority group. More recently, in their studies, Giles and his colleagues discovered that as the perception of threat to the majority group increases from a minority group at any place, the members of the dominant group become more conscious to safeguard their interests (Giles and Evans, 1985, 1986).

All these models stated above have a relevancy to the political participation. Socio-economic status, education, profession, business, psychological behavior, personal interest, group connectedness and group consciousness, all have a role in the political participation in some or the other way. But the case of Pakistan is different, because it was established on the basis of the Islamic ideology by the Muslims of the sub-continent which were under domination of the Hindus. They demanded a partition of the sub-continent purely on the religious basis, as they wanted to live their lives according to the teachings of Islam which was not possible under the Hindu domination. During the British Rule, they demanded a separate electorate for themselves. They had apprehensions that in the British scheme of representative rule, they would
be reduced to the status of a permanent minority and, as a result, they would not get their due share in the elected assemblies. That was why after the partition they are having the bitter experience of the minority life also suggested a system of a separate electorate for the minorities in Pakistan so that minorities could participate actively in the political system of Pakistan, but most of the leaders belonging to the minority groups opposed this idea.

The issue of representation could not be resolved in 1956 Constitution of Pakistan. The issue was left to be decided by the provincial assemblies of both provinces i.e. the East Pakistan and the West Pakistan. So, the East Pakistan opted for a joint electorate while the West Pakistan chose a separate electorate. Later on, in April 1958, it was decided that a joint electorate would be adopted as a mode of election for the whole country. Unfortunately, no election was held under 1956 Constitution and in 1958 General Ayub Khan, the then Army Chief, imposed Martial Law in the country.

The Constitution of Pakistan 1962 formulated under the supervision of Ayub Khan also retained the joint electorate as the mode of election and elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies were held under the joint electorate system during Ayub reign. After wards, in 1970 and 1977 elections were also held under this system. But in 1985, the basic law of the country was amended by General Zia and the separate electorate was revived in the country. Later on, General Musharraf altered the scheme of representation in 2002 and it was validated under 17th amendment of 2003. Under this amendment, the system of the joint electorate was once again revived in the country and, afterwards, general elections of 2002, 2008 and 2013 were held under the joint electorate system.

In 1956 and 1962 Constitutions, no seats were reserved for the minorities and for the first time in Pakistan seats were reserved for religious minorities in 1975 when 4th amendment was made in the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan. According to this amendment, 6 seats were reserved for minorities in the National Assembly. But these seats were increased to 10 during Zia period. Under the 13th amendment to the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan the National Assembly was to comprise 272 general seats (open to contest by the Muslims and the non-Muslims alike) and 60 women, while 10 seats reserved for minorities (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Report).

At present, the minorities in Pakistan are free to participate actively in the political system of Pakistan. They can participate in the election as voters as well as contenders, work in and contribute to the electoral campaigns and organizations, contact government officials, attend
protests, marches, or demonstrations, and above all, they are free to work with others to solve their community problems.

The Participation of the Christians in Elections (as Voters as well as Contenders)

Before the Partition, the Christians were very small in number, but they were well-disciplined and well-organized. The Christian community included the British, the Anglo-Indians, and the native Christians. After 1945, most of the British returned to their native land. Many Anglo-Indians also decided to leave India and migrate to England. But the Christians who were given key posts in different government departments, like the civil service, security forces, the banks, the police, the railways and telegraph departments, the medical and postal services, the education, and the press opted to stay in India. Thomas Poth’am (a Christian) was the editor of the Dawn Newspaper in Delhi. The Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah requested him to come to Pakistan and join ‘The Dawn’ here in Karachi. He gave a positive response to the Quaid and showed his willingness to transfer to Karachi and worked with this newspaper for several years. At the time of the partition, so many Christians had been employed in various departments. In spite of the shortage of machinery and man power, they did not lose heart and performed their duties very faithfully (Ahmed, 2002).

Above all, the greatest favor of the Christians for the Pakistanis was that when three Christian elected representatives of the Punjab Assembly voted in favor of Pakistan. To decide the future of the province, a voting was held and the votes in favor of the partition and against the partition were equal. The fate of the province was to be decided by the three votes of the Christians in the assembly, and on the voting day, 88 votes were cast in favor of India and 91 (three Christian vote inclusive) in favor of Pakistan. The Christian favored the Muslims and cast their votes in favor of Pakistan (Violence, Memories and Peace-Building, A Citizen Report on Minorities in India and Pakistan, South Asian Research and Source Centre (SARRC), Islamabad, 2006, pp. 139-140).

The Christian Representation in the Assembly (1947-1958)

In 1947, when Pakistan came into being, there were 69 members in the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan; of them no one was Christian to represent his community. In the Punjab Assembly; the total members were 103 of which 4 members were there to represent the Christians.
The Christian members in the first Constituent Assembly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mr. Fazl Ilahi (deputy speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>C.E. Gibbon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>S. P. Singha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>B. L. Ralia Ram</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.1  Source: National Assembly Profile

![The members of the First Constituent Assembly](image)

Fig: 4.1  Designed and made by researcher

In 1951, the government of India Act, 1935 was amended, and the election in Punjab was held in the same year on the basis of adult franchise. The total number of seats in the assembly was 193, which included the following Christian representatives.

The Christian members in the Punjab Assembly in 1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Chaudhry Chandu Lal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Ralia Ram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Fazal Elahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>S. P. Singha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>C. E. Gibbon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.2  Source: Punjab Assembly Profile
Afterward, Chaudhry Chandu Lal was elected the Deputy Speaker of the Punjab Assembly and C. E. Gibbon was elected as the deputy opposition leader (Performed functions of the Leader of Opposition during the absence of Mian Abdul Bari in the session held from 22/11/1954 to 11/12/1954 (Punjab Assembly profile).

In Dec. 1954, Governor General, Malik Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and promised to hold elections very soon. In 1955, the second Constituent Assembly was elected indirectly. The total number of seats was 72 and only one Christian member was elected in this assembly.

The Christian members in the second Constituent Assembly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>C. E. Gibbon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.3  Source: National Assembly Profile
The issue of representation became very serious in Pakistan and the Constituent Assembly was unable to solve this issue. At last, in order to overcome this problem, in 1955, it was decided to merge all the provinces and states of the West Pakistan in a single unit so that the seats of the National Assembly could be equally divided between the East and the West Pakistan. In this respect, on 14th October 1955, One Unit system was established in the West part under the West Pakistan Act 1955. Under this Act, the country was divided into two wings i.e. the East Pakistan, and the West Pakistan. In the West Pakistan, the Muslim League lost its grip on the political affairs because of the emergence of a new political party named as the ‘Republican Party’. Unfortunately, there was no political party of the Christians to represent their community and most of the Christian leaders joined the other political parties e.g. the Christian leader Joshua Fazal Din joined the Republican Party. In 1956, the election was held in the West Pakistan. The total number of seats in the assembly was 310 and 4 Christian members were elected to the Assembly:

**The Christian members in the Punjab Assembly in 1956**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Joshua Fazal Din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Chaudhri Chandu Lal Sundar Das</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>S. P. Singha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.4  
Source: Punjab Assembly Profile
Joshua Fazal Din was given the responsibilities of the Deputy Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs and Finance in the West Pakistan Cabinet (Punjab Assembly profile). No Christian political platform could be made in 1950s.


On 27th October 1958, Martial Law was imposed, and all the political activities were banned in the country. In 1962, a new constitution was promulgated in the country according to which the Presidential form of government was introduced. He also introduced the system of the ‘basic democracies’. Under this system a few Christians were elected as B.D. members, but no Christian was elected as the member of the National Assembly or the provincial assembly of the West Pakistan in 1962 elections (Punjab Assembly profile). The political condition of the Christians was not very good, because they did not seem very active, politically. So, some of the Christian leaders felt this fact very seriously and decided to unite the Christian Community on a single political platform. With this political objective, in 1964, a Christian political party ‘Pakistan Masihi League’ was established and Ch. Chandu Lal (Ex Deputy Speaker Punjab Assembly) was elected as its first President, but in 1965, the elections performance of Christian Community was also very poor, because no Christian member was elected to the assembly (Punjab Assembly profile).
In 1968, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto started a protest movement against Ayub Khan. The renowned Christian political and social workers of that time like Gulzar Chohan, Stephen Siraj-ud-Din, Isaac Sosheel, Yousif Pervez and Umar Hayat Umar joined the Misihi Majlis-e-Amal (a Christian political party) under the leadership of Emmanuel Zafar. The Christians also started a movement for the safeguard of the rights of the minorities in the country and the first time in the history of Pakistan, the Christians started protest rallies and public meetings for their political rights under the leadership of Emmanuel Zafar. The movement was started from Lahore and soon it was spread all over Punjab. Several Christian political parties like the Pakistan Misihi League, Convention Christian League, Christian Democratic Party, National Christian Council, and United Christian Front were established in the country during this period. Ayub Khan resigned and General Yahya Khan came to power on March 25, 1969. He declared the general election in the country, the transfer of power to the elected government as well as the formulation of a new constitution. An interim cabinet was formed wherein a Christian Jurist Justice A. R. Cornelius, the formerly Chief Justice of Pakistan, was included in the cabinet as the Federal Minister of Law and the Parliamentary Affairs. He was entrusted with the assignment of drafting a new constitution. He prepared the draft of the constitution, but it was rejected by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, on the basis that it was prepared by a non-Muslim. In order to strengthen the Christian Community of Lahore, the Masihi Majlis-e-Amal voluntarily united with the Pakistan Masihi League. Emmanuel Zafar and Gulzar Chohan, the two prominent Christian names, played a leading role in making the Pakistan Masihi League. As a result of their efforts, in early 1970s, the Pakistan Masihi League came out as the only representative party of the Christians (Zafar, 2007).

**The Christian Participation during 1970’s**

General elections announced by General Yahya Khan were held in December 1970. These elections were to be held on the basis of the joint electorate system. The Pakistan Masihi League (PML), claiming to be the sole representative of the Christians, was in favor of the separate electorate for the minorities in the country. So, the Pakistan Masihi League started a country-wide campaign to awaken the Christian Community against the joint electorate system. Several public meetings were held by the party all over the country in favor of the separate electorate. The Christians raised the slogan from the PML platform that if the separate electorate was not introduced in the country, the PML would not have any other option than to boycott the
general elections. H.L. Hayat, Emmanuel Zafar, Gulzar Chohan, Isaac Sosheel, Aziz Hamdam, Walter Z Haq and Professor Salamat Akhtar were among the prominent Christian leaders who demanded the separate electorate and made speeches in favor of the separate electorate at public meetings.

Later on, the PML leadership was divided on the issue whether to boycott the elections or not. One group, including Professor Salamat Akhtar (from Lahore), was of the view that the party must participate in the elections, whereas the other group, under the leadership of Emmanuel Zafar (also from Lahore), opposed the idea of participating in the elections. The party was divided into three factions and two groups participated in the general elections while one group under Emmanuel Zafar boycotted the elections. 33 Christian candidates contested the election on different constituencies of the national and provincial assemblies from the platform of PML (H. L. Hayat group), but all of them were miserably defeated.

In the general elections, the ‘Awami League’ of Sheikh Mujeeb-u-Rehman emerged as the single majority party in the National Assembly, but in the West Pakistan the ‘Pakistan People’s Party’ got the majority seats. The issue of transfer of power could not be solved peacefully and the country was divided into two pieces i.e. the East Pakistan became a sovereign state as Bangladesh in 1971. In Bangladesh, Mujeeb-u-Rehman established his government whereas in the West part which was now Pakistan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto got the power.

A new constitution was framed in the country and it was promulgated in 1973. Under the article 106 of the constitution, seats were reserved for religious minorities in the provinces while no seats were reserved in the National Assembly. Afterwards, in 1975, under the 4th amendment to the constitution, seats were reserved for minorities in the National Assembly. In the National Assembly, out of 150 seats, 6 seats were allocated to the religious minorities and six Christians became members of the assembly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>R.M. Andrews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Mr. Bashir Masihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Mr. Bahir Tahir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Mr. P.K. Shahani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 1977, the election was held in Pakistan in which the Pakistan People’s Party got the overwhelming majority but unfortunately, this assembly was dissolved only after four months of the election, because the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) blamed the government of rigging in the elections. The circumstances became severe day by day and at last, on 5th July 1977, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq imposed Martial Law in the country.

He promised to hold free and fair elections within 90 days, but this promise could not be fulfilled before 1985. He established his own government and the non-representative MAJLIS-E-SHOORA was introduced in the country; six Christians were also nominated in his MAJLIS-E-SHOORA.

**The Christian members in the MAJLIS-E-SHOORA during Zia period**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>H.L. Hayat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Professor Tresslar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Capt. Sana Ullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Lt. Col. (R) W. Herbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Dr. Stephen P. Lal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Francis X. Lobo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5: Source: National Assembly Profile

Table 4.6: Source: National Assembly Profile
The elections were held in 1985 through a Presidential Order on the non-party basis. Seats reserved for the minorities were also increased i.e. in the National Assembly 10, Punjab Assembly 8, NWFP 3, Sindh 9, and Baluchistan 3 seats were reserved for the minorities. Zia-ul-Haq wanted to establish the Islamic system of government in Pakistan; so, under his regime the system of a separate electorate was adopted in the country. The minorities were given the right to choose their representatives by direct vote. The PML, under the leadership of Emmanuel Zafar, had long been demanding for a separate electorate system for the minorities; so, they were very happy about this decision. Some of the Christian leaders are of the view that the introduction of the separate electorate in the country in 1985 was the fruit of a long struggle of the Christians who were demanding and struggling for the introduction of the separate electorate system (Zafar, 2007).

The Christians participated in the 1985 elections which were held on the non-party basis. Out of 237 members of the National Assembly, 4 were the Christians.

The Christian members in the National Assembly in 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mr. N.M. Khokhar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Capt. (R) Sana Ullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Lt. Col. (R) W. Herbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Mr. Emmanuel Zafar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.7  Source: National Assembly Profile
In the Punjab Assembly, 8 seats were reserved for the minorities of which 5 seats were reserved for the Christians. In the election, 5 Christian members were elected. The two seats reserved for other minorities (Sikh and Ahmadis) remained vacant due to the non-participation of these minorities. So, the Christians requested the Chief Election Commission of Pakistan to declare these seats as ‘General Seats for Minorities’ Women’ and proposed the ‘Electoral College’ for them the elected minorities of the assembly. The petition was granted, and the Christians succeeded in securing 2 more seats in the Punjab Assembly. Two Christian women were also elected to these seats. The Christian representatives in the Punjab Assembly in 1985 elections were as under:

**The Christian members in the Punjab Assembly in 1985**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mr. Peter John Sahotra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Chaudhry Naimat Masih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Babu Noor Masih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Mr. Peter Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Maj ® Victor Samuel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The assemblies elected in 1985 could not complete their tenure and were dissolved in 1988. In 1988, election was held and 4 Christians elected to the National Assembly were as under:

**The Christian members in the National Assembly in 1988**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Father Rufin Julius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Mr. George Clemet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Lt. Col. (R) W. Herbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Mr. J. Salik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.9 Source: National Assembly Profile
Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister of the country and she gave representation to the minorities in her cabinet i.e. Father Rufin Julius was inducted as the Minister of State of Parliamentary Affairs (National Assembly Profile).

The Christian members elected to the Punjab Assembly in this election were as under:

**The Christian members in the Punjab Assembly in 1988**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mr. Peter Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Begum Raj Hameed Gill (woman member)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Mr. Shamaun Kaiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Mr. Sharif Masih Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Maj ® Victor Samuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Dr. Sheila B. Charles (woman member)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Mr. QaiserIhraem Saroya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.10 Source: Punjab Assembly Profile
Unfortunately, this time again the parliament could not complete its tenure and the assemblies were dissolved before time in 1990. Election was held in 1990 and the Christians who succeeded in securing the National Assembly seats this time were:

**The Christian members in the National Assembly in 1990**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Father Rufin Julius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Mr. Peter John Sahotra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Mr. Tariq C. Qaiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Vacant post</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.11  
Source: National Assembly Profile
Mr. Peter John Sahotra was raised to the position of the Minister of State for the Minorities Affairs. According to the Profile of the National Assembly, one seat reserved for the Christian minorities remained vacant in 1990 election (National Assembly Profile). In the Punjab Assembly, the following members were elected in 1990.

### The Christian members in the Punjab Assembly in 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mr. Adil Ashraf Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Mr. Johnson Michael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Mr. Peter Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Mr. Qaiser Ifraeem Saroya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Begum Raj Hameed Gill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Punjab Assembly Profile

Table: 4.12
Mr. Adil Ashraf Gill was raised to the position of the Parliamentary Secretary S& GAD.

In 1993, again, election was held because of the dissolution of the assemblies by the then President of Pakistan. In this election, the following Christians were elected to the seats reserved for the Christian minority in the National Assembly of Pakistan.

**The Christian members in the National Assembly in 1993**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mr. J. Salik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Mr. Tariq C. Qaiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Mr. George Clemet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Bishop Rufin Julius</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.13  Source: National Assembly Profile
Mr. J. Salik became the Minister for Family Planning and Mr. George Clemet was nominated as the Parliamentary Secretary for foreign affairs. The Christian members of the Punjab Assembly in this election were as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mr. Johnson Michael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Mr. Peter Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Mr. Adil Ashraf Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Dr. Sheila B. Charles (woman member)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Begum Raj Hameed Gill (woman member)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.14 Source: Punjab Assembly Profile
Begum Raj Hameed Gill was assigned the duties of the Parliamentary Secretary of Information and Culture and Mr. Peter Gill was made the Parliamentary Secretary of Education. Unfortunately, this time again, the assemblies could not complete their tenure and were dissolved before time in 1997.

In 1997, election was held to the National as well as the provincial assemblies of Pakistan. In this election, 4 members elected to the National Assembly were:

**The Christian members in the National Assembly in 1997**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mr. Peter John Sahotra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Mr. Tariq C. Qaiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Mr. Simon Jacob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Bishop Rufin Julius</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.15  
Source: National Assembly Profile
The Christian members in the Punjab Assembly in 1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mr. Adil Sharif Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Mr. Johnson Michael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Mr. Peter Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Mr. Rustam C. Qaiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Begum Raj Hameed Gill (woman member)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.16  
Source: Punjab Assembly Profile
In October 1999, the elected government of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was overthrown by the then Army Chief, General Pervaiz Musharraf. He assumed the power as the Chief Executive of Pakistan. In order to smooth running of the business of the government, he appointed some ministers. In these ministers an old student of F.C. College, Lahore, (now upgraded as F.C. College, University, Lahore) Derrick Cyprian, was selected as a Federal Minister for the Minorities Affairs, Sports and Tourism. Mr. Derrick Cyprian was not a popular figure among the Christian community; so, he was soon replaced by Col. ® S.K. Tressler, who remained the Federal Minister till election 2002.

According to Mr. Tressler, it was he who advised the Musharraf Government to introduce the joint electorate system in the country (Zafar, 2007). So, acting upon his advice, the system of the separate electorate was abolished, and the joint electorate was introduced in 2002 while the minorities were given representation on the formula of ‘proportionate representation’ i.e. the Muslim majority parties were given the right to select any person for the seats reserved for the minorities in the National as well as the Provincial Assemblies. The minorities were not given the right to elect the representatives of their own choice.

In 2002, election was held in Pakistan on the basis of the joint electorate while the ‘proportionate representation’ formula was adopted for the minorities. In this election, five
Muslim political parties emerged as the biggest parties in the National Assembly i.e. Pakistan Muslim League(Q) PML(Q), Pakistan People’s Party (Parliamentarian) PPPP, Muthida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), Pakistan Muslim League (N) PML(N), and the Muthida Quami Movement (MQM). These political parties were given the right (in proportion to their strength in the Assembly) to select the member for the seats reserved for the minorities. Out of 10 seats reserved for the minorities, 5 Christians were selected as MNA’s.

The Christian members in the National Assembly in 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mr. Akram Masih Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Chaudhry Haroon Qaiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Professor Mushtaq Victor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Mr. Pervaiz Masih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Mrs. Asiya Nasir (Woman member)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.17  
Source: National Assembly Profile

Fig: 4.16  
Designed and made by researcher
In the Punjab Assembly, 8 seats were reserved for the minorities and all the seats were occupied by the Christians. The members selected on seats reserved for the minorities were as follows:

**The Christian members in the Punjab Assembly in 2002**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Engineer Shahzad Elahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Amir Joel Sahotra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Joseph Hakim Din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Joyce Rufin Julius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Mr. Kamran Michael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Mr. Naveed Ammer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Patrick Jacob Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Mr. Pervaiz Rafiq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.18  Source: Punjab Assembly Profile

The assemblies elected in 2002 completed their tenure and were expired in 2007. In 2008 election was held, and this time, the Christians who were selected as MNA’s were as under:
Christian members in the National Assembly in 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mr. Akram Masih Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Dr. Nelson Azeem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.19 Source: National Assembly Profile

The members of the National Assembly in 2008

![Bar chart showing the number of Christian members in the National Assembly in 2008](Fig: 4.18)

The Christian members in the Punjab Assembly in 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Engineer Shahzad Elahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Amir Joel Sahotra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Kamal Chugtai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Joyce Rufin Julius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Khalil Tahir Sindhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Tahir Naveed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Razia Joseph</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.20 Source: Punjab Assembly Profile
The assemblies elected in 2008 expired in 2013 and election was held in the same year. Members nominated for the assemblies were as under:

### The Christian members in the National Assembly in 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Tariq C Qaiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Khalil George</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Aasia Nasir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.21  Source: National Assembly Profile
The Christian members in the Punjab Assembly in 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Khalil Tahir Sindhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Shahzad Munshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Shakeel Ivan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Shunila Ruth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Tariq Masih Gill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Zulfiqar Ghouri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.22  
Source: Punjab Assembly Profile

Fig: 4.21  
Designed and made by researcher
The Christian MNA’s from 1947-2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Total Strength</th>
<th>Christian Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1947-1954</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1955-1958</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1962-1964</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1965-1969</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1972-1977</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>March 1977-July 1977</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>Data not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1985-1988</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1988-1990</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1990-1993</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1993-1996</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1997-1999</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2002-2007</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2008-2013</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2013-2018</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.23

Data Compiled by the researcher

Fig: 4.22

No. of the Christian MNA’s from 1947-2018
The Christian representatives in Punjab Assembly from 1947-2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Total Strength</th>
<th>Seats reserved for Minorities</th>
<th>Christian Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1947-1949</td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1951-1955</td>
<td>193</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1956-1958</td>
<td>310</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1962-1965</td>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1965-1969</td>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1977-1977</td>
<td>260</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1985-1988</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1988-1990</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1990-1993</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>1997-1999</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2002-2007</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2008-2013</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2013-2018</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.24

Fig: 4.23
NA-129 Lahore XII

At present, the National Assembly consists of 342 members of which 272 are directly elected by the people (60 seats have been reserved for women whereas 10 seats for the minorities, elections are not held on these seats; instead these seats are filled by nominations). The whole of the country has been divided into 272 constituencies. The constituency of NA-129 was the only constituency where two Christians contested election in 2013 election. About 90.5% of the population of this Lahore Constituency lives in the rural area spread across 88 hamlets and the remaining 9.5% live in urban areas.

According to the polling scheme of the Election Commission of Pakistan, NA-129 was divided into 223 polling stations. The total number of registered voters in the constituency was 267,070, up by 66,135 or by 32.9 percent over the 2008 figure of 200,935), of whom 102,175 were female voters. There were around 32,500 registered non-Muslim minority (mostly Christian) voters in this constituency. Two non-Muslim (Christian) candidates, Nasir Gill, nominated by MQM, and Pervaiz Masih (Pakistan National Democratic Party) were in the field.

Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif of PML-N won this seat with 94,007 votes while Muhammad Mansha Sindhu of PTI was the runner-up with 35,781 votes. The non-Muslim candidates, Pervaiz Masih and Nasir Gill, could secure only 191 and 50 votes, respectively, and lost their security deposits.

NA-129 comprises a large rural area surrounding Lahore. On one side, this constituency stretches from Ludhar Village to Laliani Town, including villages like Jaman, Lakhoki and Jathol that share their boundaries with the Indian Border and, on the other side; it includes Nishtar Colony, the Bank Stop and small villages located along the Ferozepur Road. Other important villages are Pandoki, Kahna and Attari.

This constituency has 13 union councils in all. Mayo, Jat, Rajput, Arain and Kumhar are major castes. 40% of the voters are either Jat or Mayo. In the previous election, the caste system and different interest groups had played the decisive roles. The religious faith of the main minority community is Christianity. The Union Council 142 (UC-142), comprising Youhanabad, Khaliq Nagar, Hamza Town, Dulu Kalan, Dulu Khurd, Asif Town No 1, Asif Town No 2 and Kankar, is the hub of the minority voters. A majority of the Christian population lives in
Youhanabad which is centrally located along Ferozepur Road between Gajomata on the left and Nishtar Colony on its right.

With a population of 150,000, Youhanabad is generally considered as the largest single Christian settlement in Pakistan. The Christian Community here is economically marginalized and works as day-laborers on farms, while some are employed in factories and at the Water and Sanitation Authority. Men and women, enthusiastically, participated in the electoral process and voted for their favorite candidates. The non-Muslim candidates were worried about the absence of their representatives in the legislative bodies. They believe that the non-Muslim candidates, elected in general elections, can highlight the real issues faced by the religious minorities. They think that the Christian candidates, nominated by the political parties for the reserved seats, are not the true representatives of the community.

In a pre-poll survey of the constituency, the political workers belonging to different political parties, were observed delivering hate speeches about such incidents as the riot in Lahore's Joseph Colony. In their electioneering rallies, no mainstream political party focused upon the rights of the religious minorities. There were complaints that a large number of men and women had not been registered as voters. The minority candidates told that though they solicited votes from their religious minority community on the basis of the belief, but in vain. They were of the view that voters cast their votes for parties and did not vote for the independent candidates.

All the major political parties were contesting this National Assembly Seat, with no less than 24 candidates in the field. Polling started on time at all polling stations. The HRCP team visited around 30 polling stations in this constituency and found that, on the whole, the polling process was going on smoothly. The polling staff deputed belonged mainly to the Education Department and included some minority members as well. Proper security measures were taken in view of the large number of minority communities’ voters. No unpleasant incident took place on the polling day.

All political parties were providing transport facilities to voters in vehicles bearing their party symbols. At some of the polling stations, visited by HRCP observers, the polling agents of the minority candidates were not present. Only candidates from major political parties had
appointed their polling agents. Due to errors in the electoral lists, a large number of minority voters were unable to cast their votes. Some residents of Youhanabad complained that their votes had been registered in distant localities and for that reason they stayed home.

At polling station 104 Govt. Middle School for Boys Dulu Khurd (Male) the polling time was extended by one hour. Most of the polling agents were not present at the time of vote counting. Many votes were rejected, as the polling staff was not properly trained, and the voters did not know how to stamp the ballot paper. At polling station 94 Nishtar Girls College, Nishtar Colony Ferozepur Road Lahore (Female), no polling agent could arrive on time. After the sealing of the ballot boxes, the signatures of the polling agents were not taken. Policemen were entering the polling booth off and on. At polling station 74 Lahore College of Technology and Management 18-Km Ferozepur Road Lahore (Male), the voters' bona fide was challenged and some were not provided with the ballot papers. The same was the situation with regard to the voters who wanted to tender their votes. Serious discrepancies were also noticed in the polling list. Candidates were providing potential voters free transportation (Report of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan).

According to the ECP, the result was as under:

**Result of the Elections held in NA-129 LAHORE XII in 2013**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name of Candidate</th>
<th>Vote Polled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Chaudhry Saleem Ali</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Allah DittaHeera</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Mureed Ali</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Tariq Shabbir</td>
<td>11,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Zulfiqar Khalid</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Muhammad Ejaz Awan</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Muhammad Abid Jalali</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Hafiz Haider Ali</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif</td>
<td>94,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Abid Hameed Khan Meo</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Muhammad Saeed Ahmad</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Votes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Muhammad Liaqat</td>
<td>1,203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Arshad Ali</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Afzaal Azeem Pahat</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Abdul Haq</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Pervaiz Masih</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Nasir Gill</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Muhammad Mansha</td>
<td>35,781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Hakim Ali Khan</td>
<td>990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Muhammad Nawaz</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Nadeem Iqbal Pahat</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Chaudhry Zahid Akram</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Muhammad Nawaz Awan</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Salah Ud Din</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

Pervaiz Masih, President Pakistan National Democratic Party, a non-Muslim (Christian) candidate from the constituency, told:

“I am really fed-up with the political parties because they are focusing on selection and not on direct election. Major political parties have already made up their minds and selected Christians as their candidates on the reserved seats for the Provincial and the National Assembly. As an independent candidate, I was fully aware that I would lose the election, but now I am satisfied that I decided to take part in the direct election. The issue is not winning or losing; my campaign is just a message to the so-called selected Christians, representing their non-democratic political parties.”

He further added that

“The Christian Community is not sincere with themselves. I contested elections only to represent my community. The religious clergy as well as the people from the Christian colonies promised to support me and cast their votes in my favor but election results were quite opposite to that. There are more than thirty thousand Christians in this constituency which include Bishops, teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, nurses, poets, social and political workers, educated and
uneducated people, but only 191 votes were polled in my favor. This result clearly shows that the Christians are not sincere to their community”.

The Christians’ Political Parties of Lahore

At present, there are 345 political parties, registered with the Election Commission of Pakistan. The political parties of the Christians registered with the ECP are as under:

The Christians’ Political Parties in Pakistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name of Party</th>
<th>President/Chairman/Chairperson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>All Pakistan Christian League</td>
<td>Prof Salamat Akhtar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>All Pakistan Ittehad League</td>
<td>Mr. Patras Masih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>All Pakistan Minorities Alliance</td>
<td>Dr. Paul Jacob Bhatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>All Pakistan Minority Movement</td>
<td>Moderator Bishop Ahser Kamran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Christian Progressive Movement</td>
<td>Mrs. Naila Dayal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Masih Awami Party</td>
<td>Emmanuel Zafar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Pakistan Mashihi League</td>
<td>Dr. John Jee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Pakistan National Democratic Party</td>
<td>Mr. Khadim Parvez Masih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Pakistan United Christian Movement</td>
<td>Albert David</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 4.26  
Source: Data compiled by the researcher

The World Minorities Alliance (WMA), All Pakistan Minorities Alliance (APMA), Pakistan National Christian Party (PNCP), Pakistan Minorities Front (PMF), and Christian Rabita Council (CRC) are also among the important political parties but these are not registered with the ECP. Masihi Awami Party (MAP), All Pakistan Ittehad League (APIL) and Pakistan National Democratic Party are Lahore-based political parties of the Christians.

All Pakistan Ittehad League

All Pakistan Ittehad League is a Lahore-based political party, established in 2015, by a Christian leader, Patras Barkat Masih. Mr. Patras Barkat is the Founder Chairman of the party. This party claims to represent all the communities living in Pakistan. That is why the senior leadership of the party also includes some Muslims not only from Lahore but also from all Punjab. The other senior party leadership includes:
Leadership of All Pakistan Ittehad League

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Designation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mr. Patras Masih (Lahore)</td>
<td>Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Mr. Ashraf Bhatti (Kasur)</td>
<td>Vice Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Mushtaq Gill (Lahore)</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Muhammad Hafeez (Lahore)</td>
<td>Senior Vice President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Imran (Mian Channoo)</td>
<td>Secretary General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Mr. Raheem Khawar (Kasur)</td>
<td>Information Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Mr. Ayrak John (Lahore)</td>
<td>Finance Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Mr. Aashiq Boota (Lahore)</td>
<td>Press Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Mr. Binyamin Najam (Liyyah)</td>
<td>Office Secretary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mr. Patras Masih is a young, active and enthusiastic politician. He was born in Lahore on 14-08-1981. He worked with the PML (Q) as the Senior Vice President (Minority Wing) Lahore, from 2001 to 2009. When General Pervaiz Musharraf established the All Pakistan Muslim League, Mr. Patras joined his party in 2009 as the General Secretary. Later, he was raised to the rank of the President Lahore and President Lahore Division. He worked with the All Pakistan Muslim League till 2015. In 2015, he thought of establishing his own party; so, All Pakistan Ittehad League was established and registered with the ECP on 02-11-2015.

The manifesto of the party is peace, justice and prosperity for all the communities of Pakistan in general and of Lahore in particular. The party is striving for the unity of all communities of Pakistan. There are about 15,000 registered members of this party from all over Pakistan. The strong holds of the party are Lahore and Kasur districts of the Lahore Division. According to the party sources Nishtar Town, Mehar Town, Youhanabad I, Youhanabad II, Hamza Town, and Asif Town in Lahore are the areas in which there are more than 30 thousand supporters of the party.

The party is very active in these areas. The party meetings are held in every Union Council of these areas regularly. Problems faced by the Christian community of these areas are discussed and the demands of people are presented to the concerned authorities. The party also
held a rally on 14-08-2017 in Lahore to celebrate the Independence Day of Pakistan and to show solidarity with the Kashmiris. About 1500 members of the party participated in this rally to show their love for the sacred homeland.

The leadership of the party is of the view that the Christian Community has a great love for justice and democracy. No doubt, they are very religious people, but they give priority to the state. Religion is important but, their preference is the state. The religious clergy has nothing to do with politics. They should only serve the religion and humanity.

The party is very active and working in almost every district of Pakistan. It has regional offices in almost all the big cities of Punjab. It is working hard for the election 2018. The party leadership is planning to contest election in every constituency of the National Assembly. In case they are not in position to contest on every seat of the National Assembly, at least, they will have their representative in almost every big city of Pakistan.

At present, NA-129 is the center of attention and the party is very hopeful to win this seat even if Shahbaz Sharif himself contests the election from this constituency. They are quite hopeful to give tough time to all the political opponents in this constituency. So far as the electoral system is concerned, the party is not satisfied with the present system of the joint electorate. They say that under this system, our representatives are selected; not elected. These are not the true representatives of the community. So, they do not bother to hi-light the issues of the community in the Assembly properly, because they are not elected by the people; instead they are selected by the majority party. The result is that they always try to please their party leadership in spite of working for their community. They are of the view that such an electoral system should be introduced in which the minorities will have the right to choose their representatives of their own will. Their representative should be elected, not selected (researcher’s own work).

The Pakistan National Democratic Party

The Pakistan National Democratic Party was established in 2012 by a Christian politician of Lahore, Mr. Khadim Pervaiz Bhatti. This party was registered with the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) on January 7, 2013 with the passion of patriotism. Mr. Khadim Pervaiz Bhatti
Mr. Khadim Pervaiz Bhatti was born on July 8, 1972 in Lahore. He got the primary education in his village Natt, but unfortunately, he could not complete his matriculation due to the domestic problems. He worked as a sanitary supervisor from 1984 to 2009 in the city district government, Lahore. Later on, he became the Chairman Punjab National Peace Committee (minority wing). He got political training from his father, Mr. Kala Masih. He was an active political worker of the Pakistan Peoples’ Party (PPP) and had the honor of meeting Mr. Z.A. Bhutto. Mr. Khadim got a chance to attend the political meetings and processions with his father. All these things gave him courage to do something for his community as well as his country. That was why he made his mind to establish a political party of his own. He participated in the general election of 2013 and contested election in NA-129 against Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif.

