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Item Type	Article
Authors	Ul-Islam, Fakhr
Publisher	Qurtuba University
Rights	With permission of the license/copyright holder
Download date	2026-07-04 00:49:06
Link to Item	http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12424/187963

Reforms in Religious Madaris of Pakistan

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Abstract

The present paper is devoted to reforms in the Religious Madaris in Pakistan. The quest for these reforms has come from various quarters and has been prompted by different considerations. The West, particularly the United States, wishes to secularize and reform these Madaris so that their graduates are no longer inspired by a passion for Jihad nor are they inclined to militancy. The Pakistani Government, apart from its own desire, to modernize the system, is pursuing donor-driven agenda regarding the introduction of reforms in these institutions. Besides these extraneous elements, there is also a desire for change, coming from Madaris themselves which is a welcome sign.¹ Can we benefit from the experience of any other country and replicate their reforms programme in our Madaris? All these issues have been examined and analyzed in the paper in hand.

Keywords: Madaris, Education, PMEBO, Pakistan

Mainstreaming the Madaris during Musharraf Era

The Government of General Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008) intended to devise a comprehensive plan to, what they claimed, improve conditions of religious Madaris. Speaking at a seminar organized by Institute of Policy Studies Islamabad on August 3, 2000, Dr, Mahmood Ahmad Ghazi, a member of Musharraf's Security Council said:

“The Government plans to integrate religious Madaris with mainstream education system, and introduce changes in their courses and teaching methodology. This is to be done with a view to enabling these institutions to play their due role of producing not only religious scholars but also leaders in all fields of learning and human endeavor”²

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However majority of Ulama and administrators took exception to the intentions of Musharraf Government and feared that the Government was bent upon controlling the Madaris. The grand Mufti of Pakistan, member of the state-run Islamic Ideology Council and President of Darul Uloom Karachi, Mufti Rafi Usmani, termed the Madaris ordinance as part of a conspiracy to drag Pakistan to secularism. He said Government wanted to create a band of official ulama which would not be tolerated at any cost.³ The other ulama who opposed the move included Mulana Abdul Malik (President Rabitatul Madaris), Mufti Iqbal Shah Faizi (Muhtamim Faizul Uloom Sakhhar), Mulana Abdul Ghaffar Ropri (Muhtamim Jamiah Ahle Hadis Lahore), Sarfaraz Ahmad Naeemi (Muhtamim Jamiah Naeemiah Lahore), Mulana Muhammad Murad (Muhtamim darul Uloom Rohri), Mufti Munibur Rahman (President Tanzeemul Madaris and Chairman of the State-run Moon Sighting or Roet Hilal Committee) and Qari Hanif Jalundhri (Nazim Wifaqul Madaris)⁴

Nevertheless, in 2001, the Musharraf Government, in spite of the stiff resistance of the Ulama, promulgated the Pakistan Madrassa Education (Establishment and Affiliation of Model Deeni Madaris) Board Ordinance (PMEBO). With headquarter at Islamabad; a 20-member Board headed by an eminent educationist was created.⁵ All the five wafaqs; Federal Ministries of Education, Religious Affairs and Science and Technology; Provincial Education ministries, Higher Education Commission of Pakistan; International Islamic University Islamabad; Inter-board committee of all the secondary boards and Ulama and Technocrats were given representation in the apex body or board created under the PMEBO. ⁶

The preamble of the Pakistan Madrassa Education (Establishment and Affiliation of Model Deeni Madaris) Board Ordinance (PMEBO) specified the following two objectives:

- i) To provide for securing the registration, regulation, standardization and uniformity of curricula and standard of education of deeni Madaris imparting specialized Islamic education in Pakistan with the general education system in order to enable recognition of equivalence of the degrees, certificates and *asnad* awarded by such institutions and to regulate their examination system and the matters connected therewith or ancillary thereto.
- ii) There is a need that deeni Madaris maintain their autonomous character and are better organized for promotion of full-fledged, comprehensive and specialized Islamic education along with subjects of general education system⁷

