MAJOR THEMES OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN PAKISTAN

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Ⅰ. HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN PAKISTAN

Ⅱ. MAJOR THEMES OF CMR IN PAKISTAN

Ⅲ. APPRAISAL OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN PAKISTAN

Ⅳ. CONCLUSION

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■ ABSTRACT

This study investigates the main themes and issues of Christian–Muslim relations (CMR) in Pakistan by identifying the problems and issues preventing desirable CMR. First, this study examines the history and development of CMR in Pakistan. Then, it investigates the theological issues that both Christians and Muslims encounter in Pakistan: Islamization, and Christians' statuses in Muslim countries. Subsequently, based on previous discussions, it analyzes the limited outcomes of CMR in Pakistan. This study mainly investigates Christian approaches: the inter-religious dialogue of the Roman Catholic Church, interfaith harmony and peace in the ecumenical camp, and the evangelism and contextualization of Evangelicals. Furthermore, it evaluates the characteristics and achievements of Christian engagement with Muslims and examines the response and evaluation of Muslims.

In conclusion, it is pointed out that the CMR in Pakistan is considerably unilateral and monologue, as both claim their own religion as absolute and the other religion as the object of missions. Thus, the study stresses the need for a model in which Christians and Muslims can work together.

Ⅰ. HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN—MUSLIM RELATIONS IN PAKISTAN

Even before the birth of Pakistan in 1947, Muslims have been deeply conscious of Christians' presence and their significant contribution towards creating the state of Pakistan. James Chan—nan, a Pakistani Roman Catholic priest, relates that Christian leadership took an active part in creating Pakistan.[1] However, the safeguarding of minority rights as recorded in the Constitution was repeatedly denied. The Islamization of the Zia ul—Haqq regime perpetuated discrimination and undermined the security of religious minorities, followed by the controversial legislation of the Separate Electorate and the continuous misuse of the Blasphemy law. The social status of Christians was seriously damaged when Ali Bhutto's regime appropriated Christian mission schools and colleges in the name of nationalization. Even though the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan safeguards "the rights and privileges of the

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1   James Channan, *Path of Love: A Call for Interfaith Harmony* (Lahore: Multimedia Affairs, 2015), 36. He continues to claims that, Christians "favored Muhammad Ali Jinnah and voted in favor of Pakistan, thus opting to remain in the land. We are sons and daughters of this soil. we did not migrate to this land. We are neither a conquered people, nor a people who live here under the terms of a pact or agreement. (36); See also Charles Amjad—Ali, "From Dislocation to Dislocation: The Experience of the Christian Community in Pakistan." *International Review of Modern Sociology.* Vol. 41, No.1, (Spring 2015):15.; Likewise, A Pakistani minister claims, "Pakistan [sic] Christians played a very vital role in the creation of Pakistan during the 1940s and had a vital role in the economic, political, cultural, and social development of Pakistan later on." See Emmanuel Khokhar, *A Study of Mission as Christian Social Concern for Evangelism and Discipleship in Pakistan Doctoral dissertation* (Seoul: Kukje Theo—logical University and Seminary, 2009), 57.

minorities," Christians continue to face severe discrimination and insecurity.[2]

Pakistani Christians have responded to these issues in an unorganized, passive, and non-proactive manner. The modern interfaith dialogue movement began in the 1950s, when the World Council of Churches and the Vatican started a series of inter-faith meetings with interlocutors of other faiths. The inception of Christian–Muslim dialogue in Pakistan appeared in the 1970s, primarily through foreign scholars such as Fr. R. A. Bütler, Mathew Geijbels, and Jan Slomp.[3] During the early two decades, Christian–Muslim relations (hereafter CMR) were mostly dis-cussed by foreign missionaries and scholars working in Pakistan, among whom Jan Slomp, a missionary from the Dutch Reformed Church from 1974, Roman Catholic worker John O'Brien from 1977, and Mathew Geijbels were prominent.[4] During those years, the Christian Study Centre played a vital role as an advocator of the ecumenical perspective.

In the mid–1980s, Pakistani nationals began appearing on the main stage of Christian–Muslim relations. From the Roman

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2   Muhammad Shahid Habib, Religious dialogue between Muslims and Christians: Bases, Aims and Needs in Pakistani context (A Theological, Historical and Comparative Study) (Saarbrücken, Deutschland/Germany: LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 2007), 69.

3   Riaz Ahmad Saeed, "Muslim–Christian Dialogue from Pakistani Perspective: Eval-uation of the Contribution of Christian Study Center," in *Journal of Islamic and Religious Studies*, Vol.2, Issue: 1(2017) 2, 14.

4   John O'Brien investigates Pakistan Christian's identity issue in the relation to past Hindu background and present to Islam religion. See O'Brien, John. *The Construction of Pakistan Christian Identity* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan University of Punjab, 2006).

Catholic Church, Archilles De Souza was the first Pakistani priest and scholar who paid attention to Christian–Muslim relations.[5] Later, Dominican Friar James Channan advocated the interfaith dialogue and spread "the necessity and importance of interfaith dialogue from a Pakistani Christian perspective."[6] He was at the forefront while backed by the Roman Catholic National Commission, which established the Raibta Commission in 1985, to promote Christian–Muslim dialogue.[7] Meanwhile, in the Protestant camp, Charles Amjad Ali became the first Pakistani at the Christian Study Centre.[8]

By the end of 1990, the noticeable development of dialogue between Christians and Muslims was achieved by Roman Catholic Dominican Fr. Archilles De Souza, Friar James Channan, Anglican priest Michael Nasir–Ali of the Church of Pakistan, and scholars Charles Amjad Ali and Dominic Moghal of the Christian Study Centre.

