

## **Role of Madaris in Domestic Security of Pakistan**

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### **ABSTRACT:**

*Madaris in Pakistan are being alleged for promoting extremism, militancy and violence. The literary discourse reveals that they are generally considered for their alleged role at international level and are not investigated with Pakistan perspective; require to be analysed for the said purpose. Different domestic and international studies exposed Madaris little involvement in promoting extremism and militancy. The present studies scrutinized Madaris role from different angles through unpublished data by Home Department and crime chart by Punjab Police and found their involvement proscribed for the said framed charges. The study also describes the reasons that are causing extremism, violence and militancy with Pakistan domestic perspective.*

**Keywords:** Militancy, Pakistani Madrasa, Extremism, Violence.

### **INTRODUCTION:**

Today the world is more conscious about security. It requires checking terrorism and militancy

immediately. Media alleged Madaris as “incubator of extremism and hate against the West”. On 9/11 the same were resounded and left common person in a fix around the world. The American and European was flabbergasted how such institutions were developed overnight and why they were poisoning youth mind against them. The entire Muslim world were stunned why Madaris were alleged; whom they believed citadels of Islam with excellent historical background whereas the Pakistanis were astonished why Pakistani Madaris were blamed as they support them dedicatedly and devotedly because they are strongholds of Islam and playing ideal roles for moral character of “the Ummah”. All were right at their place because all had not had complete information regarding the Madaris and their framed accounts. Mostly the media reports about the Madaris were ahistorical and decontextualized; whereas some contextualized them as recruiting centres of the Afghan Mujahidin who fought against the USSR in the eighties; left the Western incapable to apprehend the Madaris and their real characteristics. The entire Muslim world was not cognizant about the framed version of Madaris. The Pakistanis were not acquainted how the Pakistani’s Madaris allegedly got transformed from place of high learning to the sanctuaries of hate and ultimate militancy which initiated heated debate that polarized opinions.

#### **ACADEMIC DISCOURSE:**

Some academia follow media and play same music with same vibe while the other conduct meaningful studies and declared Madaris innocent at international level. Those who linked Madaris with militancy, tried to establish their role with absence of context and the lack of historical background<sup>1</sup>. Mostly Madaris in world and particularly in Pakistan are focus of the debate.

Along with media, the intelligentsia moved to probe the issue. Heated and energetic debate polarized them; some (Stern 2000, 2001, 2003; Sumita Kumar 2001; Singer 2001; Esposito 2002; ICG 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007; Haqqani 2002; Alexiev 2003; Suba Chandran 2003; Doumato

2003; Loony 2003; Coulson 2004; Husain 2005; Ali 2005; Fandy 2007; Noor 2007; Bano 2007, 2010; Fair 2008; Deepa 2008; Brookings 2009; Warren 2009; KajaBorjic 2010; Bukhari 2010; Anthony 2011; Imtiaz 2011; Kazmi and Pervez 2011; Behuria 2011; Umbreen 2011; Aoun 2012) apprehend them as radicalizing and indoctrinating youth against non-Muslims world and considered as more concern with militant training as compared to imparting education. Whereas other group (Metcalf 1978; Rehman 2000, 2004; Anzar 2003; Knapp 2003; Ahmad 2004; Boyle 2004; 2005; Andrabi et al. 2005; Ali Riaz 2005, 2008; Khalid and Fayyaz 2006; Amr Abdula 2006; Bergen and Panday 2006; Nelson 2006; Starrett 2006; Hefner 2008; Khalid 2008, Cockcroft et al. 2008; Rana 2009; McClure 2009; Mumtaz 2009; Kaltenthaler 2010; Winthrop; Graff 2010; Winthrop 2010; Adelene 2011) appreciate them as social institutions that are serving their communities with their robust support and considered as indoctrinating morality and human values, discourage criminality, enhancing literacy rate and educating poor strata of society.

Some discussed Madaris with Pakistan perspective; they explore Madaris to check allegation made at global level. Tariq Rehman studied mind set of private, public and Madaris education system and found hell of differences between their ideas on the basis of their class variances and exposure to the world; and found Madaris student more intolerant. He proposed improvements in overall education system.<sup>2</sup> Exploring thoughts through interviews, Khalid Rehman found Madaris administrator eager to make Madaris role more effective with little pace due to shortage of resources but their provision may gear up the process<sup>3,4</sup> Concluding Ulema point of view, he proposed the provision of resources and emphasized re-establishing the role of Madaris so they may contribute in development of ideal society.<sup>5</sup> Discussing the entire scenario, reforms process and mistrust amid government and the Ulema, he emphasized to continue the process of dialogue.<sup>6</sup> According to Amir Rana, Madaris students and the general public are on the same vibes on many issues including violent protests, suicide attacks, democracy in Pakistan and Taliban fighting in Afghanistan. But both differ on the issue of