Going through various provisions of PMEBO, it boils down to the fact that its real aim was to enlighten the students of religious Madaris with contemporary knowledge and bring them at par with the general secular educational institutions. The Government planned to replicate the board created at Federal level, in all the four provinces. The Board was entrusted responsibility of setting up model Deeni Madaris. It will also prepare syllabi and organize examinations and teachers training programmes.⁸ All madaris will get themselves registered with PMEBO failing which they will be deprived of the right of receiving funding from federal and provincial Governments. The obvious objectives, implementation mechanism and other aspects of PMEBO sound good. However, the real challenge was how to make it acceptable for Madaris people.

On the other hand, till the implementation of PMEBO in letter and spirit, the four provincial governments were allowed in 2006 to amend the Societies Registration Act 1860 so as to regulate the religious seminaries. For this purpose a new section 21 was added to the Societies Registration Act 1860.⁹ The new section provided for the following details about registration of Madaris.

- i) With promulgation of the act, all Deeni Madaris were required to get themselves registered immediately
- ii) Every Deeni Madrassa was supposed to submit annual report of its educational activities to the Registration Authority
- iii) It became mandatory for every Deeni Madrassa to carry out audit of its accounts by an Auditor and submitting report to the concerned Government authority
- iv) It was also recommended that no Deeni Madrassa would teach or publish any literature which might promote militancy or stir up sectarian or religious hatred.¹⁰

The promulgation of PMEBO and Societies Registration Amendment Act made no significant difference, as, a great majority of Madaris refused to go for registration, thus posing a serious challenge to the Government. To meet that challenge, the Musharraf Government started parleys with the office bearers of Itihad Tanzeemat-e-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP)¹¹. It may be noted that in the whole process, there was no reference as to what type of curriculum was envisioned for Madrassa system. Besides, our prevalent secular education system hardly enjoys any enviable position so far as its general standard is concerned. Now if we were to turn the Madaris into an other set of secular system-punctuated with religious instructions- how it would provide us any relief. The whole arrangement may end up in demolishing the existing system of Religious Madaris and prove to be more retrogressive.

In 2005 and 2006, the Government arranged study tours for ITMP leadership to UK and USA so that they could consult with academia and policy makers there. No report was published about the outcome of that tour.¹² Both the Musharraf Government and ITMP were about to sign an agreement but the operation at Lal Masjid¹³ Islamabad in 2007 caused a deadlock which continued till the fall of General Musharraf.

The PPP Government Initiatives

The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) Government installed in 2008 continued with the Madaris reforms programme of its predecessor regime. However they were quite conscious and instead of imposing reforms package, they started a series of dialogues with the office bearers of ITMP. The meetings were held in the federal Interior Ministry in Islamabad. These meetings were attended by ITMP leadership and Interior Minister Rahman Malik. On 29th September 2009, after a meeting with ITMP leadership, Mr. Rahman Malik disclosed that the agreement, in that connection, was finalized between the Government and ITMP. He highlighted the following features of the draft agreement:

- i) The educational Boards of all the five schools of thoughts would be registered in order to give recognition to the degree of these Madaris
- ii) The Inter-Madaris Board, a superior body would be set up to attest degrees of Wifaqs and review their educational system
- iii) All the Madaris would register themselves with Inter-Madaris Board. Madaris. Those who fail to get themselves registered would not be allowed to function.¹⁴

As mentioned earlier that under the provision of Pakistan Madrassa Education (Establishment and Affiliation of Model Deeni Madaris) Board Ordinance (PMEBO), the Government was supposed to establish apex body of different composition. Then that body or Board was to be replicated in all the provinces.¹⁵. The ITMP leadership was opposed to the proposed Board on the pretext that the official Board will encroach upon the autonomy of Madaris, therefore the PPP Government agreed to rename it as Inter-Madaris Board