Meanwhile, from the Muslim side, a conservative and hardline stance has prevailed in the early decades, and Muslim scholar Maududi was prominent. However, as the Islamic University

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5   Habib, 72–76.

6   Riaz Ahmad Saeed and Naseem Akhter, "Muslim–Christian Perception of Inter–Religious Dialogue: A Muslim Reading from Pakistani Socio–political Context," in *Dialogue*. Vol.14 No.2, (Spring 2019), 82.

7   James Channan, *Christian–Muslim Dialogue in Pakistan* (Dominican Vice–Province, Ibn–e–Mariam, National Commission for Christian–Muslim Relations, 1995) 32.

8   Dominic Moghal, "From Dialogue of Mind to Dialogue of Heart: A Case Study of Approaches to Christian–Muslim Relations at the Christian Study Centre (Rawalpindi, Pakistan)," in *Al–Mushir*, vol. 40:1 (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Center, 1998), 16, 17.

took the initiative for interreligious relations and dialogue, a more balanced and scholarly discussion emerged. The Islamic Research Institute appeared as a Muslim vanguard institute for interreligious discourse and comparative studies in Pakistan. Notably, a renowned Orthodox Muslim scholar, Tahir ul-Qadri, contributed to modern, scholarly Muslim discussion on interreligious relations.

II. MAJOR THEMES OF CMR IN PAKISTAN

Christian-Muslim relations has been overshadowed by polemic, Muslim arguments against Christianity and apologetic responses from Christians. It is important to note that there is no level playing field for Christians, who fear the Blasphemy legislation. Until today, polemics and apologetics have been overshadowing CMR heavily in its theological-doctrinal discourse. Besides theological debates, other social-political issues are more preferred. It will highlight significant issues for CMR in Pakistan, such as Islamization, including the Separate Electorate and the Blasphemy law, the status of Christians, and unequal legal rights of minorities.[9]

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9   Moghal, Dominic and Jivan, Jennifer Jag. "Major Issues Confronting the Religious Minorities Especially the Christians in Pakistan," in *Al-Mushir*, vol. 42:2, Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 2000.

1. Theological Exchanges

Christian-Muslim relations discourse has been trapped in polemics and apologetics between Muslims and Christians in Pakistan for many decades. Polemical literature written by Muslims against Christianity is plentiful and formidable, while Christian literature written by Christians in response appears handful and insubstantial.

Both conservative and orthodox modern Muslims write polemical works. The most popular and preferred polemical arguments against Christianity is *taḥrīf* ("corruption" of the Bible), including claims of the authenticity of the so-called Gospel of Barnabas, the Apostle Paul as the originator of Trinitarian Christianity, as well as the refutation of the Trinity, the sonship of Christ, and the redemptive death of Jesus Christ.[10] Asai discusses extensively how Ibn Ḥazm's Kitāb al-Faṣl refutes Christian doctrine and proves *taḥrīf*. As Asai puts it, Ibn Ḥazm argues that the Gospels cannot be considered as God's Word because of their mutual "inconsistency and internal contradictions" and accuses that Jesus' disciples "corrupted the true message," and Paul was "the originator of Trinitarian Christianity."[11]

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10 Asai, 22, 24. The word *taḥrīf* appears in the Qur'an four times (2:17; 4:46; 5:13 and 5:41) as the meaning of "distorting," "taking out," "forgetting," and "concealing" the original revealed words of God. The Christians were charged with *taḥrīf* in the Qur'an.

11   Ibid., 118-119.

Accordingly, Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri states to Christians,

Now, my Christian friends, once you believe in the reality of Christ but you were disillusioned with his resurrection. But Islam categorically affirms that Jesus never died; he was lifted alive and he is alive even today. He will definitely return to the earth to pay homage to the Prophet whose arrival he himself had prophesied.[12]

Asserting that Jesus confirmed "the finality of Muhammad," he urges Christians to "discard false Scriptures and to subscribe to the teachings of the Gospel of Barnabas," which affirms that Jesus prophesies the arrival of Mohammad.[13] Likewise, Mawlānā ("Islamic scholar") Muhammad Taqi Usmani contends formidably that "the real founder of modern-day Christianity is Paul and not Jesus…the Christianity of today has no connection whatsoever with the teaching of Jesus. It is an innovation of Paul. Hence, this religion should be named 'Paulnity' and not Christianity."[14] A lay Muslim writer maintains Islam and Christianity is "in common," yet eventually asserts that "Christianity has deviated and fallen away from the religion of Jesus," and Islam should be accepted as "the revival, restatement and final and

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12 Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri, *Islam and Christianity* (Lahore: Idara Minhaj-ul-Quran, 1986), 99.

13 Ibid., 100.

14 Muhammad Taqi Usmani, *What is Christianity?* (mahi al-Nasrania) (Karachi: Darul-Ishaat Urdu Bazar, 2012), 125-126.

complete version of the religion of Jesus."[15]

Only a few Pakistani Christian scholars have produced con−vincing answers in response to the myriad of claims of taḥrīf and the so−called authenticity of the pseudo−Gospel of Barnabas by medieval and modern Muslim writers. Slomp observes that the theme of Pauline corruption of original Christianity used by apologetic Muslim writers was introduced by Ibn Ḥazm of Cor−dova in Medieval Spain (d. 1064).[16] Through investigation, Slomp suggests that the Gospel of Barnabas was written at the end of the sixteenth century, most probably by Spanish Muslims.[17] Cor−respondingly, Nasir−Ali maintains that the Gospel of Barnabas is "a late medieval European forgery written possibly by a ren−egade monk."[18]

Others write carefully to defend Christian doctrines in re−sponse to Muslim attacks. At the same time, they avoid engag−ing in polemics against Islam, fearing the Blasphemy legislation, which threatens the death penalty for verbal or written prac−tices of blasphemy against Islam and the Prophet Muhammad.[19]

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15 Ulfat Aziz−us−Samad, *A Comparative Study of Christianity and Islam* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf Publishers, 1970), vii−viii.