extremism, government's crackdown on Pakistan-based extremists and government policies regarding external political issues. Found involved in political and cultural indoctrination, he recommends their training accordingly.<sup>7</sup> Salim Mansoor Khalid appraises Madaris services as well as highlights weaknesses in their system and emphasize on the requirements of improvement. He also stressed for unified religious education board and recommend reforms in curricula and ways of instructions.<sup>8</sup> Salim H Ali found Madaris contribution in sectarian violence at domestic level. He identified Madaris involvement in sectarian violence through proxy indicators: firstly, Madrassa that visited by leading sectarian leaders who incited violence towards other sects; secondly, the students / in-charge of a madrasa participate in sectarian processions or gatherings; thirdly, the management of a madrasa lobbies for, or provides leadership to sectarian issues; fourthly, managers or students were involved in reported violent sectarian crimes.<sup>9</sup> Every scholar made struggle to define problem and propose solutions. Seldom come forward for practical efforts except Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies (PIPS)<sup>10</sup> that is making excellent efforts through continued seminars by involving religious representative and secular intelligentsia to address the issue at depth. It is sweating to de-extreme and de-radicalize religiosity by engaging Ulema, Madaris administrator, teachers and students by holding seminars at one hand and recommend actions and policies to government at the other through publications. They made efforts to find Madarisstudents point of view whether they are radicalized for some specific causes; to search how much Madaris were linked with terrorism; to know Madaris administrator point of view towards modern approaches and to emphasize on the needs of reforms.

### **WHY STUDYING MADRASSA IN PAKISTAN PERSPECTIVE?**

Generally, the said research explore Madaris administrators, teachers and students' thoughts and attitude; highlights curricula, academic and administrative weakness and criticize reforms process, Ulema handling by the government and former resistance to later efforts for reforms. The literary

analysis suggests that a thorough study is required; that may define Pakistan domestic security and Madaris role. Keeping in view the present scenario, the study properly addresses the following questions and hypothesis:

- Whether Madaris involve in militancy and terrorism at domestic or national level and threats Pakistan Domestic Security?
- If Madaris involve in radicalizing youth, then religious militancy and terrorism should be more as compared to ethnic and political one?
- If Madaris involve in militancy and radicalization; then region having more Madaris, have more violence?

Without studying problem genesis, trajectories and required context, the illustration may confuse situation. Inclusion of propaganda with biased and prejudiced intention may obscure already volatile condition and studies on the basis of fabricated information and data misguide academic discourse that provides incapability to find solution.

#### **METHODOLOGY:**

The study applies mixed techniques in accordance with the nature of the problem as epistemological understanding of the problem itself assists the conduct of research and logic of investigation. The present study develops information from primary as well as secondary sources, depending upon its reliability and validity. At the onset, the researcher perused the published work including concerned books, research articles published in reputable journals, reviews, online published materials, magazines, gazetteers, newspaper, official websites etc. very carefully and extracted required valuable information.

Further the researcher acquired government published records and unpublished reports from concerned departments and offices of LEAs according to the nature of information. The available primary information exposes new

developments and some facts as well as help to develop further knowledge. Besides these, the primary information was supplemented with interviews by intelligentsia, Ulema, Madaris administrator, teachers, government officials and officers of Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs) to inquire some critical information directly.

### **MADARIS AND MILITANCY:**

Home department, Punjab carried out an elaborate exercise in collaboration with sister intelligence agencies to identify Madaris actively involved in militancy in 2007-08. Out of 9221 Madaris, only 170 in Punjab were identified as involved in militancy / terrorist activities. Out of these 170 Madaris, the 73 were categorized into category “A” whereas 97 as category “B”. It flashes only 1.8 % involvement. These 73 Madaris were declared “A” on the basis of providing logistic support to terrorism or some Jihadi organization leaders visited them. Five Madaris were found involved in dispatching young activists for military training in Tribal areas. It exhibits only 0.054 % involvement.