During the month of October 2009 another controversy triggered an exchange of blistering statements between ITMP and Government. In that month two official Turkish delegations visited Pakistan-one led by Minister of Science and Technology Prof. Muhammad Eidin and the other by Prime Minister Tayyeb

Orozgan. In meetings with these delegations, President Asif Ali Zardari of Pakistan expressed his desire to replicate Turkish model of religious education in Pakistan.¹⁶

It may be underscored that in Turkey, the Government is in full control of the religious education.¹⁷ A separate Directorate General of Religious Education functions under the direct supervision of Turkish Prime Minister. No non-Governmental entity is allowed to open or operate Madaris. The Government either imparts religious education in the existing modern schools or through Summer Schools.¹⁸

Prof. Hadi Adanali of Ankara University has given a comprehensive picture of the religious education in Turkey:

*“Currently, religious education courses begin at the 4th grade of primary school and continue throughout secondary and high schools. From the 4th to the 8th grade, classes consist of two hours per week. At the high school level, there is one hour of class per week. Thus, a student who has graduated from high school receives 8 continuous years of religious courses. There are no fixed books for the course. Rather, each school decides which book to follow -- provided that the book for each level is approved by the Ministry of Education. Nearly half of the contents of these courses include religion and Islam with remaining topics ranging from secularism to humanism and from ethical values to etiquette. The major world religions such as Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism are included in the content of the course”.*¹⁹

The Turkish model is in itself criticized in Turkey and elsewhere, however, it would be quite difficult to replicate it in Pakistan due to certain reasons. Firstly, Turkey is a secular state where religion has nothing to do with the affairs of the state. While in Pakistan, the situation is quite the opposite, here religion has deep influence over the state affairs and several provisions about Islamization have been enshrined in its Constitution promulgated in 1973. Secondly, the Pakistani

Madaris enjoy full autonomy since the inception of the country and they would resist any such move whereby their autonomy is threatened.

As expected, the leadership of Wifaqul Madaris strongly reacted to the intentions of President Zardari regarding Turkish model. In a press statement Mulana Saleemullah Khan, Dr. Abdur Razzaq, Mulana Hanif Jalundhri and Mulana Anwarul Haq warned the Government not to imitate Turkey otherwise they will be constrained to launch a protest campaign.²⁰ No further progress was made towards that end till finalization of this paper.

Deficiencies in Madaris System and remedies:

After going through the relevant literature/material and interacting with Madaris people, this writer has discovered some deficiencies in Madaris system and has come up with the following proposals:

- No doubt the existing five Madrassa boards or Wifaqs (Federations) are doing commendable job. Nevertheless they differ with each other on various sectarian and jurisprudential issues. They can continue to maintain their separate status but they should at least agree on some common principles. The positive development in this regard is the formation of a common platform Ittehad-e-Tanzeemat-e-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP). It is hoped that ITMP will work jointly so that they can effectively deal with issues of common concern to themselves and the community at large.
- The religious Madaris in Pakistan follow a curriculum called “*Dars-e-Nizami*”. The title of the curriculum has been derived from the name of Indian curriculum expert Mulana Nizamuddin Sehavi (d. 1747 AD). The purpose of the Dars-i-Nizami was to introduce a blend of Islamic teachings with social/natural sciences so that the graduates become lawyers, judges and administrators of the

state. This curriculum has passed through many stages and so numerous changes have been incorporated in it.²¹ The break up of 54 books/subjects prescribed for 8 years is such that 16 are about Arabic grammar and literature, 13 about *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), 13 pertaining to *Hadith* (Sayings of the Holy Prophet), 4 about meaning and commentary of the Holy *Quran*, 01 on Techniques of recitation, 01 on beliefs, 4 on logic, 2 on Astronomy. The books/subjects on Arabic grammar and literature outnumber the other categories.²² Unfortunately, in this syllabus, no attention is paid to proficiency in contemporary languages particularly Arabic, English and Urdu. Resultantly, the graduates of these Madaris can neither read from the sources available in these languages nor can they produce meaningful things. It is proposed that in the existing framework of Madaris education, they must introduce the teaching of English, Arabic and Urdu and tools required for language learning and writing skills. If Quranic teachings are to be passed on to others (say the Chinese, the Germans, the Japanese, the French, the Italians and so forth) it becomes obligatory for Muslims to learn these languages. Only in this way the Muslims may do full justice to their mission as a mid-most community.