16 Slomp, Jan. "The Pseudo−Gospel of Barnabas: Muslim and Christian Evaluations," in *Al−Mushir*, vol. 18:1−4, (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 1976), 15−16.

17 Ibid., 17−18.

18 Nasir−Ali, 49.

19 MIK published various books for apologetics: E. Han, *Ibn−e−Khoda (The Son of God)* (Lahore: MIK, 2015).; David Shenk, *la tabdil kalam (unchanged Word)* (Lahore: MIK, 2018).; Barakt A.Khan, *najat dahinda (the Saviour)*; Ashgar, *Kalid−e−iman (The na−ture of God)*; Pir Bakhsh, *Taslib aw qiamut−e−Masih (The crucifixion and resurrec−tion of Christ)*; Barkat Ullah, *Sehet−e−Qutb Maqdasa (The Authenticity of the Bible)* (Lahore: MIK, 2018).; Wycliffe A. Sing, *Farqlit (The Parakletos)* (Lahore: MIK, 2018).

As Tieszen reminds, the Cordova Christians produced apologetic works to demarcate their religious boundary and provides the "means for defining their religious identity in light of Islam," and Pakistani Christians have likewise responded to Muslim polemics through apologetic works to defend their faith and demarcate their religious identity.[20]

2. Islamization

Qaiser Julius traces Islamization back to the historical development of rivalry between modernists and traditionalists among Pakistan Muslim *Umma* since its founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Muhammad Ali Jinnah affirmed the modern democratic state of Pakistan, whereas ʿ*ulamā* ("Islamic scholar") aspired for a theocratic state. Julius argues that Pakistan's adoption of the Objectives Resolution on March 7th, 1949, to fill the constitutional vac-

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20 Charles Tieszen, *Christian Identity amid Islam in medieval Spain* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 266, 271. Amid debate on convivencia ("coexistence") of Christian–Muslim relations, Charles Tieszen presents the Christian identity in medieval Spain by exploring how Christians under Muslim rule responded to the acculturation and assimilation to the religion and culture of Islam and by analyzing how cultural assimilation and acculturation were perceived as an identity crisis. Tieszen, by reading Christian, anti–Muslim polemics, attempts to answer the questions, "how did Christian authors in medieval Spain define their religious identity vis–a–vis Islam and what written strategies were deployed to support those definitions?" Tieszen highlights the martyr movement in ninth–century Cordova by examining the polemic texts of Eulogius and Alvarus. Charles Tieszen reminds us that Christians in Cordova of Medieval Spain were not without tensions and struggled to set the religious border to strengthen their religious identity against conversion to Islam, and the resulting polemics against Muslims were dramatized by the controversial martyrs of the ninth century.

uum was a victory for traditionalists and a significant step toward the Islamic State that Mawlānā Maududi and Jamāʾat−ē−Islami strived for.[21] Similarly, Charles Amjad Ali observes that Pakistan's struggle between Islam's ideology and modern democratic political structure turned sharply toward Islamization when the military dictatorship of Zia−ul−Haqq incorporated Islamic elements into the Constitution, juridical system, and the stratum of the Pakistan society.[22] Both Julius and Amjad−Ali's observation of debates between modernists and traditionalists in Pakistan reflects centuries−long discussions in a broader global context.[23]

O'Brien highlights that General Zia ul−Haqq undermined "the security of the Christian minority" through an "apartheid system" of a Separate Electorate.[24] In the same line of thought, Zafer Malik notes that the religious exclusivism supported by "*Mullah* ["Islamic clerics"], the State, and the discriminatory laws" − threaten the survival of the non−Muslims and also even Muslim

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21 Julius, *Ahmadi and Christian*, 14−15, 17.

22 Charles and Christine Amjad−Ali, *The Legislative History of Shariah Act* (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Center, 1992), 1.

23 Usaman Hasan notes, there has been a "fundamental dichotomy" in jurisprudential interpretation regarding non−Muslim status in Dar−al−Islam between "traditionalist" schools having a "communalist approach" based on "*dhimma*" and "rationalist schools" as like Hanafi's having a "universalist approach" basing on fundamental *humanity (adamiyya)*. Even though the Ottomans abolished *jizya* and *dhimma* in 1856, his statement of "the debates have continued until today" exactly reflects the situation of Pakistan. See Usaman Hasan, *From Dhimmitude to Democracy: Islamic Law, Non−Muslims & Equal Citizenship Abridged Version*, Religious Reform Series no. 3a (London: Quilliam, 2015), 8−9.

24 John O'Brien, "The Quest for Pakistani Christian Identity: A Narrative of Religious Other as Liberative Comparative Ecclesiology," In *Church and Religious 'Other'* Gerard Mannion, ed. (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 93.

minorities, as shown with the Ahmadia agitation in 1953, soon after the partition.[25]

The plight of Pakistani Christians resounds in Bangladesh scholar Patrick Sookhdeo's criticism on the Pakistani Muslim betrayal against Christians:

> Pakistan was the first state in modern times to be created on the basis of religion…Generally speaking, Pakistani Christians had high hopes of their new nation at partition in 1947. They rejoiced in the white stripe on the green national flag, which indicated that minorities had a place in the Muslim state. But these hopes have been gradually disappointed, as Islamization has taken place. Christians feel themselves betrayed on all sides.[26]

Sookhdeo concludes that the Islamization project left Christians in the state of non-Muslims in Pakistan.[27] Thus, Islamiza-

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25 Zafer Malik, "The Religious Minorities in the Historical Context of Pakistan," in *Religious Minorities in Pakistan: Struggle for Identity*. Moghal, Dominic and Jivan, Jennifer. Ed. (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 1996), 1-2. Malik used term "religious narrowism."

