

Curriculum of Hate



*Pakistan Focused.
Independent Questions.
Independent Answers.*

 **HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG**
Die grüne politische Stiftung

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Executive Summary

The religion of Islam has been—and continues to be—used, perhaps abused, by the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in endeavoring to achieve strategic objectives. A primary and secondary school curriculum has been deliberately designed to facilitate the usurpation of genuine educational space by forces of hate, violence and that of extremism. A primary and secondary school environment consciously manufactured to nurture terror, promote prejudice and breed extremism. Irrational fear, perceived external threats, India-centric paranoia and vested economic interests—all teaming up to produce a government prescribed curriculum that preaches hatred and teaches next to nothing.

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Liaquat Ali Khan, Fatima Jinnah, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, A.K. Fazlul Haq and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, leaders who led the struggle of carving out a homeland for the Muslims of British India, all aspired for a state welfare in her orientation and secular in her ideology. The First Educational Conference of 1947 had embraced the founding fathers' dual aspirations of orientation as well as that of ideology.

Within 400 days of Independence, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, along with his welfare state were buried a hundred feet under Pakistan's infantile compost. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (President – 1978 to 1988) hammered the final nail deep into Jinnah's coffin of secular ideology by commanding the National Education Conference of 1979 to adopt "*Good Pakistani, good Muslim*" as the curriculum's twin ideological pillars.

Nawaz Sharif's National Education Policy of 1992 added no real value and continued to tow Zia's pillars of religion and patriotism (Prime Minister – 1990 to 1993 & 1997 to 1999). General Pervez Musharraf's Education Sector Reforms (ESR) Action Plan 2001-2005 and 2002-2006 aim at increasing funding to higher education from 0.39 percent of GNP to 2 percent of GNP by 2010 but have done little—if anything at all—to mutate the primary and secondary school curriculum encroached by overt messages of hatred, that of bigotry, bias, militancy, animosity, sectarianism, dogmatism and extremism (Military Ruler and President – 1999 to present).

No wonder, members of Pakistan's child labor pool—school-age children who work in factories—in survey after survey perform better in mental arithmetic than children educated for five years on government-prescribed primary school curricula.¹ The U.N. Development Programme's Human Development Reports routinely assign Pakistan the lowest "education index" of any country outside Africa.² According to Congressional Reporting Service, Pakistan's primary education system ranks among the world's least effective.³

'Curriculum of Hate' is an attempt to expose a National Curriculum bursting with indoctrination and a National Education Policy that does not teach but preach. This is surely not the first attempt of its kind. In 1986, the Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE) made a similar attempt—and failed. In 1994, Dr Rubina Saigol in her book 'Locating the Self', demonstrated how textbooks in Pakistan "incite hatred, bigotry and alienation". In 2003, the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) brought out the 'Subtle Subversion' revealing how Pakistani children have been "educated into ways of thinking that makes them susceptible to a violent and exclusionary worldview."

As a matter of record, no exposé has so far had any impact on Pakistani decision makers. Our primary and secondary school curricula continues to sermonize messages of hate, prejudice, intolerance and that of bigotry. Our National Curriculum continues to breed extremism, cherish prejudice and bolster sectarianism.

CRSS is under no illusion that another censure will do much where others have failed—and failed miserably. CRSS, however, feels obligated to do whatever it can to apprise everyone—and all—that a three-decade long state-designed enterprise has failed. Our primary and secondary schools have produced three generations of Pakistanis brimming with militancy, animosity and fanaticism. Our enemy lies within, not without.

Introduction

The non-Urdu speaking Western world remains fixated on the 1.5 million Pakistani children enrolled in 14,123 Pakistani madrasahs.⁴ When American ground forces landed in Afghanistan they encountered gun-toting Pakistani madrasah students ready and charged up to take on foreign forces. Since 9/11, hundreds of studies have been commissioned to investigate linkages between extremism and madrasah curriculum.

In 2002, the Government of Pakistan launched a \$100 million Madrasah Reform Project to modernize madrasah curriculum. The Project was aimed at introducing science, world history and foreign languages into the regular madrasah curriculum. Funds were to be distributed to some 8,000 madrasahs in return for expanding their curricula. By 2006, the Madrasah Reform Project had completely collapsed.

While there are 1.5 million Pakistani children currently enrolled in 14,123 madrasahs, there are nearly 20 million Pakistani children enrolled in 160,798 primary, middle and secondary government-run schools.⁵ Over the past 29 years, the government-run public school system has been producing a thoroughly indoctrinated civil society that wholeheartedly supports the ideals of the madrasah population—violence, prejudice and extremism.

Chapter 1 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan guarantees citizens their 'Fundamental Rights'. These rights include freedom of speech, religion, property rights, equality, protection against discrimination, security of person, safeguards as to arrest and detention, forbidding slavery, prohibiting forced labor, protection against retrospective punishment, protection against double punishment and self-incrimination, freedom of movement, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of trade, business or profession, preservation of language, script and culture.⁶ Intriguingly, education is not a fundamental right.

As per the Constitution, primary, middle and secondary education fall into the 'Concurrent List' making education a joint responsibility of the federal as well as the provincial governments.⁷ Legally, curricula, policy, syllabus, Islamic education and planning are all federal as well as provincial subjects. In practice, the Federal Government has monopolized curricula, planning and policy, leaving implementation to the four provincial governments.

The Federal Ministry of Education has a Curriculum Wing. The Curriculum Wing prepares the 'National Curriculum Document' plus 'Guidelines' for all the four provincial textbook boards. All the four provincial textbook boards have a standing list of 'Authors' who write textbooks under the guidelines of the National Curriculum Document. The four textbook boards then produce and distribute textbooks.

The World Education Forum believes that "the purpose of education is to create a sizeable population of such educated men and women who could understand the world well enough and are able to bring about a change leading to adequate health and education services, a better environment, and elimination of ignorance....." The Curriculum Wing of our Ministry of Education, however, seems bent upon creating a sizeable civil society indoctrinated in exclusionary communitarianism; a civil society that can maintain and sustain products of terror produced by a network of *jihadi* madrasahs.