According to Mr. Bhatti, General Pervaiz Musharraf held a meeting with him and offered to contest election from his party platform, but Mr. Bhatti refused the offer because his community had assured him a complete co-operation in election. But in election, the Christian Community did not cast their votes in his favor and out of 32,000 Christian votes; only 191 votes were polled in his favor.

Mr. Khadim is very disheartened by the behavior of his community. There are only 300 registered members of this political party whereas the number of the Christians in this constituency is more than 30 thousand. The party is working to establish inter-faith harmony among the different communities of Pakistan. But it is not getting any support from the religious clergy.

The Masihi Awami Party

The Masihi Awami Party was actually established by the political workers of two Christian political parties, namely, the Azad Masihi League and the Pakistan Masihi League. Both these parties were split into different factions and the leadership thought that it was the need of the hour that the Christian Community must be united; so, all the factions of both the parties agreed to form a new political party. So, the Masihi Awami Party was established on 14th
of August 1947 in a joint meeting of the Azad Masihi League and the Pakistan Masihi League, convened at St. Francis School, Anarkali Lahore. Mr. Emmanuel Zafar was elected as the Founder President and Harish Massey as its first General Secretary.

Emmanuel Zafar is a seasoned politician and he played an active role to bring the Christian Community of Lahore on one platform. His services are not confined only to the people of Lahore, but during the days of Ayub Khan’s government, he used to visit throughout the country to bring the Christians closer together and motivate the youth to participate actively in the nation building programs. The agitations and protest rallies were started for the first time in Pakistan by the Christian Community for the safeguard of their fundamental rights under his leadership. In 1985, the elections were held on the basis of the separate electorate and he participated in elections and was elected as the member of the National Assembly. As an MNA, he tried his best to do whatever he could for the betterment of his community. As a result of his sincere efforts for his community, twelve new schools of the Christians were established, 200 community centers were opened and so many Christian villages were provided with the civic and basic facilities. He told that the construction of a 3 miles road from Sargodha Road to the National Marian Holy Mary Pilgrimage Shrine, Mariamabad, district Sheikhupura, now district Nankana, was purely the result of his efforts. This road has been given the name of Emmanuel Zafar Road after his name.

These are very prominent names of the Christian Community of Lahore. All the Christian political parties of Lahore claim that they are very active politically, but practically, the situation is different. In 2013 General Elections, only one Christian i.e. Khadim Pervaiz Masih contested election from the platform of the ‘Pakistan National Democratic Party’ in NA-129. The other Christian candidate contested elections from the platform of the MQM. We did not see any participation from the political parties of the Christians in Lahore in the general elections.

Political thinkers are of the view that political parties are very important for the proper functioning of democracy. Their role in the democratic political system is very important. Political parties organize the public opinion. They play a very vital role in unifying the people. During election, political parties pick up issues and mould the public opinion in a specific direction. Party tickets are given to workers to contest elections. After election, either they form government or become a part of the opposition. Anyhow, the political parties remain active
throughout the year. But this is not the case with the political parties of the Christians in Lahore. These are not playing their role actively. A survey about performance of the Christian political parties revealed that most of the Christians don’t know even the names of their political parties.

At the time of partition, the Christian members were present in assemblies, but after the partition during the early years of independence, the Christians did not have any political party to represent them. Even when the political parties were established they were divided on the issue of the electoral process i.e. some Christian leaders were in favor of the joint electorate while others demanded a separate electorate. So, they boycotted the elections.

Even when their demand of a separate electorate was fulfilled during Zia period, most of the Christians contested elections from the platform of the Muslim political parties. These members elected from the platform of the Muslim political parties, mostly followed the party guidelines and the community was ignored. No steps had been taken by them to uplift the community they represent in the assembly. The problems and issues of the community remained as they were. A general perception in the community began to develop that their representatives contest elections to make their own position strong and the community has no right or privileges in the system. They started losing interest in the system.

According to the Christian Community, the basic reason behind their lacking in the political participation is the electoral process. They are not satisfied with the electoral process. At first, the system of a separate electorate was introduced in the country which was not acceptable to them. They were separated from the national stream through this process. Now when it has been replaced with the joint electorate they have granted the right to choose their Muslim representatives, but they have no right to choose the representative of their own community. Instead, members of their community are nominated by the Muslim political parties. If any community is denied of electing representatives of their community, how you can expect that they will participate actively in the electoral process.

The present electoral system is the main cause of lack of their interest in the political activities. During the survey, majority of the Christians expressed their views that the current MNA’s belonging to minorities are not true representatives of the community. They are not elected by the votes of the community, but they are selected by the Muslim political parties. Most often, they are unknown names from the community. When they are selected, they
consume all their energies to please their leadership. They don’t come to their community and listen to their issues.

In the survey conducted during the research, when the people were asked the names of their MNA’s, about 90% of the people answered in ‘NO’. When asked why? The answer was almost same i.e. election is the process in which the candidates come to voters to convince them. They come to the voters to listen their issues. The voters vote for them, and afterwards, they remain in touch with their representative. In Pakistan, elections are not held on seats, reserved for the minorities. If election is not held, our representatives do not bother to come to us. That is why most of the time we are even unaware of the names of our representatives.

The minority members in the National Assembly as well as in the provincial assemblies are selected to represent their community. A Christian MNA in the National Assembly is the representative of all the Christians living in Pakistan or MPA is the representative of all the Christians living in his province. Physically, it is not possible for any member to meet the people all over Pakistan and address their issues. Most often, the minority members who are selected belong to big cities. They can only solve the issues of the people living in the nearby areas and the people of remote areas cannot get their attention. The result of all this exercise can be seen in lack of interest in politics on the part of the Christians. The Christian leadership is of the view that until we are given the right to choose our representatives, the interest of the Christian community for political participation cannot be developed.

Theories of political participation suggest that social status, education, profession, psychological behavior as well as the personal interest in politics -- all play their role in the political participation in a political system. In the case of the Pakistani Christians, we see that they are very active in the field of education and health and care, but in politics, they seem to be less active. Some of the Christian families in Lahore are well-educated and hold a high social status, but most of the Christians fall in a very low level of social status e.g. most of the religious minority groups work in sanitation and waste management departments. They are not well-educated; their income is very low; so their interest in the political participation also seems to be low.

In Pakistan, most of the people, belonging to religious minority groups, are employed in the Sanitation and Waste Management Departments. The majority of workers at Brick Kiln, farm labor and the domestic servants (women) are the non-Muslims, especially the Christians. The
Christian sweepers and sanitary workers are found in almost all the big cities of Pakistan; even in rural areas (Streefland, 1973). In spite of having their political parties, a low level of participation in the political system is attributed to lack of education, and poor social status.
References


Article 25 provides three distinct rights: 1) to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives; 2) to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors; and 3) to have access on general terms of equality, to public services in his country. See, also, Article 23(1), American Convention on Human Rights (1969); Article 13(1), African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (1981).

13 Article 2(2), UN Declaration on Minorities (1992): “Persons belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively in … public life”; Article 15, Framework Convention on National Minorities: “Parties shall create the conditions necessary for the effective participation of persons belonging to national minorities in cultural, social and economic life and in public affairs, in particular those affecting them”. See, also, the CSCE Copenhagen Document which provides that “participating States will respect the right of persons belonging to national minorities to effective participation in public affairs, including participation in the affairs relating to the protection and promotion of the identity of such minorities” (1990) 29 ILM 1318, para. 35.

Inter-Parliamentary Union’s Universal Declaration on Democracy: Adopted without a vote by the Inter-Parliamentary Council at its 161st session (Cairo, 16 September 1997), reprinted in Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights (2000) 127 para. 11. The IPU, established in 1889, is the world organization of parliaments of sovereign states. Over a hundred national parliaments are currently members.


Violence, Memories and Peace-Building, A Citizen Report on Minorities in India and Pakistan, South Asian Research and Source Centre (SARRC), Islamabad, 2006, pp. 139-140


Chapter No. 5

Health and Educational Services

The Christians of Lahore are also very active in health and care department. The specialization of the Christians in this department is due to their religious attachment to this field. They are the followers of Jesus Christ who had done a great job to cure the deceased. Jesus helped and cured the diseased in many ways i.e. sometime only uttering some words, sometimes employing some material, such as, spit or mud, etc. He had been bestowed with the miracle of healing the blinds and curing the lepers. He was even endowed with the miracle of resurrection of the dead. So, the Christians consider it their religious obligation to cure the ailing humanity. In the field of health and care, the services of the Christian Community of Lahore Division have a glorious history stretched over a long period of time.

At the time of establishment of Pakistan in 1947, millions of people migrated to Pakistan from India. They were in a state of helplessness and needed food and shelter. Feeling the need of the hour, the Christian Community of Lahore came forward and several relief camps were established for the help of the refugees. They played an important role in the relief work. The United Christian Hospital, popularly known as the UCH, also participated actively in this mission and so many camps were established under the supervision of the UCH management. Now, this institution has a long history of serving the sick and the injured. Catholic Sisters and Fathers also came forward and provided food, medicine and other relief to the refugees living in the relief camps (John Michael, Chief Administrative Officer UCH).

The Chairperson of the Red Cross, Begum Waqar-un- Nisa Noon, an Australian by birth, also helped in the rehabilitation of the refugees. She showed a great sympathy for the refugees coming from India. Being a social worker, she devoted herself to the rehabilitation of the people coming to Pakistan. Fr. Fidentian, a kind-hearted person having a great sympathy for the suffering humanity, was with her for the execution of this great job. He also worked day in and day out for the refugees.

At present, the Christian Community is rendering services in different fields of health and care and feels proud of it. As Ms. Aamina said that we, the Christians, are the golden heritage of Pakistan (Amina Naziayausaf, Health Consultant the Salvation Army). They are serving the
nation with the religious zeal to make the Pakistanis healthier so that they may take an active part in the nation-building affairs. Their medical services can be classified as under:

1. The Christian Hospitals and Dispensaries.
3. Free Medical/Eye Camps.
4. Other Services.

The Christian Hospitals and Dispensaries

The Christian hospitals are the most effective manifestation of the humanitarian services of the Christians. The doctors and paramedical staff of these institutions are serving the suffering humanity in the country with humanitarian and portative zeal. These institutions are well-equipped, and the latest technology is used to treat the patients. These institutions have been performing meritorious services for the last one century, particularly, since the establishment of Pakistan. They have rendered their services not only during the normal days but also during emergency and calamity i.e. war, floods, earthquake or terrorist attacks, etc. So many medical institutions are working in the Lahore Division and the most prominent among them are as follows:

Salvation Army, Lahore

Community Health Programme, the United Christian Hospital, Lahore

Our Lady of Joy Dispensary, Kasur

St. Mary’s Dispensary, Bhai Pheru

These Christian hospitals and dispensaries are run under an efficient administrative system. The Board of Directors consists of prominent experts and professional persons which is very beneficial to these hospitals to avail their skill and vast experience to serve the ailing humanity. Experienced doctors and qualified administrators chalk out plans for the efficient running of these institutions with a mutual consultation. They are not only responsible for chalking out plans but also for their implementation.
Apart from these services, these institutions also provide facilities to train doctors, midwives, X-ray technicians, laboratory technicians, paramedical workers and the clerical staff. These people, trained by the Christian institutions, are serving in different government, semi-government as well as private hospitals, dispensaries and clinics.

**Mobile Clinics**

Medical facilities are also provided by the churches in the form of mobile clinics. All the churches have emergency medical centers, established in a small room or some other place which is reserved for this purpose. These emergency medical centers are called mobile clinics. These clinics have been established to provide free medical facilities to the poor. These clinics also play a significant role during emergency like floods, earthquake, war and epidemics, etc.

These mobile clinics were established before the partition of the sub-continent by the missionaries who had a great passion to serve the humanity. During their missionary work, they used to visit affected areas with their First Aid bag and provided medical facilities to the poor patients. In those days, when there were no facilities of communication or transportation, it was a great blessing for the suffering humanity. The poor people living in remote areas did not have easy access to the hospitals in the big cities. Later on, in order to provide regular medical services to the people, dispensaries were established in remote areas of the country. Some of these dispensaries were established in churches. A room in the church was reserved for this purpose. People had an easy access to these dispensaries. The Sisters also participated in the implementation of the programme. They were also assigned the task to run these dispensaries in different areas of the country. This programme is a golden chapter in the history of medical services of the sub-continent (Zafar, 2007).

**Free Medical Camps**

Free medical camps are also organized by different Christian Medical Organizations and institutions and it is nothing less than a great blessing for the poor living in the Lahore Division. Most of the areas around the Lahore Division consist of villages and poor people belonging to these areas are deprived of proper medical facilities. There are no hospitals in these areas. Moreover, these people cannot come to big cities for the treatment of different diseases because of their financial problems. So, free medical camps are organized in these areas to diagnose
different diseases. These camps prove very helpful in creating awareness among the masses about different diseases. They are also helpful in emergency.

These camps are organized with an objective to provide free medical facilities to the poor patients, who have no access to the big hospitals. These camps are of great significance in the areas which don’t have hospitals or permanent dispensaries. These camps are organized regularly, especially, for the treatment of the leprosy patients, people suffering from Diabetes, T.B., and Asthma. Some of these camps also have the facility of operation. In these camps patients are not only diagnosed but also are operated upon. Serious patients are referred to the hospital where they are charged only 50% fee (Nursing Director of United Christian Hospital told the researcher during interview). These camps also provide free medicines to the patients. Eye camps established by the Christian Organizations mostly have the facility of operation. Every year hundreds of people get their eye sight restored in this way (Shabana Benjamin, Nursing Director UCH).

The Christian Hospital Association of Pakistan (CHAP)

The Christian Hospital Association of Pakistan (CHAP) has been established for assessing the performance of the Christian Medical Institutions. This association has its head office in Sialkot. This association provides advisory facilities to the Christian medical institutions and also assesses their performance. All the policies for the functioning of these institutions are formulated by the CHAP. All the Christian hospitals and dispensaries are the members of the CHAP. A general meeting of all the members of the CHAP is held every year. Annual report is presented by all the member hospitals, dispensaries, and organizations in this meeting. The problems and issues faced by the members of the CHAP are raised on its forum. Possible solutions to these problems are also discussed. The member organizations also try to improve their working in the light of these discussions.

Miss Shabana Benjamin told that this association is very useful for the Christian medical institutions. Recently, a conference regarding communication skills has been organized by the CHAP in the United Christian Hospital, Multan. In this conference, communication skills, necessary for the doctors, nurses, and paramedical staff have been discussed and we learnt a lot
in such type of workshops and conferences. At present, the CHAP management is busy to organize a conference at the United Christian Hospital, Taxila.

Other Services of the Christian Medical Institutions

The Christian hospitals are run on modern techniques. The doctors and paramedical staff of these institutions are highly-qualified and professionally well-trained. There services are not only confined to serving the ailing humanity but also, they are very actively contributing to the nation-building programmes. These institutions are striving to create a society free of prejudice and racial discrimination. Whenever the nation needed them, they were there to help the people. The Christian Community of Lahore has also earned a good name for Pakistan and tried to establish good relations with other nations of the world.

In the past, when some Asian countries were struck by ‘Tsunami’, many Christian organizations and other institutions came forward, collected donations to help the suffering humanity. The Christian doctors and nurses were also sent to the affected areas (Dr. Bhatti). The UCH, Lahore management told that our dream is a prosperous Pakistan and this dream cannot come true unless the people are healthy. As a healthy body has a sound mind and sound minds are a pre-requisite for the development of the country.

The United Christian Hospital (UCH), Lahore

The United Christian Hospital is the largest Christian hospital of the Lahore Division. It was established in the F.C. College building in the shape of a refugee camp in Lahore. It was established because sick and hurt people were entering Pakistan through the Wahga Border from India. You know, told Mr. John Michael, (Chief Administrator of the United Christian Hospital) that riots had been started and thousands of refugees were attacked on their way to Pakistan. These refugees needed medical treatment; so medical camps were established by the professors of the FC College while medical staff came from America on their request.

Two hostels of the FC College were vacated and devoted to this purpose. This hospital continued its services and the patients were increasing day by day. On the other hand, educational activities of the college started. This hospital needed more space to serve the ailing humanity. So, in 1962, 16-acre land was purchased near the Liberty Round About in Lahore and
the hospital was shifted to this building in 1964. All this became possible with the help of different churches. According to the hospital management, till the mid 1970’s, this hospital was at its full swing having nurses and doctors from abroad and was a great training hospital for the Christian Community.

All the prominent personalities including politicians, actors and lawyers used to visit this hospital for their treatment. Another historical incident is also linked with this hospital i.e. when Begum Nusrat Bhutto was tortured by police, during a protest against Zia-ul-Haq Government, outside Gaddafi Stadium, her head was burst in the after-effect of theft allegation, and she was brought in the UCH, Lahore for treatment (www.christiansinpakistan.com).

In 1970’s, when all the private institutions were nationalized by the government, the educational institutions of the Christians were also nationalized but the United Christian Hospital was not nationalized. It is told that some missionaries from abroad were ill-treated by the members of the UCH Employees’ Union in 1976-77 (www.christiansinpakistan.com). The result of it was that the financial aid of the hospital also stopped. Since 1985, the financial conditions of the hospital went from bad to worse. It has an approval of 216 beds, but at present, only 100 are operational. It has a competent team of professional doctors. This team consists of 10 members of which 5 are permanent employees of the hospitals while the other 5 are visiting doctors.

The administration of the UCH is run and supervised by the United Missions; that is why it has been given the name of the United Christian Hospital. Its Board of Directors consists of 18 members. At present, Doctor Akash Mathew is the Medical Director while the Chief Administrator of the Hospital is Mr. John Michael. According to him, the total annual expenditure of the hospital is about 35 million rupees. The hospital gets no support from any NGO or the government. Individuals from the civil society sometimes help the hospital which is used for the treatment of the poor patients e.g. in the year 2010, a huge amount of 57 lacs was donated to the UCH, Lahore by the doctor’s community of Sialkot. In those days, the hospital was in dire need of a latest X-Ray machine; so with this amount, the hospital management was able to purchase that machine (told Dr. Bhatti, Ex-Medical Director the UCH, Lahore).
John Michael also told that during the year 2011-12, the hospital was successful to get a donation of 60 lakh rupees for the Mother Child Health Programme (MCH). With this aid, the new equipment was purchased, and all the money was spent to provide better medical facilities to the patients of the Gynecology Department of the hospital. Though the hospital was established with the vision of professional excellence and to help the poor, but currently, the hospital is facing financial crisis. So, the hospital management is forced to charge fee from the patients. But the fee is very low as compared to the private hospitals of this area in Lahore.

The Chief Administrator told that the hospital is providing valuable services in the field of medical OB Genecology, Orthopaedic, Neurosurgery, Plastic Surgery, General Surgery, Paediatric Ophthalmology, Dermatology, E.N.T., Psychology, Oncology and radiology. Moreover, this hospital is also serving as a referral centre for other hospitals and clinics.

The hospital purchased the latest X-Ray machine in 2014. Such type of machine is not present in most of the private hospitals of Lahore. The hospital also has the facility of the mobile X-Ray Unit. During the free medical camps, it provides the X-Rays facility to the poor patients in different parts of the country. There is also a special department working under the Village Health Programme in this hospital. The staff of this department goes to different remote areas as well as villages and provides medical facilities to the poor and needy people at their doorstep.

The hospital has the facility of training of junior doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians, the X-Ray personnel and mid-wives. It also provides training facilities in the field of ECG, Anesthesia, Physiotherapy and Pharmacy, etc. In other words, it imparts valuable technical training to the citizens and equips them with various useful skills, thereby improving their job opportunities.

The Medical Director of the Hospital is of the view that OB Genecology, Orthopaedic and Radiology are the specialty of the UCH. The Radiology Department earns profit of Rs 1 lakh per month for the hospital. The UCH has the credit of introducing the heart-surgery, first, in Pakistan. Dr. Donald Bose, who was a specialist of Chest diseases in Canada, came to the UCH in 1958. In 1959, for the first time in Pakistan, he performed the close heart Surgery and, then in 1965, he performed the first open-heart Surgery (www.pakistanchristianpost.com). In 1969, he changed a valve for the first time. In 1973, he further developed this branch of Surgery.
The method of the close heart-surgery was adopted in 238 cases whereas the method of the open-heart Surgery was adopted in 110 cases. The work of Dr. Donald Bose lasted for 13 years in Pakistan. It can be regarded as a golden period in the history of this hospital ([www.christiansinpakistan.com](http://www.christiansinpakistan.com)). A number of prominent personalities served the UCH as the Administrators, the Chairmen and the Members of Board of Directors, Major John Mall, Colonel L.C. Rath, the Wing-Commander, Afzal J.C., Brigadier, Austin Daniel, Dr. William Massey Edger B. Ram, Eric Massey, Mr. Theodore Phalabus, Bishop Qadir Buksh, Dr. Emmaneul Benjamen and now, Dr. Emmaneul Isaac Bhatti. They devoted all their lives to this profession and their valuable services cannot be forgotten.

The first Pakistani Medical Director of the UCH, Lahore was Dr. Emmanuel Benjamin. In 1972, when all the private institutions were nationalized, politics and unionism entered in every institution, the UCH was also greatly affected by it. It had to face a down-fall during 1970’s. All the financial support of the hospital stopped from abroad. Disheartened by the circumstances, Dr. Benjamin left the hospital and went abroad. He came back in 2004 and again joined the hospital. Till then, the infra-structure of the hospital was destroyed. He worked day in and day out to bring the hospital to its past glory. He remained here till 2010 when he was succeeded by Dr. Isaac Bhatti.

These days told the hospital management, we are trying to make the Emergency and the ICU Departments of the hospital well-equipped with the latest technology. The hospital management is working hard to make these departments operational as soon as possible. According to Dr. Mathew, the hospital needs more than 30 lac rupees per month to make all the departments run smoothly. With this amount, the hospital will be in a position to meet its expenses of its own.

The hospital is providing its services in all the medical departments, but mostly, the patients of OB Gynae, eye patients, and Orthopaedic Surgery visit the hospital. The UCH also has a Dialysis Centre. The facility of Dialysis is provided by the hospital on very cheap rates i.e. Rs. 1800 only. This is a very low fee as compared to other private hospitals. The poor patients are very much satisfied with the low fee the hospital is charging. The hospital staff consists of the Christian as well as the Muslim employees. There is no discrimination on the basis of
religion. The patients are treated on the basis of equality. That is why; people belonging to all segments of the society have a complete trust in the UCH.

About 36000 patients visit the UCH per annum. According to the hospital management some Muslims have a wrong perception that only the Christian patients are treated and cured in the UCH. But, the actual position is vice versa; the hospital is providing its services to all the ailing humanity. This hospital was not established for the people belonging to a particular caste, creed, colour or religion; rather it was established for the poor and suffering people. That is why; people have a complete trust in the UCH (told by John Michael).

The management told the researcher that the hospital is in an awful condition nowadays and losing its glory. It was once the renowned hospital of the city, anonymous today. The Medical Director told that conditions have become so much worse for the hospital that last year i.e. in 2017 we did not have the money to pay the electricity bill of the hospital; as a result, our electricity was disconnected by the LESCO authorities. It took us six months to collect the required money to pay off the electricity bill and get our electricity re-connected.

The Christian Community of the city is very much worried about the future of this historical hospital. They are continuously requesting the concerned administration as well as the government officials to pay attention to this heritage. It can be helpful in creating a lot of new Jobs as well as a source of training for lab and X-rays and other medical fields. New efforts on the part of the management could increase the income, and the salaries of the existing staff. Its improvement will also raise the name of the Christian Community in the city of Lahore.

The Participation in the Campaign against Dengue

Lahore and its neighbouring areas were severely attacked by Dengue fever during 2011-12. A large number of people were affected by this fever. Hospitals were full of these patients. A campaign against Dengue was started under the supervision of the then Chief Minister Punjab, Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif. The United Christian Hospital was also a part of that campaign. A special machinery and equipment needed for the treatment of Dengue patients was purchased. The hospital management was short of money; so the equipment was purchased on lease, but the patients were treated free of cost. No fee was charged from them.
Hundreds of patients were brought to the hospital and all survived. Not a single death was recorded in the hospital. The Chief Minister was very much impressed by the enthusiasm of the hospital management and doctors. He visited the hospital and was satisfied with our work, told Doctor Edgar. He announced a grant of 10 million for the hospital. But the hospital was given only two A. C’s for the Dengue Ward. The grant was announced in 2011, but the promise of the honourable Chief Minister has not yet been fulfilled, told Dr. Akash.

**The School of Nursing and Midwifery, the UCH, Lahore**

A nursing school (with the name ‘School of Nursing and Midwifery, the United Christian Hospital, Lahore) is also attached with the UCH. It was established in 1952 in the FC College building and shifted to its present building in 1964. The school had been established to provide facilities of midwifery and nursing training to the students. A number of students have completed their diploma from here. The school has a very wide and beautiful building with spacious and well-equipped class rooms and laboratory.

The staff of the school consists of the Principal, the Admin Officer and the Nursing Instructors. They have the responsibility to manage all the activities of the school. Mrs Naseem Pervez is the Principal of the school. She is an old student of the school. She got admitted to this school in 1978 and completed her diploma of the staff-nurse in 1982. She joined the UCH, Lahore in 1989 as the Nursing Instructor and was given the responsibilities of the Nursing Superintendent in 1999 and of the Principal in 2009. Since then, she has been running the school and a number of students have completed their diploma in her supervision.

She is a visionary lady. The year she was given the responsibilities of the Principal, a significant step was taken in the history of the school, a 2-year diploma in the Practical Nursing was started. Since then almost 102 students have completed their diploma. Mrs Naseem Pervez told that the school has the facilities of the midwifery training and male nurses who have completed their diploma from here are earning a good amount of money and supporting their families. In Punjab, males are not allowed to study the ‘Practical Nursing’ while other provinces of Pakistan don’t have such a law.

The school management told that they encourage male students to study the practical nursing because in hospitals sometime such cases are brought which could only be handled by
the male nurses. At present, a number of students are studying the ‘Practical Nursing’ at the school. The school has a very low fee package i.e. for day-scholars 1000 rupees per month while the hostel students are charged 2000 rupees per month.

The admission is open for all the students without any type of discrimination on religious basis. Over the years, the number of the Christian students is less while the Muslim students are large in number e.g. in the year 2007, from a badge of 36 students, 50% were the Christians and 50% were the Muslims. In the year 2009, from a badge of 36 students, 35 were the Muslims and only one was a Christian. According to the management, a strict merit policy is followed at the time of admission; that is why; sometimes, a very few Christian students succeed in getting admission to the school and the strength of the Christian students at school is decreasing over the years.

The students who have completed their education from this school are well-trained and committed to their profession. Being a part of different government or private medical institutions, they are playing their role in the nation-building. They are not a burden on their family or the society, but they are serving the ailing humanity as well as earning their livelihood to support their families. Some famous Christian doctors of the United Christian Hospital, Lahore are as under:

**Dr. Akash Mathew**

Dr. Akash Mathew, the Medical Director the UCH, Lahore, is a famous and dedicated Christian doctor. He is an eye-specialist (gold medalist) and joined the United Christian Hospital in 2006; recently has been given the charge of the Medical Director the UCH, Lahore. He is a young and energetic doctor. Under his supervision, the hospital is working smoothly, especially, the Eye and Gyne departments. He is very active in social welfare programmes also. A number of free medical camps are organized by the UCH under his supervision. In these camps, hundreds of patients avail the medical facilities free of cost. Most recently i.e. in March 2018, a medical camp was organized by him in Okara in which more than 300 patients were examined by the doctors.

At present, the financial conditions of the hospital are not very good. He is working hard to improve the medical facilities provided by the hospital. He is of the view that the government
hospitals have a heavy pressure of workload. In some wards, there is only one bed for three patients. We, at the UCH, have a complete set up and a capacity of 216 beds. The UCH can share work load of the government hospitals if the government shows its seriousness and some steps are taken towards it.

He is thoroughly a gentleman, who is always ready to serve and help the ailing humanity. While explaining his responsibilities as a doctor, he remarked, “It is a difficult task to run this hospital in the present circumstances when it has been faced with a financial crisis. We have to pay to the staff as well as provide the best medical facilities to the patients and for all this the UCH team is working day in and day out. He is a man of determination and in the last, he said, “I want to work to glorify the Lord through the UCH rehabilitation and reviving” (www.christiansinpakistan.com).

For his services to different communities; making an outstanding contribution to welfare and healthcare, he had been awarded a gold medal twice by the National Peace Committee. He is an ambassador of the inter-faith harmony. He told, “My services are not for a particular community, but for the entire mankind. I don’t enquire about the religion of the patients before their treatment. We are all Pakistanis and I am here to serve my nation”.

Dr. Isaac Bhatti

Dr. Isaac Bhatti, a highly-qualified doctor, was the Ex-Medical Director of the United Christian Hospital, Lahore. He was born at Daska (Sialkot) on 24 December 1952. He completed B.Sc. from the Saint Patrick College, Karachi. Later on, he went to Philippines where he got his degree of “Doctor of Medicine” from Manila Central University. He completed his degree of Masters in Public Health from Hopkins’s University Maryland, the U.S.A. On the request of Mr. Emmanuel Benjamen, (the then Medical Director the UCH) he came to Pakistan and joined the UCH, Lahore as the Medical Director.

He is a very decent and humble person. He told, “Dr. Benjamen planted a plant and handed over to me. Now, it is my responsibility to look after it and make it a fruitful tree”. With this vision, he started working in the hospital. But the hospital was in serious financial crisis since 1980’s. First of all, he had to provide for money. As a result of his sincere efforts, the
hospital was successful in getting the donation of a big amount of 57 lakh from the Doctor’s Community of Sialkot in 2010. With this amount, the hospital was able to renovate its departments and the latest equipment was purchased. Mr. Bhatti continued his efforts to generate money for the hospital, and again, in the year 2011-12, the hospital received a grant of 60 lakh rupees from the Pakistani Community living in America. This amount was used to purchase latest the X-Ray machine for the hospital.

Under the leadership of Mr. Bhatti, the UCH played a very active role in the Dengue Campaign during 2011-12. The then Chief Minister Punjab was very much impressed by the role played by the UCH during the Dengue Campaign, as not a single death of Dengue patients was recorded in the hospital. It was all due to the sincere and un-tiring efforts of Mr. Bhatti.

Mrs. Naseem Pervez

Mrs. Naseem Pervez is the Principal of the School of Nursing and Midwifery the United Christian Hospital, Lahore at present. She has devoted her life to the service of mankind. She completed her diploma of Nursing in 1982 from this School and went to Karachi. In 1986, she got her degree of the Ward Administration, and afterwards, the degree of Teaching Administration from the Jinnah Post Graduate Medical Centre, Karachi (JPMC). In 1989, she came back to Lahore and joined this School as the Nursing Instructor. For 10 years, she worked as the Nursing Instructor and, as a result of her devotion to her profession; she was offered the post of the Nursing Superintendent which she accepted. She had been given the charge of the Acting Principal of the School, time and again, and at last, in the year 2009, she was raised to the position of the Principal of the School. When she was given the authority, she took a significant step and a two-year diploma in the ‘Practical Nursing’ was also started in the School.

She has been running the School since 2009 as the Principal and told that the financial condition of the School is not very different from that of the UCH. The School charges a very low fee from the students which are very few in numbers. The School has to maintain a well-equipped laboratory and a qualified teaching staff which needs money which we don’t have. Sometimes, the School management is unable to pay the salaries to its employees and the staff has to work without salaries for months. Mrs. Naseem is a devoted lady. She has served the School through thick and thin. When she was a Nursing Superintendent, she had been given the
charge of the Acting Principal so many times. She performed her dual responsibilities but did not claim double salary owing to the weak financial conditions of the School. Over the years, she is working with the School management to increase the number of students in the School so that more and more people could be inducted in this sacred profession of Nursing.

The Christians’ Role in Education

The Christians have been playing a vital role in the education field long before the partition of the sub-continent. Their educational services started in Lahore during the Akbar Reign. Three Christian missions visited the Akbar’s Court from 1580 to 1595. First two missions could not get importance, but the third mission was successful. It consisted of three persons i.e. Father Jerome Xavier, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benaduct Dusgos. They were warmly welcomed by the Emperor when they reached his court in Lahore. As a result of sincere efforts of that mission, the first church in Lahore was constructed near the royal palace. Historians are of the view that the first Christian educational institution was established in Lahore in the building where the members of the third mission were living. That church was destroyed during the reign of Emperor Shah Jehan. So, the traces of that church cannot be found in Lahore now (Saldana, 2011).

In India, a proper system of education was established by the Christians during the British Rule when a large number of Christian missionaries came to India. Apart from preaching, these missionaries also provided educational and medical facilities to the local population. Although South Asia came under the British political occupation completely in 1859, but the East India Company started interference in educational and political affairs of India long before 1859. The British occupied Bengal after defeating Nawab Siraj Udoula in 1757 and started the missionary work there. But the educational historians are of the view that the educational system of the British started properly in India in 1813.

Charles Grant was the founder of a new educational policy of the British in the South Asia. He was an employee of the East India Company, but afterwards, he became a missionary. In 1790, he went back to England and told the concerned authorities that the people of the South Asia were ignorant and rude. He persuaded the British Government to take the responsibility to educate the illiterate masses of India. After 1813, the recommendations, given by Charles Grant,
got a special significance in the British educational policy in India. That is why; he is called the “Father of Education” of the modern India (Daniel, 2005).

Punjab was completely occupied by the British Forces in 1849 (Encyclopedia Britannica). The British Government wanted to establish good governance in India. So, they established the cantonments, the civil lines, the railway stations and the public parks, etc. along with the churches in different parts of the sub-continent. The First Christian School i.e. the “Mission High School” was established in Lahore in 1849. Later on, it was raised to the status of the college in 1864. With the passage of time, so many Christian educational institutions were established in Lahore.

Hundreds of thousands of people received education from these institutions; among these were legislators, politicians, civil servants, school teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, judges and army personnel. The Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, also got his early education from the CMS Mission School. In short, it can be said that these institutions played a very vital role in the enlightenment of the nation. The old students of these institutions, when entered into politics won the independence for the nation (Zafar, 2007).

**After the Independence**

The educational services started by the Christian institutions in the sub-continent before the partition, did not stop after the independence. The Christian institutions working in the areas included in Pakistan, continued their mission of enlightening the nation. The people of these areas had a complete trust in these institutions. So, they carried on their work without any type of hurdle or fear. Moreover, the government also provided them facilities.

Ms Tabita Victor, a young staff member at Kinnaird College, Lahore, during the interview told that at present, these institutions have campuses throughout the country which is a clear proof of the fact that the Christian institutions are imparting education not only to the people in Lahore but all over Pakistan. These institutions have imparted the quality education without any type of partiality or discrimination based on religion, region, caste or race. That is why, even the Muslims, prefer their children to be educated in these institutions.
The Christian Educational System

The Missionary Educational Institutions of the Christians are run and managed by the Catholic Board of Education. It is a very important institution. It is supervised by Bishops of Arch Dioceses. The objective of the missionary education is to educate the people and produce responsible citizens. The purpose of technical education is to enable them to get jobs. A child is admitted to the Nursery Class and, gradually, promoted to higher classes after getting through a well-organized and well-managed system of examination.