26 Patrick, Sookhdeo. A People Betrayed: The Impact of Islamization on the Christian Community in Pakistan. (Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, 2002), 17.

27 Ibid., 184. He writes, "A process of Islamization of the laws and constitution of Pakistan has taken place, which has served to negate the ideals of equality between Muslims and non-Muslims with which Jinnah founded the nation…The gradual Islamization has inevitably eroded the status of non-Muslims to some extent, despite the safeguards ostensibly built into each new constitution or relevant piece of legislation. For if Shari'ah deems non-Muslims to be dhimmi, different from and inferior to Muslims (albeit protected), then each step towards greater enforcement of the Shari'ah brings as an automatic 'by-product' a lessening in the status of non-Muslims."

tion involves the discrimination and minority issues of Pakistani Christians and reduces them to second—class citizens within Pakistan society. Similarly, Amjad—Ali points to the painful reality that Christians lack knowledge of Islam and have little interest, perspective, or the ability to witness effectively to their Muslim neighbors.[28] This particular experience of the Christian minority under Islamization by Muslim rulers appears similar to that of the Church of the East Christians in the early Islamic period under Abbasid caliph, as well as that of the Andalusia Christians in Medieval Muslim Spain.[29]

3. Are Christians *Dhimmī*? (Status of Christians)

The problem of the status of non—Muslims in Pakistan gradually gained attention from Muslim scholars after General Zia ul—Haqq introduced the Islamic Order (*nizam—i Islam*) for the agenda of Islamization.[30] Muslim ideologues have attempted to categorize Christians as *dhimmī* or *mu'ahts*. Following Islamic Sharia, Maududi divides non—Muslim citizens into three categories: contractee, *dhimmīs*, and others.[31] Then, he eventually identifies

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28 Amjad—Ali, "From Dislocation to Dislocation," 23.

29 As Tieszen writes, "As dhimmis, Cordovan Christians may have constantly faced the reality of their second—class social status regardless of their outward appearance or their economic standing. In the end, we are left with different Christian communities each one defining itself in the light of Islam in unique ways." (Tieszen, 43)

30 Geijbels, "Christians and Muslims in Pakistan," 48.

31 According to Maududi, "contractees" are those who become the subjects of an Islamic state under some treaty or agreement, while dhimmī are subjects after being defeated by the Muslims in a war. A third category is for those go are in the Islamic state

non-Muslims living within the boundaries of an Islamic State as dhimmī ("the covenanted"), whom the Islamic State has "entered into a covenant···and guaranteed their protection."[32] His hermeneutics on *dhimmī* was initially from Sharia.[33] More strikingly, his view of *dhimmīs* evolved from his understanding of *jihad*.[34]

In response, Christians unanimously oppose the notion of

in any other way. See Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, The Islamic law and constitution. trans. and ed. Khurshid Ahmad. (Lahore: Islamic Publications LTD, 1960) 299-304. However, Maududi employs the term dhimmī interchangeably with the general term of "non-Muslim subjects," indicating that he seems to extend his legal theory on dhimmī to all the non-Muslims in Islamic state. (p. 316-319).

32 Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, Human Rights in Islam (Lahore: Islamic Publication Ltd., 1977), 9.

33 To Maududi, Sharia consists of two elements: The Qur'ān is the book in which God has expounded his law; and risāla ("prophethood") is the "authoritative interpretation and exemplification of the Book of God by Prophet Muhamad, through work and deed, in his capacity as the representative of God," (see Maududi, Human Rights in Islam, 5)

34 In Jihad in Islam, he divides non-Muslims, quoting extensively from Qur'an and Hadith with a scholarly interpretation, into: treaty states which succumbed to the sovereignty of the Muslim State by treaties before or during war and non-treaty states, or so-called "vanquished nations," who fought till the end and were defeated. See Sayyid Abdul al'al Maududi, Al-Jihad: Fil Islam. trans. Wing Cmdr. Syed Rafatullah Shah (Lahore: Idara Tarjuman ul Qur'an, 2017), 188-194. Similarly, a modern scholar, Bat Ye'or, who coined the word "dhimmitude" for submissive condition of non-Muslims as second-class citizens under Islamic rule, argues that "the status of dhimmitude for Jews and Christians is a highly complex set of regulations, linked to the dogma of jihad." See Bat Ye'or, "Jihad and Dhimmitude: Challenges for the Future." in Understanding Dhimmitude (New York: RVP Press, 2013), 136. Moreover, she calls Dhimmitude as "a painful process of self-destruction," and narrates "the decline of Eastern Christianity under Islam" occurred by "massacres," "slavery and abduction," "economic oppression," and "dehumanization." (145, 150-151); she elucidates that the origin of dhimmi came from context of jihad, "Muhammad had spared the Jews of Khayber, who had recognized his suzerainty, so the Arab conquerors concluded 'toleration' treaties with all the other peoples who, faced with jihad, submitted to their domination. The dhimmi condition, which is a direct consequences of jihad, is connected with this same contract." See Bat Ye'or, The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam (London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1985), 46.

dhimmī as the status of Christians. Fazl—ud—dean was one of the first Christian advocates who questioned the legitimacy of the *dhimmī* regulation for non—Muslims in Pakistan. He states,