Our enemy lies within, not without.

In the second half of 2007, at least 544 Pakistani lives have been lost to fanatism. Here is a chronology of the worst attacks since July 4 (Courtesy: Reuters):

Table 1: Terror Attacks from 4 July 2007 to 10 January 2008

July 4 – NWFP; Suicide bomber, 6 soldiers and 4 civilians killed.
July 4 – Peshawar; Ambush, 4 police officers killed.
July 6 – Swat; Suicide bomber, 4 soldiers killed.
July 8 – Charsadda; Ambush, 3 Chinese workers killed.
July 10 – Kohat; Bomb attack, 1 police officer killed.
July 12 – FATA; Suicide bomber, 2 civilians killed.
July 13 – Miranshah; Ambush, 3 civilians killed.
July 14 – North Waziristan; Suicide car-bomber, 24 paramilitary soldiers killed.
July 15 – Swat; Ambush, 16 paramilitary soldiers killed.
July 15 – Dera Ismail Khan; Suicide bomber, 29 killed.
July 17 – Islamabad; Suicide bomber, 16 people killed.
July 19 – Three suicide attacks in a single day in three cities, 52 killed.
July 27 – Islamabad; Suicide bomber, 13 killed.
July 30 – FATA; Roadside bomb; 3 soldiers killed.
August 2 – Sargodha; attempted suicide bomb attack, 1 police officer killed.
August 3 – Parachinar; Suicide car bomber, 12 civilians killed.
August 6 – Peshawar; Remote controlled bomb, PAF Airbase.
August 16 – North Waziristan; Ambush, 10 soldiers killed.
August 18 - North Waziristan; 2 soldiers killed.
August 18 - North Waziristan; Suicide car bomber, 5 soldiers killed.
August 19 – Thal; Suicide car bomber, 3 soldiers killed.
August 24 – Miran Shah; Suicide car bomber, 5 soldiers killed.
August 24 – North Waziristan; Roadside bomb, 1 soldier killed.
September 4 – Rawalpindi; Suicide bomber, 25 killed.
September 11 – Dera Ismail Khan; Suicide bomber, 16 killed.
September 13 – Islamabad; Suicide bomber, 15 soldiers killed.
October 19 – Karachi; Suicide bombers, 139 killed.
October 25 – Swat; Suicide bomber, 17 soldiers, 6 other killed.
November 24 – Rawalpindi; Twin suicide bombers, 15 killed.
December 6 – Swat; 15 soldiers killed.
December 12 – North Waziristan; 6 soldiers killed.
December 17 – Kohat; Suicide bomber, 10 military recruits killed;
December 21 – NWFP; Suicide bomber, 41 people killed during Eid prayers.
December 27 – Rawalpindi; Benazir Bhutto plus 20 killed.
January 10 – Lahore; Suicide bomber, 20 police killed.

In 2007, Pakistan suffered a total of 3,599 terrorism-related fatalities. Here's the month-wise detail:

Table 2: Terrorism-related Fatalities - 2007

Terrorism-related Fatalities in Pakistan, 2007				
	Civilians	Security Force Personnel	Terrorists/Insurgents	Total
January	26	16	29	71

February	35	4	8	47
March	28	21	261	310
April	176	18	83	277
May	57	10	14	81
June	31	12	40	83
July	144	143	191	478
August	56	63	117	236
September	101	67	144	312
October	282	101	154	537
November	293	94	341	728
December	293	48	97	438
Total	1523	597	1479	3599

In 2007, there were a total of 341 incidents of sectarian violence killing 441 Pakistanis and injuring an additional 630. Here's the month-wise detail:

Table 3: Incidents of Sectarian Violence – 2007 & 2008

Sectarian Violence in Pakistan, 2007

Month	Incidents	Killed	Injured
January	3	5	21
February	0	0	0
March	9	8	1
April	72	121	119
May	2	3	1
June	0	0	0
July	0	0	0
August	2	2	0
September	0	0	0
October	0	0	0
November	118	181	314
December	135	121	174
Total	341	441	630

Source: Institute for Conflict Management database

Year 2008

	Civilians	Security Force Personnel	Terrorists/Insurgents	Total
January	88	111	455	654
February	182	33	30	245
March	137	26	41	204
April	80	25	16	121
May	61	30	37	128
June*	6	2	3	11
Total	554	227	582	1363

Data till June 2, 2008

Source: Figures are compiled from news reports and are provisional.

How many more Pakistanis must die before we get the message; message to transform our ***'Curriculum of Hate'***? In just six months, three-dozen Muslim suicide bombers have killed 45-dozen Muslim brothers and sisters. And, Pakistanis are wondering why. Everyone has questions but no one has answers. Our ***'Curriculum of Hate'*** is part of the answer.

Historical Perspective

In 1947, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's founder, soon after Independence, convened an all Pakistan Education Conference. The Conference was held in Karachi from November 27 to December 1. Addressing the Conference, Quaid-i-Azam said:

*"You know that the importance of education and the right type of education cannot be over-emphasized. Under foreign rule for over a century, in the very nature of things, I regret, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people, and if we are to make any real, speedy and substantial progress, we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our educational policy and program on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture, and having regard to the modern conditions, and vast developments that have taken place all over the world. There is no doubt that the future of our State will, and must, greatly depend upon the type of education and the way in which we bring up our children as the future servants of Pakistan. Education does not merely mean academic education and even that appears to be a very poor type. What we have to do is to mobilize our people and build up the character of our future generations. There is immediate and urgent need for training our people in the scientific and technical education in order to build up our future economic life, and we should see that our people undertake scientific commerce, trade and particularly, well-planned industries. But do not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction. Also I must emphasize that greater attention should be paid to technical and vocational education."*⁸

Unfortunately, Mohammad Ali Jinnah had less than 300 days to institutionalize the "right type of education" which would have "regard to the modern conditions." Quaid-i-Azam passed away on 11 September 1948.