For the physical fitness of the children, a special attention is given to the extracurricular activities. The examination of students of 9th and 10th classes is given according to the policy of the Board. There is a trend of a competition among the students of private institutions, so they work day in and day out and to get top positions in the Board Exams. These institutions of the Christians are well-disciplined and well-organized. As the missionary educationists and experts are a part of this society, they have the know-how of all of our problems. They are training and preparing the children to meet the challenges, faced by our beloved country. In this way, they are serving the nation silently.

The Catholic Board of Education

The Catholic Board of Education is the most significant institution of the Arch Diocess of Lahore which works as a supervisory management of the Catholic schools, colleges and technical institutions. It runs over 140 schools most of which have been set up in the remote areas of Lahore. Thousands of children receive education in these institutions without any type of religious discrimination (www.dailytimes.com.pk). It solves the problems of the employees of these institutions under its control, makes decisions about the issues of the provincial or federal level, and introduces new ways of education and tries to raise the standard of education in the missionary institutions. To cope with all these responsibilities, it keeps in touch with the management of its educational institutions with respect to their policies and activities (www.cbel.com.pk). It also provides for scholarships on the merit basis to the economically poor children (www.cbel.com.pk). The Board also tries to provide teachers with a better scope in service training to improve the quality education (www.ucanews.com).
• It raises funds for the construction of educational intuitions.
• It also helps the needy students.
• It also tries to produce a sense of respect for humanity in the students.
• It tries to make the students useful members of the society.
• To prepare the students physically, spiritually, psychologically, and morally, to serve our beloved country, Pakistan.
• To educate them in the manner that they should be able to understand their surrounding world.
• Teacher holds a very important role in the whole educational process, so teachers are specially appreciated by providing them scholarships. These scholarships are given to PTC, CT, B. Ed and M. Ed teachers.
• Two institutions are preferred in this regard i.e. NDI Karachi and TTC Lahore.
• Highly-qualified training teams are also there to train the school teachers. These teams go to schools, train the teachers and also provide them the latest information with respect to teaching (Anwar, 2014).

The Forman Christian College, University, Lahore

The Forman Christian College is also one of the oldest educational institutions of Lahore. It was started as a primary school outside Bhatti Gate by Dr. Forman and Dr. John Newton on 19th December 1849. It was named as the “Lahore Mission School”. The school was started only with 4 students and a subscription of Rs. 4,238 from the government. This school was the forerunner of the Forman Christian College, Lahore.

The old Rang Mahal Palace was purchased by the mission and the school was shifted to it. The school was up-graded to a High School and also affiliated to the Calcutta University in 1864. The students belonging to four religions were enrolled in the school i.e. the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs and the Christians. The school staff consisted of a Principal, Rev. C. D. Forman, M.A., Head Master, J. Newton Jr. M.D.; Maitra, and fourteen other teachers.

During the early 1860s, the number of students in higher classes was increasing speedily; so in 1864, a college section was started at the school with three students. It was named as the “Collegiate Mission School, Lahore”. Dr. Forman was the Supervisor of both the sections of the
school. The college section was closed in 1869 because of some management problems. However, the college classes were started again in 1886 on the recommendation of Mr. McComb who was teaching the students of F.A. class at Ludhiana. All the students were shifted to the Mission College Lahore from Ludhiana.

In 1889, the college building on the Robert’s Road near the Imperial Bank was opened. This building possessed 14 acres of land. This college was an aided institution. It was supported by the Punjab Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, the United States of America and was controlled by a Board of Trustees, appointed by that mission. During the year 1889-90, the students on roll were 130 which were raised to 161 during the next year. “Rev. C. W. Forman, the founder of the Mission High School and the Forman Mission College, Lahore, died on 27th of August 1894 at Kasoli. His dead body was brought to Lahore on 29th August and was laid in the European Cemetery near the Taxali Gate, Lahore. On 28th November 1894, on the request of the Board of Directors, the college was officially named as the “Forman Christian College (Hussain, 2012).

According to the College Management, the college was transferred to its present building in 1940. The present building possessed 80 acres of land. Dr. C. H. Rice became the Principal of the college in 1942. The college students were showing good results. The number of successful candidates from 1931 to 1947 was 4703. As a result of the partition of India, the college staff as well as students decreased. In the year 1948, there were only 34 teachers while the number of students in various classes was only 305.

In 1972, during Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s Government the college was nationalized. In 2003, the control of the college was returned to the Presbyterian Church. In 2004, the administration allowed it a university charter and it was given the degree granting authority. At present, different major subjects are being taught from intermediate to Ph.D. programs. There are 220 full-time members of faculty of whom 104 PhDs and 20 faculty members pursuing further studies overseas.

This institution has served the nation since the independence of Pakistan. Millions of students have received education from this institution. This institution has produced so many prominent names in the history of Pakistan. Some of these names are Chaudhry Shujat Hussain,
the President PML (Q), Chaudhry Pervaiz Elahi, the former Chief Minister of Punjab, Justice Wajihudin Ahmed, the former judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Muhammad Mian Soomro, the former Chairman, Senate of Pakistan, and the Governor of Punjab, Muhammad Rafique Rajwana.

Some Famous Christian Educationists of the Lahore Division

The history of education in Lahore has been filled with services of so many Christian educationists. Some of the prominent Christian personalities, who devoted their lives to the education of the nation, are as follows:

Mariam Sarfraz Stanley

Mariam Sarfraz Stanley was a famous educationist. She was born on September 17, 1945, in a Christian village ‘Youngsonabad’ District Nankana Sahib of the Lahore Division. She did M.A in ELT. Afterwards, she did her L.L.B. from the Baluchistan University, Quetta. She completed her Advance Leadership Training in Singapore and Comparative Studies (Culture Religion & Language) from Khuzestan. She got the Kindergarten & Junior School Teaching Certificate from the St. Deny’s Training College, Murree (Pakistan). She taught English at the Kinnaird College, Lahore.

Achievements and Awards

In 2001, she was awarded the “Quaid-i-Azam Gold Medal” by the Pakistan News International Tehreek-e-Istehqam-e-Pakistan, to acknowledge her services for the nation. Her name was also included in the Book of the “Millennium 2000 Biographical Encyclopedia of Pakistan”. In 2003, she also received the “Mother of the City” award by the Christy Eye and Medical Centre, Khushab. As a gesture of the acknowledgement of her educational services over 37 years, she was also awarded by the South Asian Women Association. She also received “The Quaid-i-Azam” award by the Bright Future Academy for her exemplary services in the education department.
Miss Dulsie Fraser

Miss Dulsie Fraser was born at Lahore in 1928. She got her early education from the Sacred Heart Cathedral School, Lahore and from the Jesus and Mary Convent, Lahore. After the completion of her studies, she chose the teaching profession and started teaching at the St. Anthony High School, Lahore. During her long career of teaching, she taught thousands of students, a number of which became bureaucrats, politicians, army officers, doctors and engineers, etc. She devoted all her life to teaching. She died in 2005.

Achievements and Awards

To acknowledge her services for the nation, Miss Dulsie Fraser was bestowed with “The Teacher of the Century Award” in 1997 at the occasion of the Pakistan Golden Jubilee.

Miss Tabita Victor (Educationist)

Miss Tabita Victor is a young Lecturer at the Kinnaird College, Lahore. She was born at Gujranwala and got her early education in her hometown. Later on, she came to Lahore for higher studies and got admitted to the Gulberg College for Women, Lahore. She completed her Masters from the Forman Christian College University, Lahore and M.Phil from the Government College University, Lahore in 2013. She has been working as a Lecturer in Political Science since 2015. She is a young and enthusiastic teacher. She is of the view that the Christian institutions, especially, the educational institutions are doing a marvellous job. As a teacher, I am able to tell you that our standard of education is very high. The students are well-mannered and well-disciplined. They are taught about the religious tolerance, instead of extremism. That is why the community has a complete confidence in these institutions. Even the Muslims like their children to be taught at these institutions.

The Role in Judiciary

After the independence in 1947, the role of the Christians in judiciary has also been very praise-worthy. The Christians, who were given the responsibilities in the judiciary of Pakistan, performed their duties in a very professional manner. Neither they indulged in politics nor did they attend the social functions to keep their impartiality. That is why they are respected and held in a high esteem by the nation.
Justice A. R. Cornelius

The most prominent Christian name in the judicial history of Pakistan is Justice A. R. Cornelius. He was born in Agra in 1933. He got his early education from Ludhyana (India). He was awarded a gold medal in inter and degree exams. Afterwards, he went to the Cambridge University for higher studies. In 1926, he came back to India, and he became the Assistant Commissioner and the Session Judge. From 1944 to 1946, he became the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court. From 1950 to 1952, he became the Federal Minister of Law. In November 1952 to 1953, he was elected as a Judge of the Federal Court. On 23rd March 1956 he became the Justice of Supreme Court. On 13th May 1960, he became the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan and he remained the same up till 1968. From 1959 to 1962, he became the Chairman of the Pay Commission. He got the biggest Civil Award Halal-e-Ahmer in 1967.

He was given the responsibilities of the Federal Minister of Law in the interim Cabinet by Yahya Khan. He also gave him the responsibility of framing the Legal Framework Order 1970 for the general elections 1970 and the future Constitution of Pakistan. So, the Legal Framework Order, imposed by Yahya Khan, was prepared by Justice A. R. Cornelius. After the election of 1970, he prepared the draft of the new constitution. But it was rejected by Z. A. Bhutto. After leading a very busy life, on December 21, 1991, he died in Lahore. His services for Pakistan will always be remembered (Pakistan Christian Post).

Justice Archieson

At the time of the partition of the sub-continent, Justice Archieson was performing the duties of a judge in the Lahore High Court. After the partition, he was asked to continue his responsibilities. Mr. Archieson was a very professional man. He always refrained to participate in the social and political functions. He devotedly did his work and was highly venerated by the Bench for his strict verdicts. He left no stone unturned to provide justice to the people of Lahore.

The Christian Session Judges

Soon after the independence, in early years of Pakistan, Mr. Fazal Din who belonged to Sheikhupura and P. N. Joushua were appointed as the District and Session Judges. They performed their duties with an utmost impartiality. In the history of Pakistan, so many Christian
personalities are found who played an important role in the judicial system of Pakistan, but unfortunately, there are a very few names that belonged to Lahore(Pakistan Christian Post).

The Role in Defense

Defense has always been given a priority in Pakistan because of the hostile aims of neighbouring country, India, towards Pakistan. At the time of the partition, most of the Hindu leaders of the Indian National Congress were against the partition. Even after the establishment of Pakistan, so many Congress leaders gave the anti-Pakistan statements and expressed their views that such circumstances would be created in which the survival of Pakistan would not be possible. So, from the very first day, Pakistan had to keep defense to be its first and foremost preference.

In these conditions, the Christians offered their services and joined the Pakistan Army. At the time of the partition, a large number of Christian Army Officers opted to stay in Pakistan and they remarkably defended the sacred homeland. The Father of the Nation showed a complete confidence in the Christian Officers. He appointed General Frank Walter Messervy as the first Chief of Army Staff of Pakistan. After him, another Christian General, Sir Douglas Gracy commanded the Armed Forces of Pakistan as the Chief of the Army Staff.

The first Chief of the Pakistan Air Force (PAF), R.L. Atcharey was also a Christian. He was given this responsibility by the Quaid-i-Azam, the then Governor General of Pakistan. He was succeeded by the Air vice Marshal, L.W. Cannon. The third Air vice Marshal A.W.B. MacDonald was again a Christian. The Christian Officers commanded the Air Force from 1947 to July 1957. Even the first Rear Admiral of Pakistan Navy, appointed by the Quaid-i-Azam, was also a Christian i.e. J. Wiford. He held this post from August 1947 to February 1953.

These were the early days of the biggest Islamic State of the World at that time. To cope with its defense challenges, it needed a huge Army consisted of skilled professionals. The Christian Officers were well aware of all these things. So, they played a remarkable role in the establishment and training of a strong and powerful army which could cope with not only the external but also the internal challenges to the state in future. They laid a strong foundation of defense of Pakistan. In the Indo-Pak battles of 1948, 1965, and 1971, the Christian Officers fought the enemy with a great zeal and courage.
There is a long history of the services of the Christians who devoted and even sacrificed their lives for the security and safety of the sacred homeland. According to the ‘Shuhada Cell’ of GHQ uptill now, 52 Christians of the Pakistan Army have laid down their lives for the country. Out of 70 Sitara-i- Jurat of PAF, 7 are the Christians. The Christians have always fought against the external as well as the internal enemies of the state side by side with the Muslims for the peace and prosperity of the nation. Although there are a number of Christian personalities who served in the Pakistan Army, but the name of Cecil Chaudhry is among the shining stars of the Pakistan Army.

**Cecil Chaudhry**

Cecil Chaudhry was born on 27th August 1941 to a Christian family of a little village called Dalwal, located in the Salt Range. When he was only 11 years old, he became an Air Scout in 1952 and developed the aero-modeling and gliding as a hobby. The Royal Pakistan Air Force had started the Air Scout movement under the leadership of the then Commander-in-Chief Air vice Marshal Atcherley. He became an accomplished glider pilot very soon and won a number of all Pakistan trophies both for gliding and for aero-modeling during his school and college days. In 1956, he got his glider pilots wings from, the then President of Pakistan, Maj Gen Iskander Mirza. He had made his mind that he would join the Pakistan Air Force as a fighter pilot. According to Mr. Chaudhry, his parents and teachers highly appreciated and encouraged his decision. He was inspired by such personalities Like Col James Jabara, and Sqn Ldr Sarfraz Ahmed Rafiqui, HJ, SJ, (Shaheed).

He completed his graduation in 1960, afterwards, the jet conversion at No. 2 Squadron at Mauripur (now Masroor) Air Base. He did his the ‘Basic Weapons Course’ on the F86 and in June 1961, he was posted to No. 5 F86 Fighter Squadron at Sargodha.

Cecil Chaudhry was holding the position of a Flight Lieutenant when the war broke out in 1965. He made momentous contributions during the Indo-Pak War in 1965. He was a part of the team who destructed the Halwara Airfield and the Amritsar Radar in the War. To recognize his meritorious services, the Government of Pakistan awarded him Sitara-i-Jurat and Sitara-i-Basalat.
In 1969, he went to England to attend the Pilot Attack Instructors’ Course. In 1970, he was promoted to the rank of the Squadron Leader. He also served in Iraq from September 1979-83 on deputation and took over as the Head of the Pakistan Military Mission in 1980. He came back to Pakistan and was posted in Lahore. After passing a very active life in Pakistan Air Force, he got retired in July 1986 (Defence Journal).

After his retirement, he decided not to stay at home and waste his time as well as his life. So, he became an educationist and the human rights’ activist. He served as the Principal of the St. Anthony’s College and later on as the Principal of the St. Mary’s Academy at Lalazar, Rawalpindi. He also worked as Director at Punjab Education Foundation.

He worked for the betterment of the special children and for educational reforms. He was also closely attached with the National Commission for Justice and Peace and played an important role in the 14-year campaign which resulted in the restoration of the joint electorate system for minorities in 2002. After leading a very busy life, he died on 13 April 2012. The funeral services were held at the Lawrence Road’s Sacred Heart Cathedral on Sunday 15 April 2012. He was buried at the Jail Road’s Cemetery in Lahore (The daily Dawn).

In Lahore, the Christians are found serving in almost every field of life, but their main focus is on serving the nation. According to Dr. Farzand Maseh, they are inclined towards the services in different departments, inspired by the services of Jesus for mankind. That is why they are less interested towards business. According to a survey, conducted by the Christian sources, only 1.15% Christians is doing business in Lahore (www.christiansinpakistan.com). Another reason for it is may be their financial conditions; because most of the Christians are poor; they don’t have enough money to start their own business.

The survey results also reveal that the employment rate in Christians is 37.10% while 62.90% are jobless because they are illiterate. They can prove a very useful labor force. Moreover, keeping in view their services in health and care as well as in education it can be said that they are a very precious asset of these departments. Dr. Farzand is of the view that if more and more Christians are appointed in these departments, it will help improve the performance of these departments and also become a source of the inter-faith harmony in the country.
Though the Christians are present in every department and serving the nation, but their services for the uplift of their own community are not seen anywhere. The common people in the Christian Community often complain that the Christians who have been in a position where they can raise the issues of their community and do something for their community; they don’t even like to meet their community fellows. The Christian representatives in assemblies are less interested in the problems faced by their community. In the survey, conducted during the research, the majority of the people told that they don’t even know the names of their representatives in assemblies. The majority of the Christians are of the view that they are serving the nation, but they have to face so many hurdles in their way to participate actively in the political system of Pakistan.
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Interview of Mrs. Naseem Pervez, Principal, School of Nursing and Midwifery United Christian Hospital, Lahore, with the researcher.


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Chapter No. 6

Hurdles for the Christians in the Way of Participation in the Political System

At the time of partition in 1947, the Christian leadership requested the boundary commission that the Christian population of the sub-continent should be considered a part of the Muslim population. The reason behind it was the vision of Quaid-i-Azam about the future of Pakistan in which all would be given equal rights as citizens of Pakistan irrespective of their religion. The Christian population included in Pakistan has been serving the nation since the creation of Pakistan. But, unfortunately, their services are not recognized at any level. Because of unfavorable attitude of the government as well as some sections of the society, the conditions are miserable for the Christians in Lahore.

They serve the nation with the passion of patriotism, but in response, they are forced to live in poverty, most of their population is illiterate; they don’t have access to educational institutions, even they are discriminated at public places like parks, restaurants, etc. the majority of them don’t have political awareness because no government has ever taken serious steps so that proper arrangements may be made for their political participation in the political system. They don’t have the right to be elected as the President or even the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Blasphemy laws are another source of continuous fear for them, because according to them, most of the time these are misused against them. The Christians are playing their role in the political system, but the conditions are not as favorable for them as for the Muslims. They are facing a number of serious issues which are affecting their performance in the nation-building programs.

Poverty

Poverty is a curse. It is a viral disease which is spread all over the world. It is a condition in which people are deprived of the means to satisfy their basic needs that are essential to their survival. Poverty has been described differently by sociologists, economists and philosophers, but the fact is that it can only be understood by the person who is hungry and cannot afford food. Poverty is most often associated with so many complex issues like poor health, illiteracy, little political voice, no opportunities to participate effectively in the political system and no chance to play their role in the nation-building.
Pakistan is a developing country, and like other developing nations of the world, it is faced with a high level of poverty. Poverty rate in Pakistan is very high. According to the reports of the Ministry of Planning Development and Reforms presented in the Senate in August 2017, about 29.5% of the total population is living below the poverty line (www.pakistantoday.com.pk) while according to ‘The Economic Survey 2018’, the percentage of the people living below the poverty line in Pakistan has fallen to 24.3 percent (www.profit.pakistantoday.com.pk).

Poverty is affecting the population all over Pakistan. The Christians are no exception. But if we say they are living a more miserable life than any other community, it will not be incorrect. They have been deprived of the basic needs of life. The Minister for National Harmony in 2012 expressed his views about the Christians as, “the Christians are among the poorest and the most marginalized people” in the country and suggested that “they are discriminated not only on the basis of religion but also on the basis of caste” (Agence France-Presse, 30 Aug., 2012). An article published by the Vancouver-based weekly newspaper the Georgia Straight explains that the "poorest and the most despised section of the population converted to Christianity” and, as a result, "everybody knows that most of the Christians are really 'untouchables'" (11 Sept. 2012). They are placed among the lowest caste and their community is facing great hardships on the daily basis (www.christiansinpakistan.com).

The Christian colonies in the Lahore Division lack the basic facilities. No attention has been given to the development of these areas where the Christians are living. They do not find chances to earn their livelihood easily. One of the basic reasons of this is lack of education. Moreover, most of the Christians in Lahore complain about lack of support from the Church or the organizations working for the Christians, told Mr. Anwar Maseeh, a political worker of PML (N). Although in Pakistan 5% quota has been allotted to the minorities; even then there are a few families in the Christian Community are well-off (The Daily Times). However, according to some sources, the policy has not been implemented properly and the Christian Community is unable to avail the benefits of this policy (GHRD and HRFP report, 2012). A person who has been deprived of the basic necessities of life, fighting war against poverty for his survival; how he could participate in the political system. In these circumstances, they do not participate in the political process and play their role in the nation-building programs. Poverty is a big hindrance in way of the political participation of the Christians.
Illiteracy

Education is very essential for the economic and social development of any society or state. Therefore, every society develops a system of education to inculcate to the young generation all the vital things necessary for the survival of the country. Asemah (2010) regards education as a process to inculcate the worthwhile things of the society into its people so that they would be better able to cope with the problems of the society and contribute their share more actively and meaningfully to its well-being and development. Social and economic development is directly associated with education. No country can make progress without education. It can be said that education is a key to success. Even an individual cannot make progress and participate actively in the political system without education.

Unfortunately, in Pakistan, policies of the different governments had never been favorable towards education of the masses. Even today, according to the UNDP annual report 2016, the government of Pakistan allocates only 2.5% of its GDP for education. The result is that literacy rate in the country is very low. About half of the population cannot read or write. The percentage of literate persons is somewhat satisfactory, but in the rural areas, the situation is very alarming. In these circumstances, educational opportunities for the minorities also become very limited.

Although the Christians are very active in the field of education but unfortunately, the majority of them have been deprived of their basic right to education. No doubt, the Christians are running some of the world-famous educational institutions, but in these institutions the majority of the students are the Muslims. These institutions were forcibly nationalized by Z.A. Bhutto in 1972. Now, no more Christian character is seen in these institutions. The result is, a very low percentage of the Christian students is admitted to these Christian institutions. Most of the Christians do not have access to these institutions because of their domestic or financial problems. They have been residing in the areas which are deprived of the basic necessities of life and these areas are far away from the well-established Christian institutions of Lahore. For example, the St. Anthony School or Forman Christian College are located in the heart of the city, these institutions are out of reach of the poor Christians who have been residing in the underdeveloped areas of the Northern Lahore.

Most of the Christian colonies are underdeveloped and lack the basic facilities. There are no government schools. Pastor Mahmood, a resident of Youhanabad, Lahore, is of the view that
in the absence of government schools, most of the families residing in the area are forced to send their children to private educational institutions. The poor Christian families are unable to send their children to these expensive institutions; thus, their children have been deprived of their basic right to education. He further told that there are some Christian Missionary Schools in the locality, but unfortunately, they are also charging a high fee. The poverty rate of Youhanabad is relatively high as compared to other areas of Lahore; so a serious effort from the part of the government is needed to resolve this issue. Another resident of the area, Khursheed Bibi, told that because of the extreme poverty, people are unable to enroll their children to private institutions. The children are forced to do different menial jobs to become a source of income for their families.

In Pakistan, a person who is able to read and write is considered to be literate. Following even this definition at present, literacy in the Christian females is 4% and in males is 8% which means 96% women and 92% men in the Christian Community are suffering in the extreme darkness of illiteracy (Shamsi, 2011). However, the literacy rate in Lahore is quite higher as compared to other cities in Pakistan. According to the above definition, literacy rate in the Christians of Lahore is 69.80% according to the criteria of the primary class (5th standard) (www.ChristiansinPakistan.com).

![Image](https://www.christiansinpakistan.com/socio-economic-conditions-of-christians-in-lahore-pakistan-education/)


If Matriculation is considered as the basic criteria, then literacy rate becomes 28.78% which is very low as compared to the overall literacy rate of Lahore which is 74% (Punjab Development Statistics, 2017).
The literacy rate in males is higher than the females i.e. 57.89% and 42.11% respectively.

According to the Survey, conducted by Noel Alter, Khurram Younis, Nasir Maseh, and Joel Alter, from the platform of the Forman Christian College, University, Lahore, the educational composition of the Christians of Lahore is as under:

**The Educational Composition of Christians of Lahore**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Primary (5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Standard)</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Middle (8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Standard)</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Matriculation (10&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Standard)</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Graduation</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>0.38%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to this composition, the number of highly-qualified persons in the Christian Community is very low. Most of them complete their education up to 5th standard or the maximum 10th standard and leave the educational institution. There are several reasons for it e.g. the illiterate and poor families of the Christian Community are unaware of the importance of education; they do not bother to send their children to educational institutions for higher education. Most of the time, the financial conditions of the family don’t let them afford the expenses of the higher education. They want their child to leave the education and find a job so that he may support his family financially. An illiterate person, unaware of his rights and duties in a country, is unable to participate actively in the political system of the state. So, illiteracy is a great hindrance in the way of the political participation of the Christians in Pakistan.

Social Discrimination

The Christians have been residing in Lahore for the last many hundred years in complete peace and harmony with other communities of Lahore, but there are some serious issues and problems with respect to their identity and participation in the social sphere of life. Like other minorities, they are also facing some problems in day-to-day life. According to Mr. Nazir S. Bhatti, the Chief Editor of the Daily Pakistan Christian Post, in daily routine life they are being maltreated and discriminated which is a great hindrance in the way of their prosperity as well as the progress of the country.

Pakistan is an Islamic Country and Islam gives everyone the equal status in the society, but most of the Christian leaders are of the view that in Pakistan, the Christians are being treated as the second-class citizens. In the survey, conducted during this research, the majority of the Christians belonging to the lower class expressed their views that they are being treated as the second-class citizens in Pakistan. They are not given their due status in the society. They are not
allowed to dine at the public places and restaurants. Even in schools, colleges, or public places, they are discriminated as if they are untouchable. Colonel Chaudary, a Christian, at present residing in Lahore, served in the Pakistan Army for thirty years, recalls that once there were a few Muslim laborers employed in his house, while he was still in the Army, working on some structural renovation. When they were offered food by the Colonel’s cook, all of them refused to eat it because of the impurity associated with eating at a Christian’s house (Khalid, 2013).

Khalid (2013) also writes about Dr. Yousaf John, a politician and social worker, based in Lahore that when he was in school, unfortunately, there was only one tap and all the teachers and students drank water from that tap. He was instructed not to put his mouth to the only tap in the school to drink water, as was the practice, but instead, use his hands to drink the water. It was only because of their thinking that the water would become impure if a Christian touched the tap with his mouth. Mr. John could not object, as he was the only Christian student in the school. Had he objected to it, the Muslim students would have beaten him, he recalls.

Marylou Andrew, in his column in ‘The Dawn’, Lahore, shares his experiences as a member of the Christian Community. He writes, “I am the lucky one that I had been given all the opportunities as a citizen of Pakistan. I completed my education in the educational institutions where the majority of the students were the Muslims, but they never challenged my religious beliefs. I was never forced to study Islamiat which was compulsory for the Muslim students. In the college, the university or in the job market, I had never faced any type of discrimination against me on the basis of my faith.” But there are hundreds of stories, he recalls, which can be told e.g. he tells the readers, “My mother was a bank employee. According to her, at the bank, the Muslim cleaners did not clean the bathrooms or sweep the floors, because only the Christians or the Hindus were suited for that job. Their supervisor was also agreed with them, so the Muslim cleaners did only the dusting while the non-Muslims were asked to do the ‘dirty’ work.

That is why the Christians in Lahore are disappointed and this disappointment can be seen in this statement of 76 years old, Iqbal Maseh, “In the past, I was a sweeper; at present, my sons are sweepers, and in the future, my grandsons will do the same job. Nothing changes, our people will live and die sweeping (newsline, 2011). Discriminated against the Christian sweepers can be seen not only by the Muslims but their fellow Christians also who are working in other departments. During the survey, Faisal Maseh, a sweeper in Lahore told, “People do not like to speak, sit or dine with us. They don’t let us mix with them. Even some of our Christians brethren
hate us and look down upon us”. The result of such discrimination is that the Christian sweepers tend to reside collectively away from the other people who don’t like to intermingle with them. It is better to live with our own people and stick to them. Why would we want to live with the people who don’t respect us? Told, Aslam Maseh, a sweeper at the Government Shalimar College, Lahore.

Niamat Maseh, a sweeper in the Government Shalimar College, told that the college staff is very co-operative with us. On the eve of Christmas or Easter, they help us with money. Even on the eve of Eid-ul-fitr and Eid-ul-Azha, we receive gifts from the college staff. They are very loving to us. But they don’t let us sit with them or dine with them. If tea is offered to us, we are asked to bring our own cups for tea. If food is offered to us, we have to take it in our separate plates. What is this if not discrimination?

Although 5% quota has been given to the minorities in the government jobs according to the law, but they are forced to do jobs which are rejected by the Muslims. They are given jobs in low grades or the jobs which are rejected by the Muslims. For example, in Lahore, where the population is more than one million and the Christians are mostly offered jobs of cleaning toilets, houses, street lanes and roads. They carry human waste and garbage from the houses and markets to the garbage depots. The Christian women work inside the houses to clean the houses, lawns, toilets, etc. but they are not allowed to enter into the kitchen and touch the eatable there. They can’t even sit on the furniture where the Muslims have to sit. They are treated inhumanly and socially are placed in the lowest community (Shamsi, 2011).

In these circumstances, most of the Christians consider themselves the second-class citizens of the country. They are poor, illiterate and socially placed in the lowest community. Then, it is not possible for the majority of the Christians to participate actively in the political system of Pakistan and play their role for the development of the country. The Christians, who are given chances to use their abilities for the betterment of the society, definitely come forward and serve the nation with the patriotic zeal.

**Culture of Intolerance**

In Pakistan, literacy rate is not as high as that of the Western countries of the world. In the West, most of the countries have 100% literacy rate. Generally, a literate person is considered to be more tolerant than an illiterate one. In those countries, people are very much qualified and are considered to be more tolerant, but in reality, they situation is vice versa. The people there
show intolerance about the Muslims as well as Islam. The Muslims are hated and every Muslim is suspected as a terrorist. Even President Trump has given statements so many times which were against the Muslims; even people from some Muslim countries are facing the travel ban in America (Human Rights Watch Report 2018).

In Pakistan, where literacy rate is very low as compared to America, people sometimes show intolerance towards the minorities. Reports of the survey, conducted during this research, show that the Christian Community feels that the Muslims are impatient and intolerant towards them. They affirm that Islam is the religion of peace, justice and tolerance, and the majority of the Muslims have very cordial relations with the Christians in Lahore. A London based NGO, The British Pakistani Christian Association (BPCA), while conducting a research on religious minorities, also indicated that, generally, the Christians have cordial relations with other religious minorities and some ‘more liberal Muslims’, (www.justice.gov) but some segments of the society are very emotional and sensitive on religious matters and don’t tolerate the non-Muslims in their society e.g. Asad Maseh, a Christian Polio Worker of Shahdara (neighboring town of Lahore) was reported to be poisoned by his fellow worker in Lahore in 2014. He was admitted to the Mian Munchi Hospital in Lahore in critical conditions; later, he was shifted to the Services Hospital Lahore, but his life could not be saved (Human Rights Monitor 2014-15). Another Christian, Iqbal Masih, a resident of Shafiqabad, Lahore reported to be killed by Asad and Bhatti of the same area. Masih stopped the two from harassing girls. Upon this, they were infuriated and stabbed him to death. They easily managed to escape from the scene according to the sources (The Daily Times).

They don’t care kill a person or even sacrifice their own lives when the religion is involved in any matter e.g. Roshan Masih was shot dead by a Muslim, Sohail Akhtar, when they had a heated argument about the religion (www.christiansinpakistan.com). According to a report of the National Commission for Justice and Peace, published in the Human Rights Monitor 2014-15, two pastors of Pakistan Assemblies of God Church, Lahore, Mr. John and Mr. Basharat, received death threats for their missionary work and preaching of Christianity among the Christians. Police was informed about the incident, but they did not take it serious and it ignored it at first, according to the sources. Later, an FIR was registered, but no action was taken.

Although the Muslims and the Christians live and work side by side for the development of the nation, but there are some incidents of attacks on the Christian colonies by the Muslims.
e.g. an attack on the working class Christian settlement of Joseph Colony was recorded in 2013 
(The Nation). The Christians think that the Muslims are becoming more and more aggressive day 
by day. This situation is also a big hurdle in the way of participation of the Christian Community 
in the political system.

**The Religious Discrimination**

Another issue of the Christian Community is the religious discrimination in the society. According to the Christian leaders, the base of the religious discrimination is found in the basic law of Pakistan. The Constitution of Pakistan guarantees human rights to all its citizens, not on the equal basis but non-Muslim minorities have been guaranteed the fundamental rights according to the teachings of Islam, and in an Islamic State the non-Muslims have not been given the equal status to that of the Muslims. They are not given key the posts and, even in defense, they have no role and the Islamic State collects a special tax called “jazia” for the protection of the non-Muslims.

The critics in the Christian Community express their apprehension about their status in the Constitutions of Pakistan. The 1973 Constitutions of Pakistan includes clauses, according to which, Islam has been declared as the state-religion. Moreover, in Pakistan, only the Muslims have been given the right to become the President and the Prime Minister of the state. The non-Muslims cannot be raised to these positions. According to Dr. Farzand Masih, (a renowned professor at Forman Christian College, University, Lahore), the state has set a bad example for its citizens and at the international level in the Community of Nations. At one place, the constitution grants equal rights to all its citizens, and at another place it restricts the people belonging to a specific religion deny their political right to be elected as the Head of the State. What would you call it, if not the religious discrimination?

The Christians say that in these clauses, the non-Muslims have regarded as the second-class citizens of the state. If they are not allowed to rise to these positions in the political system, how can they participate in the nation-building programs? They remark that they are humiliated on the religious basis. Moreover, the political stability has become a dream for the country because the very principle of equality of all citizens has been compromised in the most authentic national document, says Victor Azraia. Nazir S Bhatti, in his book, “The Trial of Pakistani Christian Nation”, quotes so many examples of the religious discrimination and the religious intolerance in Pakistan e.g. he writes that “The Christian leaders and the common people are not
secure. They are attacked, even killed by the extremist Muslims. Bishop John Joseph was killed only on the religious grounds”. In these circumstances, the Christian Community thinks that they don’t have any role to play in the system and most of the Christians do not dare come forward and participate in the system properly.

The Blasphemy Laws

A very big hurdle in the way of active participation of the minorities in the political system of Pakistan, according to the minorities, is the Blasphemy Laws of Pakistan Penal Code (PPC). Pakistan was established in the name of Islam and the religion has always remained the most sensitive issue in the Pakistani society. Keeping in view the religious sentiments of the Muslims, the Blasphemy Laws (295, 295A, 295B, 295C, 298, 298A, 298B, 298C) have been inducted in the PPC (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973) so that the minority should not insult the religion, worship places, the Holy Quran, the Holy Prophet (PBUH) in any way. The society is divided about the introduction of these laws to the PPC. Its supporters say that the ultimate goal of these laws is to avoid any conflict among different religious groups and also to discourage individuals taking the law into their hands. On the other hand, the opponents are of the view that these laws only serve the interests of the radicals whose target is the religious minorities. But both the groups are agreed on it that these laws are often misused for the personal vengeances. They put forward a number of examples where these laws were used only for personal interests.

According to the Christians, these laws are a source of continuous fear and, in such circumstances; their community does not feel easy to participate freely in the political system. They lead their lives in an atmosphere of uncertainty. Gabriel (2007) is of the view that false accusations against the minorities are very common. Farooqi (2011) in her research about the miseries of the minorities in Pakistan writes about some cases of Blasphemy in which victims were either murdered or sentenced to death. There are also evidences of extra-judicial killings of Blasphemers. The Christian Community is constantly demanding at different forums to repeal such laws, as they see it a serious threat to their lives and security.