> the institution of *Zimmis* and a picture of which has now been reflected in the Objectives Resolution of the Constitute Assem—ble…in Pakistan, the position is that Muslims and non—Muslims both fought as comrades—in—arms for liberty in their own ways and forced the British to grant freedom to their Motherland. Consequently, the relationship of superior and inferior peoples, rather, of rulers and ruled, between Muslims and non—Muslims of Pakistan is not understandable though the Objectives Reso—lution leaves no manner of doubt about it.[35]

Correspondingly, O'Brien points out that the classification of *dhimmī* or mu'ahts does not correspond to Muslim tradition.[36] Agreeing with O'Brien, Geijbels argues that Christians in Paki—stan are not *dhimmī* because there is no evidence that an agree—ment of protection was made between the Christian community and the Muslim state.[37] Likewise, Dominic Moghal strongly op—poses the juristic interpretation that Christians are *dhimmī* or *mu'ahids* ("people of the contract"). He argues,

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35 Joshua Fazl—ud—Din, *Future of Christians in Pakistan* (Lahore: The Punjabi Dabar Publishing House, 1948) 107—108. *Dhimmī* and Zimmi(s) is interchangeably used by other writers in this paper. The author of this paper employs *Dhimmī* while Zimmi(s) or *Dhimmi* will be maintained in the quotation of other writers.

36 O'Brien, *Church and Religious Other*, 94.

37 Geijbels, "Christians and Muslims in Pakistan," 48.

According to Islamic tradition, *dhimmī* were those people who after losing a war against the Islamic forces decided to live in the Islamic State and agreed to pay a tax called *jizya* for which they were exempted from compulsory army service, and *mu'ahid's* were the people who actually signed a contract with an Islamic State. The interesting part of these classifications is that Pakistani non−Muslims never signed any contract with the State of Pakistan, nor were they conquered by Islamic forces.[38]

Likewise, Channan asserts, "We are sons and daughters of this soil. We did not migrate to this land. We are neither a con−quered people nor a people who live here under the terms of a pact or agreement."[39]

Thus, Moghal suggests that non−Muslim should be consid−ered as "the status of equal citizens," according to the example of the Prophet Muhammad and the vision of the Quaid−e−Azam, both of whom "guarantee the non−Muslim a status of full citi−zenship."[40] Likewise, Geijbels asserts that Christians in Pakistan have been entitled equal citizens with Muslims, according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, having Pakistan as one of the signatories and as a modern nation−state.[41]

Congruently, the voices of many Muslim intellectuals sup−

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38 Dominic Moghal, "the Status of Non−Muslims in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan: A Confused Identity," in *Religious Minorities: Struggle for Identity*. Ed. Moghal, Dom−inic and Jivan, Jennifer Jag. (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Center, 1996), 27.

39 Channan, James. *Path of Love*, 36.

40 Ibid., 29.

41 Geijbels, "Christians and Muslims in Pakistan," 48.

port the Christian position on Christian status in Muslim states. A Pakistan—origin Islamic scholar, Usman Hasan highlights the consensus among contemporary Muslim jurists, thinkers, and theologians that the medieval notions of *jizya* and *dhīmma* are "outdated," and instead, modern notions of citizenship are "appropriate expressions of Islamic law and ethics," which have been adopted by the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation's member countries who have Muslim leaders, including Ataturk of Turkey and Jinnah of Pakistan.[42] ISIS, Boko Haram, and Taliban are examples of extreme traditionalists trapped in the framework of medieval jurisprudence, denying equal citizenship and continuing discrimination against non—Muslims.[43]

Remarkably, in contrast to Maududi's classifying Christians as *dhimmī* about *jihad*, Tahir-ul-Qadri and Dr. Al-Draiweesh discuss the status of non—Muslims with reference to the *Ahl-e-Kitāb* ("people of the book") appearing in the Qur'an and Hadith. The arguments of Dr. Tahir ul-Qadri and Dr. Al-Draiweesh that classify Christians as Ahl-e-Kitāb seem more convincing. The attempt of traditionalist Pakistani Muslims in applying the outdated Medieval dhimmī regulations to the legislation of a modern Islamic welfare state as Pakistan reminds of the disputable Pact of 'Umar *(Shurūṭ 'Umar)*, which contains terms of humiliating discrimination and segregation from the Muslim population.[44]

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42   Usaman Hasan, *From Dhimmitude to Democracy: Islamic Law, Non—Muslims & Equal Citizenship*, Abridged Version (Religious Reform Series no. 3a (London: Quilliam, 2015), 9.