On 5 January 1959, General Mohammad Ayub Khan, 2nd President of Pakistan, inaugurated the Commission on National Education. The Ford Foundation provided the Commission with consultancy services.⁹ The Commission also invited four highly acclaimed educationists--Dr Herman Wells, President of Indiana University in Bloomington, Dr John Warner, President Carnegie Institute of Technology, Dr I.H. Qureshi, Professor of History, and Dr Abdus Salam, Pakistan's lone Nobel Laureate.¹⁰ The Commission produced a report on its findings but policy makers largely neglected the recommendations of the Commission.

On 28 November 1969, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, 3rd President of Pakistan, announced a New Education Policy. Decentralization and 'Universal Education up to Class V' were the main themes of the new policy. The Cabinet appointed a Committee to look into all implications of adopting the new policy. A four-month scrutiny by the Committee revised certain proposals and the Cabinet finally adopted the new policy on 26 March 1970. Political turmoil and the Indo-Pak War of 1971 virtually guaranteed an early demise of General Yahya's New Education Policy.

In 1972, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan's first popularly elected leader, ushered in a new Education Policy.¹¹ Nationalization of all educational institutions and a government-led shift towards agro-technical education were the two drivers of the new Education Policy. Under Pakistan's first consensus-based Constitution, curricula, policy, syllabus and planning all became part of the 'Concurrent List' thus a collective responsibility of the federal as well as the four provincial governments. Bhutto also announced the establishment of six new universities doubling the number of universities to twelve.

In 1979 came the hurricane. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, 8th President of Pakistan and the country's 3rd military dictator, conscripted his National Education Policy. This time around, manufacturing of 'Good Muslims, Good Pakistanis' was the revealed mission; 'jihadist Islam' and the 'Ideology of Pakistan' the new drivers. Urdu was made the medium of instruction and the entire school system split into two tiers; English medium private schools for the English-speaking elite and Urdu medium government-run schools for everyone else.

Walks in the 40th Army of the Soviet Union's Red Army; three motor rifle divisions, the 103rd Guards Airborne Division, 860th Separate Motor Rifle Regiment, the 56th Separate Airborne Assault Brigade and the 36th Mixed Air Corps.¹² General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq then had all the help from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the *Al Mukhabarat Al A'amah*, the Central Intelligence Directorate of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. A new Cold War *troika*—General Zia, the CIA and *Al Mukhabarat*—teaming up to turn Pakistan into a vast *jihadi* breeding ground.

Fast forward to 1990. On 1 November 1990, Nawaz Sharif took office as the 16th Prime Minister of Pakistan. In April 1991, a National Conference on Education was held in Islamabad the purpose of which was to formulate the parameters of a new education policy. The Federal Minister of Education took these parameters to the Education Committees of the Senate and the National Assembly. In December 1992, a new 10-year National Education Policy 1992-2002 was announced. Intriguingly, 'Teachings of Islam' remained the primary driver the secondary being 'Universal Primary Education'. Within few months of the announcement of the National Education Policy, Nawaz Sharif's first government was toppled.

On 17 February 1997, Nawaz Sharif took office once again as the 20th Prime Minister of Pakistan. In January 1998, the Prime Minister directed the Ministry of Education to draft a new education policy. On 18 February 1998, the first [revised] draft was submitted to the Cabinet and a new 12-year National Education Policy 1998-2010 was announced in March. Salient features of National Education Policy 1998-2010 included Universal Primary Education, a shift from supply side education to demand side and funding to be increased from 2 percent of GDP to 4 percent of GDP.

Under 'Aims and Objectives of Education' the new Policy states:

*"Education and training should enable the citizens of Pakistan to lead their lives according to the teachings of Islam as laid down in the Qur'an and Sunnah and to educate and train them as a true practicing Muslim. To evolve an integrated system of national education by bringing Deeni Madaris and modern schools closer to each stream in curriculum and the contents of education. Nazira Qur'an will be introduced as a compulsory component from grade I-VIII while at secondary level translation of the selected verses from the Holy Qur'an will be offered."*¹³

On 12 October 1999, General Pervez Musharraf ousted Nawaz Sharif in a *coup d'état* and assumed the title of *Chief Executive*. In 2001, Education Sector Reforms Action Plan 2001-2004 was announced. The mission statement states: "Developing human resources in Pakistan as a pre-requisite for global peace, progress and prosperity." The first sentence of the 'Foreword' reads: "Education Sector Reforms (ESR) program is cast in the long term perspective of National Education Policy 1998-2010....."¹⁴ On the face of it, the mission statement under Education Sector Reforms Action Plan 2001-2004 stands in sharp contrast to the 'Aims and Objectives of Education' under the National Education Policy 1998-2010.

In January 2005, an Inter-Provincial Education Ministers Conference directed a review of the National Education Policy 1998-2010. According to the National Education Policy Review, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, a "Policy Review Team was put up in September 2005 with the mandate to undertake the revision exercise."¹⁵

In December 2006, 'Education in Pakistan: A White Paper' was shared with stakeholders for their feedback. The White Paper along with stakeholders' feedback was meant to become the

basis of a Revised National Education Policy. The White Paper under its section 'Overview—Process and Policy' states:

"Every state has an ideology, at least for a predictable time frame. Therefore, every Education Policy must have an ideological base. In the context of Pakistan, this ideological base is essentially and naturally, the religion Islam. Islam is the main source of ethics for our lives and ethical conduct is an essential precondition for social development...We must recognize the value and importance of our ideological base while framing the Education Policy for the coming generations..."

The White Paper [December 2006] under its section 'Relevance' emphasizes that:

"The duty of the state is not to cater to peculiar and individual family nuances of rituals and procedures in religion, but it is the obligation of the state to sensitize the individual to the value system ordained in Quran, governing his or her life as an individual and as a member of society."