The Separate Electorate

The minority representation in the assemblies as well as in the government has always been a serious issue in Pakistan. The problem does not lie with the minorities’ entry into the assemblies or the government, but with the process of election i.e. separate electorate or joint electorate.
During the first two decades in the political history of the country, three electoral systems were experimented in the country. In the First Constituent Assembly (1947-54), separate electorate was demanded for each religious group or community. In the Second Constituent Assembly, the issue of the electoral system was left for the next elected National Assembly of Pakistan which was to be elected directly by the people of Pakistan under 1956 Constitution of Pakistan.

After the promulgation of 1956 Constitution of Pakistan, the then Constituent Assembly was transformed into the National Assembly and the issue of the electoral system lingered on till October 1958 when the Martial Law was imposed in the country by Ayub Khan, on October 7, 1958 (The Dawn). The issue of the electoral system could not be solved because the minorities were demanding the joint electoral system while the majority of the Muslims were in favor of the separate electoral system.

When Ayub Khan came into power, a constitutional commission was appointed in February 1960, to inquire into the failure of democracy and to make detailed recommendations on all the controversial issues related to the making of constitution. The commission prepared a questionnaire to sought opinions of all the stake-holders on the issue of the separate or the joint electorate. The commission received 6,269 written responses of which 55.1% favored the joint electorate without any seats reserved for the minorities, 2.9% supported the joint electorate with some seats reserved for the minorities 40.2% wanted the separate electorate in the country. Despite the majority of the people in the favor of the joint electorate, the commission proposed the separate electoral system for the country on the religious basis. They were of the view that the joint electoral system could not prove better or fruitful for the country (Khan, 2005).

Ayub Khan was not satisfied with the report of the commission; so, he set up another committee to review the recommendations of the constitutional commission. Ayub Khan was not in favor of the separate electoral system, so when the final constitution was promulgated in the country in June 1962, it did not include the separate electorate and Ayub Khan opted for the joint electorate in the country. According to the 1962 Constitution, the Basic Democracies System was introduced in the country and the elections were held on the basis of the joint electoral system. Unfortunately, the system could not succeed, and Ayub Khan’s era ended in 1969.

General Yahya Khan took the control of the country as the Chief Martial Law Administrator on March 25, 1969 (The News). The Constitution of 1962 was also abolished, and
he promulgated his own “Legal Framework Order”. According to this LFO, the general elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies were to be held in 1970 on the basis of joint electorate. But some Christian leaders from the platform of the “Pakistan Masihi League” demanded the separate electorate and boycotted the elections (according to the party sources). The elections were held in the country in 1970. Z. A. Bhutto formed the new government and a new constitution was promulgated in the country in 1973(The Dawn).

Under the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, the system of the joint electorate was not amended, however, the minority seats were reserved in the provincial assemblies. These minority members were not to be elected by the people but the majority party in the assembly was given the sole prerogative of the selection of the minority members (Article 5, Constitution of Pakistan).

Most of the Christian leaders (the most prominent of which was Emmanuel Zafar) opposed such an incomplete representation of the minorities which was restricted only to the provinces. They demanded the minorities’ representation in the National Assembly and the Senate also. The system of the selection of the minority members by the majority party in the assembly was also highly criticized by the minorities. So, as a result of a constant demand of the minorities, the Constitution was amended in 1975 and seats were reserved for the minorities in the National Assembly also, but the system of selection was not changed. The minority members to the National Assembly were selected by the ruling party i.e. the Pakistan People’s Party.

When Zia came into power, in 1977 (The Dawn), he took many steps towards the Islamization of the country. Under his government, the system of the joint electorate was replaced with the separate electorate. In 1985, the elections were held on the non-party basis and 10 seats were reserved for the minorities. So, for the first time in the history of the country; the separate electorate was practiced in which the Muslim voters voted for the Muslim candidates and the non-Muslim elected their own representatives.

The system of the separate electorate was strongly criticized by some political parties as well as the human rights organizations while some non-Muslim groups in the country also raised voices and complaints against it (Church World Service, 2012).

The changes made to the Constitution by Zia were given protection by the parliament through 8th amendment to the Constitution. So, the general elections of 1985, 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 were held under the separate electorate. However, this system of the separate electorate
was abandoned in 2002 (The Dawn) by another military ruler i.e. General Pervez Musharraf who assumed power when he toppled down the elected government of Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif on October 12, 1999 (The Nation). He promulgated his own LFO in 2002 in which he introduced the system of proportionate representation. According to this system, the Muslim majority parties in the assemblies have been given the right to select the minority members to the assemblies in proportion to their strength in the assemblies. The minority members are not elected by the minority population; instead, they are selected by the Muslim political parties. The general elections of 2002, 2008 and 2013 were held under this scheme.

At present, seats reserved for minorities in the assemblies are as follows:

**No. of Seats Reserved for the Minorities in the National and the Provincial Assemblies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Assembly</th>
<th>Total No. of Seats</th>
<th>No. of Seats reserved for the minorities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Assembly</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab Assembly</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh Assembly</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan Assembly</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPK Assembly</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 6.2 Source: National Assembly Library

These members belonging to the minority communities are not elected by the people of their own community; instead, the political parties are required to submit a list of their nominees for the reserved seats, at the time of election. They are also asked to prioritize their nominees. Immediately after the announcement of the results of the general election, the Election Commission of Pakistan calculates each party’s share in the general seats and proportionally allots the reserved seats to that party. For example, if a party wins 50% of the general seats it will be allotted 50% seats reserved for the minorities i.e. 5 out of 10 seats would be given to that party and its top 5 members of nominees list would be declared as successful. In case of two or more parties having exactly equal shares, there are provisions about how to round off fractional shares and the decision is made by the drawing of lots.

At present, all the minorities living in Pakistan favor the joint electorate system. According to them, it is the way to integrate the Muslims and the non-Muslims. They are of the view that, in this electoral system, the minority voters also get importance by the political parties
as well as the local candidates. It is easy for the non-Muslims to approach the local members compared with the previous system when a non-Muslim member represented his community spread over the entire country or the province.

Christina Peter, a social worker, finds the separate electorate system highly discriminatory. But, at the same time, she is not happy with the present system of the joint of electorate in which the minority members are selected, instead of being elected by their community. She expresses her views that whether we go to the members of the national or the provincial assembly elected on the general seat or selected on the seat reserved for the minorities, no body attends to our demands or pays any attention to us. She further says, “as we don’t vote for the minority representatives, we don’t get our issues resolved”.

Moreover, told Mr. Khadim Pervez Maseh, in assemblies the minority members speak only what is told by the party, they don’t hi-light the problems and difficulties faced by their own community. Mostly, they are selected to the assemblies only because of their personal relations with the party leadership. Parties need ‘yes-men’ who should support them through thick and thin. In this regard, the general popularity of the member in his community is not taken into account.

A Christian political worker, Boota Maseh, commenting on this situation told that our representatives in the assemblies don’t take our problems into consideration, only because they don’t need our votes. The only thing they need is to develop good and cordial relations with the influential people who could get them selected to the assemblies. The result of this practice is that, on the basis of close relations with the party leadership, those people become our representatives who are totally unaware of the problems of their community. Such people are uncaring towards their community and are not obliged to anything for them.

According to some Christian sources, the financial position of the candidates also matters in this regard. The rich people of the community try to buy seats reserved for the minorities. Sometimes parties even sell these seats to the highest bidders. As a result, the minority members are not the true representatives of their community. The minorities say that most of the time they are not even familiar with the name of their representative who is selected to represent them in the parliament.

In spite of all these flaws in the system, they don’t reject the joint electorate system. They have a very clear point of view about the separate electorate that it divides the society among the
Muslims and the non-Muslims; the situation which is very harmful for the progress and prosperity of the nation. Secondly, in the separate electorate, the whole country was declared as the constituency for the non-Muslim candidates and it is not possible humanly to approach and address his potential voters and even after the election, he could not make himself available to all his voters.

In the separate electorate system, the non-Muslim voters were of no value for the political parties, so they were ignored but in the joint electorate they are equally important as the Muslim voters. The political parties give equal weight-age to the non-Muslim voters in the general elections. But this does not mean that they support the party-list system. About the solution of this issue, they have divergent views. Some Christians like Patras Maseh say that the non-Muslims should be given the right of double vote (one vote for the Muslim candidate and one for the minority representative) so that they should elect their own representative from their own community along with casting a vote to the Muslim candidate. Another suggestion by some minority leaders is that the political parties should have the non-Muslim office-bearers and award them tickets for the general elections while some political experts demand the removal of the discriminatory laws to make the joint electorate effective.

The Christian Community is of the view that Pakistan is a democratic country and democracy means the election, but not the selection of the people. If the members of the minority group are selected, then the minorities cannot participate in the political process completely. So, the present ‘proportionate formula’ does not serve the cause of democracy or interests of the minority groups in Pakistan. Such a system of election should be adopted in which the minorities get full chance to choose their representatives, but under the umbrella of the joint electorate.

**The Discriminatory Laws**

The minorities feel that they are not only discriminated in the society, but the Constitution of Pakistan also discriminates between the Muslims and the non-Muslims. They are of the view that there are constitutional provisions which discriminate against the non-Muslims’ participation in the political system. During the visit of the Christian Colonies in the Lahore Division, following objections of the Christian Community were brought into light.

The Objective Resolution has been made a part of the constitution; article 2 of the constitution declares Islam as the state religion, the President and the Prime Minister have to be the Muslims (article 41 of the constitution), furthermore, all the high office-bearers like the
President, the Prime Minister, the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the Senate, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, the Federal Ministers and the State Ministers, the Members of the National Assembly or the Senate, the Governor and the Chief Minister of the Province, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker as well as the Members of the Provincial Assembly have to take oath in which it is boldly written that “I will strive to preserve the Islamic Ideology which is the basis of the creation of Pakistan”.

The minority members also have to take this oath. The minorities term it the constitutional discrimination against them. The constitution declares all the people as the equal citizens of Pakistan irrespective of their caste, creed, color or religion, but at the same time it establishes the superiority of the Muslims by declaring Islam as the state-religion and, furthermore, the non-Muslims are forced to take the oath to strive for the preservation of the Islamic Ideology. They believe that if the state continues to discriminate the non-Muslims, the overall social and political environment would remain non-conducive and unsupportive to the ideals of equality. If they don’t have the equal chances in the political system or if they could rise to the position of the Head of the State or the government, then why would they participate in the political system whole-heartedly; they say.

Corruption and Malpractices in the Electoral Process

Most often, the Christian leadership talks about the low level of political participation on the part of their community due to illiteracy, abject poverty, and low the social status, but another factor which restricts the political participation is corruption in the election. There is a general practice that the candidates try to buy the minority votes. For this, they are offered petty benefits, small amount of money which does not exceed from a few hundred rupees, or sometimes, even a square meal, according to the Christian political workers.

The candidate does not approach the individual voters, but the community leaders are involved in this process. These community leaders act as brokers. They make a direct deal with the candidate on the behalf of a certain group. Rate is fixed for each vote and the candidate is assured casting of certain number of votes. For this, the community leaders get commission or sometimes personal benefits from the candidate.

The church and the religious clergy are also reported to have been involved in such malpractices. The religious clergy is considered to be very influential in the community. They can easily convince the people of their community to support or oppose a particular candidate or
party in the election. The people follow the instructions from the church and do what is asked by the religious clergy. Talking about the miseries and the poverty of the Christians, a Christian writes, “I must say that Most of the Bishops of Pakistan are more than corrupt and busy in making money and living their lives as Kings” (www.christiansinpakistant.com). These malpractices limit the political activities of the people, especially; the common man from the minority loses interest in the political system.
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Conversation of Boota Maseh, an employee of Lahore Waste Management Company (LWMC), with the researcher about the electoral process in Pakistan.
Conversation of Patras Maseh, President All Pakistan Ittehad League, with the researcher about the electoral process in Pakistan.
Chapter No. 7

Conclusions

The political system refers to the political phenomenon in a society. All the political activities are performed within the boundaries of the political system. The concept of a political system evolved with the establishment of the state, but the concept of the modern political system was introduced by David Easton in 1950s. In every society, individuals make demands which enter into the boundaries of the political system in the form of inputs. These inputs are transformed into outputs in the form of rules or policies. For the conversion of inputs into outputs, each political system has specialized structures. These inputs and outputs show transaction between a system and its environment i.e. inputs enter into the political system from its environment and the outputs in turn affect the environment.

Each society has specific goals and a political system strives to achieve these goals through specialized structures and institutions, such as, legislature, executive, judiciary, and political parties, etc. All functions of a political system are performed by these institutions i.e. inputs functions as well as output functions are performed by specific institutions of the political system.

At present, several types of political system are working in different states of the world. These political systems are differentiated on the basis of two principles i.e. democracy and modernity. If a political system allows its people to choose the government of their own choice as well as participate in the decision-making process, it is called a democratic system, if not, then it is termed as a non-democratic system. Similarly, if the state has modernized its social and economic system, it is considered as a modern political system, if not, its political system is regarded as a traditional political system. Moreover, the modern political system is considered as the liberal political system while the non-democratic system represents the conservative political system. Both these models are working successfully in different states of the world e.g. the political system of Saudi Arabia is conservative while the political system of America represents the liberal political system.

In the conservative political system people are not given the right of the political participation i.e. they are not given the right to choose the government of their own choice.
through election. They are not a part of the decision-making process in the political system. On the other hand, in the modern democratic system; government is chosen by the people and they are included in the decision-making process. All the policies are formulated according to the will of the people.

State was established for the welfare of the human beings. In this regard, they have been guaranteed the fundamental human rights so that they may make their lives happier. The concept of the fundamental human rights developed gradually in the world and, finally, these rights were gathered and included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. At present, the states grant the fundamental human rights to their citizens according to this declaration. These rights are included in the constitution. The citizens are granted the fundamental human rights and, in turn, they are required to perform some duties for the proper functioning of the political system. The concept of rights is incomplete without duties.

Every state grants the fundamental rights to its citizens, but most of the time, the minorities living in a state cannot enjoy all their fundamental rights, because they are not given the protection of rights. The minorities living in different parts of the world are most often reported to be demanding the protection of fundamental rights. Even in the most advanced countries of the world, the minorities are being treated as the second class citizens. They are forced to face discrimination in different walks of life.

In Saudi Arabia, the minorities have been granted all their fundamental rights, but practically, the conditions are not so favorable for them. The non-Muslims, and even, the Muslims belonging to other sects are not tolerated and they are discriminated in the society. In America, which is considered to be the champion of democracy in the world, the minorities also face discrimination. People even tease them openly and feel proud of it. President Trump has shown his prejudice against the Muslims so many times in his speeches. All these things become a source of constant fear for the Muslims in America.

Pakistan falls in the category of the developing countries. It was established on the basis of the ideology of Islam. The Muslims had a bitter experience of being a minority in the sub-continent. So, at the time of the establishment of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam promised equal status to all the minorities living in Pakistan irrespective of their caste, creed or religious beliefs. All
the fundamental rights were granted to them by the constitution of Pakistan. As a result, they are able to participate actively in the political system. The non-Muslims are seen participating in different walks of life. The Hindus and the Christians are the largest minority groups living in Pakistan. Although people of these communities are seen in every part of the country, but mostly, the Hindus are found in interior Sindh and the Christians are more in numbers in Peshawar and Lahore.

The Lahore Division is the part of Punjab province. It consists of the ancient cities of Lahore, Kasur, Sheikhupura and Nankana Sahib. The Christians have been residing here since the Mughal period. Their population increased prominently during the British Rule. Since the creation of Pakistan, they are the largest minority group of the Lahore Division.

They are participating in every department. Their services in different departments like education, health and care, business and trade, art and music as well as in sports are praiseworthy. They are also taking part in politics long before the creation of Pakistan. They also participated in the freedom movement side by side with the Muslims. Both the prominent political parties of the sub-continent i.e. the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League were established with the help of the Christians. When in 1928, ‘Nehru Report’, was presented for the future constitution of India, it was only reflection of the Hindu dominance in India; so the report was rejected by the Muslims under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam. The Christians also rejected it along with other minorities of India. In the Round Table Conference, when Gandhi insisted on India being treated as a single nation, the minorities recorded their protest against it and the Christians supported the Muslim stance once again.

The Congress Ministries were formed in 1937 as a result of the elections in India. The minorities were bitterly treated during this period when the ministries resigned in 1939; the Muslims observed the ‘Salvation Day’ and the Christians also participated in these celebrations. In 1940, when the ‘Pakistan Resolution’ was passed in the annual meeting of the All India Muslim League at Minto Park, many prominent Christian leaders not only participated in the meeting but also completely supported the resolution. Later, throughout the course of the freedom movement the Christians extended an unconditional support to the Muslims. At the time of the partition, the Punjab Assembly was to decide the fate of the province and the Christians votes got the significance of the casting vote. The Christians in Punjab Assembly voted in favor
of the Muslims and Punjab was divided between India and Pakistan. Had the Christians not voted for Pakistan, the whole Punjab province would have been given to India.

The Christians completely supported Quaid-e-Azam and they were promised by him that they would get all the fundamental rights in Pakistan. He wanted Pakistan to be a modern democratic country. Later, when the Constitution of Pakistan was formulated, it included all the fundamental human rights. They were free to participate in the political activities in the same way as before the partition. The Christians were less in number before partition, but they were well-organized. Unfortunately, after independence, their role in the political sphere does not seem as active as they are in other fields like education and health and care. The reason behind it is that they are not satisfied with the electoral system of the country. As a result, they don’t take interest in the political affairs of the country.

Before partition, under the Hindu domination, the Muslims demanded a separate electorate for the safeguard of their rights in the sub-continent. When Pakistan came into being, most of the Muslim leaders suggested the separate electorate for the minorities so that their rights may be protected. But most of the minority leaders opposed the idea of the separate electorate. The issue of representation could not be solved in the constitution which was promulgated in the country in 1956. The issue was left to be decided by the provincial assemblies of Pakistan. Later on, the East Pakistan where the Hindus were the largest minority at that time decided the joint electorate while the system of the separate electorate was decided in the West Pakistan. In 1962, when Ayub Khan promulgated his constitution in the country, the system of the joint electorate was decided for the National and Provincial Assemblies. Surprisingly, some Christian leaders, under the leadership of Emmanuel Zafar, demanded the separate electorate for the minorities and started a campaign in favor of the separate electorate. They also boycotted the general elections, held in 1970. At last, their demand was fulfilled in 1985 when an amendment was made in the constitution and the system of the separate electorate was decided for the minorities, but the issue of representation for the minorities could not be solved, because many voices were raised against this system also from different minority groups including some Christian groups of Lahore. In 2002, during Musharraf rule, the constitution was amended once again and the system of the joint electorate was revived on the demand of the minorities. Unfortunately, the minorities don’t seem satisfied with this system also, because in this system, seats have reserved for the
minorities in the assemblies, but the elections are not held on those seats; instead the minorities’ representatives are nominated on those seats. This is acceptable to the minorities so they show their dislike against this system. The minorities have remained unsatisfied with regard to the electoral system since the birth of Pakistan. Though they are given representation in assemblies, but their interest in politics could not be developed. The present electoral system is also unacceptable to them. During the survey, not a single member of the Christian Community of Lahore showed its satisfaction about the present electoral system, everyone wants change in the system in a way they would be able to choose their own representatives through their votes. They have their political parties, but these parties have very small membership; as the people are less interested in politics. At present, three Christian political parties of the Lahore Division have been registered with the Election Commission of Pakistan. But only one Christian candidate contested the election on the general seat in 2013 elections from the platform of the Christian political party and the other one contested the election on the MQM ticket. According to the sources of the Christian political parties, the Christian Community of Lahore is less interested in political activities, because they have been deprived of their right to choose their representative of their own will. Moreover, the social status and illiteracy are also among the major reasons of lack of political participation of the Christians in Lahore.

The Christians are religiously attached to the field of health and care; that is why they seem very active in this field. Serving the ailing humanity is the source of spiritual satisfaction for them. At the time of the partition, so many refugee camps were established by the Christian Community of Lahore. The United Christian Hospital (UCH) was also very active in Lahore to provide medical facilities to the people living in the relief camps. It was established in Lahore at the time of the establishment of Pakistan. So many refugee camps were also established by this hospital on Ferozpur Road, Lahore, for the refugees coming from India.

The Christians have provided remarkable services to the nation in the field of health and care. First heart-surgery in the country was conducted in the United Christian Hospital, Lahore. A number of free medical camps are organized by this hospital every year. Free eye camps are a specialty of this hospital. The present Medical Director of this hospital, Dr Akash Mathew, is an eye specialist. He takes keen interest in organizing free eye camps in the surrounding areas of the Lahore Division.
The role played by the Christian doctors, nurses, and other paramedical staff during the days of war or other calamities is also appreciable. Whenever the sacred homeland is in the state of emergency, the Christian Community comes forward to provide its services to the nation.

The Christians of Lahore are also very active in the field of education long before the establishment of Pakistan. First Christian Missionary Educational Institution, the “Mission High School”, was established in Lahore in 1849. At present, there are a number of Christian educational institutions in Lahore and hundreds of thousands of students have completed their education from these institutions. These institutions have produced so many world-famous personalities which have earned a good name for the country in different fields.

Another prominent feature of these institutions is that, these institutions are well-organized and well-administered. They are imparting quality education on secular basis without any type of discrimination on the basis of caste, color, creed or religion. The Christians’ role in judiciary is also very praise-worthy. They performed their duties impartially without indulging in politics or other unprofessional activities.

The Christians’ role in the defense of the country is also very remarkable. The Christians feel proud that the first Army Chief of Pakistan was a Christian. The Christians’ role during the Indo-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971 cannot be ignored. The services of Cecil Chaudhry in Pakistan Air Force have been written in golden letters.

In spite of having very positive role in the development of the country, most of the Christians are living their life under the poverty line. The poverty rate in the Christians of Lahore is very high. They don’t have access to the basic needs of life. Most of the Christian colonies in Lahore are underdeveloped and no attention is given to their development.

The Christians are running the famous educational institutions in Lahore, but the majority of the people of their community are illiterate. They are not provided with the facilities of education. The literacy in the Christian Community is very low and even the lowest, among the women who are considered to be the builders of young generation.

In 1970s, all the Christian educational institutions were nationalized by Z.A. Bhutto. This process of nationalization of the Christian institutions had a very bad effect on the Christian
Community. The way to the entrance to their own educational institutions had been stopped. These poor and illiterate non-Muslims are discriminated everywhere in the society. They are offered jobs which are rejected by the Muslims. They are not given the due status in the society.

They have to face discrimination not only at the social level but also discriminated on the religious grounds. Even in the Constitution of Pakistan, the minorities have been discriminated and the Muslims have been given upper hand over the non-Muslims i.e. a non-Muslim cannot be raised to the position of the Prime Minister or the President in Pakistan. Another problem of the Christian Community, in this regard, is the presence of the Blasphemy Laws in the Penal Code of Pakistan. These laws are a source of continuous fear for them. They are of the view that, most often, these laws are used against the Christians due to personal grudges.

Findings

- A political system allows the performance of the political activity within its boundaries. It performs the function of shaping the public opinion, receiving demands and the formulation of rules and policies. The political systems are distinguished on the basis of opportunities given to people to participate in the process of the formation of government as well as in the decision-making. The political system may be conservative and liberal with regard to its nature, but the political system of Pakistan is a combination of both these systems i.e. it has the properties of the conservative as well as the liberal political system. All the laws and the state institutions are formulated and organized on the basis of Islam which shows its conservative nature. On the other hand, people have been given the right to choose the government of their own choice and they are included in the decision-making process which points towards its modernity and liberty.

- In the Constitution of Pakistan 1973, all the fundamental human rights have been granted to all the citizens irrespective of their religion. But at the same time the non-Muslims have been deprived of the right of becoming the Head of the State or Government. Islam has been declared as the state-religion and the non-Muslims have been discriminated in the most authentic document of the country. There is a contradiction in the provisions of the constitution.

- At present, the Christians are the largest minority group of the Lahore Division. They have been residing here side by side with the Muslims long before the creation of
Pakistan. They are seen providing their services to the nation in different departments; the most prominent of which are education, and health and care.

- They also took part in the freedom movement and supported the Muslims’ Stance at every step. They assured Quaid-e-Azam of their unconditional support to the Muslims of the sub-continent. At the time of the partition, when Punjab Assembly was asked to decide the future of the province; at that time, the votes of the Christian members of the assembly went in the favor of the Muslims and Pakistan got Punjab. Pakistan could not get Punjab without the support of the Christians.

- The Christians are free to participate in the political activity. They are free to contest elections, hold public meetings, and cast their votes in elections. But their participation in the political sphere has been very low since the establishment of Pakistan. The reasons for the low level of participation on their part are the electoral system, illiteracy and the social status. They are not satisfied with the electoral system which has been a source of continuous conflict since the birth of Pakistan. Most of the Christian Community is illiterate; they are unaware of the importance of their votes in the political process. They think that nothing would change with their votes. Moreover, the seats reserved for the minorities in the assemblies are filled through nomination, instead of election. The majority of the Christians in Lahore don’t know even the names of their representatives in the assemblies.

- The seats reserved for the minorities in assemblies are very less. For a long time, the minorities had been demanding representation in the Senate (Upper House of the Parliament); now the constitution has been amended and four seats have been reserved for the minorities in the Senate also. In Pakistan, 5% quota has been reserved for the minorities in government jobs. They demand an increase in the number of seats reserved for the minorities in assemblies. In this way, they would be able to solve their issues and protect their rights in a better way. At present, their strength in assemblies is very less; so no one gives importance to their voice, raised at the forum of assemblies.

- There are different political parties of Christians in the Lahore Division, but these are not very active in these areas. The membership of these political parties is very less. The leadership of all these parties is not a part of any assembly; so they are less interested in the issues faced by the people of their community. At present, there are three political
parties of the Christians of Lahore, registered with the Election Commission of Pakistan and the Presidents of two political parties don’t live in Lahore i.e. Mr. Patras Barkat Maseh (President, All Pakistan Ittehad League) resides in Islamabad and Mr. Emmanuel Zafar (President, Masihi Awami Party) resides abroad; only Mr. Khadim Pervez Masih (President, Pakistan National Democratic Party) resides in Lahore, but none of them is the member of Parliament.

- According to the present joint electoral system, the minorities are free to contest elections on the general seats. Moreover, seats have been reserved for the minorities in each assembly. The members on these seats are nominated by the political parties according to the proportionate representation i.e. the Muslim Political Parties have been given the right to select candidates of their own choice on the seats reserved for the minorities. The minorities complain that they have not given the right to choose their representatives in the assemblies. The selected members don’t come to the Christian Community and don’t bother to solve the issues faced by their community. They speak the language of their leadership and always try to please their leadership so that they may be selected again in the assembly. According to the Christian sources, they have nothing to do with the problems of the Christian Community. During the survey conducted in this research, when the Christians were asked whether they knew the name of their Christian Representative in the National and the Provincial Assembly? Shockingly, the majority of the people answered in ‘No’. When questioned ‘why they do not know the names of their Christian Representatives? They answered, “They are not our true representatives elected by the Christians. They are selected by the Muslim Political Parties. They don’t bother to come to us and listen to our problems. So, the people don’t know their names”.

- The majority of the Christians of Lahore are of the view that the religious clergy is involved in politics which is not a good sign. They are our religious leaders and are held at high esteem; but when they enter into politics, it serves only to damage their image in the society. Some are of the view that the religious clergy get involved in politics in order to get the financial benefits. They make a commitment with any political party, and then, convince their community to vote in favor of the political party from which they have got money or other benefits. So, the majority of the people expressed their views during the survey that the clergy should remain aloof from politics.
• The United Christian Hospital is the only big hospital of Christians in Lahore. It was established with the establishment of Pakistan and has a long history of serving the nation. First heart-surgery in Pakistan was performed at this hospital. It has the approval of 216 beds, but only 100 are operational at present. Before 1985, all the beds were operational; since then, the hospital has been faced with the financial problems. The hospital is located in the prime location of Lahore, but cannot give its hundred percent because of its financial crisis.

• Most of the Christian Educational Institutions in Lahore were established long before the birth of Pakistan. These institutions are known for their discipline and quality education. Education in these institutions is imparted on the secular basis. In 1970s, these educational institutions were nationalized by the government which affected their performance badly. Some of these institutions have been returned to the Christians and now the standard of education in these educational institutions is very high.

• When these educational institutions were under the control of the government, the fee was very low. Even the poor students from the Christian Community could join these institutions, but since these institutions have been returned to the Christians, high fee is charged from the students. The majority of the Christians in Lahore are poor; so they are not in a position to avail of the facility of education in their own institutions; at present e.g. the Forman Christian College, University, and the Kinnaird College for Women are among the most expensive educational institutions of Lahore.

• Though 5% quota has been reserved for the minorities, but a very small number of Christians is seen in the government institutions other than education, and health and care. Very few names are seen in the management, judiciary, and defense, or even in business. No doubt, Justice Cornelius and Cecil Chaudhry are very big names in judiciary and defense, but very few examples are seen other than these.

• The majority of the areas in the Lahore Division, where the Christians are residing, lack the basic facilities of life. There are no proper schools for the children. They don’t have access to clean water. The roads are unpaved. Though conditions are somehow better in Lahore city, but the areas other than this city show misery of the people.

• The majority of the Christians in the Lahore Division are illiterate. They are not qualified for the jobs in different departments of the government. As a result, the unemployment
rate is high in Christians. Most of them are leading their lives below the poverty line, unable to send their children to the most expensive educational institutions. At present, there are the world-famous educational institutions of the Christians working in Lahore, but they are so expensive that the Christians cannot avail of the educational facilities of these institutions. Some Christians expressed their views that if our own institutions are not interested in uplifting our community, who would come for our help?

- Another issue for the Christian Community is of social discrimination. There are complains of social discrimination against the Christians in Lahore. During the survey, it was revealed that the majority of the Christians who are well-educated and hold high position in government or private sector, say that, they don’t face any type of discrimination at social level, but the Christians who are working in the waste-management company as sweeper or sanitary worker, face social discrimination. They are discriminated not only by the Muslims but also by the Christians of their own community. During the research, so many Christian sweepers and sanitary workers told that even the high class the Christians don’t like to shake hands or dine with us. So, it can be said that they face discrimination not on the religious basis but also on the basis of their social status and work they do.

- The Christian Community, most often, complain that they are often offered jobs which are rejected by the Muslims i.e. they are given the job of sweepers and sanitary workers. They have to carry the garbage and other waste material. But, shockingly, the present government, when hired almost 100 Muslims as sweepers and sanitary workers in the Lahore Waste-Management Company, the Christians protested against it claiming that these jobs only belong to the Christians and the government should not appoint the Muslims as sweepers and sanitary workers in the Lahore Waste-Management Company.

- Though the Muslims and the Christians have been living together in Lahore for centuries and have very cordial relations with each other, but sometime the Christians become victim of the culture of intolerance. Some segments of the society don’t tolerate the non-Muslims and show their prejudice whenever they get a chance. The Christian Colony near Badami Bagh was set on fire; the Christian Churches have been attacked in the recent past. All this show that where, on the one hand, the people are trying to create the
inter-faith harmony, the culture of extremism is also being promoted at the same time by some segments of the society.

- The Christians are of the view that there are laws in the constitution which are discriminatory in nature e.g. the constitution declares Islam as the state-religion, the President and the Prime Minister should be the Muslim, moreover, all the minority members in the assemblies have to take oath to strive to preserve the Islamic Ideology. The Blasphemy Laws are also a source of continuous fear for the minorities. Though these laws were made to protect the sanctity of Islam and the Prophet (P.B.U.H), but unfortunately, most of the time these are misused for personal vengeance. Such a law or procedure must be introduced that these laws should not be misused by any person belonging to any community.

- During the research, when the Christian colonies were visited for the data-collection, the majority of the Christians showed non-co-operative behavior which shows that either they are fed up of the present system or they have fears in their minds. The majority of the Christians showed their apprehensions that this data might be used against them and they would have to face difficulties in future. Another aspect of it may be that they don’t want anybody to interfere in their day-to-day activities. There is a lack of trust in them about the society and the government.

Recommendations

- The Constitution of Pakistan 1973 provides all the fundamental rights to all the citizens of Pakistan irrespective of their religion. Now, the government should take steps to safeguard these rights so that the minorities should participate efficiently in the political system.

- All the citizens should be treated equally and equal opportunities should be given to all the communities living in Pakistan.

- The Christian Educational Institutions are a precious asset of Pakistan. They should be provided with sufficient funds by the government so that they may work smoothly.

- The Christian institutions are well-disciplined, well-organized, and have a high standard of quality education. These institutions should be encouraged to open their campuses all over Pakistan.
• Teaching and administrative staff of these Christian institutions should be appointed in the government institutions so that their teaching and administrative experiences should be utilized for the betterment of the educational system of Pakistan.

• Another thing which could be helpful in this respect is that teaching and administrative staff of the government institutions should be given chances to visit these institutions and observe their teaching and administrative techniques so that these could be experimented in the government institutions.

• All the Christian institutions, nationalized during 1970’s by Z.A. Bhutto, should be given back to the Christians.

• Most of the Christian colonies don’t have schools and colleges. Educational institutions should be established by the government in these colonies to raise the literacy rate in the Christian Community.

• Education in Pakistan should be organized on the national basis reflecting the national outlook. It should not encourage sectarianism or hatred towards the minorities.

• Services of the Christians in the field of health and care are also remarkable, but most of the Christians do not hold high positions; rather they are a part of the paramedical staff.

• The number of the Christian doctors is very less. Admission quota for the minorities in the educational institutions, especially, in medical colleges should be allocated.

• The UCH is the only Christian hospital in the Lahore Division. Hundreds of patients visit this hospital daily. Its monthly expenditures are in millions. The government should provide the financial assistance to this hospital.

• If the society as well as the government recognize services of the Christian institutions and also help them, it will definitely improve the performance of these institutions and more and more people will get benefit from these institutions.

• Most of the Christian population, even in Lahore, is poor and illiterate; the government should provide for the education of the Christian Community which would definitely help improve their financial conditions.

• Jobs should also be provided to the minorities.

• Job quota for the minorities, especially, the Christians should be increased in the government departments like education, health and care, civil service, police, judiciary, and the armed forces.
• Measures should be taken so that the Blasphemy Laws could not be misused. In this regard a special committee should be established to investigate into the matter. This committee should monitor that a person is actually guilty of blasphemy against the Quran or the Prophet (PBUH).

• Proper arrangements should also be made in the PPC to avoid the misuse of Blasphemy Laws.

• Media should play its role to create the religious tolerance among the people of Pakistan. The inter-faith harmony is the need of the hour because Pakistan is faced with the greatest danger of all the times i.e. terrorism. The integration of the Pakistani Nation is very essential to cope with this danger successfully.

• The Christians don’t seem very active in politics; such an electoral system should be adopted that they could get chance to elect their own representatives in the assemblies.

• Reserved seats for the minorities in the National as well as the Provincial Assemblies should be increased in proportion to their population in the country.

• Political parties should also award the party designations as well as tickets to contest elections to the political workers belonging to the minorities.
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Appendix
Appendix I: Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a milestone document in the history of human rights. Drafted by representatives with different legal and cultural backgrounds from all regions of the world, the Declaration was proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on 10 December 1948 (General Assembly resolution 217A) as a common standard of achievements for all peoples and all nations. It sets out, for the first time, fundamental human rights to be universally protected and it has been translated into over 500 languages.