- The worldly disciplines included in the *Darse nizami* are logic and Astronomy. These might have been relevant subjects at the time of launching the *Dares nizami* syllabus but in the modern times, they need to be replaced by contemporary sciences.
- The subjects/books conspicuous by absence in *Darse Nizami* are History, Comparative study of religions, Social Sciences, Politics, International affairs and subjects about income generation. As a result the degree holders of Madaris are not

exposed to contemporary ideologies and current affairs. In order to broaden the scope of their minds, the disciplines mentioned above should be incorporated in *Darse Nizami*.

- The Madaris students are generally unaware of other world views. This lack of awareness often leads to an attitude when they think one-sidedly. They ought to be exposed to other world views so that they can compare the Islamic system with other systems.
- The establishment of Madaris in different parts of the country is not preceded by any scientific feasibility study. As a result of haphazard horizontal growth of these seminaries, the standard falls considerably.. It is therefore suggested that the setting up of Madaris in different areas must be done in a proper, organized manner, after studying local needs and conditions. The trend of opening Madaris at random must be done away with.
- It has been noticed that in the religious seminaries, all the academic activities revolve round teacher-centered lecture method. The extra and co-curricular activities are alien to them. All contemporary educationists agree that any method of teaching that fails to engage students is defective. So the people at the helm of affairs in Madaris should make proper arrangements for the religious, moral and spiritual training of their students. This additional training will certainly imbibe in them missionary spirit and at the end of the day the society will benefit from their balanced and multi-faceted personalities. .
- The resource mobilization in Madaris is as outdated as other aspects. Generally all Madaris depend on donations from general public. Due to primitive methods of fund-raising, they are

deficient in finances. The resource crunch entails substandard food, boarding and lodging for students and low pay, perks and privileges for teachers. The Madaris should adopt proper and dignified methods of fund raising and resource generation. . These may include reaching out to faith-based organizations and philanthropists The Madaris can also initiate income-generating projects so as to bring dependency syndrome to an end.

- Teachers in the religious seminaries take enormous pains in fulfillment of their duties. Despite shouldering heavy teaching responsibilities, their salaries and perks are abnormally low. Their salaries and other fringe benefits should be brought at par with teachers of the public sector educational institutions.
- One significant hurdle in mainstreaming religious Madaris is their distance from mass media. Millions of readers of print media and viewers of electronic media do not know about the developments in the realm of religious education. The Madaris have to think seriously about it. They should plan for highlighting their roles, activities, achievements and contributions in the media.

Madrassa Reforms in India

Since Madaris originated in India, therefore, a reference to the ongoing wave of reforms in that country has been made in the following lines. In the recent years, scholars in India have not only written abundantly on Madaris reforms but in isolated places these reforms have been implemented successfully. Mr. Sultan Ahmad Islahi read out his paper titled “*Deeni Madaris main Science Ki Taleem, Tarveej aur Rukawatain*” (Promotion of Science Education in Religious Seminaries: Hurdles) in a Seminar at Muslim University Aligarh few years back. He

stressed upon the need to include Science in the curricula of religious Madaris. He wrote:

“Keeping in view specific background of Madaris in the post-independence era, it is all the more important that their curriculum is not confined to Quran and hadith. Rather to enable Muslims to meet challenges of the modern times, they should be equipped with mundane knowledge as well. This objective is achievable only when they acquire modern knowledge through Science and technology. There is ample room in the syllabi Madaris to graft pure sciences into it”²³