The White Paper [December 2006] under its section 'Islamic Education' re-emphasizes that:

"As we have stated in earlier chapters, Islam is the ideological base of Pakistani society. Therefore, this ideology must determine the education policy as such and provide for options that will enable the Pakistani Muslim to develop himself or herself as a true Muslim, following the fundamentals of the religion and concerning himself or herself in a continuing application of true Islam to his or her life."

The White Paper [December 2006] under its section 'Policy Recommendations' recommends:

"Between class I to V, it should be the purpose of education to inculcate in the child the Muslim value system. This could be done through stories from Quran which form part of lessons in language courses or separately at later stages. From class VI, more formal instructions in Islamic practices, which are common to all Muslim beliefs, should form the basis of the content in the courses of Islamic studies."¹⁶

In February 2007, a "document to debate and finalize the National Education Policy" was circulated among stakeholders. This document was titled 'Education in Pakistan—A White Paper [Revised]'. This White Paper is "intended to stimulate discussion of major policy issues concerning Education Sector in Pakistan. At this stage, it is not an official statement of Government's policy but a draft document."

The [new] National Education Policy Review Team of the Ministry of Education, after reviewing the White Paper [Revised], has made some changes. First, the headline of the chapter titled 'Islamic Education' has been changed to 'Religious Education'. Second, two new paragraphs have been added to Chapter 10. The new paragraphs are an attempt to 'recognize the existence of other faiths and minorities in the society'.¹⁷

Most interestingly, paragraph 3 of Chapter 10 states:

"As stated earlier, Islamic ideology must determine the education policy as such....."¹⁸

Under 'Policy Recommendations', Policy Recommendation No. 4 has also been changed. A new sentence now reads:

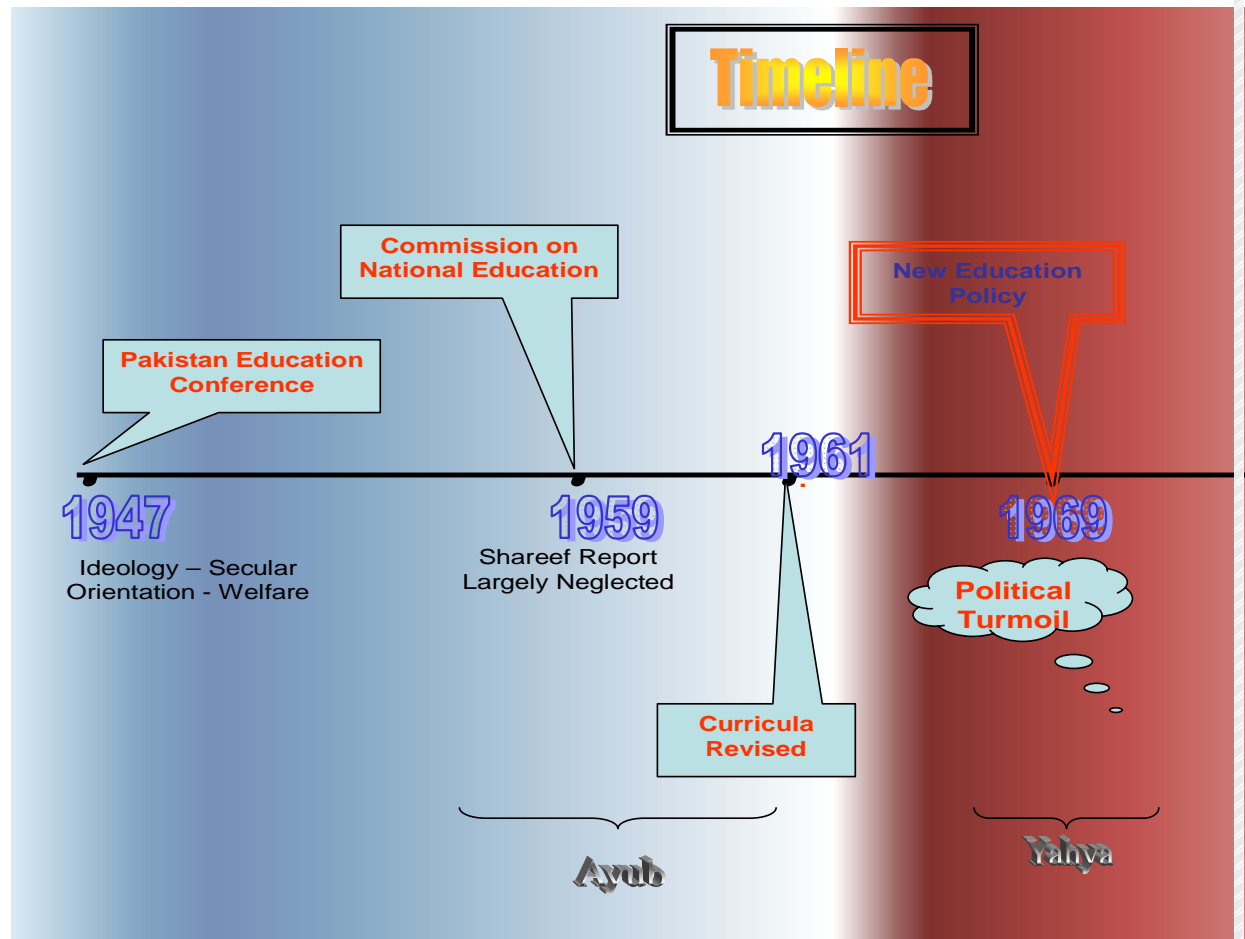
"For non-Muslims courses in values/morals drawn from recognized sources should substitute Islamic Studies."¹⁹