C. Fair surveyed 141 Mujahidin who have offered Jihad and martyred in Azad Jamu& Kashmir (AJK); out of those said Mujahidin, just 19 were apparently attended Madaris full-time and the alike figure were joined the public school full-time. Nobody was recruited at a private school. So Madaris are not the most prominent recruitment venue; indeed less than a quarter of the militants (33 of 141) ever attended Madaris; out of those 33 Madaris graduates, 27 get education from Madaris for four or fewer years and majority got education at public schools.<sup>11</sup>

This research found Madaris involvement in militancy is just 2.5%; that is based on logistic supports to militants and involvement of students in reported militant / violent sectarian crimes; that is almost same as that of Home Department. No case is found that any Madaris student killed or fired other Madaris student whereas number of cases can be quoted that mentionable student leaders are killed by opponent students’

leaders on political basis; it reveals that Madaris students are less violent as compared to college or university students.<sup>12</sup> Likewise no case is found that one sect Madaris' students assault over other sect neighbouring Madrassa on any sectarian issue. Incidents of sectarian terrorism like attacks of Sipah-e-Sihaba (SSP) on Ahle-Tashi worship places or by Sipah-e-Muhammad (SM) on Deobandi mosques are due to sectarian organization, having mixture of different class recruits, not to Madaris.<sup>13</sup> There are many issues over possession of mosque but in such issues, public is more involved than Madrassa student.<sup>14</sup>

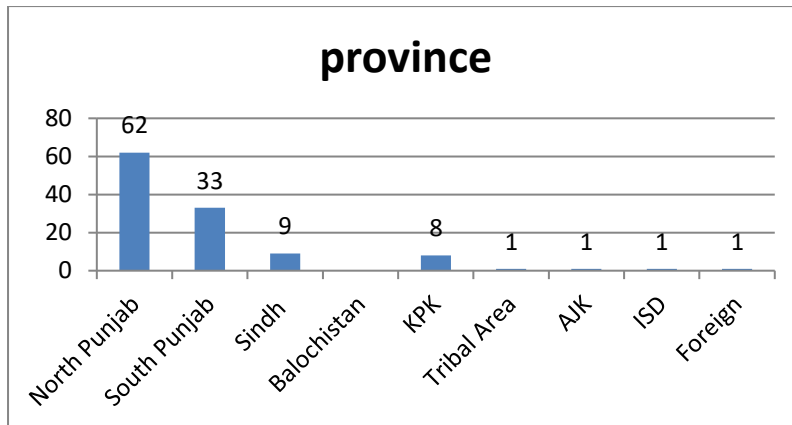
Under Home Department, Punjab, LEAs arrested and investigated 116 hard core terrorists from January 01, 2009 to April 30, 2011. Out of them, 93 were those who directly committed terrorism while other facilitated them in one way or the other. Only 28 hard core terrorists mean 24% had Madaris education while 97 got school education and 17 were illiterate and 3 were non-Muslims.

The educational detail of the analysis is shown therein:

<b>School Education</b>	<b>Strength</b>	<b>Madrassa Education</b>	<b>Strength</b>	<b>Non-Muslims</b>
<b>Illiterate</b>	17	Hifz	21	03
<b>Primary</b>	28	Dars-e-Nizami	07	
<b>Middle</b>	29			
<b>Matric/FA</b>	28			
<b>B.A/MBBS</b>	12			

Source: Home Department, Punjab.

Among them Deobandi were 79, Brelvi 16, Ahle-Hadith 18 and non-Muslims 3; revealed that all sects / non-Muslims shared militancy more or less meant it is political issue; not religious one linked to Madrassa as propagated. It further demonstrated that 64 were married out of 116 terrorists; disclosed that the underage are not carrying on but matured persons are equally involved in all terrorists' activities. The territorial detail is as under:<sup>15</sup>



Source: Home department, Punjab

The Police and LEAs officials disclosed different reasons for the population support to religious militancy in Southern Punjab especially the D.G. Khan division; firstly they revealed that the said division geographically adjoin with the Waziristan Agency and Khyber Pashtun Khawah (KPK) and definitely get influenced by them; secondly the area is backward, generally public hold strong religious beliefs and prefer religious education over schooling; thirdly during Zia era, effective campaign for Jihad in Afghanistan against Russia was launched and huge gathering of militants were sent under LEAs supervision. Some were returned as Gazi; they justified the Taliban government later on and they considered American attack as crusade against Islamic government of Taliban and support them with all means. The campaign initiated during Zia era is not redressed properly in these areas as required.<sup>16</sup> It meant the present scenario of supporting terrorism in the Southern Punjab is the output of the campaign launched by LEAs during Zia era. According to study conducted regarding Dini Madaris student by Sajjad Hayat Akhtar and his team in Mardan, Nowshera and Peshawar in KPK, 100% did not get any Jihadi training. 100% were never be or remain a member of any Jihadi group. 100% students stated that they have not been participated in practical Jihad.<sup>17</sup> More than 79% respondents refused to admit Madaris as source of extremism. The 8% plaintiffs confirm that certain Madaris assume role to proliferate extremism and radicalization but also expose that