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore The General Assembly proclaims this Universal Declaration Of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
Article 2
Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3
Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4
No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5
No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6
Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7
All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8
Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9
No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10
Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11
(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.
(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.
Article 12
No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13
(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14
(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15
(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.
(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16
(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17
(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18
Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19
Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20
(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.
Article 21
(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22
Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23
(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24
Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25
(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26
(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.
Article 27
(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28
Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29
(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30
Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.
Appendix II: Constitutional Provisions

Appendix II-A: Some provisions of Constitution of Saudi Arabia regarding political system of Saudi Arabia.

Part 1: General Principles

Article 1
The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a sovereign Arab Islamic State.

Religion: Islam
Constitution: The Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunnah (traditions)
Language: Arabic
Capital: Riyadh

Part 2: System of Government

Article 5
a. The system of government in Saudi Arabia shall be monarchical.
b. The dynasty right shall be confined to the sons of the Founder, King Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Rahman Al Saud (Ibn Saud), and the sons of sons. The most eligible among them shall be invited, through the process of "bai'ah", to rule in accordance with the Book of God and the Prophet's Sunnah.
c. The King names the Crown Prince and may relieve him of his duties by Royal Order.
d. The Crown Prince shall devote full time to his office and to any other duties which may be assigned to him by the King.
e. The Crown Prince shall assume the powers, of the king on the latter's death, pending the outcome of the "bai'ah".

Article 6
Citizens shall pledge allegiance to the King on the basis of the Book of God and the Prophet's Sunnah, as well as on the principle of "hearing is obeying" both in prosperity and adversity, in situations pleasant and unpleasant.

Article 7
The regime derives its power from the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunnah which rule over this and all other State Laws.

Article 8
The system of government in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is established on the foundation of justice, "Shoura" and equality in compliance with the Islamic Shari'ah (the revealed law of Islam).

Part 5: Rights and Duties

Article 23
The State shall protect the Islamic Creed and shall cater to the application of Shari'ah.
State shall enjoin good and forbid evil, and shall undertake the duties of the call to Islam.

**Article 24**
The State shall maintain and serve the Two Holy Mosques. It shall ensure the security and safety of all those who call at the Two Holy Mosques so that they may be able to visit or perform the pilgrimage and "Umrah" (minor pilgrimage) in comfort and ease.

**Article 25**
The State shall be keen to realize the aspirations of the Arab Muslim nations with regard to solidarity and unity while enhancing its relations with friendly states.

**Article 26**
The State shall protect human rights in accordance with Islamic Shari'ah.

**Article 27**
The State shall guarantee the right of its citizens and their families in an emergency of in case of disease, disability and old age. Likewise it shall support the social security system and encourage individuals and institutions to contribute to charitable pursuits.

**Article 28**
The State shall provide job opportunities to all able-bodied people and shall enact laws to protect both the employee and the employer.

**Article 29**
The State shall foster sciences, arts and culture. It shall encourage scientific research, shall preserve Arab and Islamic heritage and shall contribute to Arab, Islamic and human civilization.

**Article 30**
The State shall provide public education and shall commit itself to the eradication of illiteracy.

**Article 31**
The State shall be solicitous for promoting public health and shall provide medical care to every citizen.

**Article 32**
The State shall seek to conserve, protect and develop the environment and prevent pollution.

**Article 33**
The State shall build and equip the armed forces to defend the Islamic faith, the Two Holy Mosques, the society and the homeland.

**Article 35**
The rules which govern the Saudi Arabian nationality shall be defined by the law.

**Article 36**
The State shall ensure the security of all its citizens and expatriates living within its domains. No individual shall be detained, imprisoned or have his actions restricted except under the provisions of the law.

**Article 37**
Houses are inviolable. They shall not be entered without the permission of their owners, nor shall they be searched except in cases specified by the law.
Article 38
Punishment shall be restricted to the actual offender. No crime shall be established as such and no punishment shall be imposed except under a judicial or law provision. No punishment shall be imposed except for acts that take place after en-action of the law provision governing them.

Article 39
Mass media, publication facilities and other means of expression shall function in a manner that is courteous and fair and shall abide by State laws. They shall play their part in educating the masses and boosting national unity. All that may give rise to mischief and discord, or may compromise the security of the State and its public image, or may offend against man's dignity and rights shall be banned. Relevant regulations shall explain how this is to be done.

Article 40
All forms of correspondence, whether conveyed by telegraph, post or any other means of communication shall be considered sacrosanct. They may not be confiscated, delayed or read, and telephones may not be tapped except as laid down in the law.

Article 41
Foreign residents in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia shall abide by its regulations and shall show respect for Saudi social traditions, values and feelings.

Article 42
The State shall grant political asylum, if so required by the public interest. The law and international agreements shall define the procedures and rules for the extradition of common criminals.

Article 43
The "Majlis" of the King and the "Majlis" of the Crown Prince shall be open to all citizens and to anyone who may have a complaint or a grievance. Every individual shall have the right to communicate with public authorities regarding any topic he may wish to discuss.

Part 6: Powers of the State

Article 44
The powers of the State shall comprise:

- The Judicial Power
- The Executive Power
- The Organizational Power

All these powers shall cooperate in performing their duties according to this Law and other regulations. The King is the ultimate source of all these authorities.

Article 45
The source of Ifta (religious ruling) in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunnah. The law shall specify the composition of the Senior Ulema Board and of the Administration of Religious Research and Ifta and its jurisdictions.

Article 46
The judicial authority is an independent power. In discharging their duties, the judges bow to no authority other than that of Islamic Shari'ah.
Article 47
Both citizens and foreign residents have an equal right to litigation. The necessary procedures are set forth by the law.

Article 48
Courts shall apply the provisions of Islamic Shari'ah to cases brought before them, according to the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunnah as well as other regulations issued by the Head of State in strict conformity with the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunnah.

Article 49
Subject to the provisions of Article 53 of this law, the courts shall have jurisdiction to deal with all kinds of disputes and crimes.

Article 50
The King, or whomsoever he may deputize, shall be concerned with the implementation of the judicial verdicts.

Article 51
The law specifies the formation of the supreme judicial council and its functions as well as the organization and jurisdiction of the courts.

Article 52
Judges are appointed and their service is terminated by a Royal Order upon a proposal by the supreme judicial council as specified by the law.

Article 53
The law defines the structure and jurisdiction of the Court of Grievances.

Article 54
The law shall specify the reference, organization and jurisdictions of the Board of Investigation and Public Prosecution.

Article 55
The King shall undertake to rule according to the rulings of Islam and shall supervise the application of Shari'ah, the regulations, and the State's general policy as well as the protection and defense of the country.

Article 56
The King shall be the Prime Minister and shall be assisted in the performance of his duties by members of the Council of Ministers according to the rulings of this law and other laws. The Council of Ministers Law shall specify the Council's Powers with regard to internal and external affairs, organizing government bodies and coordinating their activities. Likewise the Law shall specify the conditions which the Ministers must satisfy, their eligibility, the method of their accountability along with all other matters related to them. The Council of Ministers' law and jurisdiction shall be modified with this Law.

Article 57
a. The King shall appoint the Deputy Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers and may relieve them of their duties by a Royal order.
   b. The Deputy Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers shall be jointly responsible before the King for the applications of Islamic Shari'ah, the laws and the State's general policy.
   c. King shall have the right to dissolve and re-form the Council of Ministers.

Article 58
The King shall appoint ministers, deputy ministers and officials of the "excellent grade"
category and he may dismiss them by a Royal order in accordance with the rules of the law.

Ministers and heads of independent authorities shall be responsible before the Prime Minister for their ministries and authorities.

**Article 59**
The law shall prescribe the provisions pertaining to civil service, including salaries, bonuses, compensation, privileges and retirement pensions.

**Article 60**
The King shall be the Supreme Commander of the armed forces and shall appoint military officers and terminate their service in accordance with the law.

**Article 61**
The King shall have the right to declare a state of emergency and general mobilization as well as war.

**Article 62**
If danger threatens the safety of the Kingdom, the integrity of its territory, the security of its people and their interests, or impedes the performance of State institutions, the King shall take necessary and speedy measures to confront this danger. If the King feels that these measures may better be permanent, he then shall take whatever legal action he deems necessary in this regard.

**Article 63**
The King receives Kings and heads of state, appoints his representatives to other countries and accepts accreditation of the representatives of other countries to the Kingdom.

**Article 64**
The King awards medals in the same manner as specified by the law.

**Article 65**
The King may delegate parts of his authority to the Crown Prince by a Royal order.

**Article 66**
In the event of his traveling abroad, the King shall issue a Royal Order deputizing the Crown Prince to run the affairs of the State and look after the interests of the people as stated in the Royal Order.

**Article 67**
Acting within its term of reference, the Organizational Power shall draw up regulations and by-laws to safeguard public interests or eliminate corruption in the affairs of the State in accordance with the rulings of the Islamic Shari'ah. It shall exercise its powers in compliance with this law and the two other laws of the Council of Ministers and the Majlis Al-Shoura (Consultative Council).

**Article 68**
The Majlis Al-Shoura shall be constituted. Its law shall determine the structure of its formation, the method by which it exercises its special powers and the selection of its members. The King shall have the right to dissolve the Majlis Al-Shoura and re-form it.

**Article 69**
The King may call the Council of Ministers and Majlis Al-Shoura to hold a joint meeting to which he may invite whomsoever he wishes for a discussion of whatsoever issues he may like to raise.

**Article 70**
Laws, treaties, international agreements and concessions shall be issued and modified by Royal Decrees.
**Article 71**
Laws shall be published in the official gazette and they shall take effect as from the date of their publication unless another date is stipulated.

**Shura Council Law**

**Article 1**
In compliance with Allah Almighty words:

[Those who respond to their Lord, and establish regular prayer; who (conduct) their affairs by mutual consultation; who spend out of what we bestow on them for sustenance] "Shura Sura (Chapter XL11), Verse 38". And [It is part of the Mercy of Allah that thou dost deal gently with them. Wert thou severe or harsh-hearted, they would have broken away from about thee : so pass over ( their faults , and ask for ( Allah's ) forgiveness for them ; and consult them in affairs ( of moment ). Then, when thou hast taken a decision, put thy trust in Allah. For Allah loves those who put their trust (in Him)" Al-Imran Sura (Chapter III), Verse 159". And following His Messenger Peace Be Upon Him (PBUH) in consulting his Companions, and urging the (Muslim) Nation to engage in consultation. Shura Council shall be established to exercise the tasks entrusted to it, according to this Law and the Basic Law of Governance while adhering to Quran and the Path (Sunnah) of his Messenger (PBUH), maintaining brotherly ties and cooperating unto righteousness and piety.

**Article 2**
Shura Council shall hold fast to the bond of Allah and adhere to the sources of Islamic legislation. All members of the Council shall strive to serve the public interest, and preserve the unity of the community, the entity of the State and nation interests.

**Article 3**
Shura Council shall consist of a Speaker and One hundred and fifty members chosen by the King from amongst scholars, those of knowledge, expertise and specialists.

**Article 4**
It is stipulated that the member of Shura Council shall be as follows:

a. A Saudi national by descent and upbringing.

b. A person well known for uprightness and competence.

c. A person not less than 30 years of age.

**Article 5**
A member may submit a request to resign his membership to the Speaker, who in turn shall bring it before the King.

**Article 6**
Accountability of a member shall be done on failing to perform duties, and shall be trailed according to rules and procedures to be issued by royal decree.

**Article 7**
On vacancy of a member position, the King shall choose a substitution and a royal decree shall be issued to this effect.

**Article 8**
No member may exploit his membership for his own interest.

**Article 9**
The membership shall not be combined with any governmental post, or with the management
of any organization, unless the King deems it necessary.

**Article 10**
Speaker, Vice-Speaker, and Secretary General shall be appointed and released by royal decree. Their ranks, rights, duties, and all their affairs shall be defined by royal decree.

**Article 11**
Prior to assumption of their duties, Speaker, members and Secretary General shall take the following Oath before the King:

"I swear to Allah Almighty to be loyal to my religion, then to my King and Country, and not to reveal any of the State's secrets, to preserve its interests and laws, and to perform my duties with sincerity, integrity, loyalty and fairness."

**Article 12**
Riyadh City shall be the seat of the Shura Council. The Council may convene in other locations within the Kingdom if the King deems it appropriate.

**Article 13**
Shura Council term shall be four Hijri years, effective from the specified date in the Royal Decree issued for its formation. A new Council shall be formed at least two months prior to the end of the current Council. In case term of the current council ends before a new formation; current Council shall remain active until the new formation is accomplished. Numbers of the newly selected members shall not be less than half of the current Council.

**Article 14**
The King, or whoever may deputize, shall deliver an annual royal speech at Shura Council on State's domestic and foreign policy.

**Article 15**
Shura Council shall express its opinion on State's general policies referred by Prime Minister. The Council shall specifically have the right to exercise the following:

a. Discuss the general plan for economic and social development and give view.
b. Revising laws and regulations, international treaties and agreements, concessions, and provide whatever suggestions it deems appropriate.
c. Analyzing laws.
d. Discuss government agencies annual reports and attaching new proposals when it deems appropriate.

**Article 16**
A meeting of Shura Council shall not be valid without a quorum of at least two thirds of members, including Speaker or whoever may deputizes. Resolutions shall not be considered valid without members' majority approval.

**Article 17**
Shura council's resolutions shall be submitted to the king who decides what resolutions to be referred to Cabinet. If views of both Shura Council and Cabinet agree, the resolutions are issued after the king approval. If views of both councils vary the issue shall be returned back to Shura Council to decide whatever it deems appropriate, and send the new resolution to the king who takes the final decisions.

**Article 18**
Laws, international treaties and agreements, and concessions shall be issued and amended by
royal decrees after being reviewed by the Shura Council.

**Article 19**
Shura Council shall form the necessary specialized committees amongst its members to exercise power within its jurisdiction. Further, it may form ad hoc committees to review any item on its agenda.

**Article 20**
Shura Council's committees may seek non-council member’s assistance of whomever fit upon Speaker's approval.

**Article 21**
Shura Council shall have Steering Committee composed of Speaker, Vice Speaker, and heads of specialized committees.

**Article 22**
Speaker shall submit to Prime Minister requesting accountability of ministers. A minister shall have the right to participate in the deliberation but not the right to vote.

**Article 23**
Shura Council shall have the jurisdiction proposing a draft of a new law or an amendment of enacting law and study these within the council. Speaker shall submit the Council's resolution of new or amended law to the king.

**Article 24**
Speaker of Shura Council shall submit a request to the Prime Minister in providing the Council with documents and data in possession of government agencies, which the Council deems necessary to facilitate its work.

**Article 25**
Speaker shall submit an annual report to the King regarding Council's work in accordance with its regulations.

**Article 26**
Civil service laws shall be applying to Shura Council employees unless the regulations provide otherwise.

**Article 27**
The King shall allocate Shura Council special budget. The budget shall be spent in accordance with rules issued by royal decree.

**Article 28**
Shura Council's financial matters, auditing and closing accounts shall be regulated by special rules issued by royal decree.

**Article 29**
Shura Council regulations shall define the functions of the Speaker, Vice Speaker, General Secretary, bodies, methods of meetings conducting, work management, committees' works and voting procedure. The regulations shall also specify rules of debate, responding principles and other matters conducive to order and discipline within Council, so Council shall exercise jurisdiction for the Kingdom welfare and nation prosperity. These regulations shall be issued by royal decree.

**Article 30**
Amendment of this Law can only be made in the same manner of the promulgation.
Appendix II-B: Some provisions of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding political system of the state.

Preamble

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran advances the cultural, social, political, and economic institutions of Iranian society based on Islamic principles and norms, which represent an honest aspiration of the Islamic Ummah [community]. This aspiration was exemplified by the nature of the great Islamic Revolution of Iran, and by the course of the Muslim people's struggle, from its beginning until victory, as reflected in the decisive and forceful calls raised by all segments of the populations. Now, at the threshold of this great victory, our nation, with all its beings, seeks its fulfillment.

The basic characteristic of this revolution, which distinguishes it from other movements that have taken place in Iran during the past hundred years, is its ideological and Islamic nature. After experiencing the anti-despotic constitutional movement and the anti-colonialist movement centered on the nationalization of the oil industry, the Muslim people of Iran learned from this costly experience that the obvious and fundamental reason for the failure of those movements was their lack of an ideological basis. Although the Islamic line of thought and the direction provided by militant religious leaders played an essential role in the recent movements, nonetheless, the struggles waged in the course of those movements quickly fell into stagnation due to departure from genuine Islamic positions. Thus it was that the awakened conscience of the nation, under the leadership of Imam Khumayni [Khomeini], came to perceive the necessity of pursuing a genuinely Islamic and ideological line in its struggles. And this time, the militant 'ulama' of the country, who had always been in the forefront of popular movements, together with the committed writers and intellectuals, found new impetus by following his leadership.

Chapter I

General Principles

Article 1 (Form of Government)

The form of government of Iran is that of an Islamic Republic, endorsed by the people of Iran on the basis of their longstanding belief in the sovereignty of truth and Koranic justice, in the referendum of 29 and 30 March 1979, through the affirmative vote of a majority of 98.2% of eligible voters, held after the victorious Islamic Revolution led by Imam Khumayni.

Article 2 (Foundational Principles)

The Islamic Republic is a system based on belief in:

1) The One God (as stated in the phrase "There is no god except Allah"), His exclusive sovereignty and right to legislate, and the necessity of submission to His commands;
2) Divine revelation and its fundamental role in setting forth the laws;
3) The return to God in the Hereafter, and the constructive role of this belief in the course of man's ascent towards God;
4) The justice of God in creation and legislation;
5) Continuous leadership and perpetual guidance, and its fundamental role in ensuring the uninterrupted process of the revolution of Islam;
6) The exalted dignity and value of man, and his freedom coupled with responsibility before God...

**Article 3 (State Goals)**

In order to attain the objectives specified in Article 2, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has the duty of directing all its resources to the following goals:

1) The creation of a favorable environment for the growth of moral virtues based on faith and piety and the struggle against all forms of vice and corruption;
2) Raising the level of public awareness in all areas, through the proper use of the press, mass media, and other means;
3) Free education and physical training for everyone at all levels, and the facilitation and expansion of higher education;
4) Strengthening the spirit of inquiry, investigation, and innovation in all areas of science, technology, and culture, as well as Islamic studies, by establishing research centers and encouraging researchers;
5) The complete elimination of imperialism and the prevention of foreign influence;
6) The elimination of all forms of despotism and autocracy and all attempts to monopolize power;
7) Ensuring political and social freedoms within the framework of the law;
8) The participation of the entire people in determining their political, economic, social, and cultural destiny;
9) The abolition of all forms of undesirable discrimination and the provision of equitable opportunities for all, in both the material and the intellectual spheres;
10) The creation of a correct administrative system and elimination of superfluous government organizations;
11) All round strengthening of the foundations of national defence to the utmost degree by means of universal military training for the sake of safeguarding the independence, territorial integrity, and the Islamic order of the country;
12) The planning of a correct and just economic system, in accordance with Islamic criteria, in order to create welfare, eliminate poverty, and abolish all forms of deprivation with respect to food, housing, work, health care, and the provision of social insurance for all;
13) The attainment of self-sufficiency in scientific, technological, industrial, agricultural, and military domains, and other similar spheres;
14) Securing the multifarious rights of all citizens, both women and men, and providing legal protection for all, as well as the equality of all before the law;
15) The expansion and strengthening of Islamic brotherhood and public cooperation among all the people;
16) Framing the foreign policy of the country on the basis of Islamic criteria, fraternal commitment to all Muslims, and unsparing support to the freedom fighters of the world.

**Article 4 (Islamic Principle)**

All civil, penal financial, economic, administrative, cultural, military, political, and other laws and
regulations must be based on Islamic criteria. This principle applies absolutely and generally to all articles of the Constitution as well as to all other laws and regulations, and the wise persons of the Guardian Council are judges in this matter.

**Article 5 (Office of Religious Leader)**
During the occultation of the Wali al-ʿAsr (may God hasten his reappearance), the leadership of the Ummah (Muslim community) devolve upon the just and pious person, who is fully aware of the circumstances of his age, courageous, resourceful, and possessed of administrative ability, will assume the responsibilities of this office in accordance with Article 107.

**Article 6 (Administration of Affairs)**
In the Islamic Republic of Iran, the affairs of the country must be administered on the basis of public opinion expressed by the means of elections, including the election of the President, the representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and the members of councils, or by means of referenda in matters specified in other articles of this Constitution.

**Article 11 (Unity of Islam Principle)**
In accordance with the sacred verse of the Koran "This your community is a single community, and I am your Lord, so worship Me" [21:92], all Muslims form a single nation, and the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran have the duty of formulating its general policies with a view to cultivating the friendship and unity of all Muslim peoples, and it must constantly strive to bring about the political, economic, and cultural unity of the Islamic world.

**Article 12 (Official Religion)**
The official religion of Iran is Islam and the Twelver Ja'fari School, and this principle will remain eternally immutable. Other Islamic schools are to be accorded full respect, and their followers are free to act in accordance with their own jurisprudence in performing their religious rites...

**Article 13 (Recognized Religious Minorities)**
Zoroastrian, Jewish, and Christian Iranians are the only recognized religious minorities, who, within the limits of the law, are free to perform their religious rites and ceremonies, and to act according to their own canon in matters of personal affairs and religious education.

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**Chapter V**

**The Right of National Sovereignty**

**Article 56 (Divine Right of Sovereignty)**
Absolute sovereignty over the world and man belongs to God, and it is He Who has made man master of his own social destiny. No one can deprive man of this divine right, nor subordinate it to the vested interests of a particular individual or group. The people are to exercise this divine right in the manner specified in the following articles.

**Article 57 (Separation of Powers)**
The powers of government in the Islamic Republic are vested in the legislature, the judiciary, and the executive powers, functioning under the supervision of the absolute religious Leader and the Leadership of the Ummah, in accordance with the forthcoming articles of this Constitution. These powers are independent of each other.
Article 58

The functions of the legislature are to be exercised through the Islamic Consultative Assembly, consisting of the elected representatives of the people. Legislation approved by this body, after going through the stages specified in the articles below, is communicated to the executive and the judiciary for implementation.

Article 59

In extremely important economic, political, social, and cultural matters, the functions of the legislature may be exercised through direct recourse to popular vote through a referendum. Any request for such direct recourse to public opinion must be approved by two-thirds of the members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 60

The functions of the executive, except in the matters that are directly placed under the jurisdiction of the Leadership by the Constitution, are to be exercised by the President and the ministers.

Article 61 (judicial functions)

The functions of the judiciary are to be performed by courts of justice, which are to be formed in accordance with the criteria of Islam, and are vested with the authority to examine and settle lawsuits, protect the rights of the public, dispense and enact justice, and implement the Divine limits (al-hudud al-Ilahiyyah).

Chapter VI

The Legislative Powers

Article 62 (Election of the Islamic Consultative Assembly)

1) The Islamic Consultative Assembly is constituted by the representatives of the people elected directly and by secret ballot.
2) The qualifications of voters and candidates, as well as the nature of election, will be specified by law.

Article 72 (Limits)

The Islamic Consultative Assembly cannot enact laws contrary to the official religion of the country or to the Constitution. It is the duty of the Guardian Council to determine whether a violation has occurred, in accordance with Article 96.

Article 91 (Guardian Council)

With a view to safeguard the Islamic ordinances and the Constitution, in order to examine the compatibility of the legislation passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly with Islam, a council to be known as the Guardian Council is to be constituted with the following composition:

1) Six religious men, conscious of the present needs and the issues of the day, to be selected by the Leader, and
2) six jurists, specializing in different areas of law, to be elected by the Islamic Consultative Assembly from among the Muslim jurists nominated by the Head of the Judicial Power.

Article 94 (Review of Legislation)

All legislation passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly must be sent to the Guardian Council.
The Guardian Council must review it within a maximum of ten days from its receipt with a view to ensuring its compatibility with the criteria of Islam and the Constitution. If it finds the legislation incompatible, it will return it to the Assembly for review. Otherwise the legislation will be deemed enforceable.

**Article 98 (Authoritative Interpretation)**
The authority of the interpretation of the Constitution is vested with the Guardian Council, which is to be done with the consent of three-fourths of its members.

**Chapter VIII**

**The Leader or Leadership Council**

**Article 107 (Religious Leader)**
1) After the demise of Imam Khumayni, the task of appointing the Leader shall be vested with the experts elected by the people. The experts will review and consult among themselves concerning all the religious men possessing the qualifications specified in Articles 5 and 109...
2) The Leader is equal with the rest of the people of the country in the eyes of law.

**Article 109 (Leadership Qualifications)**
1) Following are the essential qualifications and conditions for the Leader:
   a. Scholarship, as required for performing the functions of religious leader in different fields.
   b. Justice and piety, as required for the leadership of the Islamic Ummah.
   c. Right political and social perspicacity, prudence, courage, administrative facilities, and adequate capability for leadership.
2) In case of multiplicity of persons fulfilling the above qualifications and conditions, the person possessing the better jurisprudential and political perspicacity will be given preference.

**Chapter IX**

**The Executive Power**

**Article 113 (President)**
After the office of Leadership, the President is the highest official in the country. His is the responsibility for implementing the Constitution and acting as the head of the executive, except in matters directly concerned with the office of the Leadership.

**Article 122 (Responsibility)**
The President, within the limits of his powers and duties, which he has by virtue of this Constitution or other laws, is responsible to the people, the Leader and the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

**Article 150 (Islamic Revolution Guards Corps)**
The Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, organized in the early days of the triumph of the Revolution, is to be maintained so that it may continue in its role of guarding the Revolution and its achievements. The scope of the duties of this Corps, and its areas of responsibility, in relation to the duties and areas of responsibility of the other Armed Forces, are to be determined by law with emphasis on brotherly cooperation and harmony among them.
Appendix II-C: Some provisions of the Constitution of the United States regarding political system of the state.

Preamble

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article I

The Legislative Branch

Section 1 - The Legislature
All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2 - The House
The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

(Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.) (The previous sentence in parentheses was modified by the 14th Amendment, section 2.) The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3

The Senate
The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, (chosen by the Legislature thereof) (The preceding words in parentheses superseded by 17th Amendment, section 1.) for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated
at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; (and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.) (The preceding words in parentheses were superseded by the 17th Amendment, section 2.)

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chose their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4
Elections, Meetings

The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Place of Choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall (be on the first Monday in December,) (The preceding words in parentheses were superseded by the 20th Amendment, section 2.) unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section 5
Membership, Rules, Journals, Adjournment

Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own members and a majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal. Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.
Section 7
Revenue Bills, Legislative Process, Presidential Veto
All bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.
Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.
Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8
Powers of Congress
The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common defense and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;
To borrow money on the credit of the United States;
To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;
To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;
To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;
To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;
To establish Post Offices and Post Roads;
To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;
To constitute Tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;
To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;
To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;
To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;
To provide and maintain a Navy;
To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;
To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;
To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;
To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings; And
To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the Fore going Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Article II

The Executive Branch

Section 1

The President

The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

(The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not lay an Inhabitant of the same State with them. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List they said House shall in like Manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; a quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number
of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall choose from them by Ballot the Vice-President.)

(This clause in parentheses was superseded by the 12th Amendment.)

The Congress may determine the Time of choosing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

(In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.)

(This clause in parentheses has been modified by the 20th and 25th Amendments.)

The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 2

Civilian Power over Military, Cabinet, Pardon Power, Appointments

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3

State of the Union, Convening Congress

He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.
Section 4
Disqualification
The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III
The Judicial Branch

Section 1
Judicial powers
The judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2
Trial by Jury, Original Jurisdiction, Jury Trials
(The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority; to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party; to Controversies between two or more States; between a State and Citizens of another State; between Citizens of different States; between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof; and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.) (This section in parentheses is modified by the 11th Amendment.)
In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the Supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.
The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3
Treason
Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.
The Congress shall have power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

Article V
Amendment
The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which
may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

The Amendments

The following are the Amendments to the Constitution. The first ten Amendments collectively are commonly known as the ‘Bills of Rights’. In these amendments the American citizens have been guaranteed their fundamental rights.

Amendment 1

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Amendment 2

Right to Bear Arms. Ratified 12/15/1791.
A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a Free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Amendment 3

Quartering of Soldiers. Ratified 12/15/1791.
No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Amendment 4

Search and Seizure. Ratified 12/15/1791.
The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment 5

Trial and Punishment, Compensation for Takings. Ratified 12/15/1791
No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment 6

Right to Speedy Trial, Confrontation of Witnesses. Ratified 12/15/1791
In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defense.

Amendment 7

Trial by Jury in Civil Cases. Ratified 12/15/1791
In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any
Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Amendment 8

Cruel and Unusual Punishment. Ratified 12/15/1791
Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment 9

Construction of Constitution. Ratified 12/15/1791
The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment 10

Powers of the States and People. Ratified 12/15/1791
The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.
Appendix II-D: Some provisions of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh regarding political system of the state.

Preamble
We, the people of Bangladesh, having proclaimed our Independence on the 26th day of March, 1971 and through a historic war for national independence, established the independent, sovereign People's Republic of Bangladesh;
Pledging that the high ideals of absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah, nationalism, democracy and socialism meaning economic and social justice, which inspired our heroic people to dedicate themselves to, and our brave martyrs to sacrifice their lives in the war for national independence, shall be fundamental principles of the Constitution;
Further pledging that it shall be a fundamental aim of the State to realize through the democratic process to socialist society, free from exploitation-a society in which the rule of law, fundamental human rights and freedom, equality and justice, political, economic and social, will be secured for all citizens;
Affirming that it is our sacred duty to safeguard, protect and defend this Constitution and to maintain its supremacy as the embodiment of the will of the people of Bangladesh so that we may prosper in freedom and may make our full contribution towards international peace and co-operation in keeping with the progressive aspirations of mankind;
In our Constituent Assembly, this eighteenth day of Kartick, 1379 B.S corresponding to the fourth day of November, 1972 A.D., do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.

Part I
The Republic

1. The Republic
Bangladesh is a unitary, independent, sovereign Republic to be known as the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

6. Citizenship
(1) The citizenship of Bangladesh shall be determined and regulated by law.
(2) The citizens of Bangladesh shall be known as Bangladeshis.

7. Supremacy of the Constitution
(1) All powers in the Republic belong to the people, and their exercise on behalf of the people shall be affected only under, and by the authority of, this Constitution.
(2) This Constitution is, as the solemn expression of the will of the people, the supreme law of the Republic, and if any other law is inconsistent with this Constitution and other law shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void.

Part IV
The Executive

Chapter I - The President

48. The President.
(1) There shall be a President of Bangladesh who shall be elected by members of Parliament in accordance with law.
(2) The President shall as Head of State, take precedence over all other persons in the State, and shall exercise the powers and perform the duties conferred and imposed on him by this Constitution and by any other law.
(3) In the exercise of all his functions, save only that of appointing the Prime Minister pursuant to clause (3) of article 56 and the Chief Justice pursuant to clause (1) of article 95, the President shall act
in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister; Provided that the question whether any, and if so what, advice has been tendered by the Prime Minister to the President shall not be enquired into in any court.

(4) A person shall not be qualified for election as President if he-
(a) is less than thirty-five years of age; or
(b) is not qualified for election a member of Parliament; or
(c) has been removed from the office of President by impeachment under this Constitution.

(5) The Prime Minister shall keep the President informed on matters of domestic and foreign policy, and submit for the consideration of the Cabinet any matter which the President may request him to refer to it.

49. Prerogative of mercy.
The President shall have power to grant pardons, reprieves and respites and to remit, suspend or commute any sentence passed by any court, tribunal or other authority.

50. Term of office of President.
(1) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the President shall hold office for a term of five years from the date on which he enters upon his office;
Provided that notwithstanding the expiration of his term the President shall continue to hold office until his successor enters upon office.
(2) No person shall hold office as President for more than two terms, whether or not the terms are consecutive.
(3) The President may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the Speaker.
(4) The President during his term of office shall not be qualified for election as a Member of Parliament, and if a member of Parliament is elected as President he shall vacate his seat in Parliament on the day on which he enters upon his office as President.

51. President's immunity.
(1) Without prejudice to the provisions of article 52, the President shall not be answerable in any court for anything done or omitted by him in the exercise or purported exercise of the functions of this office, but this clause shall not prejudice the right of any person to take proceedings against the Government.
(2) During his term of office no criminal proceedings whatsoever shall be instituted or continued against the President in, and no process for his arrest or imprisonment shall issue from, any court.

52. Impeachment of the President.
(1) The President may be impeached on a charge of violating this Constitution or of grave misconduct, preferred by a notice of motion signed by a majority of the total number of members of the Parliament and delivered to the speaker, setting out the particulars of the charges, and the motion shall not be debated earlier than fourteen no later than thirty days after the notice is so delivered; and the Speaker shall forthwith summon Parliament if it is not in session.
(2) The Conduct of the President may be referred by Parliament to any court, tribunal or body appointed or designated by Parliament for the investigation of a charge under this article.
(3) The President shall have the right to appear and to be represented during the consideration of the charge.
(4) If after the consideration of the charge a resolution is passed by Parliament by votes of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members declaring that the charge has been substantiated, the President shall vacate his office on the date on which the resolution is passed.
(5) Where the Speaker is exercising the functions of the President under article 54 the provisions of this article shall apply subject to the modifications that the reference to the Speaker in clause (1) shall be construed as a deference to the Deputy Speaker, and that the reference in clause (4) to the vacation by the President of his office shall be construed as a reference to the vacation by the Speaker of his
office as Speaker; and on the passing of a resolution such as is referred to in clause (4) the Speaker shall cease to exercise the functions of President.

53. Removal of President of ground of incapacity.
(1) The President may be removed from office on the ground of physical or mental incapacity on a motion of which notice, signed by a majority of the total number of members of Parliament, is delivered to the Speaker, setting out particulars of the alleged incapacity.
(2) On receipt of the notice the Speaker shall forthwith summon Parliament if it is not in session and shall call for a resolution constituting a medical board (hereinafter in this article called "the Board") and upon the necessary motion being made and carried shall forthwith cause a copy of the notice to be transmitted to the President together with a request signed by the Speaker that the President submit himself within a period of ten days from the date of the request to an examination by the Board.
(3) The motion for removal shall not be put to the vote earlier than fourteen no later than thirty days after notice of the motion is delivered to the Speaker, and if it is again necessary to summon Parliament in order to enable the motion to be made within that period, the Speaker shall summon Parliament.
(4) The President shall have the right to appear and to be represented during the consideration of the motion.
(5) If the President has not submitted himself to an examination by the Board before the motion is made in Parliament, the motion may be put to the vote, and if it is passed by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of Parliament, the President shall vacate his office on the date on which the motion is passed.
(6) If before the motion for removal is made in Parliament, the President has submitted himself to an examination by the Board, the motion shall not be put to the vote until the Board has been given an opportunity of reporting its opinion to Parliament.
(7) If after consideration by Parliament of the motion and of the report of the Board (which shall be submitted within seven days of the examination held pursuant to clause (2) and if not so submitted shall be dispensed with) the motion is passed by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of Parliament, the President shall vacate his office on the date on which the resolution is passed.

54. Speaker to act as President during absence, etc.
If a vacancy occurs in the office of President or if the President is unable to discharge the functions of his office on account of absence, illness or any other cause of Speaker shall discharge those functions until a President is elected or until the President resumes the functions of his office, as the case may be.