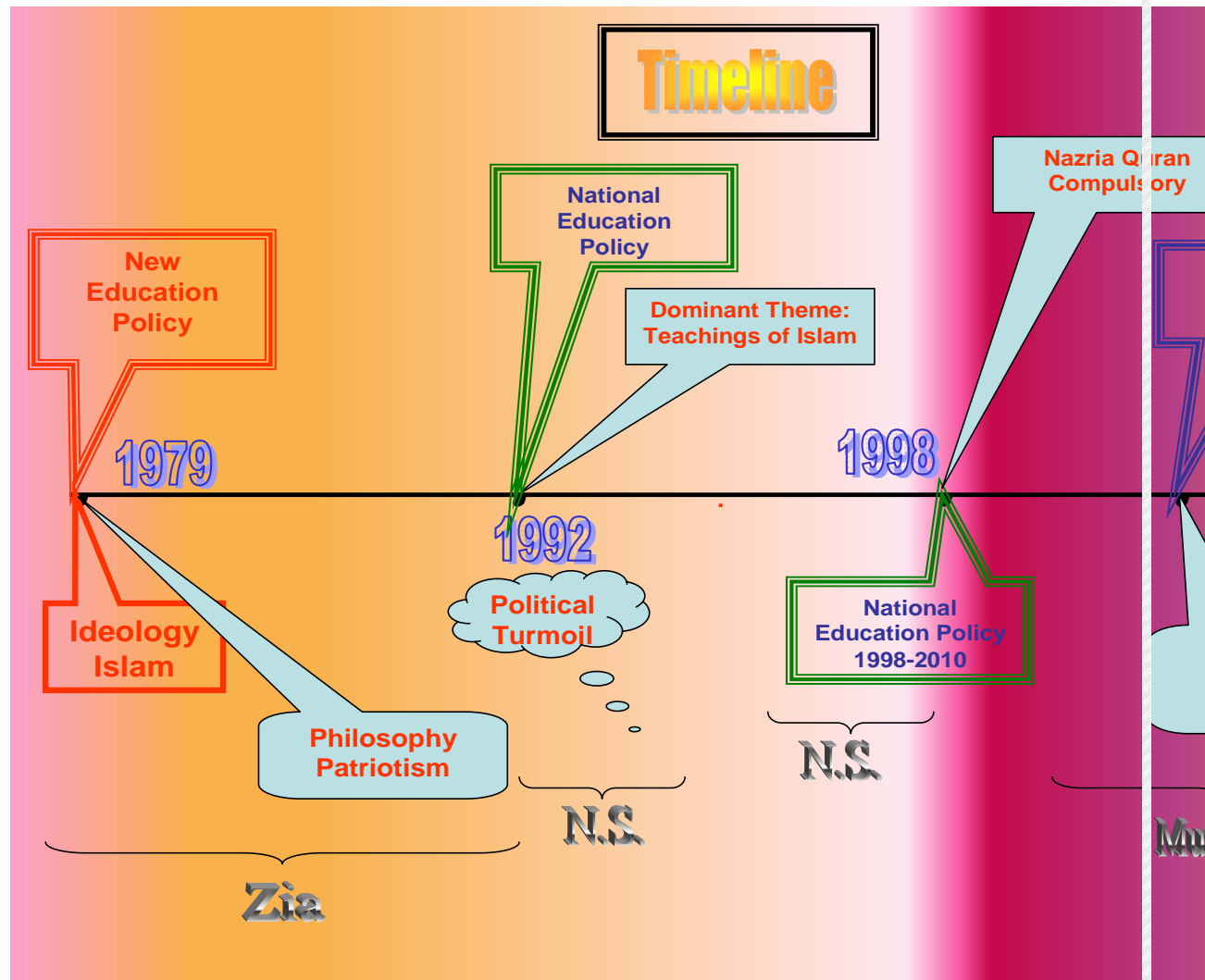
Policy Recommendation No. 7 now reads:

"Courses in religious education should specifically inculcate in the pupils respect and tolerance for all faiths."²⁰

There is a world of a difference between pre-1979 and post-1979 curricula. Pakistan's original ideology was secular, orientation welfare. The move from a welfare state to a security state came first followed by a wave that eventually crammed the public school curricula with messages of hate, that of prejudice, violence and extremism. To be certain, there were at least three other factors that contributed to the militarization of the Pakistani state, society and the curricula. First, the 9-year conflict that is referred to as the Soviet-Afghan War. Second, the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Third, the use of Pakistani geographical territory by Iran and Saudi Arabia to fight out their own *Shia-Sunni* proxy battles.

Over the past 29 years, at least ten different governments and half a dozen prime ministers have come up with their National Education Policies, Education Sector Reform Action Plans, Policy Review Teams and a whole host of White Papers. To be certain, the poisonous weed that General Zia-ul-Haq planted back in 1979 has since been watered by ten different governments and nursed by a dozen prime ministers. Somehow, cannonballs of hate, communiques of prejudice and bulletins of violence have managed to outlive every National Education Policy, every Education Sector Reform Action Plan, every Policy Review Team and every White Paper.





CIA & University of Nebraska

Christmas Day 1979. The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army from the Turkestan Military District entered Afghanistan through two ground routes and one air corridor. Red Army's 5th Guards Motor Rifle Division, 108th Rifle Division and 68th Mountain Rifle Division entered Afghanistan through ground routes in-tandem with the 103rd Guards Airborne Division and the 56th Separate Airborne Assault Brigade. Under General Igor Rodionov's command, the Red Army took control of urban centers, military bases and strategic installations.²¹

With 1,800 tanks of the Red Army a mere 378 kilometers from Islamabad, Pakistan panicked. In the neighbouring Iran, the United States had already lost her puppet regime to the Islamic Revolution. With 80,000 soldiers of the Red Army so close to the Strait of Hormuz, through which passes 20 percent of the world's oil supply, the United States also panicked. Jimmy Carter, the 39th President of the United States, called it *"the most serious threat to peace since the Second World War."*²²

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) teamed up with the Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI; Pakistan's largest and most powerful intelligence entity) and *Al Mukhabarat Al A'amah* (Saudi Arabia's paramount intelligence agency) to lay down a sweeping bear trap. The trap comprised building of a long chain of madrasahs along the 2,430 kilometers Afghanistan-Pakistan border whereby the CIA would pump in \$5 billion to \$8 billion matched dollar-for-dollar by *Al Mukhabarat Al A'amah*. These madrasahs were to be the breeding grounds of thoroughly indoctrinated youths intoxicated with the spirit of *jihad* pitched against the Soviet *infidels*. The entire task was sourced out to the ISI.