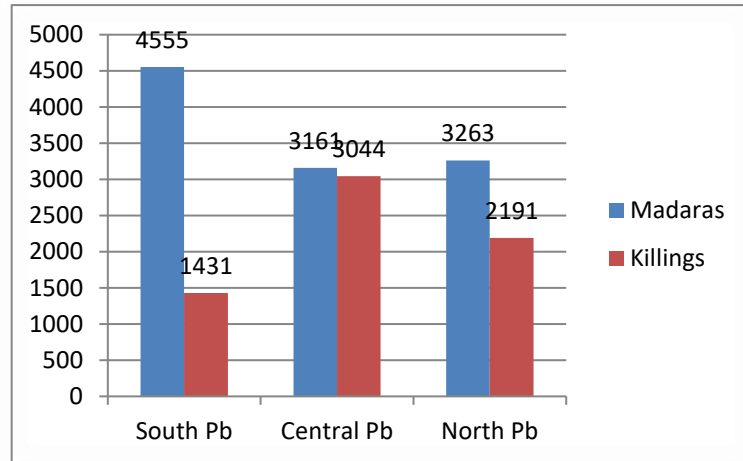
such institutions were appreciated by the government of Pakistan and was even provided donations and appreciation by the West.<sup>18</sup>

### **RELIGIOUS VS. ETHNIC AND POLITICAL MILITANCY:**

According to Interior Ministry, in 2012, total 948 incidents of terrorism were reported in which 2793 persons were killed. Out of 948 incidents, only 115 were declared as sectarian while 833 were of non-sectarian in nature. Only 12% sectarian incidents were happened. Likewise, out of 2793 killings, only 350 were affirmed as sectarian while 2443 were non-sectarian that meant only 13% sectarian killings. The sectarian killings include Shia 265, Deobandi 82, Brelvi 2 and Ahle-Hadith 1. It demonstrates that political terrorism is 7 times more than sectarian one.<sup>19</sup> The analysis disclosed that religious / sectarian terrorism is not in the society as it is propagated; that meant militancy may have very little concern with Madaris or religion.

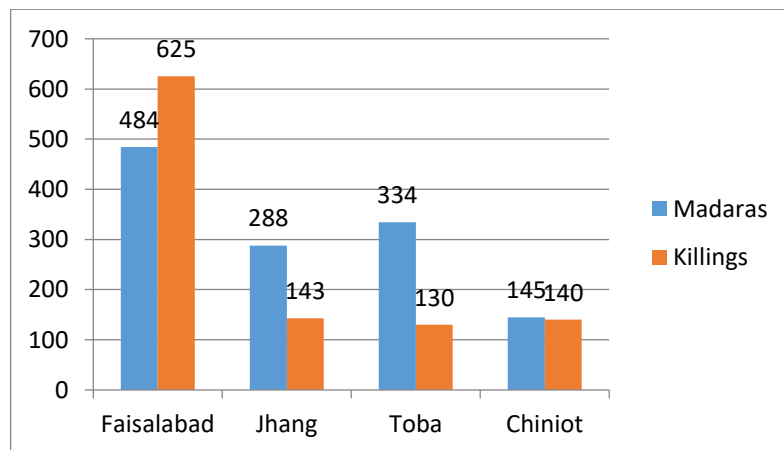
### **COMPARISON OF MADARIS AND VIOLENCE AT DIVERSE REGIONS:**

A study is conducted in which violence and Madaris of different regions are compared, shows that in such region where Madaris are more as compared to other; violence is less. For example, in south Punjab, that have 4555 Madaris; in 2011, 1431 persons were killed during different incidents whereas in central Punjab that have 3161 Madaris, 3044 persons were murdered in same period. The graphical presentation of region in Punjab regarding Madaris and killings are:



Source: Interior ministry, Islamabad & Home Department, Punjab.

Likewise, at division level, there are more killing in Faisalabad as compared to other in central Punjab. There are 1251 Madrassa. On the basis of population, Toba is small district as compared to Faisalabad. The ratio of Madaris is more in Toba than that of Faisalabad whereas killings are less in Toba as compared to Faisalabad. The Jhang that is considered the hub of sectarianism have fewer killings as compared to Faisalabad. The detailed comparison is given:

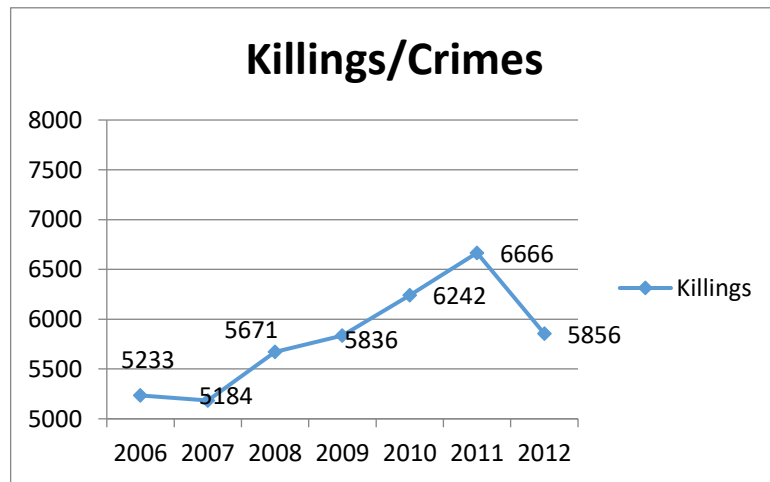


Source: Interior ministry, Islamabad & Home Department, Punjab.

The analysis reveals that Madaris are peaceful institutions and are delivering peace to society. The social awareness about rights encourages public to struggle for them; it develops public attitude to be intolerable to violence. From clergies to sinful, rich to poor, industrialists to labours, teachers to students, shop-keepers to civil servants and politicians to voters; every corner of life is sacked with intolerance, abusive languages and violent attitude. In public gathering, whether it is political, social or matrimonial, often scenes of violence are flashed. A man slap Traffic Warden on checking traffic violation; a person beat doctor on mishandling of his patient and in response young doctors takes him with iron hand; public beat and even fire a dacoit, caught red-handed etc. are the daily news at newspaper. It feels as the fabric of society is undergoing to break. In term of individual ideology, majority demonstrate Talbanic (Extremist) attitude. No one bear to be criticized. "Critic" on clergy role, was declared as "Kafir or Fasiq"; on armed forces, was treated as "traitor"; on PML(N) or Zardari was called "Zardari or PML(N) Agent"; on Imran khan, was triggered back with abusive language respectively. All federal and provincial government including MQM, LEAs and Courts like Talban desire and adopt strategy to gauge media. Thoughts and mottos are same but methods and ways of expression are different. Everyone is Talib in his attitude, sometime for personal or sometimes for alliance gains.<sup>20</sup>

According to Opotow, violence happens when basic needs remain unfulfilled and divided unequally and unjustly; some are showered extra-ordinary and some remain deprived. Violence happens at whole level from individual to society, from family to nation and from region to world.<sup>21</sup> Philosophers vary over violent behaviour whether they are due to genetic effect or created by atmosphere. Socio-biologists debate that violent behaviour is a primarily linked with biological setup, and is provoked or suppressed by numerous situations. Deviance theory observed violence linked with several physiological reasons. They further added that violent behaviour causes physiological variances. However, majority violence are happened by physiologically as well as mentally normal individuals.<sup>22</sup>

Violence at National level reveals such a worse condition that social norms and values of Islam have faded away. According to Interior Ministry, 7151 incidents of violence including terrorism have been occurred during January to October, 2012; which includes 2755 in Sindh, 2407 in KPK, 1445 in Baluchistan and 544 in Punjab respectively.<sup>23</sup> Comparatively situation is more dangerous in Sindh. Only in Karachi from January to September, 2012, 1732 persons were murdered including 88 police official. Within 15 days of October, 2012, 137 were killed. Whereas 841 in 2007, 1142 in 2008, 1083 in 2009, 1485 in 2010 and 1789 in 2011 were put to death respectively.<sup>24</sup> The Position in Punjab is comparatively better than other provinces. Violence cases (only murder) in Punjab demonstrates intolerable and violent attitude generally as compared to any civilized society, as depicted by crime chart from Police Head Quarter of Punjab. The tabular demonstration reveals that violence is going to increase day by day:



Source: Data acquired from Police Headquarters, Lahore.

### REASONS FOR MILITANCY:

To define reasons of militancy, the intelligentsia is burning midnight oil and illustrate different aspects regarding issue. The Madaris that is being propagated after 9/11 as “both ideologically activist and militant”, had been established and