43   Ibid.

44   Pact of 'Umar has come originally from the stipulations to govern Christians, Jews and

4. Legal rights of minorities

As a modern democratic Islamic State, Pakistan presented

others in the seventeenth century during the rule of second caliph, ʿUmar I (634–644). Over time, it developed as a classical form of legal schemes to define the governance of non–Muslims as "dhimmi populations." (See Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012) 15–16. While it is undebatable that *Shurūṭ ʿUmar* ("Ordinances of ʿUmar;" "Pact of ʿUmar") was accepted as canonical regulations for *dhimmi*, modern scholars interpret its implication in a different way. Noth argues that *Shurūṭ ʿUmar* is a historical record for solving the problem of keeping a Muslim identity among the dominant non–Muslim population in a situation of *fuhut* ("conquest") and follows the context that Muslim and non–Muslim communities coexisted. In other words, the *shurut* is a historical record to show that Muslims strove to draw a clear line to distinguish Muslim identity in a newly conquered area with a non–Muslim population, rather than a record of restrictive policies directed against non–Muslims. He regrets that the ordinances of ʿUmar was expanded, developed and used throughout the Islamic history as an instrument for restrictive policies against non–Muslims. See Albrecht Noth, "Problems of Differentiation Between Muslims and Non–Muslims: Re–Reading the ʿOrdinances of ʿUmar' (*al–shurūṭ al–ʿumariyya*)." In *Muslims and Others in Early Islamic Society*, ed. Robert Hoyland (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2004) 103–124. Unlike Noth, Rubin views the Pact of ʿUmar as having been harsher and discriminative. Regulations of *ghiyār* (dress code for *ahal al–dhimmi*) appearing in the Pact of ʿUmar suggest the plausibility of Rubin's view. See Luke Yarbrough, "Origins of the *ghiyār*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 134 (2014): 113–121; Ilse Lichtenstadter "The Distinctive Dress of Non–Muslims in Islamic Countries," *Historia Judaica* 5 (1943): 35–52. Rubin maintains that there were several versions of the treaty between the Muslims and the Christians at the end of the eight and beginning of the ninth century, and *Shurūṭ ʿUmar* gradually gained a prominent position over the other relatively tolerant versions after the mid–ninth century. Rubin argues that *Shurūṭ ʿUmar's* popularity over the versions of Abu Yusuf and al–Shafi strongly indicate that the attitude of Muslims society toward ahl *al–the dhimmi* was growing harsher and less tolerant. The pact of ʿUmar is a historical evidence showing that "Muslim dominance and sovereignty as opposed to dhimmi subordination and subservience." (204) Christians under the Muslim caliphate faced humiliating discrimination and restrictions in their daily lives among Muslim populations, depending on the period. Moreover, this historical fact points to the reality of Christian communities and individuals living in the Muslim territories throughout the history. See Milka Levy–Rubin "*Shurūṭ ʿUmar* and its Alternatives: The Legal Debate on the Status of *Dhimmīs*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 30 (2005): 170–206. Rubin narrates enforcement of Dhimmi restrictions, with presenting evidence of practice of ousting dhimmi from the government office, garb regulation and color, and destruction of new church buildings and others enforced and succeeded by succeeding caliphs and Muslim rulers. See Milka Levy–Rubin "*Shurūṭ ʿUmar*: From Early Harbingers to Systematic Enforcement," in *Beyond Religious Borders: Interaction and Intellectual Exchange in the Medieval Islamic World*, edited by David Freidenreich and Miriam Goldstein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2012), 36–43.

the Objectives Resolution in 1949, which was later included in the Constitution of 1973. According to it,

> The rights of Muslims and non—Muslims are guaranteed in the Objectives Resolution and it had been decided that all citizens of Pakistan shall enjoy equal status, and everyone should have equal opportunities to excel and progress. Social, economic and political opportunities shall also be provided on equal grounds without any discrimination and everyone shall be equal before the law." [45]

Moreover, it declares that,

> Non—Muslims living in Pakistan enjoy all such civil and legal rights for the protection of their life, property, and dignity that their fellow Muslims avail within the bounds of law and Constitution. Furthermore, non—Muslim citizens of Pakistan have full right to worship in their places of worship and during the occasion of their religious celebrations as per the teachings of their religions." [46]

Nevertheless, in reality, religious and legal discrimination has been practiced against religious minorities in Pakistan.[47] The Objectives Resolution incorporated by General Zia ul—Haqq into the

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45 Islamic Research Institute, IIUI. *Paigham—e—Pakistan* (The Message of Pakistan). (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, 2018), 23—24.
46 Ibid., 47
47 Geijbels, "Christians and Muslims in Pakistan," 49.

1973 Constitution undermines the rights of non-Muslims, and the 1979 Hadd Laws and the *Qanuni-i Shahadat* ("Law of Evidence") of the 1980s seriously damaged the legal rights of non-Muslims. Again, the Separate Electorate introduced in 1985 by General Zia ul-Haqq perpetuates the political castration of Christians, and the *Shar'iat* Act damaged Christian-Muslim relations. Further-more, the Penal Code of Pakistan, including the punishment for blasphemy (295 C) aroused great fear among religious minori-ties.[48]

In response to discriminatory legal legislation, Christians started to raise objections and concerns against the undermin-ing of legal rights of the Christian community. Channan laments that Christians have been increasingly "segregated politically from the mainstream of the society," and "deprived economi-cally… discriminated against religiously and subjugated social-ly."[49] O'Brien points out the discriminatory laws of evidence in the court.[50] Moreover, the educational rights of minorities have been constantly damaged by the Pakistan Muslim government. Geijbels complains that the introduction of the *Islamyat* (a course of Islam) to all educational institutions during the office of General Ayub Khan (1958-1969) deepened "educational discrimination" against Christians, and the nationalization of educational institutions by

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48 Ibid., 50-51.

49 Channan, *Path of Love*, 138-139.

50 The testimony of one Muslim is counted equal to that of two non-Muslims in a court of law and the testimony of one male equal to the testimony of two females. (O'Brien, Church and Religious *'Other'*, 94)

the Ali Bhutto administration (1971–1977) seriously impaired the educational rights of the Christian community in Pakistan.[51]

Meanwhile, ironically, Muslims living in non—Muslim countries as minorities face similar issues faced by Christians in Pakistan. Muslim scholars began to address the religious rights and well—being of Muslim colleagues living in Western countries against the rights of Christian minorities who live in Pakistan. Munazza Akram examines the history and development of the idea of *fiqh of al—aqalliayyāt* (Fiqh for minorities) and deals with the issues of the religious—legal problems faced by Muslims living in non—Muslim societies.[52] Dr. Tahir—ul—Qadri urges Muslims to "pray for the well—being and continued temporal authority of the just rulers, whether they are Muslims or non—Muslims…voting for a non—Muslim candidate that stands for justice."[53]

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51 Geijbels, "Christians and Muslims in Pakistan," 52–53.