Along with a chain of *jihadi* madrasahs the CIA ingeniously contrived to harvest a militarized civil society that would furnish physical sustenance in addition to providing ideological support to *jihadis* bread and raised at madrasahs. The CIA sourced out the task of producing a militarized civil society to the University of Nebraska's (UNO) Center for Afghanistan Studies (CAS).²³

Between 1974 and 2004, the Center for Afghanistan Studies was awarded at least three contracts by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). In the late 80s, under a \$43 million USAID-financed project, around 4-dozen University of Nebraska faculty and staff members burned midnight oil to produce more than 15 million textbooks in Pashtu and Dari (two primary languages in Afghanistan) in addition to some 30,000 teacher kits. The primers, according to Joe Stephens and David B. Ottaway of *The Washington Post*, were:

*"Filled with talk of jihad and featured drawings of guns, bullets, soldiers and mines, have served since then as the Afghan school system's core curriculum. Even the Taliban used the American-produced books, though the radical movement scratched out human faces in keeping with its strict fundamentalist code."*²⁴

Here is a poem produced by the Center for Afghanistan Studies:

Table 4: Poem produced by the Center for Afghanistan Studies:

*Alif [is for] Allah. Allah is one
Bi [is for] Father (baba).
Father goes to the mosque...*

*Pi [is for] Five (panj).
 Islam has five pillars...
 Ti [is for] Rifle (tufang).
 Javad obtains rifles for the Mujahidin...
 Jim [is for] Jihad.
 Jihad is an obligation.
 My mom went to the jihad.
 Our brother gave water to the Mujahidin...
 Dal [is for] Religion (din). Our religion is Islam.
 The Russians are the enemies of the religion of Islam...
 Zhi [is for] Good news (muzhdih).
 The Mujahidin missiles rain down like dew on the Russians.
 My brother gave me good news that the Russians in our country taste defeat...
 Shin [is for] Shakir. Shakir conducts jihad with the sword.
 God becomes happy with the defeat of the Russians...
 Zal [is for] Oppression (zulum).
 Oppression is forbidden.
 The Russians are oppressors.
 We perform jihad against the oppressors...
 Vav [is for] Nation (vatn).
 Our nation is Afghanistan....
 The Mujahidin made our country famous....
 Our Muslim people are defeating the communists.
 The Mujahidin are making our dear country free.²⁵*

Grade 3 subtraction problem:

"One group of mujahidin attack 50 Russian soldiers. In that attack 20 Russians were killed. How many russians fled?"²⁶

Grade 4 mathematics textbook:

"The speed of a Kalashnikov bullet is 800 meters per second. If a Russian is at a distance of 3,200 meters from a mujahid, and that mujahid aims at the Russian's head, calculate how many seconds it will take for the bullet to strike the Russian in the forehead."²⁷

According to the Center for Public Integrity, the Center for Afghanistan Studies "receives almost all of its funding from outside sources" receiving more than \$60 million from USAID. The last Soviet soldier walked out of Afghanistan on 15 February 1989 and by mid-1990s the U.S. Congress ended government-sponsored aid to Afghanistan.²⁸

In 1991, a U.S. federal appeals court ruled that "taxpayer funds could not be used for religious instruction, even overseas." In 1997, Union Oil Company of California (Unocal)—wanting to build a 790-mile, \$1.9 billion pipeline from Turkmenistan to Multan (Pakistan) through Afghanistan--began funding the Center for Afghanistan Studies.²⁹

Intriguingly, Thomas Gouttierre, Director of the Center for Afghanistan Studies, is an old pal of Zalmay Khalilzad, the highest ranking Afghan Muslim in President Bush's Administration. Plus, Zalmay Khalilzad has been a Unocal adviser on the Central Asian pipeline project.

On 7 October 2001, the United States Air Force (USAF) and the Royal Air Force (RAF) began bombing Kabul, Kandahar and Jalalabad. Within four months of the bombing campaign,

USAID awarded a \$6.5 million contract to “clean up” Afghan textbooks. Guess who was the beneficiary of the contract? Answer: University of Nebraska at Omaha, Center for Afghanistan Studies.

A wholesome \$60 million to promote violence in the name of Islam and a paltry \$6.5 million for the “clean up” campaign!

In early 2002, USAID’s \$6.5 million contract to the Center for Afghanistan Studies soon became controversial. It was argued that the contract violated a 1991 U.S. federal appeals court’s decision. By 2003, the Center for Afghanistan Studies had lost USAID Afghan educational textbook contract.³⁰

Look What We Are Teaching At Public Schools

Twenty-nine years ago, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had schemed to fight the 40th Soviet Army by producing performing *jihadis* at U.S.-Saudi financed madrasahs. Along with the scheme came the plan to manufacture a militarized civil society in order to maintain and sustain the great *jihad* enterprise. The scheme churned out over a million practicing *jihadis*, fed and drilled at thousand of madrasahs, while the plan produced millions of closet *jihadis* brainwashed and indoctrinated within the four walls of primary, middle and secondary government-run schools.

The CIA won and the Soviet Union was no more.

Pakistani strategists picked up where the CIA had left off. Prescribed textbooks for Classes 4 and 5, attended by children aged 8 to 10, are bursting with anti-Hindu and anti-Sikh themes. By Class 6, when students are typically 10 to 12 years old, anti-Christian, anti-British and anti-European indoctrination begins. Children are taught that the *“Christians and Europeans were not happy to see the Muslims flourishing in life.”*⁸¹ Anti-Jewish postulations are introduced in Class 7. In Classes 9-10, when students are typically 13 to 16 years old, the *‘importance of Jihad’* is cultivated.