developed excellent traditions in South Asia, engage deliberately in delivering religious education, enhancing literacy rate, reinforcing Islamic values, reserving Islamic culture and most significantly imparting training to the eventual candidates of civil society. Observing devotion by society, it is used for recruitment of Mujahidin to counter Soviet invasion in Afghanistan under American umbrella. The private Jihad in Afghanistan through Pakistan was commenced with American Dollar. The United States indirectly and sometimes directly contributed for producing radicalization and militancy by propagating Jihad among the clergy.<sup>25</sup> For example, specific textbooks in Dari and Pashto languages were inscribed with the inspiration for Jihad against Soviet evil at the University of Nebraska–Omaha, funded by USAID in the 1980s.<sup>26</sup> Arms, ammunitions and Dollar were provided to Afghans through Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence as various publications have indicated.<sup>27</sup> During that time that was being done and appreciated with the aim of defeating the Soviet Union.<sup>28</sup> Later on, that radicalization slowly grew anti-American due to some reasons. Firstly, the Gulf War (1990-1991) that caused the entrance of “infidel” forces in the holy areas of Mecca and Medina that severely injured the emotions of the “Jihadist”; especially when they pondered that they had overwhelmed the “infidel” that is Soviet Union. Secondly, when the US retaliated over the terrorists' attack on two US Embassies in the East Africa and bombed Afghanistan during August 1998; irritated Jihadists that caused sympathetic and violent support for the Taliban and Bin Laden against the USA. Thirdly, the US initiated military campaign in Afghanistan in retaliation of 9/11 during October-December 2001.<sup>29</sup> Further, LEAs found its interest and carried on policies as all states protect their interests as India in AJK by bribing their political agents and America in Afghanistan against Russia and Iran by supporting non-state actors.<sup>30</sup> According to Andrabi, the data from 1988 population census reveals that the Madaris movement is associated with confrontation to the Soviet incursion of Afghanistan. The increase in students initiated with the cohort in 1979 and the largest increase matched with the rise of the Taliban. Mostly the phenomenon is observed in the Pashtu belt bordering Afghanistan.<sup>31</sup> The Islamic militancy in Federally

Administrative Tribal Area (FATA) and conflict that consumes the area and disturbs the whole territory is developed under regional and international players during the anti-Soviet Jihad, the Afghan civil war and Taliban rule that cultivated and nourished militants in the territory.<sup>32</sup> Concluding discussion over US and ISI nexus, US policy makers are credited as the midwife for the transformation of these institutions and the distinct honour to ISI for being the protector of these transformed institutions.<sup>33</sup> Stern also emphasized to realize the side effects of victory over the Soviets. “Those armies (Jihadists) left behind, are haunting us today. If humanitarian concerns weren’t enough to persuade us to finish the job we started in Afghanistan, national-security concerns should have been. This is a harsh lesson as we contemplate fighting new wars around the globe.”<sup>34</sup> Discussing cultural and political Islam, Mamdani pronounced the term “political Islam” in the background of the Cold War; equated extremist tendencies with political terrorism; thought terrorism as product of political encounter; emphasized on the requirements to understand the term “terrorism” as a modern political movement serving modern power and traced its origin (responsible for the tragedy of 9/11) to the late Cold War. He also denounced collateral damage as an unfortunate by-product of the war and pronounced it as the very point of terrorism.<sup>35</sup>

The United States love for terrorism may be traced or studied as “learning curve” that was consisted on three consecutive segments of the late Cold War from Southern Africa to Central America and Central Asia. Each phase can be identified with a distinct lesson. During the opening phase, the patron of terror was reluctant, more benevolent and permissive in tolerating the practices of violence in South Africa while during second phase the United States moved to bear violence with blatant and barefaced attitude when it had to face and counter rebellions in Central America, including supervision of illicit trade of cocaine to collect finance to run covert operations. However during the last phase of the Cold War, the United States considered and utilized violence as an international public good. It did this in two ways: by privatizing and by internationalizing the main operations in the war

whereas both tendencies were already present in US support, each truly blossomed only with the anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan. The said cold war was so romanticized by the US that it was ordinarily observed as Afghan liberating movement but followed extraordinary to defeat as evil with religious enthusiasm and eagerness as a Jihad.<sup>36</sup> Traditionally Jihad with sword or just war is considered as lesser Jihad and against self is greater one. The earlier one may be offered against occupiers, non-believers or oppressive believers. History reveals such four episodes when sword or armed Jihad was launched against the said groups, firstly, by Salah-ul-Din against the crusaders that were occupying non-believers, secondly, by the Sufi against dominating nobilities that were oppressive believers, thirdly, by the Wahhabi against Ottoman colonists that were occupying believers in the Arabian peninsula and fourth by the Mahdi' struggle against Turko-Egyptian and British colonists that were association of occupiers, believers and non-believers. After that the Muslim world did not launch any sword or armed Jihad since during century. The present armed Jihad that is initiated and sponsored by the CIA has political objectives rather the religious one. So the tradition of jihad is contentious.<sup>37</sup>