Mr Saiful Islam Qasmi contributed a research article in the monthly *Zindagi Nau Delhi* in December 2008 wherein he strongly advocated insertion of contemporary and modern subjects in the syllabi of Deeni Madaris. He is of the firm opinion that there is no clash between Quran and Science. He urged the high-ups of Madaris to arrange for learning of English language so that their graduates can play a role in propagation of Islam among the English speaking nations.²⁴ Qasmi has cited examples of several Muslim religious scholars who earned reputation in modern sciences. They included Imam Razi (Medicine), Ibn Marakashi (Medicine, Astronomy), Jabir Ibne Hayyan (Chemistry) and Musa Al-Khwarzmi (Mathematics)²⁵.

The illustrious Muslim scholar of India Mulana Waheeduddin Khan is also in favour of English language learning in Madaris. He argues:

“They must give particular stress to the learning of the English language. It is not necessary that English be made a compulsory subject in the madrasa curriculum. However, along with various modern subjects it should be made an optional subject in every large madrasa, and students who wish to study English and these other subjects should be free to do so. I have participated in numerous international conferences and have been

repeatedly struck by the fact that there are many people in other religious communities who can represent their faiths in such forums in English and in a modern idiom. In contrast, there are very few such Muslim ulema who can do so. It is very necessary for the madrasas to address this major problem by taking appropriate measures”²⁶

A typical Indian model is a religious seminary in Shantapuram in Kerala state of India. The madrassa Jamiatul Islamiah has successfully blended together religious and modern subjects. In his on-line write up titled “A Madrasa with a Difference:” Mr. Yogi Sikand informed that the madrassa is located at Shanthapuram, a township in the Mallapuram district some eighty kilometers from Calicut. It is one of the largest Islamic seminaries in Kerala. Established in 1955 by activists associated with the Kerala unit of the Jamaat-i Islami, and considerably expanded since then, the Jamia offers a wide range of courses and seeks to combine Islamic and modern subjects. The writer has also interviewed Mr. V.K.Ali, the Rector of the Jamia. According to the rector, they want their graduates to take up careers in a wide range of fields, not just as professional ulema, a fact reflected in their curriculum. So far, some 40 batches have passed out of that institution, who have taken on a range of jobs. Some are in journalism. Many are Arabic teachers in schools. Others work in the numerous institutions run by the Jamaat-e Islami throughout Kerala. Yet others are in the Gulf States.²⁷

Mr. Ali further informed that admission is provided to students who have finished at least the tenth grade of regular school and have passed the entrance examination held by the Jamia at its premises every year. He pointed out that unlike in much of the rest of Indian Madaris, in Kerala, most ulema have a basic modern education as well.²⁸

Another Indian Muslim scholar Maulana Waris Mazhari, a graduate from Deoband, and editor of the Delhi-based Tarjuman Dar ul-Uloom, has given a package of reforms in Madaris .An extract from that package thus reads:

“I would also suggest that all big madrasas set up research centres and academies. Some madrasas already have such institutions, but, sadly, most of these exist just in name and only for show, bringing out literature glorifying their founders or fanning sectarian hatred and strife. Madrasas must also expand their range of extra-curricular activities in order to encourage students to take greater interest in research work. They can arrange for experts in different subjects (and not just those narrowly defined as ‘religious’) to deliver regular lectures to their students. They can organize regular essay-writing competitions and debates for students. They must also arrange for their libraries to stock important journals and books, including on contemporary social issues and developments”²⁹

Conclusion:

There are no two opinions on the fact that reforms should be introduced in the Madaris system. However, every school of thought eager for reforms has its own justification and objective. After the incident of 9/11 in 2001, United States of America believed that Madaris promoted anti-American sentiments. They, therefore embarked on a policy to dilute the hard liner stance of Madaris. General Musharraf (r. 1999-2008), the trusted ally of US, decided to deal with the Madaris with iron hand. His anti-Madaris policy, reportedly, had the blessings of USA. During his reign, Pakistan Madrassa Education (Establishment and Affiliation of Model Deeni Madaris) Board Ordinance (PMEBO) was promulgated and parleys for devising of modalities to implement the subject law were underway. However, due to Lal Masjid Operation in 2007 and Musharraf’s resignation as President in 2008, were serious blows to that effort. The Asif Ali Zardar-led PPP Government, though, retained the Madaris policy of Musharraf

but with a different approach. His Government entered into dialogue with Ittehad Tanzeemat-e-Madaris Pakistan. Both the sides agreed to incorporate fundamental changes in the PMEBO. Nevertheless the military operations in Swat and FATA against the Taliban delayed signing the accord.