Here are excerpts from textbooks:

Text No. 1

Class: 4

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 80-81

“Sikhs destroyed the Muslim towns from the river Sutlej to the river Jamna. A number of times the Sikhs crossed the river Jamna and looted and destroyed the settlements of the Muslims. They turned the mosques into their ‘Gurdwaras’, demolished the shrines of the Muslim saints and burnt religious schools and libraries.”

Authors: Dr Miss Ferozah Yasmeen, Dr Azhar Hamid, Mian Muhammad Javed Akhtar, Nasir-ur-Din Ghaznavi, Muhammad Zubair Hashmi, Bashir-ud-Din Malik and Qazi Ajjad Ahmed.

Comment (inside backcover): “The Punjab Textbook Board is your own organization. It produces quality and cost effective textbooks for you.”

Text No. 2

Class: 4

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 83

“The Muslims of Pakistan provided all the facilities to the Hindus and Sikhs who left for India. But the Hindus and Sikhs looted the Muslims in India with both hands and they attacked their caravans, busses and railway trains. Therefore about 1 million Muslims were martyred on their way to Pakistan.”

Authors: Dr Miss Ferozah Yasmeen, Dr Azhar Hamid, Mian Muhammad Javed Akhtar, Nasir-ur-Din Ghaznavi, Muhammad Zubair Hashmi, Bashir-ud-Din Malik and Qazi Ajjad Ahmed.

Comment (inside backcover): "Approved by Federal Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad."

Text No. 3

Class: 4

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 84

"India invaded Lahore on the 6th of September, 1965 without any ultimatum. After 17 days, the Indian authorities laid down arms acknowledging the bravery and gallantry of the Pak Army and civilians."

Authors: Dr Miss Ferozah Yasmeen, Dr Azhar Hamid, Mian Muhammad Javed Akhtar, Nasir-ur-Din Ghaznavi, Muhammad Zubair Hashmi, Bashir-ud-Din Malik and Qazi Ajjad Ahmed.

Comment (inside backcover): "Approved by Federal Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad."

Text No. 4

Class: 5

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 123

"When India was defeated in the war of 1965, she excited the Muslims of East Pakistan against the Muslims of West Pakistan. For this purpose, India sought the help of those Hindus who lived in East Pakistan. Ultimately, India attacked East Pakistan in December 1971 and helped the East Pakistanis to sever their relations with West Pakistan. Thus East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan. The East Pakistanis renamed their country Bangladesh. India immediately recognized Bangladesh as an independent sovereign state."

Authors: Dr Ferozah Yasmeen, Mrs Zarina Asharf, Bashir-ud-din Malik, Prof Mirza Munawwar and Mian Mohammed Javed.

Comment (inside frontcover): "To achieve a better standard of life, quality education plays a pivotal role. My Government is trying hard to provide this base (Ch Pervez Elahi, Chief Minister, Punjab.)"

Text No. 5

Class: 5

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 123

"India is our traditional enemy and we should always keep ourselves ready to defend our beloved country from Indian aggression."

Authors: Dr Ferozah Yasmeen, Mrs Zarina Asharf, Bashir-ud-din Malik, Prof Mirza Munawwar and Mian Mohammed Javed.

Comment (inside frontcover): "As for curriculum development, a team of professional experts was assembled for writing of textbooks, which will prove helpful in achieving the quality of education (Ch Pervez Elahi, Chief Minister, Punjab.)"

Text No. 6

Class: 6

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 100

"The foundation of Hindu set up was based on injustice and cruelty"

Scripted & Translated by: Prof. Mian Muhammed Aslam, Prof. Muhammed Farooq Malik and Qazi Sajjad Ahmed.

Comment (inside frontcover): "Our curriculum in the past was not in concert with the requirements of modern times. I am pleased to note that the government has not only given importance to the sovereignty and security of the country, but also taken steps for the improvement of the quality of education and curriculum to bring it in tune with the latest standards (Message from General Pervez Musharraf)."

Text No. 7

Class: 6

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 63

"The religion has deep impact on the children in Bharat. The Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian children have their own separate identity."

Scripted & Translated by: Prof. Mian Muhammed Aslam, Prof. Muhammed Farooq Malik and Qazi Sajjad Ahmed.

Comment (inside frontcover): "It is a historical fact that the Muslims ruled the world for hundreds of years on the basis of the knowledge acquired by their intellectuals, philosophers and scientists (Message from General Pervez Musharraf)."

Text No. 8

Class: 6

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 54-55

"The Hindus claim Harijans as their integrated part but deal with them in the same manner as they behave with Muslims and other communities."

Scripted & Translated by: Prof. Mian Muhammed Aslam, Prof. Muhammed Farooq Malik and Qazi Sajjad Ahmed.

Comment: "In the light of Islamic teachings and to meet the challenges of life, it is incumbent upon all Pakistanis to devote their energies for acquiring knowledge with special emphasis on computer and IT education ((Message from General Pervez Musharraf)."

Text No. 9

Class: 6

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 95

"Conquest of Debul: A furious battle was fought between the two forces.....The Muslims changed the slogan of Allah-o-Akbar and Catapult was operated and started throwing heavy stones.....The Hindus lost all hopes. The enemy was defeated and the fort was conquered."

Scripted & Translated by: Prof. Mian Muhammed Aslam, Prof. Muhammed Farooq Malik and Qazi Sajjad Ahmed.

Text No. 10

Class: 6

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 95

"The Hindus began to embrace Islam in great number due to the good and kind treatment of Muslims."

Scripted & Translated by: Prof. Mian Muhammed Aslam, Prof. Muhammed Farooq Malik and Qazi Sajjad Ahmed.

Text No. 11

Class: 6

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 96

"An Arab soldier cut the neck of Raja Dahir with sword who was riding an elephant in a Howdaha. The sun of life of Raja Dahir set forever from the universe on 10th of Ramadan 93 H."