Discussing financing for Laos war, he exposed CIA covert opium trade, produced from its own twenty-one opium refineries. He expressed about McCoy intelligence reports as "These intelligence reports indicated a clear pattern: the CIA's covert action assets had become the leading heroin dealers in Laos." Prior to the cold war in Afghanistan, heroine is processed neither in Afghanistan or Pakistan not at their borderland. Only opium was produced that were utilized and consumed at local level and not exported to international market. Till end of cold war with Soviet defeat, the entire situation were changed and Pak-Afghan border area were flashed as the major producer of both opium and heroin; that processed and supplied 75% the said drug to the world market and that were worth multi-billion dollar revenue to finance covert operation. According to UN Drug Control Program report published in 2001, "It is no coincidence that Afghanistan began to emerge as a significant producer of illicit opium in

precisely the period of protracted war that began in 1979, and still persists.”<sup>38</sup>

Interviewing scholars and ex-Madaris graduates, the researcher found the majority believed that Zia-ul-Haq’s Islamization brought intolerant culture in Pakistan.<sup>39</sup> Starrett looked over Muslim hatred towards American due to US annexation of Iraq and open sustenance for Ariel Sharon’s unilateralism, the lengthy episode of awkward dealings with Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan and other countries in the Middle East and Asia and auxiliary battle with KSA in religious institutions of Yemen, Egypt, Pakistan and Morocco under reform program for some narrow benefits.<sup>40</sup>

The Jihad propagated under American command gave awareness to young Muslims to snatch their rights after departure of Russian. They gather under different interested groups who joined Taliban flag to conquer Afghanistan from secular forces and to implement the model of “Khilafat-e-Rashida”. Following Taliban success, different groups raise to attain their rights in different regions like Kashmir, Palestine and some others countries where the Muslims were suffering. To coordinate Jihadist activities, a supervisory Jihadi platform that is pronounced the Muthida Jihad Council (MJC) was created which comprised on thirteen major Jihadi groups, which were increased to fifteen till 1999. The radicalization by the Deobandi along Pak-Afghan border adjacent area enforced the JUI (F)(S) and their leaders Maulana Fazal ur Rehman and Sami-ul-Haq immeasurably in FATA. Benefitting situation, they openly claim that the entire problem of radicalization and militancy could definitely be solved if they are approached for their services.<sup>41</sup>

To find facts regarding Madaris involvement in militancy, a workshop was held at the University of the Punjab. The participants concluded that Taliban were those students whose seek refuge during eighties and later on, some of them joined liberation or Taliban movement to liberate their homeland caused suspicion about Pakistani Madaris. Secondly, they alleged previous military government deliberately promote



the already cultivated radicalization and militancy to acquire political support from the West to lengthen their aristocratic rule. Thirdly, Pakistan as single Muslim nuclear state was not swallowed and foresees some unseen risk from Madaris military linkage as part of the big game to destabilize Pakistan.<sup>42</sup> Responding reasons for allegation upon Madaris, the respondents described; firstly, few renowned Taliban leaders who are graduated from Pakistani Madaris, secondly several migrated Afghan families during 1980's fascinated Taliban Movement caused reservations about Madaris education and character and made them contentious. All participants concluded that religious education condemns all shapes of impatience, injustice, violence, extremism and terrorism. They emphasized that Madaris are not essentially the training centre of radicalization and militancy rather they are religious institutions that teach "what God has said and the Prophet has interpreted". Further they requested the intelligentsia who alleged Madaris as militancy breeding homes to visit Madaris and watch what they are delivering and to avoid constructing forge data at their offices. They announced that they would welcome their surprise-visits.<sup>43</sup> Besides, the study exposed that Madaris curriculum that is consisted on religious sciences is same across Pakistan. It is the same that was before eighties when Madaris were not alleged for said radicalization and militancy.<sup>44</sup> According to Molana Sajid Mir, president Wafaq-ul-Madaris Salfia, Madaris are patriot, have no link with terrorism and are playing important role for welfare of society; some external forces are involved in nefarious activities.<sup>45</sup> According to Qari Hanif Jalandhri, the afghans who migrated to Pakistan during early eighties due to USSR invasions, their kids were got admitted in Madaris in tribal area along Pak-Afghan border; where text books on Jihad were provided to teach them. After ten years or so, when they found oppression in their homeland; they got united for peace which they exposed by establishing Taliban government. When USA attacked Afghanistan, put to end Taliban government and occupied their homeland. They observed same situation as that against USSR and stood for Jihad against USA. Afghanistan is their homeland and they had been independent. They must restore their homeland by hook or by crook.<sup>46</sup>