Chapter II - The Prime Minister and The Cabinet

55. The Cabinet.
(1) There shall be a Cabinet for Bangladesh having the Prime Minister at its head and comprising also such other Minister as the Prime Minister may from time to time designate.
(2) The executive power of the Republic shall, in accordance with this Constitution, be exercised by or on the authority of the Prime Minister.
(3) The Cabinet shall be collectively responsible to Parliament.
(4) All executive actions of the Government shall be expressed to be taken in the name of the President.
(5) The President shall by rules specify the manner in which orders and other instruments made in his name shall be attested of authenticated, and the validity or any order of instrument so attested or authenticated shall not be questioned in any court on the ground that it was not duly made or executed.
(6) The President shall make rules for the allocation and transaction of the business of the Government.

56. Minister.
(1) There shall be Prime Minister, and such other Ministers, Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers as may be determined by the Prime Minister.
(2) The appointments of the Prime Minister and other Ministers and of the Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers, shall be made by the President: Provided that not less than nineteen-tenths of their number shall be appointed from among members of Parliament and not more than one-tenth of their number may be chosen from among persons qualified for election as members of Parliament.
(3) The President shall appoint as Prime Minister the Member of Parliament who appears to him to command the support of the majority of the members of Parliament.
(4) If occasion arises for making any appointment under clause (2) of clause (3) between a dissolution of Parliament and the next following general election of members of Parliament, the persons who were such members immediately before the dissolution shall be regarded for the purpose of this clause as counting to be such members.

57. Tenure of office of Prime Minister.
(1) The office of the Prime Minister shall be vacant -
   (a) If he resigns from office at any time by placing his resignation in the hands of the President; or
   (b) If he ceases to be a Member of Parliament.
(2) If the Prime Minister ceases to retain the support of a majority of the members of Parliament, he shall either resign his office or advise the President shall, if he is satisfied that no other Member of Parliament commands the support of the majority of the members of Parliament, dissolve Parliament accordingly.
(3) Nothing in this article shall disqualify the Prime Minister for holding office until his successor has entered upon office.

58. Tenure of office of other Ministers.
(1) The office of a Minister other than the Prime Minister shall become vacant -
   (a) if he resigns from office by placing his resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister for submission to the President;
   (b) if he ceases to be a member of Parliament, but this shall not be applicable to a Minister chosen under the proviso to article 56(2);
   (c) if the President, pursuant to the provisions of clause (2), so directs; or
   (d) as provided in clause (4).
(2) The Prime Minister may at any time request a Minister to resign, and if such Minister fails to comply with the request, may advise the President to terminate the appointment of such Minister.
(3) Nothing in sub-clauses (a), (b), and (d) of clause (1) shall disqualify a Minister for holding office during any period in which Parliament stands dissolved.
(4) If the Prime Minister resigns from or ceases to hold office each of the other Ministers shall be deemed also to have resigned from office but shall, subject to the provisions of the Chapter, continue to hold office until his successor has entered upon office.
(5) In this article "Minister" includes Minister of State and Deputy Minister.

Chapter III
Local Government

59. Local Government
(1) Local Government in every administrative unit of the Republic shall be entrusted to bodies, composed of persons elected in accordance with law.
(2) Everybody such as is referred to in clause (1) shall, subject to this Constitution and any other law,
perform within the appropriate administrative unit such functions as shall be prescribed by Act of Parliament, which may include functions relating to:
(a) Administration and the work of public officers;
(b) the maintenance of public order; the preparation and implementation of plans relating to public services and economic development.

60. **Powers of local government bodies**
For the purpose of giving full effect to the provisions of article 59 Parliament shall, by law, confer powers on the local government bodies referred to in that article, including power to impose taxes for local purposes, to prepare their budgets and to maintain funds.

**Part V**
**The Legislature**

65. **Establishment of Parliament**
(1) There shall be a Parliament for Bangladesh (to be known as the House of the Nation) in which subject to the provisions of this Constitution, shall be vested the legislative powers of the Republic: Provided that nothing in this clause shall prevent Parliament from delegating to any person or authority, by Act of Parliament, power to make orders, rules, regulations, bye-laws or other instruments having legislative effect.
(2) Parliament shall consist of three hundred members to be elected in accordance with law from single territorial constituencies by direct election and, for so long as clause (3) is effective, the members provided for in that clause; the member shall be designated as Members of Parliament.
(3) Until the dissolution of Parliament occurring next after the expiration of the period of ten years beginning from the date of the first meeting of the Parliament next after the Parliament in existence at the time of the commencement of the Constitution (Fourteenth Amendment) Act, 2004, there shall be reserved forty five seats exclusively for women members and they will be elected by the aforesaid members in accordance with law on the basis of procedure of proportional representation in the Parliament through single transferable vote: Provided that nothing in this clause shall be deemed to prevent a woman from being elected to any of the seats provided for in clause (2) of this article.
(4) The seat of Parliament shall be in the capital.

66. **Qualifications and disqualifications for election to Parliament**
(1) A person shall subject to the provisions of clause (2), be qualified to be elected as, and to be, a Member of Parliament if he is a citizen of Bangladesh and has attained the age of twenty-five years.
(2) A person shall be disqualified for election as, or for being, a member of Parliament who-
(a) is declared by a competent court to be of unsound mind;
(b) is an undercharged insolvent;
(c) acquires the citizenship of, or affirms of acknowledges allegiance to, a foreign state;
(d) has been, on conviction for a criminal offence involving moral turpitude, sentenced to imprisonment for a term of not less than two years unless a period of five years has elapsed since his release;
(dd) holds any office of profit in this service of the Republic other than an office which is declared by law not to disqualify its holders; or
(g) is disqualified for such election by or under any law.
(2A) For the purposes of this article a person shall not be deemed to hold an office of profit in the service of the Republic by reason only that he is a President, Prime Minister, Minister, Minister of State or Deputy Minister.
(3) [OMITTED]
(4) If any dispute arises as to whether a member of Parliament has, after his election, become subject to any of the disqualifications mentioned in clause (2) or as to whether a member of Parliament should vacate his seat pursuant to article 70, the dispute shall be referred to the Election Commission to hear and determine it and the decision of the Commission on such reference shall be final.

(5) Parliament may, by law, make such provision as it deems necessary for empowering the Election Commission to give full effect to the provisions of clause (4).

73. President's address and messages to Parliament
(1) The President may address Parliament, and may send messages thereto.
(2) At the commencement to the first session after a general election of members of Parliament and at the commencement of the first session of each year the President shall address Parliament.
(3) Parliament shall, after the presentation of an address by the President, or the receipt of a message from him, discuss the matter referred to in such address or message.

Chapter II- Legislative and Financial Procedures
80. Legislative procedure
(1) Every proposal in Parliament for making law shall be made in the form of a Bill.
(2) When a Bill is passed by Parliament it shall be presented to the President for assent.
(3) The President, within fifteen days after a Bill is presented to him shall assent to the Bill or, in the case of a Bill other than a money Bill may return it to parliament with a message requesting that the Bill or any particular provisions thereof be reconsidered, and that any amendments specified by him in the message be considered; and if he fails so to do he shall be deemed to have assented to the Bill at the expiration of that period.
(4) If the President so returns the Bill Parliament shall consider it together with the President's message, and if the Bill is again passed by Parliament with or without amendments 51 by the votes of a majority of the total number of members of Parliament , it shall be presented to the President for his assent, whereupon the President shall assent to the Bill within the period of seven days after it has been presented to him, and if he fails to do so he shall be deemed to have assented to the Bill on the expiration of that period.
(5) When the President has assented or is deemed to have assented to a Bill passed by Parliament it shall become law and shall be called an Act of Parliament.

Chapter III- Ordinance Making Power
93. (1) At any time when Parliament stands dissolved or is not in session, if the President is satisfied that circumstances exist which render immediate action necessary, he may make and promulgate such Ordinances as the circumstances appear to him to require, and any Ordinance so made shall, as from its promulgation have the like force of law as an Act of Parliament:
Provided that no Ordinance under this clause shall make any provision-
   (i) which could not lawfully be made under this Constitution by Act of Parliament;
   (ii) for altering or repealing any provision of this Constitution; or
   (iii) continuing in force any provision of an Ordinance previously made.
(2) An Ordinance made under clause (1) shall be laid before Parliament at its first meeting following the promulgation of the Ordinance and shall, unless it is earlier repealed, cease to have effect at the expiration of thirty days after it is so laid or, if a resolution disapproving of the Ordinance is passed by Parliament before such expiration, upon the passing of the resolution.
(3) At any time when Parliament stands dissolved the President may, if he is satisfied that circumstances exist which render such action necessary, make and promulgate an Ordinance authorizing expenditure from the Consolidated Fund, whether the expenditure is charged by the Constitution upon that fund or not, and any Ordinance so made shall, as from its promulgation, have the like force of law as an Act of Parliament.
(4) Every Ordinance promulgated under clause (3) shall be laid before Parliament as soon as may be,
and the provisions for articles 87, 89 and 90 shall, with necessary adaptations, be complied with in respect thereof within thirty days of the reconstitution of Parliament.

Part VI
The Judiciary

Chapter I- The Supreme Court

94. Establishment of Supreme Court
(1) There shall be a Supreme Court for Bangladesh (to be known as the Supreme Court of Bangladesh) comprising the Appellate Division and the High Court Division.
(2) The Supreme Court shall consist of the Chief Justice, to be known as the Chief Justice of Bangladesh, and such number of other Judges as the President may deem it necessary to appoint to each division.
(3) The Chief Justice, and the Judges appointed to the Appellate Division, shall sit only in that division and the other Judges shall sit only in the High Court Division.
(4) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution the Chief Justice and the other Judges shall be independent in the exercise of their judicial functions.

95. Appointment of Judges
(1) The Chief Justice and other Judges shall be appointed by the President.
(2) A person shall not be qualified for appointment as a Judge unless he is a citizen of Bangladesh and-
   (a) has, for not less than ten years, been a advocate of the Supreme Court; or
   (b) has, for not less than ten years, held judicial office in the territory of Bangladesh; or
   (c) has such other qualifications as may be prescribed by law for appointment as a Judge of the Supreme Court.
(3) In this articles, "Supreme Court" includes 'a Court which at any time before the commencement of the Second Proclamation (Tenth Amendment) Order, 1977, exercised jurisdiction as a High Court or Supreme Court in the territory now forming part of Bangladesh.

96. Tenure of office of Judges
(1) Subject to the other provisions of this article, a Judge shall hold office until he attains the age of 60 six- seven years.
(2) A Judge shall not be removed from office except in accordance with the following provisions of this article.
(3) There shall be a Supreme Judicial Council, in this article referred to as the council, which shall consist of the Chief Justice of Bangladesh, and the two next senior Judges: Provided that if, at any time, the Council is inquiring into the capacity or conduct of a Judge who is a member of the Council, or a member of the Council is absent or is unable to act due to illness or other cause, the Judge who is next in seniority to those who are members of the Council shall act as such member.
(4) The function of the Council shall be-
   (a) to prescribe a Code of Conduct to be observed by the Judges; and
   (b) to inquire into the capacity or conduct of a Judge or of any other functionary who is not removable from office except in like manner as a Judge.
(5) Where, upon any information received from the Council or from any other source, the President has reason to apprehend that a Judge-
   (a) may have ceased to be capable of properly performing the functions of his office by reason of physical or mental incapacity, or
   (b) may have been guilty of gross misconduct, the President may direct the Council to inquire into the matter and report its finding.
(6) If, after making the inquiry, the Council reports to the President that in its opinion the Judge has
ceased to be capable of properly performing the functions of his office or has been guilty of gross misconduct, the President shall, by order, remove the Judge from office.

(7) For the purpose of an inquiry this article, the Council shall regulate its procedure and shall have, in respect of issue and execution of processes, the same power as the Supreme Court.

(8) A Judge may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the President.

97. Temporary appointment of Chief Justice
If the office of the Chief Justice becomes vacant, or if the President is satisfied that the Chief Justice is, on account of absence, illness, or any other cause, unable to perform the functions of his office, those functions shall, until some other person has entered upon that office, or until the Chief Justice has resumed his duties, as the case may be, be performed by the next most senior Judge of the Appellate Division.

98. Additional Supreme Court Judges
Notwithstanding the provisions of article 94, if the President is satisfied that the number of the Judge of a division of the Supreme Court should be for the time being increased, the President may appoint one or more duly qualified person to be Additional Judges of that division for such period not exceeding two years as he may specify, or, if he thinks fit, may require a Judge of the High Court Division to sit in the Appellate Division for any temporary period as an ad hoc Judge and such Judge while so sitting shall exercise the same jurisdiction, powers and functions as a Judge of the Appellate Division.

Provided that nothing in this article shall prevent a person appointed as an Additional Judge from being appointed as a Judge under article 95 or as an Additional Judge for a further period under this article.

99. Disabilities of Judges
(1) Except as provided in clause (2), a person who has held office as a Judge otherwise than as an Additional Judge shall not, after his retirement or removal there from, plead or act before any court or authority or hold any office or profit in the service of the Republic not being a judicial or quasi-judicial office 60a or the office of Chief Adviser or Adviser.

(2) A person who has held office as a Judge of the High Court Division may, after his retirement or removal there from, plead or act before the Appellate Division.

100. Seat of Supreme Court
The permanent seat of the Supreme Court, shall be in the capital, but sessions of the High Court Division may be held at such other place or places as the Chief Justice may, with the approval of the President, from time to time appoint.

Article 100 as amended by the said Act runs thus: “100. Seat of Supreme Court.-

(1) Subject to this article, the permanent seat of the Supreme Court shall be in the capital.

(2) The High Court Division and the Judges there shall sit at the permanent seat of the Supreme Court and at the seats of its permanent Benches.

(3) The High Court Division shall have a permanent Bench each at Barisal, Chittagong, Comilla, Jessore, Rangpur and Sylhet, and each permanent Bench shall have such Benches as the Chief Justice may determine from time to time.

(4) A permanent Bench shall consist of such number of Judges of the High Court Division as the Chief Justice may deem it necessary to nominate to that Bench from time to time and on such nomination the Judges shall be deemed to have been transferred to that Bench.

(5) The President shall, in consultation with the Chief Justice, assign the area in relation to which each permanent Bench shall have jurisdictions, powers and functions conferred or that may be conferred on the High Court Division by this Constitution or any other law; and the area not so assigned shall be the area in relation to which the High Court Division sitting at the permanent seat of the Supreme Court Shall have such jurisdictions, powers and functions.
(6) The Chef Justice shall make rules to provide for all incidental, supplemental or consequential matters relating to the permanent Benches.

101. Jurisdiction of High Court Division
The High Court Division shall have such original, appellate and other jurisdictions, powers and functions as are or may be conferred on it by this Constitution or any other law.

102. Powers of High Court Division to issue certain orders and directions, etc.
(1) The High Court Division on the application of any person aggrieved, may give such directions or orders to any person or authority, including any person performing any function in connection with the affairs of the Republic, as may be appropriate for the enforcement of any the fundamental rights conferred by Part III of this Constitution.

(2) The High Court Division may, if satisfied that no other equally efficacious remedy is provided by law-
(a) on the application of any person aggrieved, make an order-
(i) directing a person performing any functions in connection with the affairs of the Republic or of a local authority to refrain from doing that which he is not permitted by law to do or to do that which he is required by law to do; or
(ii) declaring that any act done or proceeding taken by a person performing functions in connection with the affairs of the Republic or of a local authority has been done or taken without lawful authority and is of no legal effect; or

(b) on the application of any person, make an order-
(i) directing that a person in custody be brought before it so that it may satisfy itself that he is not being held in custody without lawful authority or in an unlawful manner; or
(ii) requiring a person holding or purporting to hold a public office to show under what authority he claims to hold that office.

(3) Notwithstanding anything contained in the foregoing clauses, the High Court Division shall have no power under this article to pass any interim or other order in relation to any law to which article 47 applies.

(4) Whereon an application made under clause (1) or sub-clause (a) of clause (2), an interim order is prayed for and such interim order is likely to have the effect of-
(a) prejudicing or interfering with any measure designed to implement any development programme, or any development work; or
(b) being otherwise harmful to the public interest, the High Court Division shall not make an interim order unless the Attorney-General has been given reasonable notice of the application and he (or an advocate authorized by him in that behalf) has been given an opportunity or being heard, and the High Court Division is satisfied that the interim order would not have the effect referred to in sub-clause (a) or sub-clause (b).

(5) In this article, unless the context otherwise requires, "person" includes a statutory public authority and any court or tribunal, other than a court or tribunal established under a law relating to the defense services of Bangladesh or any disciplined force or a tribunal to which article 117 applies.

103. Jurisdiction of Appellate Division
(1) The Appellate Division shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine appeals from judgments, decrees, orders or sentences of the High Court Division.

(2) An appeal to the Appellate Division from a judgment, decree, order or sentence of the High Court Division shall lie as of right where the High Court Division-
(a) certifies that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of this constitution; or
(b) has sentenced a person to death or to 62 imprisonment for life, or
(c) has imposed punishment on a person for contempt of that division; and in such other cases as
may be provided for by Act of Parliament.

(3) An appeal to the Appellate Division for a judgment, decree, order or sentence of the High Court Division in a case to which clause (2) does not apply shall lie only if the Appellate Division grants leave to appeal.

(4) Parliament may by law declare that the provisions of this article shall apply in relation to any other court or tribunal as they apply in relation to the High Court Division.

104. Issue and execution of process of Appellate Division
The Appellate Division shall have power to issue such directions, orders, decrees or writs as may be necessary for doing complete justice in any cause or matter pending before it, including orders for the purpose of securing the attendance or any person or the discovery or production of any document.

105. Review of judgments or orders by Appellate Division
The Appellate Division shall have power, subject to the provisions of any Act of Parliament and of any rules made by that division to review any judgment pronounced or order made by it.

106. Advisory jurisdiction of Supreme Court
If at any time it appears to the President that a question of law has arisen, or is likely to arise, which is of such a nature and of such public importance that it is expedient to obtain the opinion of the Supreme Court upon it, he may refer the question to the Appellate Division for consideration and the division may, after such hearing as it thinks fit, report its opinion thereon to the President.

107. Rule making power of the Supreme Court
(1) Subject to any law made by Parliament the Supreme Court may, with the approval of the President, make rules for regulating the practice and procedure of each division of the Supreme Court and of any court subordinate to it.

(2) The Supreme Court may delegate any of its functions under clause (1) and article 113 to a division of that Court or to one or more Judges.

(3) Subject to any rules made under this article the Chief Justice shall determine which Judge are to constitute any Bench of a division of the Supreme Court and which Judges are to sit for any purpose.

(4) The Chief Justice may authorize the next most senior Judge of either Division of the Supreme Court to exercise in that division any of the powers conferred by clause (3) or by rules made under this article.

108. Supreme Court as court of record
The Supreme Court shall be a court of record and shall have all the powers of such a court including the power subject to law to make an order for the investigation of or punishment for any contempt of itself.

109. Superintendence and control over courts
The High Court shall have superintendence and control over all courts and tribunals subordinate to it.

110. Transfer of cases from subordinate courts to High Court Division
If the High Court Division is satisfied that a case pending in a Court subordinate to it involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of this Constitution, or on a point of general public importance, the determination of which is necessary for the disposal of the case, it shall withdraw the case from that court and may-

(a) either dispose of the case itself; or

(b) determine the question of law and return the case to the court from which it has been so withdrawn (or transfer it to another subordinate court) together with a copy of the judgment of the division on such question, and the court to which the case is so returned or transferred shall, on receipt thereof, proceed to dispose of the case in conformity with such judgment.
111. Binding effect of Supreme Court judgments
The law declared by the Appellate Division shall be binding on the High Court Division and the law declared by either division of the Supreme Court shall be binding on all courts subordinate to it.

112. Action in aid of Supreme Court
All authorities, executive and judicial, in the Republic shall act in aid of the Supreme Court.

113. Staff of Supreme Court
(1) Appointments of the staff of the Supreme Court shall be made by the Chief Justice or such other judge or officer of that Court as he may direct, and shall be made in accordance with rules made with the previous approval of the President by the Supreme Court.
(2) Subject to the provisions of any Act of Parliament the conditions of service of members of the staff of the Supreme Court shall be such as may be prescribed by rules made by that court.

Preamble
Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;

And whereas it is the will of the people of Pakistan to establish an order;

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 Sunnah;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely 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 provision 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 honoured place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity;

Now, therefore, we, the people of Pakistan;

Conscious of our responsibility before Almighty Allah and men;

Cognizant of the sacrifices made by the people in the cause of Pakistan;

Faithful to the declaration made by the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, that Pakistan would be a democratic State based on Islamic principles of social justice;
Dedicated to the preservation of democracy achieved by the unremitting struggle of the people against oppression and tyranny;

Inspired by the resolve to protect our national and political unity and solidarity by creating an egalitarian society through a new order;

Do hereby, through our representatives in the National Assembly, adopt, enact and give to ourselves, this Constitution.

PART I

1. The Republic and its territories
   (1) Pakistan shall be Federal Republic to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan hereinafter referred to as Pakistan.

   (2) The territories of Pakistan shall comprise—

   (a) the Provinces of Balochistan, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the Punjab and Sindh;
   (b) the Islamabad Capital Territory, hereinafter referred to as the Federal Capital;
   (c) the Federally Administered Tribal Areas; and
   (d) such States and territories as are or may be included in Pakistan, whether by accession or otherwise.

   (3) Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] may by law admit into the Federation new States or areas on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit.

2. Islam to be State religion
   Islam shall be the State religion of Pakistan.

2A. The Objectives Resolution to form part of substantive provisions
   The principles and provisions set out in the Objectives Resolution reproduced in the Annex are hereby made substantive part of the Constitution and shall have effect accordingly.

3. Elimination of exploitation
   The State shall ensure the elimination of all forms of exploitation and the gradual fulfillment of the fundamental principle, from each according to his ability to each according to his work.

4. Right of individuals to be dealt with in accordance with law, etc.
   (1) To enjoy the protection of law and to be treated in accordance with law is the inalienable right of every citizen. Wherever he may be, and of every other person, for the time being within Pakistan.

   (2) In particular—

   (a) no action detrimental to the life, liberty, body, reputation or property of any person shall be taken except in accordance with law;
   (b) no person shall be prevented from or be hindered in doing that which is not prohibited by law; and
(c) no person shall be compelled to do that which the law does not required him to do.

5. **Loyalty to State and obedience to Constitution and law**
   
   (1) Loyalty to the State is the basic duty of every citizen.

   (2) Obedience to the Constitution and law is the inviolable obligation of every citizen wherever he may be and of every other person for the time being within Pakistan.

6. **High treason**
   
   (1) Any person who abrogates or subverts or suspends or holds in abeyance, or attempts or conspires to abrogate or subvert or suspend or hold in abeyance, the Constitution by use of force or show of force or by any other unconstitutional means shall be guilty of high treason.

   (2) Any person aiding or abetting [or collaborating] the acts mentioned in clause (1) shall likewise be guilty of high treason.

   [2A An act of high treason mentioned in clause (1) or clause (2) shall not be validated by any court including the Supreme Court and a High Court.]

   (3) [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] shall by law provide for the punishment of persons found guilty of high treason

7. **Definition of the State**

   In this Part, unless the context otherwise requires, "the State" means the Federal Government, [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)], a Provincial Government, a Provincial Assembly, and such local or other authorities in Pakistan as are by law empowered to impose any tax.

7. **Fundamental Rights and Principles of Policy**

8. **Laws inconsistent with or in derogation of Fundamental Rights to be void**

   (1) Any law, or any custom or usage having the force of law, in so far as it is inconsistent with the rights conferred by this Chapter, shall, to the extent of such inconsistency, be void.

   (2) The State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the rights so conferred and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of such contravention, be void.

   (3) The Provisions of this Article shall not apply to—
   
   (a) any law relating to members of the Armed Forces, or of the police or of such other forces as are charged with the maintenance of public order, for the purpose of ensuring the proper discharge of their duties or the maintenance of discipline among them; or

   (b) any of the —

   (i) laws specified in the First Schedule as in force immediately before the commencing day or as amended by any of the laws specified in that Schedule;

   (ii) other laws specified in Part I of the First Schedule; and no such law nor any provision thereof shall be void on the ground that such law or provision is inconsistent with, or repugnant to, any provision of this Chapter.
(4) Notwithstanding anything contained in paragraph (b) of clause (3), within a period of two years from the commencing day, the appropriate Legislature shall bring the laws specified (in Part II of the First Schedule) into conformity with the rights conferred by this Chapter:
Provided that the appropriate Legislature may by resolution extend the staid period of two years by a period not exceeding six months.

Explanation.— If in respect of any law Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] is the appropriate Legislature, such resolution shall be a resolution of the National Assembly.
The rights conferred by this Chapter shall not be suspended except as expressly provided by the Constitution.

9. **Security of person**
No person shall be deprived of life or liberty save in accordance with law.

10. **Safeguards as to arrest and detention**
(1) No person who is arrested shall be detained in custody without being informed, as soon as may be, of the grounds for such arrest, nor shall he be denied the right to consult and be defended by a legal practitioner of his choice.

(2) Every person who is arrested and detained in custody shall be produced before a magistrate within a period of twenty-four hours of such arrest, excluding the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to the court of the nearest magistrate, and no such person shall be detained in custody beyond the said period without the authority of a magistrate.

(3) Nothing in clauses (1) and (2) shall apply to any person who is arrested or detained under any law providing for preventive detention.

(4) No law providing for preventive detention shall be made except to deal with persons acting in a manner prejudicial to the integrity, security or defense of Pakistan or any part thereof, or external affairs of Pakistan, or public order, or the maintenance of supplies or services, and no such law shall authorize the detention of a person for a period exceeding three months unless the appropriate Review Board has, after affording him an opportunity of being heard in person, reviewed his case and reported, before the expiration of the said period, that there is, in its opinion, sufficient cause for such detention, and, if the detention is continued after the said period of (three months), unless the appropriate Review Board has reviewed his case and reported, before the expiration of each period of three months, that there is, in its opinion, sufficient cause for such detention.

Explanation I.— In this Article, 'the appropriate Review Board" means,

(i) in the case of a person detained under a Federal law, a Board appointed by the Chief Justice of Pakistan and consisting of a Chairman and two other persons, each of whom is or has been a Judge of the Supreme Court or a High Court; and
(ii) in the case of a person detained under a Provincial law, a Board appointed by the Chief Justice of the High Court concerned and consisting of a Chairman and two other persons, each of whom is or has been a Judge of a High Court.

Explanation II.—The opinion of a Review Board shall be expressed in terms of the views of the majority of its members.

(5) When any person is detained in pursuance of an order made under any law providing for preventive detention, the authority making the order shall, (within fifteen days) from such
detention, communicate to such person the grounds on which the order has been made, and shall afford him the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the order:
Provided that the authority making any such order may refuse to disclose facts which such authority considers it to be against the public interest to disclose.

(6) The authority making the order shall furnish to the appropriate Review Board all documents relevant to the case unless a certificate, signed by a Secretary to the Government concerned, to the effect that it is not in the public interest to furnish any documents, is produced. Within a period of twenty-four months commencing on the day of his first detention in pursuance of an order made under a law providing for preventive detention, no person shall be detained in pursuance of any such order for more than a total period of eight months in the case of a person detained for acting in a manner prejudicial to public order and twelve months in any other case:
Provided that this clause shall not apply to any person who is employed by, or works for, or acts on instructions received from, the enemy, or who is acting or attempting to act in a manner prejudicial to the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan or any part thereof or who commits or attempts to commit any act which amounts to an anti-national activity as defined in a Federal law or is a member of any association which has for its objects, or which indulges in, any such anti-national activity.

(8) The appropriate Review Board shall determine the place of detention of the person detained and fix a reasonable subsistence allowance for his family.

(9) Nothing in this Article shall apply to any person who for the time being is an enemy alien.

10 A. Right to fair trial
For the determination of his civil rights and obligations or in any criminal charge against him a person shall be entitled to a fair trial and due process.

11. Slavery, forced labour, etc., prohibited
(1) Slavery is non-existent and forbidden and no law shall permit or facilitate its introduction into Pakistan in any form.

(2) All forms of forced labour and traffic in human beings are prohibited.

(3) No child below the age of fourteen years shall be engaged in any factory or mine or any other hazardous employment.

(4) Nothing in this Article shall be deemed to affect compulsory service
(a) by any person undergoing punishment for an offence against any law; or
(b) required by any law for public purpose: Provided that no compulsory service shall be of a cruel nature or incompatible with human dignity.

12. Protection against retrospective punishment
(1) No law shall authorize the punishment of a person—

(a) for an act or omission that was not punishable by law at the time of the act or omission; or
(b) for an offence by a penalty greater than, or of a kind different from, the penalty prescribed by law for that offence at the time the offence was committed.

(2) Nothing in clause (1) or in Article 270 shall apply to any law making acts of abrogation or subversion of a Constitution in force in Pakistan at any time since the twenty-third day of March, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-six, an offence.
13. **Protection against double punishment and self incrimination**

No person—

(a) shall be prosecuted or punished for the same offence more than once; or
(b) shall, when accused of an offence, be compelled to be a witness against himself.

14. **Inviolability of dignity of man, etc.**

(1) The dignity of man and, subject to law, the privacy of home, shall be inviolable.

(2) No person shall be subjected to torture for the purpose of extracting evidence.

15. **Freedom of movement, etc.**

Every citizen shall have the right to remain in, and, subject to any reasonable restriction imposed by law in the public interest, enter and move freely throughout Pakistan and to reside and settle in any part thereof.

16. **Freedom of assembly**

Every citizen shall have the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of public order.

17. **Freedom of association**

(1) Every citizen shall have the right to form associations or unions, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, public order or morality.

(2) Every citizen, not being in the service of Pakistan, shall have the right to form or be a member of a political party, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan and such law shall provide that where the Federal Government declares that any political party has been formed or is operating in a manner prejudicial to the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, the Federal Government shall, within fifteen days of such declaration, refer the matter to the Supreme Court whose decision on such reference shall be final.

(3) Every political party shall account for the source of its funds in accordance with law.

18. **Freedom of trade, business or profession**

Subject to such qualifications, if any, as may be prescribed by law, every citizen shall have the right to enter upon any lawful profession or occupation, and to conduct any lawful trade or business:

Provided that nothing in this Article shall prevent—

(a) the regulation of any trade or profession by a licensing system; or
(b) the regulation of trade, commerce or industry in the interest of free competition therein; or
(c) the carrying on, by the Federal Government or a Provincial Government, or by a corporation controlled by any such Government, of any trade, business, industry or service, to the exclusion, complete or partial, of other persons.

19. **Freedom of speech, etc.**

Every citizen shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, and there shall be freedom of the press, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the
glory of Islam or the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan or any part thereof, friendly
relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of
court, commission of or incitement to an offence.

19A. Right to information.
Every citizen shall have the right to have access to information in all matters of public
importance subject to regulation and reasonable restrictions imposed by law.

20. Freedom to profess religion and to manage religious institutions
Subject to law, public order and morality,—
(a) every citizen shall have the right to profess, practice and propagate his religion; and
every religious denomination and every sect thereof shall have the right to establish, maintain
and manage its religious institutions.

21. Safeguard against taxation for purposes of any particular religion
No person shall be compelled to pay any special tax the proceeds of which are to be spent on the
propagation or maintenance of any religion other than his own.

22. Safeguards as to educational institutions in respect of religion, etc.
(1) No person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious
instruction, or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend religious worship, if such
instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own.
(2) In respect of any religious institution, there shall be no discrimination against any
community in the granting of exemption or concession in relation to taxation.
(3) Subject to law,
(a) no religious community or denomination shall be prevented from providing religious
instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in any educational institution
maintained wholly by that community or denomination; and
(b) no citizen shall be denied admission to any educational institution receiving aid from
public revenues on the ground only of race, religion, caste or place of birth.
(4) Nothing in this Article shall prevent any public authority from making provision for the
advancement of any socially or educationally backward class of citizens.

23. Provision as to property
Every citizen shall have the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property in any part of Pakistan,
subject to the Constitution and any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the public interest.

24. Protection of property rights
(1) No person shall be deprived of his property save in accordance with law.
(2) No property shall be compulsorily acquired or taken possession of save for a public
purpose, and save by the authority of law which provides for compensation therefor and either
fixes the amount of compensation or specifies the principles on and the manner in which
compensation is to be determined and given.
(3) Nothing in this Article shall affect the validity of—
(a) any law permitting the compulsory acquisition or taking possession of any property for
preventing danger to life, property or public health; or
(b) any law permitting the taking over of any property which has been acquired by, or come into the possession of, any person by any unfair means, or in any manner, contrary to law; or
(c) any law relating to the acquisition, administration or disposal of any property which is or is deemed to be enemy property or evacuee property under any law (not being property which has ceased to be evacuee property under any law); or
(d) any law providing for the taking over of the management of any property by the State for a limited period, either in the public interest or in order to secure the proper management of the property, or for the benefit of its owner; or
(e) any law providing for the acquisition of any class of property for the purpose of—
(i) providing education and medical aid to all or any specified class of citizens; or
(ii) providing housing and public facilities and services such as roads, water supply, sewerage, gas and electric power to all or any specified class of citizens; or
(iii) providing maintenance to those who, on account of unemployment, sickness, infirmity or old age, are unable to maintain themselves; or
(f) any existing law or any law made in pursuance of Article 253.
(4) The adequacy or otherwise of any compensation provided for by any such law as is referred to in this Article, or determined in pursuance thereof, shall not be called in question in any court.

25. **Equality of citizens**
(1) All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law.

(2) There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex.

(3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the protection of women and children.

25A. **Right to education**
The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law.

26. **Non-discrimination in respect of access to public places**
(1) In respect of access to places of public entertainment or resort, not intended for religious purposes only, there shall be no discrimination against any citizen on the ground only of race, religion, caste, sex, residence or place of birth.

(2) Nothing in clause (1) shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.

27. **Safeguard against discrimination in services**
(1) No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the service of Pakistan shall be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment on the ground only of race, religion, caste, sex, residence or place of birth:

Provided that, for a period not exceeding (forty) years from the commencing day, posts may be reserved for persons belonging to any class or area to secure their adequate representation in the service of Pakistan:
Provided further that, in the interest of the said service, specified posts or services may be reserved for members of either sex if such posts or services entail the performance of duties and functions which cannot be adequately performed by members of the other sex;

[Provided also that under-representation of any class or area in the service of Pakistan may be redressed in such manner as may be determined by an Act of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)]

(2) Nothing in clause (1) shall prevent any Provincial Government, or any local or other authority in a Province, from prescribing, in relation to any post or class of service under that Government or authority, conditions as to residence in the Province, for a period not exceeding three years, prior to appointment under that Government or authority.

28. **Preservation of language, script and culture**
Subject to Article 251 any section of citizens having a distinct language, script or culture shall have the right to preserve and promote the same and subject to law, establish institutions for that purpose.

**Chapter 2 – Principles of Policy**

29. **Principles of Policy**
(1) The Principles set out in this Chapter shall be known as the Principles of Policy, and it is the responsibility of each organ and authority of the State, and of each person performing functions on behalf of an organ or authority of the State, to act in accordance with those Principles in so far as they relate to the functions of the organ or authority.

(2) In so far as the observance of any particular Principle of Policy may be dependent upon resources being available for the purpose, the Principle shall be regarded as being subject to the availability of resources.