Traditionally, the Madaris people resist drastic changes in their system because to them they need only prayer leaders and teachers. The existing curriculum, they opine, is good enough to produce that stuff. However they should realize that they have the capacity to produce other professionals besides prayer leaders. Their over all system, curriculum, approach and other aspects are not free from errors. They must know that time has come to revisit their approach and incorporate changes in the system and curricula so as to fulfill demands of the modern era. The Government should reinstate the halted process of negotiation with Madaris people. The Government should not impose any reforms package from above. Instead it should involve the religious parties and groups for reforming all such institutions.

Our neighbour India is pioneer in the establishment and reformation of Madaris. In the recent years the Indian Muslim scholars have produced valuable literature on the subject. They have also to their credit success stories regarding modernization of Madaris. Instead of trying to replicate Turkish model, both the parties i.e. Government and ITMP should learn from Indian experience.

In short, a durable solution should come from the Madaris themselves and Government should facilitate it.

End notes:

¹ This article may be read in conjunction with earlier two articles of the author, that is:

(i) “*Religious Madaris: A Review*”, in the Journal *Dawah*, Dawah Academy, International Islamic University Islamabad, October 2002

(ii) “*Religious Seminaries in Pakistan*” in the *Al-idah*, research journal Shykh Zayed Islamic Centre University of Peshawar, March, 2010

² Quarterly *IPS NEWS*(July-September 2000) Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, p. 3

³ *The Daily Jang*, Rawalpindi, 23rd august, 2001

⁴ Ibid (also see the same news paper 24th August 2001 and 19th August 2009)

⁵ As per section 4 of PMEBO, the Board shall consist of the following members to be appointed by the Federal Government :

(i)	An educationist of eminence:	Chairman
(ii)	sadar or nazim of a wafaq or rabitah to be appointed by the Federal Government in consultation with the Chairman	Vice Chairman
(iii)	An educationist having experience in administrative matters	Member
(iv)	Secretary Ministry of Education or his nominee not below the rank of Joint Secretary	Member
(v)	Secretary Ministry of Religious Affairs or his nominee not below the rank of Joint Secretary	Member
(vi)	Secretary Ministry of Science and technology or his nominee not below the rank of Joint Secretary	Member
(vii)	Chairman University Grants Commission (now Higher Education Commission) or a member nominated by him	Member
(viii)	Two Ulama who are or have been members of The Council of Islamic Ideology to be nominated by the Chairman	Member
(ix)	Director general Dawa Academy International Islamic University	Member
(x)	One professor who is also Head of the Department of Islamic Studies	Member
(xi)	Education secretaries of all the four provinces	Members

⁶ Pakistan Madrassa Education (Establishment and Affiliation of Model Deeni Madaris) Board Ordinance, published in the Gazette of Pakistan August 18, 2001 by Ministry of Law, Justice, Human Rights and parliamentary Affairs, (Henceforth it will be referred to as PMEBO)

⁷ ibid

⁸ *The Daily Jang*, Rawalpindi, Editorial note, 20-8-2001

⁹ Section 21 of the Societies Registration (North West frontier Province) Amendment 2006

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ The religious seminaries in Pakistan are affiliated to either of the following Madaris boards called as *Wifaqs* (Federations): (i) Wifaqul Madaris (ii) Tanzeemul Madais (iii) Rabitatul Madaris (iv) Wifaqul Madaris(al-Salafiah) (v) Wifaqul Madaris (al-Shia). The affiliation of these Wifaqs to various schools of thoughts and sects is given in following table:

S.No	Name of wifaq	Affiliation
1	Wifaqul Madaris	Deobandis
2	Tanzeemul Madais	Brelvis
3	Rabitatul Madaris	Jamaat-e-Islami
4	Wifaqul Madaris(al-Salafiah)	Ahle-Hadees
5	Wifaqul Madaris (al-Shia).	Shias

See Dr. Fakhr-ul-Islam , “Religious Madaris: A Review”, in the Urdu monthly *Dawah*, Dawah Academy, International Islamic University Islamabad, October 2002, pp. 38-39

¹² Ibid, 19th August 2009.

¹³ The Lal Masjid or Red mosque is situated in the heart of Federal capital of Pakistan, Islamabad,. It was named Red Mosque for its red walls and interiors. The mosque .was built in 1965 Maulana Muhammad Abdullah was appointed its first *imam*.(prayer leader) In 1998, Abdullah was assassinated and was replaced by his elder son Mulana Abdul Aziz. After some time, the younger son of the deceased Ghazi Abdur Rasheed also joined the mosque. Both the brothers had links with militant organizations. They were quite critical of Governments. They had built religious seminaries in the limits of Lal Masjid. The mosque came to lime light in early 2007 when the concerned Government agency, Capital Development Authority issued the mosque administration a notice. As per notice, the plots on which seminaries were built were not legally allotted. They were therefore asked to vacate. This led to a a clash between them and the government. The protesting students first seized a public library and then started patrolling the markets, setting ablaze CD shops and music centres. They also kidnapped an alleged prostitute and lady workers of Chinese Massage Centre. The rise of an Islamic radical group and display of arms in the capital embarrassed the General Musharraf Government who ordered military operation. The last ditch efforts of reconciliation by ruling party PML(Q) and religious parties (Jamat-e-Islami and JUI) failed. On 10th July 2007, the army stormed at the mosque compound, took its control and killed dozens of male and female students including Abdur Rashid Ghazi. 08 troops including a major were also killed. The BBC reported that the number of those killed was 173, but others have claimed casualties of more than 1000. The government had claimed that Lal Masjid protesters were supported by foreign fighters but that claim could not be proven.(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lal_Masjid accessed on 3rd

May 2010, Also see Mamoonah, *The Lal Masjid Operation*, M.A thesis Pakistan Study Centre University of Peshawar, 2010)

¹⁴ *The Daily Dawn*, Islamabad, 30th September 2009.

¹⁵ *The Daily Jang*, Rawalpindi, Editorial note, 20-8-2001

¹⁶ *The daily Express*, Peshawar, 16th October 2009

¹⁷ Kemal Ataturk founded the Turkish republic in 1923 to secularize and modernize the land of Turkey, which, in his opinion, was “stained by its Islamic heritage”. He wanted the Turkish educational system to create “productive citizens with contemporary educational standards.” Clearly his programme was to move from an educational system containing both modern and religious courses, towards secularization. The clash between religious and secular elements of Turkey has been going on for the last 87 years. In 1996, during the rule of Necmettin Erbakan as Prime Minister, some reforms were introduced but the powerful secular establishment did not allow him to proceed. The battle wages on still, while the Ministry of National Education holds the majority of the control over the education in Turkey (for further details see: “*State and Religious Institutions and the Turkish Education System*.” 123 Help Me.com. 13 May 2010 <<http://www.123HelpMe.com/view.asp?id=30382>>.)