52 Munazza Akram, "Issues of Muslim Minorities in Non—Muslim Societies: An Appraisal of Classical and Modern Islamic Legal Discourses with Reference to Fiqh al—Aqalliayyāt." in *Islamic Studies*, Vol.58:1 spring 2019. (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, 2019): 108–109. He also examines the issues in the notion of *dār al—Islām* and *dār al—ḥarb*. His discussion indicates the increasing interest and challenge faced by Muslim individuals living in the countries under the jurisdiction of non—Muslim government often called as *dār al—ḥarb*.

53 Tahir—Ul—Qadri, FATWA on Terrorism and Suicide Bombings, 410; 413.

Ⅲ. APPRAISAL OF CHRISTIAN−MUSLIM RELATIONS IN PAKISTAN

As Nasir−Ali appraises, the Pakistani Christian commu−nity has engaged in meaningful dialogues with various Muslim groups on theological and socio−political issues, human rights, social justice, and even "religious experience" and "spiritual−ity." [54] Various Christian groups−ecumenical, Roman Catholic, and Evangelical−have been actively involved with interreligious dialogue. From the 1980s, discussions about Christian−Muslim relations began to address the issues of minority Christians who suffered from the Islamization reinforced by the Pakistan gov−ernment. These issues concern the legislation of Blasphemy law (925 B and C), the Separate Electorate, discrimination, depriva−tion as a second−class citizen, the nationalization of Christian schools and colleges, and dispossession from government employ−ment. Thus, the Pakistani Christian community has continually raised the issues of discrimination and security endangered by the Blasphemy law in various dialogue panels and interfaith confer−ences. Consequently, Muslim intellectuals and scholars began to pay attention to discrimination and insecurity faced by religious minorities in Pakistan. Nevertheless, there has been no signif−icant improvement, as the Pakistan government succumbed to the conservative Muslim populace guided by aggressive Muslim

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54 Nasir−Ali, 102−103.

clerics.

Following pontifical councils, the Roman Catholic Church of Pakistan applies the Vatican II affirmation, forming ecumenical or catholic institutes and conferences. Equally, ecumenical groups advocate interreligious dialogue, peace and harmony, while addressing minority issues and socio−political issues. The Roman Catholic Church and Ecumenicals have demonstrated united responses and actions regarding CMR. In contrast, Evangelicals do not agree with such interfaith dialogues, because they focuse on common grounds, peace−building, minorities, and socio−political issues at the cost of critical theological issues. Distinctively, Michael Nasir−Ali attempted to engage Christian−Muslim encounters through theological−missiological discourse. The other evangelical groups and churches take the discrete approach and sporadic strategy, lacking interaction and unity. The Evangelicals' lack of cooperation can be explained by their evangelism methods and the objective of conversion of Muslim, which is controversial and problematic in the Islamic State. So, Evangelical groups appear isolated and divided, following individual mission organizations' and churches' strategies, employing mainly evangelistic agenda, apologetics, and partial polemics with limited outcomes.[55] However, there is a meaningful attempt to produce a

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55 Ifrahim A. Matthew examines a performance of Evangelical International Mission operated in northern part of Pakistan for Muslims and identifies "deficiencies in the formation of an effective Modus operandi to reach Muslims with the message of Gospel." See Ifrahim Akhter Matthew, *A Study of the Strategy of Christian Missions to Muslims of Indo−Pak*, 17.

contextualized Bible translation by Evangelical groups, to convey the Christian message in an understandable way for Muslims, since the majority of Muslims are discouraged from accessing the Christian message and Scripture due to the polemical Islamic teachings such as taḥrīf and shirk.[56]

On the other hand, traditionalist Muslim scholars empha-size a theological approach, and their conversation with Chris-tians is eclipsed substantially by polemical arguments. Saeed observes, "Muslims focus in the field of interfaith dialogue on theology and faith, but Christian interest in the field of dia-logue is sociopolitical, socioeconomic and missionary activities."[57] As a result, interfaith dialogue between Christians and Muslims in Pakistan has been ineffective due to the different approaches and methods. Appraising the present interfaith dialogue in Paki-stan as "nominal and most probably weak" in its effectiveness, Saeed suggests both that communities "revise its methodology, approaches, representatives, and issues with wider consultation of Muslim Christian scholars."[58]

Conservative Muslims, including Maududi, have been inclined to apply the ancient dhimmī term of the judiciary frame to clas-sify Christians. On the other hand, Pakistani Orthodox Muslims following the Qur'an and Hadith tradition tend to understand and treat Christians in the hermeneutic structure of *Ahl-e-Kitāb*.

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56 Believer of Jesus Christ as Son of God is condemned as associators and even unbe-liever (*kafīr*).

57 Saeed, 90.

58 Ibid.

By the way, it is a positive development that orthodox Muslim scholars increasingly reinterpret CMR in the hermeneutic tradition of *Ahl—e Kitāb* rather than *jihad* and *dhimmī*. Moreover, it is a notable and welcoming change that Muslim scholars attempt to relocate CMR by retrieving the Islamic tradition of the Constitution of Medīnah, which emphasizes peaceful coexistence with non—Muslims. It is worth heeding both Morrow's charges against the Muslim *Umma* which "violated the Covenants of Allah and His Messenger" regarding Christians and his calling for Muslims to retrieve "the letter and spirit of Islam" by fulfilling the covenants for Muslim and Christian relations.[59]

In addition, it is notable that some Muslim scholars critically reexamine the clash of civilization theory and suggest looking into Christian—Muslim relations from an alternative perspective of Muslim tradition.[60] In this trajectory, Pakistan's orthodox Muslim scholars gradually shifted their hermeneutic frame of *dhimmī* promoted by Islamization from the 1970s to the alternative hermeneutics following the Islamic tradition of interfaith dialogue. IRI and Minhaj—ul Qur'an lead this movement to the forefront. Thus, the discourse of *Ahl—e—Kitāb* appears more pertinent than that of *dhimmī* in Pakistan, as it is in line with the far—reaching discourse of interfaith dialogue and human rights.