(3) In respect of each year, the President in relation to the affairs of the Federation, and the Governor of each Province in relation to the affairs of his Province, shall cause to be prepared and laid before [each House of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] or, as the case may be, the Provincial Assembly, a report on the observance and implementation of the Principles of Policy, and provision shall be made in the rules of procedure of the National Assembly [and the Senate] or, as the case may be, the Provincial Assembly, for discussion on such report.

30. **Responsibility with respect to Principles of Policy**
(1) The responsibility of deciding whether any action of an organ or authority of the State, or of a person performing functions on behalf of an organ or authority of the State, is in accordance with the Principles of Policy is that of the organ or authority of the State, or of the person, concerned.

(2) The validity of an action or of a law shall not be called in question on the ground that it is not in accordance with the Principles of Policy, and no action shall lie against the State, any organ or authority of the State or any person on such ground.

31. **Islamic way of life**
(1) Steps shall be taken to enable the Muslims of Pakistan, individually and collectively, to order their lives in accordance with the fundamental principles and basic concepts of Islam and to
provide facilities whereby they may be enabled to understand the meaning of life according to the Holy Quran and Sunnah.

(2) The State shall endeavour, as respects the Muslims of Pakistan,—
(a) to make the teaching of the Holy Quran and Islamiat compulsory, to encourage and facilitate the learning of Arabic language and to secure correct and exact printing and publishing of the Holy Quran;
(b) to promote unity and the observance of the Islamic moral standards; and
(c) to secure the proper organisation of zakat [ushr,] auqaf and mosques.

32. Promotion of local Government institutions
The State shall encourage local Government institutions composed of elected representatives of the areas concerned and in such institutions special representation will be given to peasants, workers and women.

33. Parochial and other similar prejudices to be discouraged
The State shall discourage parochial, racial, tribal sectarian and provincial prejudices among the citizens.

34. Full participation of women in national life
Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

35. Protection of family, etc.
The State shall protect the marriage, the family, the mother and the child.

36. Protection of minorities
The State shall safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of minorities, including their due representation in the Federal and Provincial services.

37. Promotion of social justice and eradication of social evils
The State shall—
(a) promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of backward classes or areas;
(b) remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period;
(c) make technical and professional education generally available and higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of merit;
(d) ensure inexpensive and expeditious justice;
(e) make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work, ensuring that children and women are not employed in vocations unsuited to their age or sex, and for maternity benefits for women in employment;
(f) enable the people of different areas, through education, training, agricultural and industrial development and other methods, to participate fully in all forms of national activities, including employment in the service of Pakistan;
(g) prevent prostitution, gambling and taking of injurious drugs, printing, publication, circulation and display of obscene literature and advertisements;
(h) prevent the consumption of alcoholic liquor otherwise than for medicinal and, in the case of non-Muslims, religious purposes; and
(i) decentralize the Government administration so as to facilitate expeditious disposal of its business to meet the convenience and requirements of the public.

38. **Promotion of social and economic well being of the people**

The State shall—

(a) secure the well-being of the people, irrespective of sex, caste, creed or race, by raising their standard of living, by preventing the concentration of wealth and means of production and distribution in the hands of a few to the detriment of general interest and by ensuring equitable adjustment of rights between employers and employees, and landlords and tenants;
(b) provide for all citizens, within the available resources of the country, facilities for work and adequate livelihood with reasonable rest and leisure;
(c) provide for all persons employed in the service of Pakistan or otherwise, social security by compulsory social insurance or other means;
(d) provide basic necessities of life, such as food, clothing, housing, education and medical relief, for all such citizens, irrespective of sex, caste, creed or race, as are permanently or temporarily unable to earn their livelihood on account of infirmity, sickness or unemployment;
(e) reduce disparity in the income and earnings of individuals, including persons in the various classes of the service of Pakistan;
(f) eliminate *riba* as early as possible [; and]
[(g) ensure that the shares of the Provinces in all Federal services, including autonomous bodies and corporations established by, or under the control of, the Federal Government, shall be secured and any omission in the allocation of the shares of the Provinces in the past shall be rectified.]

39. **Participation of people in Armed Forces**

The State shall enable people from all parts of Pakistan to participate in the Armed Forces of Pakistan.

40. **Strengthening bonds with Muslim world and promoting international peace**

The State shall endeavor to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

**PART III**

**The Federation of Pakistan**

Chapter —The President

41. **The 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.

(3) The President shall be elected in accordance with the provisions of the Second Schedule by the members of an electoral college consisting of—
(a) the members of both Houses; and
(b) the members of the Provincial Assemblies.
(4) Election to the office of President shall be held not earlier than sixty days and not later than thirty days before the expiration of the term of the President in office:
Provided that, if the election cannot be held within the period aforesaid because the National Assembly is dissolved, it shall be held within thirty days of the general election to the Assembly.

(5) An election to fill a vacancy in the office of President shall be held not later than thirty days from the occurrence of the vacancy:
Provided that, if the election cannot be held within the period aforesaid because the National Assembly is dissolved, it shall be held within thirty days of the general election to the Assembly.

(6) The validity of the election of the President shall not be called in question by or before any court or other authority.

42. Oath of President
Before entering upon office, the President shall make before the Chief Justice of Pakistan oath in the form set out in the Third Schedule.

43. Conditions of President’s office
(1) The President shall not hold any office of profit in the service of Pakistan or occupy any other position carrying the right to remuneration for the rendering of services.

(2) The President shall not be a candidate for election as a member of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] or a Provincial Assembly; and, if a member of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] or a Provincial Assembly is elected as President, his seat in [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] or, as the case may be, the Provincial Assembly shall become vacant on the day he enters upon his office.

44. Term of office of President
(1) Subject to the Constitution, the President shall hold office for a term of five years from the day he enters upon his office:
Provided that the President shall, notwithstanding the expiration of his terms, continue to hold office until his successor enters upon his office.

(2) Subject to the Constitution, a person holding office as President shall be eligible for re-election to that office, but no person shall hold that office for more than two consecutive terms.

(3) The President may, by writing under his hand addressed to the Speaker of the National Assembly, resign his office.

45. President’s power to grant pardon, etc.
The President shall have power to grant pardon, reprieve and respite, and to remit, suspend or commute any sentence passed by any court, tribunal or other authority.

46. President to be kept informed
The Prime Minister shall keep the President informed on all matters of internal and foreign policy and on all legislative proposals, the Federal Government intends to bring before Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament).
47. Removal [or impeachment] of President

[(1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution, the President may, in accordance with the provisions of this Article, be removed from office on the ground of physical or mental incapacity or impeached on a charge of violating the Constitution or gross misconduct.

(2) Not less than one-half of the total membership of either House may give to the Speaker of the National Assembly or, as the case may be, the Chairman written notice of its intention to move a resolution for the removal of, or, as the case may be, to impeach, the President; and such notice shall set out the particulars of his incapacity or of the charge against him.]

(3) If a notice under clause (2) is received by the Chairman, he shall transmit it forthwith to the Speaker.

(4) The Speaker shall, within three days of the receipt of a notice under clause (2) or clause (3), cause a copy of the notice to be transmitted to the President.

(5) The Speaker shall summon the two Houses to meet in a joint sitting not earlier than seven days and not later than fourteen days after the receipt of the notice by him.

(6) The joint sitting may investigate or cause to be investigated the ground or the charge upon which the notice is founded.

(7) The President shall have the right to appear and be represented during the investigation, if any, and before the joint sitting.

(8) If, after consideration of the result of the investigation, if any, a resolution is passed at the joint sitting by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total membership of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] declaring that the President is unfit to hold the office due to incapacity or is guilty of violating the Constitution or of gross misconduct, the President shall cease to hold office immediately on the passing of the resolution.

48. President to act on advice, etc.

(1) In the exercise of his functions, the President shall act [on and] in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet [or the Prime Minister]:

[Provided that [within fifteen days] the President may require the Cabinet or, as the case may be, the Prime Minister to reconsider such advice, either generally or otherwise, and the President shall [, within ten days,] act in accordance with the advice tendered after such reconsideration.]

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in clause (1), the President shall act in his discretion in respect of any matter in respect of which he is empowered by the Constitution to do so [and the validity of anything done by the President in his discretion shall not be called in question on any ground whatsoever].

(4) The question whether any, and if so what, advice was tendered to the President by the Cabinet, the Prime Minister, a Minister or Minister of State shall not be inquired into in, or by, any court, tribunal or other authority.

[(5) Where the President dissolves the National Assembly, notwithstanding anything contained in clause (1), he shall,—

(a) appoint a date, not later than ninety days from the date of the dissolution, for the holding of a general election to the Assembly ; and

(b) appoint a care-taker Cabinet[ in accordance with the provisions of Article 224 or, as the case may be, Article 224A]]
[(6) If at any time the Prime Minister considers it necessary to hold a referendum on any matter of national importance, he may refer the matter to a joint sitting of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) and if it is approved in a joint sitting, the Prime Minister may cause such matter to be referred to a referendum in the form of a question that is capable of being answered by either —Yes or —No.]

(7) An Act of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) may lay down the procedure for the holding of a referendum and the compiling and consolidation of the result of a referendum.]

49. **Chairman or Speaker to act as, or perform functions of, President**

(1) If the office of President becomes vacant by reason of death, resignation or removal of the President, the Chairman or, if he is unable to perform the functions of the office of President, the Speaker of the National Assembly shall act as President until a President is elected in accordance with clause (3) of Article 41.

(2) When the President, by reason of absence from Pakistan or any other cause, is unable to perform his functions, the Chairman or, if he too is absent or unable to perform the functions of the office of President, the Speaker of the National Assembly shall perform the functions of President until the President returns to Pakistan or, as the case may be, resumes his functions.

**Chapter 2 – The [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)]**

**Composition, Duration and Meetings of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)]**

50. **Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)**

There shall be a Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) of Pakistan consisting of the President and two Houses to be known respectively as the National Assembly and the Senate.

51. **National Assembly**

(1) There shall be three hundred and forty-two seats for members in the National Assembly, including seats reserved for women and non-Muslims.

(2) A person shall be entitled to vote if—

(a) he is a citizen of Pakistan;
(b) he is not less than eighteen years of age;
(c) his name appears on the electoral roll; and
(d) he is not declared by a competent court to be unsound mind.

(3) The seats in the National Assembly referred to in clause (1), except as provided in clause (4), shall be allocated to each Province, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and the Federal Capital as under:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>General Seats</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federally Administered Tribal Areas</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Capital</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>272</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
<td><strong>332</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to the number of seats referred to in clause (3), there shall be, in the National Assembly, ten seats reserved for non-Muslims.

The seats in the National Assembly shall be allocated to each Province, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and the Federal Capital on the basis of population in accordance with the last preceding census officially published.

For the purpose of election to the National Assembly,—

(a) the constituencies for the general seats shall be single member territorial constituencies and the members to fill such seats shall be elected by direct and free vote in accordance with law;

(b) each Province shall be a single constituency for all seats reserved for women which are allocated to the respective Provinces under clause (3);

(c) the constituency for all seats reserved for non-Muslims shall be the whole country;

(d) members to the seats reserved for women which are allocated to a Province under clause (3) shall be elected in accordance with law through proportional representation system of political parties’ lists of candidates on the basis of total number of general seats secured by each political party from the Province concerned in the National Assembly:

Provided that for the purpose of this paragraph the total number of general seats won by a political party shall include the independent returned candidate or candidates who may duly join such political party within three days of the publication in the official Gazette of the names of the returned candidates; and

(e) members to the seats reserved for non-Muslims shall be elected in accordance with law through proportional representation system of political parties’ lists of candidates on the basis of total number of general seats won by each political party in the National Assembly:

Provided that for the purpose of this paragraph the total number of general seats won by a political party shall include the independent returned candidate or candidates who may duly join such political party within three days of the publication in the official Gazette of the names of the returned candidates.]

52. Duration of National Assembly
The National Assembly shall, unless sooner dissolved, continue for a term of five years from the day of its first meeting and shall stand dissolved at the expiration of its term.

53. Speaker and Deputy Speaker of National Assembly
(1) After a general election, the National Assembly shall, at its first meeting and to the exclusion of any other business, elect from amongst its members a Speaker and a Deputy Speaker and, so often as the office of Speaker or Deputy Speaker becomes vacant, the Assembly shall elect another member as Speaker or, as the case may be, Deputy Speaker.

(2) Before entering upon office, a member elected as Speaker or Deputy Speaker shall make before the National Assembly oath in the form set out in the Third Schedule.

(3) When the office of Speaker is vacant, or the Speaker is absent or is unable to perform his functions due to any cause, the Deputy Speaker shall act as speaker, and if, at that time, the Deputy Speaker is also absent or is unable to act as Speaker due to any cause, such member as may be determined by the rules of procedure of the Assembly shall preside at the meeting of the Assembly.
The Speaker or the Deputy Speaker shall not preside at a meeting of the Assembly when a resolution for his removal from office is being considered.

The Speaker may, by writing under his hand addressed to the President, resign his office.

The Deputy Speaker may, by writing under his hand addressed to the Speaker, resign his office.

The office of Speaker or Deputy Speaker shall become vacant if—

(a) he resigns his office;
(b) he ceases to be a member of the Assembly; or
(c) he is removed from office by a resolution of the Assembly, of which not less than seven days' notice has been given and which is passed by the votes of the majority of the total membership of the Assembly.

When the National Assembly is dissolved, the Speaker shall continue in his office till the person elected to fill the office by the next Assembly enters upon his office.

54. **Summoning and prorogation of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)**

1. The President may, from time to time, summon either House or both Houses or [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] in joint sitting to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit and may also prorogue the same.

2. There shall be at least [three] sessions of the National Assembly every year, and not more than one hundred and twenty days shall intervene between the last sitting of the Assembly in one session and the date appointed for its first sitting in the next session:

Provided that the National Assembly shall meet for not less than one hundred and [thirty] working days in each year.

*Explanation*.— In this clause, "working days" includes any day on which there is a joint sitting and any period, not exceeding two days, for which the National Assembly is adjourned.

3. On a requisition signed by not less than one-fourth of the total membership of the National Assembly, the Speaker shall summon the National Assembly to meet, at such time and place as he thinks fit, within fourteen days of the receipt of the requisition; and when the Speaker has summoned the Assembly only he may prorogue it.

54. **Voting in Assembly and quorum**

1. Subject to the Constitution, all decisions of the National Assembly shall be taken by majority of the members present and voting, but the person presiding shall not vote except in the case of equality of votes.

2. If at any time during a sitting of the National Assembly the attention of the person presiding is drawn to the fact that less than one-fourth of the total membership of the Assembly is present, he shall either adjourn the Assembly or suspend the meeting until at least one-fourth of such membership is present.

55. **Address by President**

[(1)] The President may address either House or both Houses assembled together and may for that purpose require the attendance of the members.
(2) The President may send messages to either House, whether with respect to a Bill then pending in the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) or otherwise, and a House to which any message is so sent shall with all convenient dispatch consider any matter required by the message to be taken into consideration.

(3) At the commencement of the first session after each general election to the National Assembly and at the commencement of the first session of each year the President shall address both Houses assembled together and inform the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) of the causes of its summons.

(4) Provision shall be made in the rules for regulating the procedure of a House and the conduct of its business for the allotment of time for discussion of the matters referred to in the address of the President.

57. Right to speak in [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)]
The Prime Minister, a Federal Minister, a Minister of State and the Attorney General shall have the right to speak and otherwise take part in the proceedings of either House, or a joint sitting or any committee thereof, of which he may be named a member, but shall not be entitled to vote.

58. Dissolution of National Assembly
[(1) The President shall dissolve the National Assembly if so advised by the Prime Minister; and the National Assembly shall, unless sooner dissolved, stand dissolved at the expiration of forty-eight hours after the Prime Minister has so advised.]

Explanatory.—Reference in this Article to "Prime Minister" shall not be construed to include reference to a Prime Minister against whom a notice of a resolution for a vote of no-confidence has been given in the National Assembly but has not been voted upon or against whom such a resolution has been passed or who is continuing in office after his resignation or after the dissolution of the National Assembly.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in clause (2) of Article 48, the President may also dissolve the National Assembly in his discretion where, a vote of no-confidence having been passed against the Prime Minister, no other member of the National Assembly command the confidence of the majority of the members of the National Assembly in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, as ascertained in a session of the National Assembly summoned for the purpose.

59. The Senate
(1) The Senate shall consist of one hundred and four members, of whom,—

(a) fourteen shall be elected by the members of each Provincial Assembly;
(b) eight shall be elected from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, in such manner as the President may, by Order, prescribe;
(c) two on general seats, and one woman and one technocrat including aalim shall be elected from the Federal Capital in such manner as the President may, by Order, prescribe;
(d) four women shall be elected by the members of each Provincial Assembly;
(e) four technocrats including *ulema* shall be elected by the members of each Provincial Assembly; and

(f) four non-Muslims, one from each Province, shall be elected by the members of each Provincial Assembly:

Provided that paragraph (f) shall be effective from the next Senate election after the commencement of the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010.

(2) Election to fill seats in the Senate allocated to each Province shall be held in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.

(3) The Senate shall not be subject to dissolution but the term of its members, who shall retire as follows, shall be six years:

(a) of the members referred to in paragraph (a) of clause (1), seven shall retire after the expiration of the first three years and seven shall retire after the expiration of the next three years;

(b) of the members referred to in paragraph (b) of the aforesaid clause, four shall retire after the expiration of the first three years and four shall retire after the expiration of the next three years;

(c) of the members referred to in paragraph (c) of the aforesaid clause,—

(i) one elected on general seat shall retire after the expiration of the first three years and the other one shall retire after the expiration of the next three years; and

(ii) one elected on the seat reserved for technocrat shall retire after first three years and the one elected on the seat reserved for woman shall retire after the expiration of the next three years;

(d) of the members referred to in paragraph (d) of the aforesaid clause, two shall retire after the expiration of the first three years and two shall retire after the expiration of the next three years;

(e) of the members referred to in paragraph (e) of the aforesaid clause, two shall retire after the expiration of the first three years and two shall retire after the expiration of the next three years; and

(f) of the members referred to in paragraph (f) of the aforesaid clause, two shall retire after the expiration of first three years and two shall retire after the expiration of next three years:

Provided that the Election Commission for the first term of seats for non-Muslims shall draw a lot as to which two members shall retire after the first three years.

(4) The term of office of a person elected to fill a casual vacancy shall be the unexpired term of the member whose vacancy he has filled.

60. **Chairman and Deputy Chairman**

(1) After the Senate has been duly constituted, it shall, at its first meeting and to the exclusion of any other business, elect from amongst its members a Chairman and a Deputy Chairman and, so often as the Office of Chairman or Deputy Chairman becomes vacant, the Senate shall elect another member as Chairman or, as the case may be, Deputy Chairman.

(2) The term of office of the Chairman or Deputy Chairman shall be [three] years from the day on which he enters upon his office.
61. **Other provisions relating to Senate**
The provisions of clauses (2) to (7) of Article 53, clauses (2) and (3) of Article 54 and Article 55 shall apply to the Senate as they apply to the National Assembly and, in their application to the Senate, shall have effect as if references therein to the National Assembly, Speaker and Deputy Speaker were references, respectively, to the Senate Chairman and Deputy Chairman [and as if, in the proviso to the said clause (2) of Article 54, for the words [one hundred and thirty] the words [one hundred and ten] were substituted].

62. **Qualifications for membership of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)**
(1) A person shall not be qualified to be elected or chosen as a member of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) unless—
(a) he is a citizen of Pakistan;
(b) he is, in the case of the National Assembly, not less than twenty-five years of age and is enrolled as a voter in any electoral roll in—
(i) any part of Pakistan, for election to a general seat or a seat reserved for non-Muslims; and
(ii) any area in a Province from which she seeks membership for election to a seat reserved for women.
(c) he is, in the case of the Senate, not less than thirty years of age and is enrolled as a voter in any area in a Province or, as the case may be, the Federal Capital or the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, from where he seeks membership;
(d) he is of good character and is not commonly known as one who violates Islamic Injunctions;
(e) he has adequate knowledge of Islamic teachings and practices obligatory duties prescribed by Islam as well as abstains from major sins;
(f) he is sagacious, righteous, non-profligate, honest and ameen, there being no declaration to the contrary by a court of law; and
(g) he has not, after the establishment of Pakistan, worked against the integrity of the country or opposed the ideology of Pakistan.
(2) The disqualifications specified in paragraphs (d) and (e) shall not apply to a person who is a non-Muslim, but such a person shall have good moral reputation.

63. **Disqualifications for membership of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)**
(1) A person shall be disqualified from being elected or chosen as, and from being, a member of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament), if—
(a) he is of unsound mind and has been so declared by a competent court; or
(b) he is an undischarged insolvent; or
(c) he ceases to be a citizen of Pakistan, or acquires the citizenship of a foreign State; or
(d) he holds an office of profit in the service of Pakistan other than an office declared by law not to disqualify its holder; or
(e) he is in the service of any statutory body or anybody which is owned or controlled by the Government or in which the Government has a controlling share or interest; or
(f) being a citizen of Pakistan by virtue of section 14B of the Pakistan Citizenship Act, 1951 (II of 1951), he is for the time being disqualified under any law in force in Azad Jammu and Kashmir from being elected as a member of the Legislative Assembly of Azad Jammu and Kashmir; or
(g) he has been convicted by a court of competent jurisdiction for propagating any opinion, or acting in any manner, prejudicial to the ideology of Pakistan, or the sovereignty, integrity or security of Pakistan, or the integrity, or independence of the judiciary of Pakistan, or which defames or brings into ridicule the judiciary or the Armed Forces of Pakistan, unless a period of five years has lapsed since his release; or

(h) he has been, on conviction for any offence involving moral turpitude, sentenced to imprisonment for a term of not less than two years, unless a period of five years has elapsed since his release; or

(i) he has been dismissed from the service of Pakistan or service of a corporation or office set up or, controlled by the Federal Government, Provincial Government or a Local Government on the grounds of misconduct, unless a period of five years has elapsed since his dismissal; or

(j) he has been removed or compulsorily retired from the service of Pakistan or service of a corporation or office set up or controlled by the Federal Government, Provincial Government or a Local Government on the ground of misconduct, unless a period of three years has elapsed since his removal or compulsory retirement; or

(k) he has been in the service of Pakistan or of any statutory body or any body which is owned or controlled by the Government or in which the Government has a controlling share or interest, unless a period of two years has elapsed since he ceased to be in such service; or

(l) he, whether by himself or by any person or body of persons in trust for him or for his benefit or on his account or as a member of a Hindu undivided family, has any share or interest in a contract, not being a contract between a cooperative society and Government, for the supply of goods to, or for the execution of any contract or for the performance of any service undertaken by, Government:

Provided that the disqualification under this paragraph shall not apply to a person—

(i) where the share or interest in the contract devolves on him by inheritance or succession or as a legatee, executor or administrator, until the expiration of six months after it has so devolved on him;

(ii) where the contract has been entered into by or on behalf of a public company as defined in the Companies Ordinance, 1984 (XLVII of 1984), of which he is a shareholder but is not a director holding an office of profit under the company; or

(iii) where he is a member of a Hindu undivided family and the contract has been entered into by any other member of that family in the course of carrying on a separate business in which he has no share or interest;

Explanation.—In this Article —goods does not include agricultural produce or commodity grown or produced by him or such goods as he is, under any directive of Government or any law for the time being in force, under a duty or obligation to supply; or

(m) he holds any office of profit in the service of Pakistan other than the following offices, namely :—

(i) an office which is not whole time office remunerated either by salary or by fee;

(ii) the office of Lumbardar, whether called by this or any other title;

(iii) the QaumiRazakars;

(iv) any office the holder whereof, by virtue of such office, is liable to be called up for military training or military service under any law providing for the constitution or raising of a Force; or
(n) he has obtained a loan for an amount of two million rupees or more, from any bank, financial institution, cooperative society or cooperative body in his own name or in the name of his spouse or any of his dependents, which remains unpaid for more than one year from the due date, or has got such loan written off; or

(o) he or his spouse or any of his dependents has defaulted in payment of government dues and utility expenses, including telephone, electricity, gas and water charges in excess of ten thousand rupees, for over six months, at the time of filing his nomination papers; or

(p) he is for the time being disqualified from being elected or chosen as a member of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) or of a Provincial Assembly under any law for the time being in force.

Explanation.— For the purposes of this paragraph —law‖ shall not include an Ordinance promulgated under Article 89 or Article 128.

(2) If any question arises whether a member of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) has become disqualified from being a member, the Speaker or, as the case may be, the Chairman shall, unless he decides that no such question has arisen, refer the question to the Election Commission within thirty days and if he fails to do so within the aforesaid period it shall be deemed to have been referred to the Election Commission.

(3) The Election Commission shall decide the question within ninety days from its receipt or deemed to have been received and if it is of the opinion that the member has become disqualified, he shall cease to be a member and his seat shall become vacant.

63A. Disqualification on grounds of defection, etc.

(1) If a member of a Parliamentary Party composed of a single political party in a House—

(a) resigns from membership of his political party or joins another Parliamentary party; or

(b) votes or abstains from voting in the House contrary to any direction issued by the Parliamentary Party to which he belongs, in relation to—

(i) election of the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister; or

(ii) a vote of confidence or a vote of no-confidence; or

(iii) a Money Bill or a Constitution (Amendment) Bill;

he may be declared in writing by the Party Head to have defected from the political party, and the Party Head may forward a copy of the declaration to the Presiding Officer and the Chief Election Commissioner and shall similarly forward a copy thereof to the member concerned:

Provided that before making the declaration, the Party Head shall provide such member with an opportunity to show cause as to why such declaration may not be made against him.

Explanation.— —Party Head‖ means any person, by whatever name called, declared as such by the Party.

(2) A member of a House shall be deemed to be a member of a Parliamentary Party if he, having been elected as a candidate or nominee of a political party which constitutes the Parliamentary Party in the House or, having been elected otherwise than as a candidate or nominee of a political party, has become a member of such Parliamentary Party after such election by means of a declaration in writing.
Upon receipt of the declaration under clause (1), the Presiding Officer of the House shall within two days refer, and in case he fails to do so it shall be deemed that he has referred, the declaration to the Chief Election Commissioner who shall lay the declaration before the Election Commission for its decision thereon confirming the declaration or otherwise within thirty days of its receipt by the Chief Election Commissioner.

Where the Election Commission confirms the declaration, the member referred to in clause (1) shall cease to be a member of the House and his seat shall become vacant.

Any party aggrieved by the decision of the Election Commission may, within thirty days, prefer an appeal to the Supreme Court which shall decide the matter within ninety days from the date of the filing of the appeal.

Nothing contained in this Article shall apply to the Chairman or Speaker of a House.

For the purpose of this Article,—
(a) "House" means the National Assembly or the Senate, in relation to the Federation; and a Provincial Assembly in relation to the Province, as the case may be;
(b) "Presiding Officer" means the Speaker of the National Assembly, the Chairman of the Senate or the Speaker of the Provincial Assembly, as the case may be.
(8) Article 63A substituted as aforesaid shall comes into effect from the next general elections to be held after the commencement of the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010:
Provided that till Article 63A substituted as aforesaid comes into effect the provisions of existing Article 63A shall remain operative].

64. **Vacation of seats**
(1) A member of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] may, by writing under his hand addressed to the Speaker or, as the case may be, the Chairman resign his seat, and thereupon his seat shall become vacant.

(2) A House may declare the seat of a member vacant if, without leave of the House, he remains absent for forty consecutive days of its sittings.

65. **Oath of Members**
A person elected to a House shall not sit or vote until he has made before the House oath in the form set out in the Third Schedule.

66. **Privileges of members, etc.**
(1) Subject to the Constitution and to the rules of procedure of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)], there shall be freedom of speech in [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] and no member shall be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)], and no person shall be so liable in respect of the publication by or under the authority of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] of any report, paper, votes or proceedings.

(2) In other respects, the powers, immunities and privileges of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)], and the immunities and privileges of the members of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)], shall be such as may from time to time be defined by law and, until so defined, shall be such as were, immediately before the commencing day, enjoyed by the National Assembly of Pakistan and the committees thereof and its members.
Provision may be made by law for the punishment, by a House, of persons who refuse to give evidence or produce documents before a committee of the House when duly required by the chairman of the committee so to do:

Provided that any such law—

(a) may empower a court to punish a person who refuses to give evidence or produce documents; and
(b) shall have effect subject to such Order for safeguarding confidential matters from disclosure as may be made by the President.

The provisions of this Article shall apply to persons who have the right to speak in, and otherwise to take part in the proceedings of, [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] as they apply to members.

In this Article, [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] means either House or a joint sitting, or a committee thereof.

Chapter 3 – The Federal Government

90. Exercise of executive authority of the Federation

(1) Subject to the Constitution, the executive authority of the Federation shall be exercised in the name of the President by the Federal Government, consisting of the Prime Minister and the Federal Ministers, which shall act through the Prime Minister, who shall be the chief executive of the Federation.

(2) In the performance of his functions under the Constitution, the Prime Minister may act either directly or through the Federal Minister.

91. The Cabinet

(1) There shall be a Cabinet of Ministers, with the Prime Minister at its head, to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions.

(2) The National Assembly shall meet on the twenty-first day following the day on which a general election to the Assembly is held, unless sooner summoned by the President.

(3) After the election of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker, the National Assembly shall, to the exclusion of any other business, proceed to elect without debate one of its Muslim members to be the Prime Minister.

(4) The Prime Minister shall be elected by the votes of the majority of the total membership of the National Assembly:

Provided that, if no member secures such majority in the first poll, a second poll shall be held between the members who secure the two highest numbers of votes in the first poll and the member who secures a majority of votes of the members present and voting shall be declared to have been elected as Prime Minister:

Provided further that, if the number of votes secured by two or more members securing the highest number of votes is equal, further poll shall be held between them until one of them secures a majority of votes of the members present and voting.
(5) The member elected under clause (4) shall be called upon by the President to assume the office of Prime Minister and he shall, before entering upon the office, make before the President oath in the form set out in the Third Schedule:
Provided that there shall be no restriction on the number of terms for the office of the Prime Minister.

(6) The Cabinet, together with the Ministers of State, shall be collectively responsible to the Senate and the National Assembly.

(7) The Prime Minister shall hold office during the pleasure of the President, but the President shall not exercise his powers under this clause unless he is satisfied that the Prime Minister does not command the confidence of the majority of the members of the National Assembly, in which case he shall summon the National Assembly and require the Prime Minister to obtain a vote of confidence from the Assembly.

(8) The Prime Minister may, by writing under his hand addressed to the President, resign his office.

(9) A Minister who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of the National Assembly shall, at the expiration of that period, cease to be a Minister and shall not before the dissolution of that Assembly be again appointed a Minister unless he is elected a member of that Assembly:
Provided that nothing contained in this clause shall apply to a Minister who is member of the Senate.

(10) Nothing contained in this Article shall be construed as disqualifying the Prime Minister or any other Minister or a Minister of State for continuing in office during any period during which the National Assembly stands dissolved, or as preventing the appointment of any person as Prime Minister or other Minister or a Minister of State during any such period.

92. Federal Ministers and Ministers of State
(1) Subject to clauses (9) and (10) of Article 91, the President shall appoint Federal Ministers and Ministers of State from amongst the members of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) on the advice of the Prime Minister:
Provided that the number of Federal Ministers and Ministers of State who are members of the Senate shall not at any time exceed one-fourth of the number of Federal Ministers
[Provided further that the total strength of the Cabinet, including Ministers of State, shall not exceed eleven percent of the total membership of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament):
Provided also that the aforesaid amendment shall be effective from the next general election held after the commencement of the Constitution Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010.

(2) Before entering upon office, a Federal Minister or Minister of State shall make before the President oath in the form set out in the Third Schedule.

(3) A Federal Minister or Minister of State may, by writing under his hand addressed to the President, resign his office or may be removed from office by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister.

93. Advisers
(1) The President may, on the advice of the Prime Minister, appoint not more than five Advisers, on such terms and conditions as he may determine.
(2) The provisions of Article 57 shall also apply to an Adviser.

93. **Prime Minister continuing in office**
The President may ask the Prime Minister to continue to hold office until his successor enters upon the office of Prime Minister.

94. **Vote of no-confidence against Prime Minister**
(1) A resolution for a vote of no-confidence moved by not less than twenty per centum of the total membership of the National Assembly may be passed against the Prime Minister by the National Assembly.

(2) A resolution referred to in clause (1) shall not be voted upon before the expiration of three days, or later than seven days, from the day on which such resolution is moved in the National Assembly.

(3) A resolution referred to in clause (1) shall not be moved in the National Assembly while the National Assembly is considering demands for grants submitted to it in the Annual Budget Statement.

(4) If the resolution referred to in clause (1) is passed by a majority of the total membership of the National Assembly, the Prime Minister shall cease to hold office.

95. **Vote of no confidence against Prime Minister.** Omitted by substitution through renumbering vide P. O. No. 14 of 1985, Art. 2 and Sch.

96. **Extent of executive authority of Federation**
Subject to the Constitution, the executive authority of the federation shall extend to the matters with respect to which [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] has power to make laws, including exercise of rights, authority and jurisdiction in and in relation to areas outside Pakistan:

Provided that the said authority shall not, save as expressly provided in the Constitution or in any law made by [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)], extend in any Province to a matter with respect to which the Provincial Assembly has also power to make laws.

97. **Conferring of functions on subordinate authorities**
On the recommendation of the Federal Government, [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] may by law confer functions upon officers or authorities subordinate to the Federal Government.

98. **Conduct of business of Federal Government**
(1) All executive actions of the Federal Government shall be expressed to be taken in the name of the President.

(2) The [Federal Government] shall by rules specify the manner in which orders and other instruments made and executed [in his name of the President] shall be authenticated, and the validity of any order or instrument so authenticated shall not be questioned in any court on the ground that it was not made or executed by the President.

(3) The Federal Government shall also make rules for the allocation and transaction of its business.]
99. **Attorney-General for Pakistan**

(1) The President shall appoint a person, being a person qualified to be appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court, to be the Attorney-General for Pakistan.

(2) The Attorney-General shall hold office during the pleasure of the President [and shall not engage in private practice so long as he holds the office of the Attorney-General].

(3) It shall be the duty of the Attorney-General to give advice to the Federal Government upon such legal matters, and to perform such other duties of a legal character, as may be referred or assigned to him by the Federal Government, and in the performance of his duties he shall have the right of audience in all courts and tribunals in Pakistan.

(4) The Attorney-General may, by writing under his hand addressed to the President, resign his office.

**PART VII**

**The Judicature**

**Chapter 1 – The Courts**

175. **Establishment and jurisdiction of courts**

(1) There shall be a Supreme Court of Pakistan, a High Court for each Province [and a High Court for the Islamabad Capital Territory] and such other courts as may be established by law.

*Explanation.*—The word —High Court wherever occurring in the Constitution shall include the High Court for the Islamabad Capital Territory.]

(2) No court shall have any jurisdiction save as is or may be conferred on it by the Constitution or by or under any law.

(3) The Judiciary shall be separated progressively from the Executive within [fourteen] years from the commencing day.

175A. **Appointment of Judges to the Supreme Court, High Courts and the Federal Shariat Court**

(1) There shall be a Judicial Commission of Pakistan, hereinafter in this Article referred to as the Commission, for appointment of Judges of the Supreme Court, High Courts and the Federal Shariat Court, as hereinafter provided.