¹⁸ Mirza Muhammadiyah Ilyas, “Turkey Main Ahya-e-Islam”(Urdu) in the Monthly *Ayeen*, Lahore, p.95

¹⁹ Hadi Adanali, “The Many Dimensions of Religious Instruction in Turkey” in *Religious Education Culture in Modern Turkey*, Ankara University, available at www.springerlink.com/index/11313436372v1mmu.pdf (accessed on 28-1-2010)

²⁰ Mirza Ilyas, opcit

²¹ Institute of policy Studies, *Taleem Islami Tanazur main*,”Deeni Madais ka Nizam-e-Taleem, Islamabad, 1987, pp. 35-36

²² The dares Nizami course is spread over 8-year duration. The year-wise distribution of courses is given in the following table:

Year	Level	Courses/books included
First	Al Aamah	Naho-Mir (Grammar) +Irshad-us-Sarf (Grammar) +Ilm-us-Sarf (Grammar) + Traeeqatul Asriyyah (First book of Arabic) + Noor-ul-Ezah (Fiqh)+Jamalul Quran (Learning Recitation)
Second	-do-	Hidayat-un-Naho (Grammar) +Ilmul Seegha (Grammar) + Mukhtar al Qudoori (Fiqh) +Zad-ut-Talibeen (Hadith) + Muallimul Insha (Arabic)+ Qirat-ur-Rashid (Arabic literature) + sehlul Adab (Arabic literature)
Third	Al-Khassah	Kaafiah (Grammar) + Riaz-us-Saliheen Part-1(Hadith) +Usool al Shashi (Principle Islamic Fiqh) + Sharh-e-Al-Tahzeeb-e-Mantiq (logic) + Mirqaat (Logic) + Esa Ghooji (Logic) +Kanz al daqayeq (Fiqh) + Nafhatul Arab (Arabic literature)

Fourth	-d-o-	Sharh-e-Jami (Grammar)+ Riaz-us-Saliheen Part-2 (Hadith) + Noor-ul-Anwaar (Principles of Islamic Fiqh) + Qutbi (Logic) + Maqamaat-e-al Hariri (Arabic poetry)
Fifth	Al-Aaliah	Mukhtasarul Maani(Arabic language learning) + Hidayah al Salah (Fiqh) + Hisami (Fiqh) + Mukhtaratul Adab (Arabic literature)+Saba Mualaaqat(Arabic literature)+Aasaar-us-Sunan(Hadith)
Sixth	-do-	Deewa-e-Hamassah (Arabic poetry) +J alalain part-1 (Meaning and commentary of Quran) + Hidayah al Nikah (Fiqh) + Fauzul Kabeer (Meaning and commentary of Quran) + Moheet al dayerah (Arabic poetry) + Masnad Imam Aazam (Hadith) + Siraji (Inheritance) + Haitul Wasta, Fehmul Falkiyat (Astronomy)+ Tawzeeh-o-Talweeh (Fiqh) + Sharh Aqayed (Beliefs)
Seventh	Al-alamiah	Beezavi(Meaning and commentary of Quran)+Jalalain part-2 (Meaning and commentary of Quran)+ Mishkath (Hadith) + Hidayah Buyoo-o-Shuffah (Fiqh) + Nahbatul Fikr(Principles of Hadith)+
Eighth	-do-	Dauratul Hadees (All six authentic books of Hadith) + Al Tahavi(hadith and hanafite Fiqh)

²³ Tanazur, IPS, opcit, pp. 266-267).

²⁴ Monthly *Zindagi Nau* Delhi (India) December 2008

²⁵ Tanazur, opcit

²⁶ Extracted from the chapter titled "Islami Talim" ['Islamic Education'] in Maulana Wahiduddin Khan's Urdu book '*Din-o-Shariat: Din-e Islam Ka Ek Fikri Mutala'* (Religion and Divine Law: An Intellectual Study of Islam)' [Al-Risala, New Delhi, 2002], pp 74-160. Translated into English by Yoginder Sikand

²⁷ Email sent to jacnwf@yahoogroups.com on behalf of yogi sikand (ysikand@yahoo.com) Thursday, March 05, 2009 7:07:08 PM

²⁸ ibid

²⁹ Maulana Waris Mazhar, "Scholarly Research in the Madrasas: A Brief Overview" (Translated by Yoginder Sikand)