Thus, a Muslim writer praises Christians as "pioneers" in

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59   Morrow, Covenants of Prophet Mohammad with the Christians of the World, 362—363.

60   Al—Ahsan, Abdullah. The Clash of Civilizations Thesis and Muslims: The Search for an Alternative Paradigm. Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, 2010.

the dialogue between Christians and Muslims in Pakistan.[61] At the same time, Muslim scholar Riaz Ahmed Saeed criticizes the Christian perception of interfaith dialogue as divided and diverse, as "some groups adopt dialogue for missions while some for an encounter to others and some for social and peace purpose."[62] Moghal acknowledges that Pakistan churches are still far from sincere and genuine CMR and urges churches to "rediscover its prophetic role among suffering humanity of Asia," where 53 percent of the people live as Muslims. He asserts,

> Therefore, the Church has to work out a plan of action where the Muslim majority of Asia is not threatened by the "mission" agenda of the Church but rather sees the Church as a Prophet who confirms life in the face of death… let us join hands by engaging in a Dialogue of Heart i.e. mutual respect for each other's religion…to raise their voice for justice, peace, and integrity of creation.[63]

Ⅳ. Conclusion

The central themes of CMR in Pakistan are parallel with topics that have dominated persistently in Christian-Muslim discus-

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61 Habib, 137.

62 Saeed, Muslim-Christian Dialogue from Pakistani Perspective, 83.

63 Moghal, 1998. 23.

sions since the medieval period.[64] This indicates that the medieval themes of Muslim-Christian discussion have persisted in Pakistan with limited development.

However, one remarkable change is the missiological clash of both religions, which evolved from the history of western colonization of the Muslim world. It is repeatedly noted that Muslims perceive "Christian missionaries as a threat to Islam" and are deeply "critical of Christian missionary activities."[65] Contradictorily, one of the main agenda of Muslims for interreligious dialogue appears to be *Da'wah* ("promotion of knowledge of Islam"), which may be paralleled with the Christian evangelistic motive.[66] So, it is plausible to conclude that the Evangelical apologetic approach and evangelistic motives are comparable to those of Muslims who employ dialogue as means of *Da'wah*, although they criticize Christian missionary motives.[67] A Muslim scholar proposes that dialogue should never be used as "a tool for conversion or as a means for evangelization," but that both interlocutors should be "respectful to each other…avoid controversy as much as possible…for the betterment of mankind and for the establish-

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64 Hugh Goddard, "The Persistent Medieval Themes in Modern Christian-Muslim Discussion in Egypt." In *Christian Arabic Apologetics During the Abbasid Period* (750-1258). ed. Samir Khalil and Jørgen Nielsen. (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 225-227.

65 Habib, *Religious Dialogue*, 61, 62.

66 Ibid., 60, 100.

67 Al-Draiweesh, *Peaceful Co-existence*, 1. Dr. Al-Draiweesh clearly states, the Muslim's relationship with non-Muslims should be guided by the principle of missionary motive that "Islam perceives the opponent in religions as a human being who should be invited to embrace Islam."

ment of a peaceful society." [68] Likewise, Geijbels acknowledges the difficulties in Christian–Muslim relations in Pakistan and calls for "an urgent need for all leaders… to come together and create among people a sense of respect, tolerance, and unity, and this is possible only through interfaith dialogue…for their own better‐ment and for the betterment of all humanity." [69]

In conclusion, the problem of CMR lies deeply in the fact that both Christianity and Islam are missionary religions claim‐ing their uniqueness and finality. So, the religious engagement of Christians and Muslims persists as a unilateral monologue with limited results. In this manner, the crucial matter of CMR remains unsolved. What framework should be appropriate for meeting and engaging dialogue between Christians and Muslims? It is imperative to lay a framework acceptable to both Christians and Muslims for meaningful engagement. This problem requires further examination.

68　Habib, 135–136.
69　Geijbels, 56.

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■한글초록

Major Themes of
Christian-Muslim Relations
in Pakistan

김인영

이 논문은 파키스탄에서 기독교–무슬림 관계 (CMR)의 주요 주제와 이슈를 조사하여 그 이슈를 파악하고, 바람직한 기독교 무슬림관계를 객관적인 입장에서 제시하려고 한다. 본 연구의 배경이 되는 파키스탄 상황에서 기독교–무슬림 관계의 역사와 전개를 살펴봄으로 시작하였다.

본론부분에서는 파키스탄에서 기독교인과 무슬림들이 조우하고 있는 신학적 이슈들, 이슬람화, 무슬림 국가 하에서 기독교인들의 신분 등을 깊이 있게 조사하였다. 이어서 이전의 논의를 근거로 파키스탄의 기독교인들과 무슬림들의 관계를 분석하였다. 특히 기독교인들의 접근방법을 로마 카톨릭의 종교간 대화, 에큐메니칼 진영의 종교간 평화와 화합, 복음주의자들의 복음전도와 상황화 시도 등으로 구분하여 그 특징과 성과를 살펴보았으며, 무슬림들의 반응과 평가를 분석하였다.

결론에서 현재 파키스탄에서의 기독교–무슬림 관계가 자신의 종교를 절대화하고 상대방의 종교를 선교적 대상으로 규정하는 일

방성으로 인해 종교간 대화가 일방적 독백에 머물러 있음을 지적하고, CMR개선을 위해 기독교인들과 무슬림들이 함께 공유할 수 있는 모델의 필요성을 역설하였다.