According to Rehman Malik, former interior minister Pakistan, solid evidences are available over Indian linkage and support to the terrorists who are assaulting NATO and Pakistani troops instantaneously.<sup>47</sup> He added that Indian Intelligence RAW is providing finances to Taliban for assaulting US and NATO troops in Afghanistan so that it may disturb joint venture to defeat militancy and may shake mutual trust and coordination among Pakistani and US Forces.<sup>48</sup>

During high level presentation of Home Department, Punjab, senior officials of LEAs disclosed about sectarian militancy that they have interrogated more than 1800 hard core terrorists within 15 years; all are inspired and motivated by fire brand speakers who made Jihadi and hate speeches and dissuaded them to support and join militant / banned organization; meant they are not brain-washed at Madrassa but by speaker of militant organization. Aamir Rana discussed the militant organization and their grooming; whose are promoting Jihadi ideology in Pakistan. These organization are responsible for the entire militant scenario.<sup>49</sup> The primary interrogation of recently arrested terrorists during Hangu operation and the intelligence reports ensure that RAW is assisting militants in tribal areas and stimulating anti-Pakistan emotions.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, clergies who cultivate sectarianism, prepare ground for sectarian violence that lead to sectarian militancy. Keeping in view the facts or basis of conflicts, the Punjab government gauged 439 Ulema while 929 Ulema movements to other districts are restricted during Moharrum-ul-Haram 2012.<sup>51</sup>

Faris A. Noor see Madaris as remained fundamentally anti-Western and anti-secular in toto; and determined to keep Muslims separated from the rest of world. As the logic of the 'War on Terror' followed its inevitable course, Americans and Western seem trying to win the 'hearts and minds' of Muslim leaders and governments.<sup>52</sup> Further he observed, "much of what has been said and written about Pakistan's madrasas has come from media personalities or so-called 'anti-terror experts'. Yet few of these media practitioners, technocrats or 'Securocrats' have actually conducted any sustained research or fieldwork in the affected region. Practically none of the security personnel

or security experts in Southeast Asia has offered any direct evidence, gained from close-proximity fieldwork or direct interviews with the madrasa community itself, to back up any of their claims.”<sup>53</sup>

Besides all above, Madaris are educating Muslims in the whole Muslim world; only Pakistan Madaris are being alleged as incubator for extremism and militancy; the reason is well-known to the world.<sup>54</sup> Socialization helps to understand and design traditions and culture. Quoting US reporter who interviewed well-known bank robber, Willie Sutton in 1940s and asked why he robbed only bank. His answer was understandable: “Because that’s where the money is.” Starrett argued that militant organizations require youth recruitment so they definitely recruit them from the places, “Schools and mosques are where the young men are.”<sup>55</sup>

Promotion of arms on the name of security is dangerous. News are flashed on media that in KPK arms training is being delivered to female teacher and Doctors Association in Karachi also seek permission to keep weapon for security reasons. Now government should provide weapon to combat weapon. Such efforts lead community to civil war which already adopts violent tendencies.<sup>56</sup> Generally observed market is jam-packed with Kids’ toys that are consists on copies of weapons, having all forms and functions; promote violent attitude in their personality.

A research found the Washington Post published 231 articles since September 1999 in which “the term ‘Madrassa’ or ‘religious school’ has been connoted with the terms ‘violence’ and / or ‘extremism / fundamentalism’ verifying the hypotheses that the Washington Post articles framed the Madaris as the genesis of violence and hatred towards the west.”<sup>57</sup> Concluding analysis of nine media reports from September 12, 2001 to March 31, 2005, Ali Riaz articulated that their tone, tenor and orientations revealed two thematic similarities with negative framing in stereotype fashion i.e. “portrayal of an enemy-in-the-making and constructing an image of repression ---- to fight the “infidel” America.” Many others observed the same

(portraying of the Madaris) with remarkable negativity during 1<sup>st</sup> week after 9/11 at five US-based television networks.<sup>58</sup> Moreover in Pakistan, Media highlights news about violence, extremism and militancy, instigate immature minds for the said activities.

### **CONCLUSION:**

Madaris are just blamed and propagated as incubators for extremism, violence and militancy at domestic level otherwise they are the best NGOs that are serving communities sincerely. In spite of all, presently Pakistan is paying the cost and bearing unbearable loss for domestic security. So serious and concrete efforts are required to control militancy and mitigate the ideology that had been instigated during Zia era with American Dollar and Saudi Riyal and now going to be promoted automatically. Further the militant organization should be checked by turning their function as welfare organization and mitigate their extremists, violent and militant's activities through effective strategies. Likewise, media negative propagation and all negative temptation for all level and ages of society should be controlled. It may help to improve domestic security scenario and remove fearful atmosphere consecutively.

## Notes

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