(2) For appointment of Judges of the Supreme Court, the Commission shall consist of—

(i) Chief Justice of Pakistan; Chairman
(ii) [four] most senior Judges of the Supreme Members Court;
(iii) a former Chief Justice or a former Judge Member of the Supreme Court of Pakistan to be nominated by the Chief Justice of Pakistan, in consultation with the [four] member Judges, for a term of two years;
(iv) Federal Minister for Law and Justice; Member
(v) Attorney-General for Pakistan; and Member
(vi) a Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court Member of Pakistan nominated by the Pakistan Bar Council for a term of two years.

(3) Notwithstanding anything contained in clause (1) or clause (2), the President shall appoint the most senior Judge of the Supreme Court as the Chief Justice of Pakistan.

(4) The Commission may make rules regulating its procedure.

(5) For appointment of Judges of a High Court, the
Commission in clause (2) shall also include the following, namely:—

(i) Chief Justice of the High Court to which Member the appointment is being made;
(ii) the most senior Judge of that High Court; Member
(iii) Provincial Minister for Law; and Member
[(iv) an advocate having not less than fifteen Member years practice in the High Court to be nominated by the concerned Bar Council for a term of two years:

Provided that for appointment of the Chief Justice of a High Court, the most senior Judge mentioned in paragraph (ii) shall not be member of the Commission:

Provided further that if for any reason the Chief Justice of High Court is not available, he shall be substituted by a former Chief Justice or former Judge of that Court, to be nominated by the Chief Justice of Pakistan in consultation with the four member Judges of the Commission mentioned in paragraph (ii) of clause (2).]

(6) For appointment of Judges of the Islamabad High Court, the Commission in clause (2) shall also include the following, namely:—

(i) Chief Justice of the Islamabad High Court; Member and
(ii) the most senior Judge of that High Court: Member Provided that for initial appointment of the [Chief Justice and the] Judges of the Islamabad High Court, the Chief Justices of the four Provincial High Courts shall also be members of the Commission:
Provided further that subject to the foregoing proviso, in case of appointment of Chief Justice of Islamabad High Court, the provisos to clause (5) shall, mutatis mutandis, apply.

(7) For appointment of Judges of the Federal Shariat Court, the Commission in clause (2) shall also include the Chief Justice of the Federal Shariat Court and the most senior Judge of that Court as its members:
Provided that for appointment of Chief Justice of Federal Shariat Court, the provisos, to clause (5) shall, mutatis mutandis, apply.

(8) The Commission by majority of its total membership shall nominate to the Parliamentary Committee one person, for each vacancy of a Judge in the Supreme Court, a High Court or the Federal Shariat Court, as the case may be.
(9) The Parliamentary Committee, hereinafter in this Article referred to as the Committee, shall consist of the following eight members, namely:—
(i) four members from the Senate; and
(ii) four members from the National Assembly:
[Provided that when the National Assembly is dissolved, the total membership of the Parliamentary Committee shall consist of the members from the Senate only mentioned in paragraph (i) and the provisions of this Article shall, mutatis mutandis, apply.]

(10) Out of the eight members of the Committee, four shall be from the Treasury Benches, two from each House and four from the Opposition Benches, two from each House. The nomination of members from the Treasury Benches shall be made by the Leader of the House and from the Opposition Benches by the Leader of the Opposition.
(11) Secretary, Senate shall act as the Secretary of the Committee.
(12) The Committee on receipt of a nomination from the Commission may confirm the nominee by majority of its total membership within fourteen days, failing which the nomination shall be deemed to have been confirmed:

[Provided that the Committee, for reasons to be recorded, may not confirm the nomination by three-fourth majority of its total membership within the said period:]

[Provided further that if a nomination is not confirmed by the Committee it shall forward its decision with reasons so recorded to the Commission through the Prime Minister:

Provided further that if a nomination is not confirmed, the Commission shall send another nomination.]

[(13) The Committee shall send the name of the nominee confirmed by it or deemed to have been confirmed to the Prime Minister who shall forward the same to the President for appointment.]

(14) No action or decision taken by the Commission or a Committee shall be invalid or called in question only on the ground of the existence of a vacancy therein or of the absence of any member from any meeting thereof.

[(15) The meetings of the Committee shall be held in camera and the record of its proceedings shall be maintained.

(16) The provisions of Article 68 shall not apply to the proceedings of the Committee.]

[(17)] The Committee may make rules for regulating its procedure.

Chapter 2 – The Supreme Court of Pakistan

176. Constitution of Supreme Court
The Supreme Court shall consist of a Chief Justice to be known as the Chief Justice of Pakistan and so many other Judges as may be determined by Act of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] or, until so determined, as may be fixed by the President.

177. Appointment of Supreme Court Judges
[(1) The Chief Justice of Pakistan and each of the other Judges of the Supreme Court shall be appointed by the President in accordance with Article 175A.].

(2) A person shall not be appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court unless he is a citizen of Pakistan and—

(a) has for a period of, or for periods aggregating, not less than five years been a judge of a High Court (including a High Court which existed in Pakistan at any time before the commencing day); or

(b) has for a period of, or for periods aggregating, not less than fifteen years been an advocate of a High Court (including a High Court which existed in Pakistan at any time before the commencing day).

178. Oath of Office
Before entering upon office, the Chief Justice of Pakistan shall make before the President, and any other Judge of the Supreme Court shall make before the Chief Justice, oath in the form set out in the Third Schedule.
179. **Retiring age**
A Judge of the Supreme Court shall hold office until he attains the age of sixty-five years, unless he sooner resigns or is removed from office in accordance with the Constitution.

180. **Acting Chief Justice**
At any time when—

(a) the office of Chief Justice of Pakistan is vacant; or
(b) the Chief Justice of Pakistan is absent or is unable to perform the functions of his office due to any other cause, the President shall appoint [the most senior of the other Judges of the Supreme Court] to act as Chief Justice of Pakistan.

181. **Acting Judges**
(1) At any time when—

(a) the office of a Judge of the Supreme Court is vacant; or
(b) a Judge of the Supreme Court is absent or is unable to perform the functions of his office due to any other cause, the President may, in the manner provided in clause (1) of Article 177, appoint a Judge of a High Court who is qualified for appointment as a Judge of the Supreme Court to act temporarily as a Judge of the Supreme Court.

[Explanation.—In this clause, ‘Judge of a High Court’ includes a person who has retired as a Judge of a High Court.]

(2) An appointment under this Article shall continue in force until it is revoked by the President.

182. **Appointment of ad-hoc Judges**
If at any time it is not possible for want of quorum of Judges of the Supreme Court to hold or continue any sitting of the Court, or for any other reason it is necessary to increase temporarily the number of Judges of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice of Pakistan [, in Consultation with the Judicial Commission as provided in clause (2) of Article 175A,] may, in writing,—

(a) with the approval of the President, request any person who has held the office of a Judge of that Court and since whose ceasing to hold that office three years have not elapsed; or
(b) with the approval of the President and with the consent of the Chief Justice of a High Court, require a Judge of that Court qualified for appointment as a judge of the Supreme Court, to attend sittings of the Supreme Court as an ad hoc Judge for such period as may be necessary and while so attending an ad hoc Judge shall have the same power and jurisdiction as a Judge of the Supreme Court.

183. **Seat of the Supreme Court**
(1) The permanent seat of the Supreme Court shall, subject to clause (3), be at Islamabad.

(2) The Supreme Court may from time to time sit in such other places as the Chief Justice of Pakistan, with the approval of the President, may appoint.

(3) Until provision is made for establishing the Supreme Court at Islamabad, the seat of the Court shall be at such place as the President may appoint.

184. **Original Jurisdiction of Supreme Court**
(1) The Supreme Court shall, to the exclusion of every other court, have original jurisdiction in any dispute between any two or more Governments.
Explanation.—In this clause, "Governments" means the Federal Government and the Provincial Governments.

(2) In the exercise of the jurisdiction conferred on it by clause (1), the Supreme Court shall pronounce declaratory judgments only.

(3) Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 199, the Supreme Court shall, if it considers that a question of public importance with reference to the enforcement of any of the Fundamental Rights conferred by Chapter 1 of Part II is involved, have the power to make an order of the nature mentioned in the said Article.

185. Appellate jurisdiction of Supreme Court

(1) Subject to this Article, the Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine appeals from judgments, decrees, final orders or sentences of a High Court.

(2) An appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court from any judgment, decree, final order or sentence of a High Court—
   (a) if the High Court has on appeal reversed an order of acquittal of an accused person and sentenced him to death or to transportation for life or imprisonment for life; or, on revision, has enhanced a sentence to a sentence as aforesaid; or
   (b) if the High Court has withdrawn for trial before itself any case from any court subordinate to it and has in such trial convicted the accused person and sentenced him as aforesaid; or
   (c) if the High Court has imposed any punishment on any person for contempt of the High Court; or
   (d) if the amount or value of the subject-matter of the dispute in the court of first instance was, and also in dispute in appeal is, not less than fifty thousand rupees or such other sum as may be specified in that behalf by Act of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] and the judgment, decree or final order appealed from has varied or set aside the judgment, decree or final order of the court immediately below; or
   (e) if the judgment, decree or final order involves directly or indirectly some claim or question respecting property of the like amount or value and the judgment, decree or final order appealed from has varied or set aside the judgment, decree or final order of the court immediately below; or
   (f) if the High Court certifies that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution.

(3) An appeal to the Supreme Court from a judgment decree, order or sentence of a High Court in a case to which clause (2) does not apply shall lie only if the Supreme Court grants leave to appeal.

186. Advisory Jurisdiction

(1) If, at any time, the President considers that it is desirable to obtain the opinion of the Supreme Court on any question of law which he considers of public importance, he may refer the question to the Supreme Court for consideration.

(2) The Supreme Court shall consider a question so referred and report its opinion on the question to the President.
186A. Power of Supreme Court to transfer cases
The Supreme Court may, if it considers it expedient to do so in the interest of justice, transfer any case, appeal or other proceedings pending before any High Court to any other High Court.

187. Issue and execution of processes of Supreme Court
(1) Subject to clause (2) of Article 175, the Supreme Court shall have power to issue such directions, orders or decrees as may be necessary for doing complete justice in any case or matter pending before it, including an order for the purpose of securing the attendance of any person or the discovery or production of any document.

(2) Any such direction, order or decree shall be enforceable throughout Pakistan and shall, where it is to be executed in a Province, or a territory or an area not forming part of a Province but within the jurisdiction of the High Court of the Province, be executed as if it had been issued by the High Court of that Province.

(3) If a question arises as to which High Court shall give effect to a direction, order or decree of the Supreme Court, the decision of the Supreme Court on the question shall be final.

188. Review of judgments of orders by the Supreme Court
The Supreme Court shall have power, subject to the provisions of any Act of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] and of any rules made by the Supreme Court, to review any judgment pronounced or any order made by it.

189. Decisions of Supreme Court binding on other Courts
Any decision of the Supreme Court shall, to the extent that it decides a question of law or is based upon or enunciates a principle of law, be binding on all other courts in Pakistan.

190. Action in aid of Supreme Court
All executive and judicial authorities throughout Pakistan shall act in aid of the Supreme Court.

191. Rules of procedure
Subject to the Constitution and law, the Supreme Court may make rules regulating the practice and procedure of the Court.
Appendix III: Interviews

Appendix III-A  Interview No. I

Mr. Tariq Gill, Member Punjab Assembly & Parliamentary secretary of the Ministry of Human Rights and Minority Affairs Punjab.

Mr. Tariq Gill is a sitting MPA of Punjab Assembly. He has been nominated by PML (N) on one of the seats reserved for minorities in Punjab Assembly. He has been working as advisor to Chief Minister Punjab since 2008. He has also been given the responsibility of parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of Human Rights and Minority Affairs Punjab.

Mr. Tariq Gill was born in Lahore on 10 November 1962. He got his early education from Pak Standard Public School, ChahMiran. He completed his matriculation from Rang Mehal Christian High School, Lahore and completed his graduation in 1986. He was interested in politics from his student life. So, after completion of graduation he entered into practical politics and joined PML (N). In 1987, he contested election of Councilor which he could not win. In 1991, he contested the local bodies election and this time won the seat of Councilor. He continued his political struggle and during Musharraf period in 2005 he was again elected as member District Assembly. He remained loyal to his party and leadership through thick and thin. During Musharraf period when PML (N) was facing a number of problems and most of the voters and local leadership left the party. He stood firm with the party leadership and continued his political struggle on the platform of PML (N). In 2008, he was nominated as an advisor to Chief Minister Punjab and in 2013; he was nominated as MPA by the party leadership owing to his services for well being of his community. Researcher got the chance to have a meeting with him and take his interview. His views expressed in the interview are as under:

Q: What is the status of minorities in Pakistan?

If you want to see the status of minorities in Pakistan Quaid’s speech of 11 August 1947 in the Assembly can be quoted. In his speech he promised equal rights and status to all the citizens of Pakistan irrespective of their religion. The constitution of Pakistan 1973 also guarantees all the fundamental rights to the minorities but practically, the situation is not like that. In our social set up there are some factions who show prejudice against our community but with the passage of time as the people are becoming more and more educated. They are becoming more and more tolerant and co-operative towards minorities. Especially, in big cities like Lahore we are free to live our lives according to our belief we are offered jobs and it is very rare when somebody make us feel that we are a second class citizens.

Q: What is the role of minorities especially of the Christians in the well being of society?

The Christian community of Pakistan and particularly Lahore thinks itself full fledge citizens of Pakistan. As citizens of Pakistan they have a very important role for the well being of society. They are fully aware of their role. You will see, wherever a Christian is present, whatever a responsibility he is given. He tries his best to perform his duties with a great sense of responsibility. Their role in the nation building cannot be ignored.
Q: Are the Christians free to participate actively in politics?

Yes, we are constitutionally free to participate actively in politics of Pakistan. We are free to join any political party. We are free even to form our own political party. We have representation in assemblies. In the past we did not have representation in Upper House of the Parliament (Senate). But now we are happy that constitution has been amended and we have been given representation in Senate, too.

Q: What is your role a MPA towards your community?

I am member of provincial legislature. Our basic function is to raise issues of our community in the Assembly and make legislation to solve these issues. Along with this, on my part, I motivate youth of community to pay all their attention to education because this is the only way we can improve our status among the community of nations. There is no other way to progress.

Q: Do you feel any type of discrimination in society?

There are many examples that minorities are discriminated in society. In the public places or public meetings people don’t like to sit and eat with the Christians even people don’t eat in the utensils used by the Christians. But my experience is that as our society is getting enlightened this discrimination is decreasing day by day. You can take my own example I got my education in government institutions, most of my friends and teachers were Muslims. They never showed any type of hatred for me. I worked hard and now I am an MPA. In the party meetings I sit with Muslims and even dine with them, they have never shown any type negative feelings for me.

Q: Are you satisfied with the number of Christian representatives in assemblies?

In 1980s, the Christians were given 4 seats in National Assembly and in 2018 we still have only 4 seats. During the last 30 years, the Christian population has increased. So, the number of Christian seats should be increased. The other point is that in all the government departments quota reserved for minorities is 5%. Following this formula the minorities should be given 5% seats in provincial as well as in National Assembly of Pakistan.

Q: Has the religious clergy any role in politics?

In my opinion, the religious clergy should not indulge in politics. They are performing a sacred function which needs full time and full attention. They should concentrate only on religious services. Politics should be left for political leadership of the community.

Q: What role of NGO’s for the uplift of your community?

I don’t think NGO’s are playing any role for the uplift of our society. They have their specific agenda and personal interests and they work on specific lines. They don’t have any sympathy for Christian community.

Q: Do you get recognition of the services from society?

I have been continuously working as a political worker for the progress and well being of my community and the nation as a whole. I have always given priority to national interest and
the interest of my community over my personal interests. I have been nominated as an MPA by PML(N) which is not a Christian party and this is a clear proof of recognition of my services to the nation.

**Q: Your views about present electoral system of Pakistan?**

The Christian had been demanding joint electorate in the country for a long period of time, and now, at last our demand has been fulfilled I am quite satisfied with the present system.

**Q: What is the future of minorities in Pakistan?**

The future of minorities is associated with the majority. If majority’s future is bright and secure our future will be secure in Pakistan. If future of majority is not secured and is at stack then how can we survive? So, I think if Pakistan has to make progress, people from all the religions should work together for this.
Appendix III-B

Interview No. 2

Khadim Pervez Masih (President: Pakistan National Democratic Party).

Q: Do you think minorities in Pakistan are being treated as second class citizens?

There are two aspects we have to look at, firstly the constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and secondly general behavior of the society towards minorities. So far as the constitution is concerned it gives equal rights to minorities, we are free to live our lives according to our religious beliefs. Practically, there are factions in society, one who supports participation of minorities in the political system of Pakistan and the other who shows prejudice against minorities. But in my view, it is general behavior of our society. Muslims have also been divided into different sects and even different sects of the Muslims show their prejudice against each other.

We are considered as minority and I think when Quaid-i-Azam gave us name of minority, it was a great blessing for us. It laid down foundation stone of our identity in Pakistan. When the word ‘minority’ is use for us it means we have different identity within the society and it also points out our specific role towards society. Though some people show prejudice but majority of the Muslims love and co-operate with us. Muslim majority of Lahore has very cordial relations with the Christian community. On the eve of Christmas and Easter, Muslim families visit our homes and even bring gifts of sweets and cakes which do not show in any way that we are second class citizens.

Q: Do you think minorities have any role in the well being of society?

Yes, of course, as citizens of Pakistan a very heavy responsibility lies on the shoulders of minorities. So far as Christians are concerned we are well aware of our role in the political system. That is why Christians are very active in the fields of education, social services as well as in health and care. We have performed our duties not only during peace but also in emergency whenever our beloved country was faced with natural calamity or war. Valuable services of Cecil Chaudhry cannot be neglected which he rendered during Indo-Pakistan war in 1965. The name of Justice Cornellius in judicial history of the country has been written in bold letters.

Q: Some words about political participation of Christian community?

Well, Christian community especially in Lahore is somewhat active in political sphere but not as much as it should have been. We are free to join any political party we like, we are free to cast vote, and we are even free to form our own political party. But you know, education is a prerequisite to political participation and unfortunately majority of our community is illiterate. They don’t have political awareness; most of them even do not know the names of their representatives in the assemblies. I am of the view that with education, the level of their political participation can be increased.

Q: Do the minorities get proper representation in assemblies?

Absolutely not, generally in federal states, the legislature is bicameral where the lower represents the population. Each federating unit is given representation according to its population. Following the same rule National Assembly is elected in Pakistan. All the provinces
are allotted seats according to their population percentage. I think the same formula should be applied for minority representation in the assemblies. All the minorities should be given seats in the assemblies according to their population percentage.

Q: Are the Christian institutions in Lahore serving the nation on secular basis?

Without any type of doubt, my answer is yes. You can visit our schools, our hospitals and you will find that the Muslim parents even prefer their children to be taught at Christian institutions. This is a clear example of our sincerity and sense of responsibility towards the nation.

Q: What is the role of NGO’s for the well being of your community?

Well, this is somewhat difficult question for me to answer but I will try to answer. My experience is that most of the NGO’s could not deliver to our community. They get financial aid from abroad and most of the time a photo session is held and pictures are taken to show their international financers and in reality no practical steps are taken by these NGO’s. I suggest that a close check should be held on their bank accounts to know that from where they get money and for which purpose this money is spent.

Q: Should the religious clergy be active politically?

Frankly speaking, I must say, the clergy must confine itself only to the Church. In society they are held at high esteem and their involvement in politics serves only to destroy their image but nothing else.

Q: Do the minorities get recognition of their services towards nation?

To some extent! There are people who consider themselves superior and of the opinion that Christians’ role is limited only to sanitary workers or sweepers but there are people who recognize our services in different departments like education, health and care, judiciary, and even in defense of the country.

Q: Do you feel free to intermingle with the Muslims at public places?

You will find different response of different factions of society. Generally, the educated people don’t mind to have relations with us. They like to invite us in their gatherings and even join us in our gatherings. But at lower level, in the less developed areas where literacy rate is not very high, we have to face discrimination. We are called by common name ‘Chora” which is very disgusting for us.

Q: Which type of electoral system do you like for Pakistan?

I would never like separate electorate for minorities in Pakistan. In this way minorities are put out of national stream. Joint electorate is a way to keep all the communities joined in national stream and work for national progress. At present, we have joint electorate in Pakistan which is very good but the problem with this system is that we are not given chance to elect representatives of our own community. Instead members of our community are selected by the Muslims. Such a system of electorate should be implemented in the country in which have right
to choose our own representatives by ourselves. It will definitely develop interest of minorities in politics.

**Q: Any opinion or message?**

Christians are seemed to be very active in every field of life except politics. If we want our issue to be heard and solved by the government we must enter into practical politics. If we have more and more active members of our community in the assembly they will definitely struggle to solve the problems of Christian community.
Appendix III-C

Interview No. 3

Dr. Akash Mathew, Medical Director UCH, Lahore.

Dr. Akash Mathew, Medical Director UCH, Lahore, is a famous and dedicated Christian doctor. He is an eye specialist (gold medalist) and joined United Christian Hospital in 2006 recently has been given the charge of Medical Director UCH, Lahore. He is a young and energetic doctor. Under his supervision hospital is working smoothly especially the eye and gyne departments. He is very active in social welfare programmes also. A number of free medical camps are organized by UCH under his supervision. In these camps hundreds of patients avail medical facilities free of cost. Most recently i.e. in March 2018, a medical camp was organized by him in Okara in which more than 300 patients were examined by the doctors.

At present, financial conditions of the hospital are not very good. He is working hard to improve the medical facilities provided by the hospital. He is of the view that government hospitals have heavy pressure of workload. In some wards, there is only one bed for three patients. We at UCH have complete set up and capacity of 216 beds. UCH can share work load of government hospitals if government show its seriousness and steps are taken towards it.

He is thoroughly a gentleman, who is compassionate, eager to serve communities, and always ready to help the patients. While remarking about his responsibilities he remarked, that it’s a daunting task, as both hospital’ and physicians’ practices are suffering as reimbursement continues to fall, costs continue to climb. In the face of the current environment, the institute is struggling financially, yet, he is of resolute mind saying, “I want to work to glorify the Lord through UCH rehabilitation and reviving,” he said (www.christiansinpakistan.com).

For his services to different communities; making an outstanding contribution in welfare and healthcare, he had been awarded gold medal twice by the National Peace Committee. He is an ambassador of interfaith harmony. He told, “My services are not for a particular community but for the entire mankind. In don’t enquire about the religion of the patients before their treatment. We are all Pakistanis and I am here to serve my nation”..

Detailed interview of Dr. Akash Mathew is as under:

Q: Do you face any discrimination?

Most of the time, minorities are not discriminated in Pakistan. Especially the Christians have very cordial relations with other communities of Pakistan. Take my example; I completed all my studies in Pakistan. I was awarded gold medal for my brilliance and excellence. Now, I am serving the nation at United Christian Hospital, Lahore. The only thing I feel is that civil society does not come forward to help us for completion of this sacred mission.

Q: Do you think minorities are being treated as second class citizen?

Personally, I don’t feel so. But minorities in most of the areas of Pakistan are living in miserable conditions. They have been deprived of basic facilities of life. They are poor and don’t have resources to live a better life. Their social status is very low. That is why; they feel that they are being treated as second class citizens. The other side of the picture is that most of the Christians are not well educated and they are not offered good jobs in Pakistan. I worked hard
and got the chance to serve the nation. So, if Christians feel they are given status of second class citizens they can improve their condition by education. This is the only way to get respect in society.

**Q: What is the role of the Christians in the well being of society?**

Christians are also the citizens of Pakistan. As citizens our role towards political system is the same as that of others. Participation from all segments of society is necessary for the proper functioning of a political system. As doctor I am part of a medical institution. We organize free medical camps regularly. These camps prove very helpful for the poor labor class. In this way we try to decrease some burden of the government. If these medical camps are not organized by our community, extra burden on government hospitals will be felt. In other words you can say, we are sharing burden of government.

Secondly, the patients who avail medical facilities in these camps are mostly Muslims. They come to us for treatment and in this way an interaction is developed between these communities. It proves very useful in creating interfaith harmony in the country.

**Q: Do you get recognition from government or society?**

Definitely, society recognizes our services. About 95% patients of United Christian Hospital are Muslims which is a clear proof of recognition of our services by the society. They have complete trust in us so they come to us for treatment. Most of nurses and paramedical staff even in government hospitals in Lahore is Christian which is proves that we are useful members of society and society own all these things.

I am best example of it. As I told, I have been awarded gold medal three times, one in educational field and two gold medals for my services to the nation. All this is recognition of our services by the society. And if you talk of government, in 2011-12 when Lahore was attacked by ‘Dengue Fever’ a campaign was started against it. A number of people died of Dengue in different hospitals of Lahore but not a single death was recorded in United Christian Hospital, Lahore. The then Chief Minister Punjab, Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif visited this hospital to recognize our brilliance, commitment, and professionalism.

**Q: In which conditions do you think your performance can be improved?**

I am serving the nation at United Christian Hospital, Lahore. The main objective of this hospital is to provide medical facilities to the poor people of this locality. But we have no resources if government provides us medical equipment and help us with financial support, our performance can be improved.

**Q: You are a doctor but I want your comments about present electoral system.**

Frankly speaking, I am not in favor of such an electoral system in which people are selected instead of being elected. I am not a student of Political Science and don’t know much about political participation. The only thing, I can say is that such system should be introduced in Pakistan in which minority should be given the right to choose their own representatives by themselves.
Appendix III-D

Interview No. 4

Miss Tabita Victor, Lecturer in Political Science, Kinnaird College, Lahore.

Miss Tabita Victor is a young lecturer at Kinnaird College, Lahore. She was born at Gujranwala and got her early education in her hometown. Later on, she came to Lahore for higher studies and got admitted to Gulberg College for Women, Lahore. She completed her Masters from Forman Christian College University, Lahore and M.Phil from Government College University, Lahore in 2013. She has been working as lecturer in Political Science since 2015. The researcher got a chance to have a meeting with her and take her views about Christian community of Lahore and their role in the political system.

Q: What is the role of minorities in our political system?

In think as a citizen of Pakistan everyone has a role for the well being of society. We are Pakistani nationals and have the same role in our political system as that of majority. We have been granted all our fundamental rights in Pakistan and turn some responsibilities lies on our shoulders. We have to perform these duties if we want to enjoy completely our rights because without duties there can be no rights. I am a teacher and teachers have key role in nation building.

Q: Do you think minorities have been given status of second class citizens in Pakistan?

If I look at my personal experience my answer is ‘NO’. During all my student life and now in practical life I have never been treated in way that I felt that I am a second class citizen. I got equal opportunities like Muslims. I completed my education in Gulberg College for Women, Lahore, Forman Christian College University, Lahore and in Government College University, Lahore. In all these institution I was offered admission on merit and even I won scholarship during my student life. I had never been discriminated on religious grounds. At present, I am working at Kinnaird College and I am proud that I was selected on this seat on merit. So many Muslim Candidates were in competition and I was given a chance to teach in this college on the basis of my abilities.

Q: Do you think Muslims are tolerant towards minorities to openly practice their religious beliefs?

My experience is that they are not tolerant but they are very co-operative. From the time when my grandmother was young, I am told that, Muslim families of our colony share happiness and sorrows with us. On the eve of Christmas and Easter we are presented with gifts from Muslim families of our neighborhood. In the same way we participate in their Eid festivals. We have very cordial relations with Muslim families of our locality.

Q: Have the Christians any role in politics?

Yes, of course. There role in politics is very important and it cannot be ignored. I think if the Christians are active in the politics; the problems faced by the community can be solved properly i.e. if you have some voice or some authority in policy making. It will definitely go in favor of community.
Q: Are you satisfied with performance of Christian representatives in the assemblies?

Frankly speaking my answer is ‘NO’. At present, our representatives in assemblies have been selected by the Muslim parties. We have not been given the right to choose our representatives by ourselves. They are not true representatives of our community. Most often, common people don’t know even their names. These Christian representatives don’t bother to come to community and listen to the problems face by their community. These selected members most of the time try to please the party leadership and forget their community.

Q: Your comments about seats reserved for the minorities in the assemblies?

Though the seats have been reserved for minorities in all the assemblies as well as in Senate, but the number is so small that they are unable to raise their voice in the assemblies. 10 seats were reserved for minorities almost 30 years ago. During these years population of minorities has been increased. So the number of seats should also be increased accordingly.

Q: Do the minorities face any type of discrimination in electoral process?

I think ‘NO’, we are free to cast our votes, join any political party, we have right to contest elections. An advantage of joint electorate according to me is that it has increased our importance and weight in elections. Non-Muslim voters have become as important as the Muslims voters, the candidates come to us and we are given importance. On the Election Day we go to polling station and cast our vote freely without any type of discrimination.

Q: What is the performance of Christian institutions in Lahore?

The Christian institutions especially the educational institutions are doing a marvelous job. As a teacher I am able to tell you that our standard of education is very high. The students are well mannered and well disciplined. They are taught about religious tolerance instead of extremism. That is why community has complete confidence in these institutions. Even the Muslims like their children to be taught at these institutions.

Q: Do the minorities get any recognition of the services they render to society?

Services of Christians in all the fields of life can be seen and these services cannot be ignored. St. Anthony School, Forman Christian College, and Kinnaird College are the world famous institutions of Lahore and all these belong to Christian community. People feel honored to be a part of these institutions. All this is a sign of recognition of our services. Nobody can question the impartiality of these institutions because these institutions are rendering their services on secular basis. People are not discriminated here on the basis of cast, color or religion.

Q: Any comments about future of minorities in Pakistan?

I don’t have any fear about the future of minorities especially of Christians in Pakistan. With the passage of time literacy rate is increasing in our community as well as in our society as a whole. People are moving towards religious tolerance which will definitely prove very good for the minorities.
Appendix III-E

Interview No. 5

Pasteur Arif Javed, a religious leader

Mr. Arif Javed is a resident of Sheikhupura. He is attached to a local Church. He is a part of religious clergy. He has been serving his community for many years. He is a religious figure and fully aware of his responsibilities towards keeping cordial relations between Christians and other communities of his area. He has been striving to create interfaith harmony between Christians and the Muslims for a long time. The researchers got a chance of meeting with and take his views about Christian’s role in the political system.

Q: Do you feel you are being treated as second class citizens in Pakistan?

We live in a village in Sheikhupura and most of the people are not well educated. They show prejudice against us and utter words of hatred for us. The Constitution of Pakistan gives us all the fundamental rights but practically in society we are not treated equally. I don’t want to go into details as I am a religious leader and our duty is to spread love and sympathy but not hatred.

Q: What is your role as religious leader in the well being of society?

I think role of religious leadership in the well being of society is the most significant. In our social set up the people are very much attached to their religion. Religious clergy is held at high esteem and people give weight to the sayings of religious clergy. The religious clergy can play an important role to create interfaith harmony among the people which can be a source of unity for the nation.

Q: Do you know any NGO working for the welfare of Christians in your locality?

I don’t know any NGO working for uplift of our community in our locality. But there should be such organizations because these can play a positive role for the well being of Christian community. At the platform of these organizations issues of deprived people can be raised and got them solved.

Q: Can you approach your Christian representative in the National Assembly or Provincial Assembly?

In Pakistan we have such an electoral system which limits the chances of interaction of representative of minorities with their community. In the National Assembly we have only four Christian representatives who represent the whole of the Christian community of Pakistan. Physically it is not possible for them to have contact with all the Christians of Pakistan. Most often these representatives are from big cities. People of remote areas don’t have access to them. So, the people of far off areas are most of the time remain neglected and deprived.

Q: Are you satisfied with the present electoral system in Pakistan?

In the present electoral system, the seats for minorities have been reserved for the minorities. Unfortunately, members are selected on these seats instead of being elected. If we are given the right to choose our representative by ourselves it will be better for us. Power of vote cannot be neglected. If the members are elected they will definitely come to us and we cannot get our issues hi-lighted and solved as well.
Q: Do the religious clergy have any role to play in politics?

I think religious clergy does not have any role in politics. In our society, people hold their religious clergy at high esteem. We listen to us and try to follow our life style. In politics sometime you cannot come up to the expectations of the people and it destroys your image in the society. Religious service is a sacred task and there is no space of lie or false promises. So, I suggest that religious clergy should keep away from politics.

Q: Are the minorities given proper coverage in the press?

At present, minorities have been facing a number of problems. These problems need to be hi-lighted but media don’t give coverage to these issues. Even at the eve of Christmas and Easter we don’t get proper coverage in the press.

Q: Any suggestion to bring interfaith harmony among the people?

You know at the time of partition when Punjab Assembly was asked to decide the future of the province, and in the Assembly (Muslim) votes in favor of partition and votes (of Hindus and Sikhs) against partition were equal. At that time three votes of Christians got so much importance. These votes of Christian members went in favor of partition and Punjab was included in Pakistan. It was a great favor of Christians for the Muslims. Had they not casted their votes in favor of partition, the map of Pakistan would have been different. Now most of the Pakistanis are unaware of this fact. In think it should be included in the syllabus of Pakistan Studies so that the young generation should become aware of this fact. It can also be source to bring Muslims and Christians closer together.
Role of Religious Minorities in Political System of Pakistan

The following survey will be used for academic purposes only. Please rest assured that no infringement of your privacy shall take place.

Name __________________________________________ Date __________________________
Age ____________ Sex ___________________ Religion ___________________________
Place of residence_______________________________________________________________

1. Do you think minorities in Pakistan are being treated as “second class citizens”?
   □ Yes □ No

2. Do you think that Muslim citizens in Pakistan are tolerant towards minorities to
   openly practice and propagate their religious beliefs?
   □ Yes □ No

3. Do you think minorities have any role in wellbeing of society?
   □ Yes □ No

4. Are they free to actively participate in politics of Pakistan?
   □ Yes □ No

5. Do you know your MNA’s name?
   □ Yes □ No

6. Is your MNA true representative of your community?
   □ Yes □ No
7. Do the minorities feel free to participate actively in Pakistani politics?
   □ Yes
   □ No

8. Do they face any type of discrimination in electoral process?
   □ Yes
   □ No

9. Do they get appropriate representation in assemblies?
   □ Yes
   □ No

10. Are the top institutions run by minorities serving the nation on secular basis?
    □ Yes
    □ No

11. Are the NGOs of minorities struggling for the rights of minorities or working for their own self interests?
    □ Yes
    □ No

12. Has the religious clergy any role in politics?
    □ Yes
    □ No

13. Should there be a strict law for the protection of fundamental rights of minorities?
    □ Yes
    □ No

14. Do the minorities get recognition or appreciation (by the Muslim citizens or by the government) of the services they render to society?
    □ Yes
    □ No

15. Do you think religious minorities are given proper coverage in the press?
    □ Yes
    □ No
16. Do the Muslim citizens allow them to freely intermingle with them at public places?
   □ Yes
   □ No

17. Being a non-Muslim do you feel any type of discrimination at school/college/university or your working place?
   □ Yes
   □ No

18. Has any doctor ever refused to treat or cure you only for the reason that you are a non-Muslim?
   □ Yes
   □ No

19. What would be the future of minorities in Pakistan? Do you see any positive change or the situation will simply keep getting worse?
   □ Yes
   □ No

20. Any observation/opinion/experience regarding role of minorities in political system of Pakistan.

____________________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

Thank you for your co-operation.

Your help has been greatly appreciated.