Scripted & Translated by: Prof. Mian Muhammed Aslam, Prof. Muhammed Farooq Malik and Qazi Sajjad Ahmed.

Text No. 12

Class: 6

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 99

"Before the Arab conquest the people were fed up with the teachings of Buddhists and Hindus. The main cause was the benign treatment of Muslims with the Hindus. Due to this attitude Hindus began to love Muslims and they became nearer and nearer to the Muslims."

Scripted & Translated by: Prof. Mian Muhammed Aslam, Prof. Muhammed Farooq Malik and Qazi Sajjad Ahmed.

Text No. 13

Class: 6

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 99

"The British sent rare books from these libraries to England. Thus the British ruined the Muslim schools. They did not want that Islam should spread."

Scripted & Translated by: Prof. Mian Muhammed Aslam, Prof. Muhammed Farooq Malik and Qazi Sajjad Ahmed.

Text No. 14

Class: 6

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 121

"Islam preached equality, brotherhood, and fraternity and respect for all people. The caste system of the Hindus had made life of common man as miserable and as such they were fed up with this system."

Scripted & Translated by: Prof. Mian Muhammed Aslam, Prof. Muhammed Farooq Malik and Qazi Sajjad Ahmed.

Text No. 15

Class: 6

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 123

"The British changed the curriculum of Madrasas and they had their full say in Education also they could change the syllabi according to their minds. The teaching of Hadith and Fiqa was stopped all together. The British freely distributed the literature of Christianity."

Scripted & Translated by: Prof. Mian Muhammed Aslam, Prof. Muhammed Farooq Malik and Qazi Sajjad Ahmed.

Text No. 16

Class: 7

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 12

"Before Islam, people lived in untold misery all over the world."

Written by: Prof Dr M.H. Bokhari and Syed Hassan Tahir.

Text No. 17

Class: 7

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 13

"Some Jewish tribes also lived in Arabia. They lent money to workers and peasants on high rates of interest and usurped their earnings. They held the whole society in their tight grip because of the ever increasing compound interest."

Written by: Prof Dr M.H. Bokhari and Syed Hassan Tahir.

Text No. 18

Class: 7

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 25

"History has no parallel to the extremely kind treatment of the Christians by the Muslims. Still the Christian kingdoms of Europe were constantly trying to gain control of Jerusalem. This was the cause of the crusades."

Written by: Prof Dr M.H. Bokhari and Syed Hassan Tahir.

Text No. 19

Class: 7

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 13

"All the Christian countries united against the Muslims and sent large armies to attack the holy city of Jerusalem. These wars are called crusades because the Pope, a head of the Christians, called a council of war. In this meeting he declared that Jesus Christ sanctioned war against Muslims."

Written by: Prof Dr M.H. Bokhari and Syed Hassan Tahir.

Text No. 20

Class: 7

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 28

"During the Crusades, the Christians came in contact with the Muslims and learnt that the Muslim culture was far superior to their own."

Written by: Prof Dr M.H. Bokhari and Syed Hassan Tahir.

Text No. 21

Class: 7

Subject: Social Studies

Pages: 43

"European nations have been working during the past three centuries, through conspiracies on naked aggression to subjugate the countries of the Muslim world."

Written by: Prof Dr M.H. Bokhari and Syed Hassan Tahir.

Text No. 22

Class: 9-10

Subject: Pakistan Studies

Pages: 3

"The economic system of West was creating unsolvable problems and had failed to do justice with the people."

Authors: Muhammad Hussain Ch, Ali Iqtadar Mirza, Sheikh Anees, Rai Faiz Ahmad Kharal, Syed Abbas Haidar and Dr Qais.

Comment: This text appears in the textbook being used in the current academic year and was not part of the previous textbook.

Text No. 23

Class: 9-10

Subject: Pakistan Studies

Pages: 6

"Islamic society was devoid of every kind of evil..."

Authors: Muhammad Hussain Ch, Ali Iqtadar Mirza, Sheikh anees, Cai Faiz Ahmad Kharal, Syed abbas Haidar and Dr Qais.

Comment: This text appears in the textbook being used in the current academic year and was not part of the previous textbook.

Text No. 24

Class: 9-10
Subject: Pakistan Studies
Pages: 7

"One of the reasons of the downfall of the Muslims in the Sub-continent was the lack of the spirit of Jihad."

Text No. 25
Class: 9-10
Subject: Pakistan Studies
Pages: 10

"In Islam Jihad is very important.....The person who offers his life never dies.....All the prayers nurture one's passion for Jihad."

Text No. 26
Class: 9-10
Subject: Pakistan Studies
Pages: 17

"Shah Wali Ullah (RA) was a mujadid of the 18th century....He knew that the Sikhs, Marhattas were the enemies of Muslims."

Text No. 27
Class: 9-10
Subject: Pakistan Studies
Pages: 20

".....according to Islamic point of view there were only two nations on earth, one the Muslims and the other the non-Muslim."

Text No. 28
Class: 9-10
Subject: Pakistan Studies
Pages: 53

"Education sector in East Pakistan was totally under the control of Hindus. Under the guidance of India they fully poisoned the minds of Bangalis against Pakistan and aroused their sentiments."

Text No. 29
Class: 12
Subject: Pakistan Studies
Pages: 4

“Great importance is given to Jihad (struggle) in Islam.....And always keep one self ready to sacrifice one’s life and property is jihad.....The basic purpose of all submissions and jihad is to keep oneself follower of the good will of Allah Almighty.”

Authors: Muhammad Farooq Malik, Rai Faiz Ahmad Kharal, Muhammad Hussain Ch., Dr Sultan Khan and Khadim Ali Khan.

Is our Ministry of Education preparing young Pakistanis for death or for life?

Impact of Previous Curriculum Reports

By: Dr A.H. Nayyar

Introduction

In June 2002, the Sustainable Policy Development Institute (SDPI), in Islamabad, invited 30 leading experts on Pakistan's education system to examine and report on the problems of the national curriculum and textbooks. The final report, "*The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Text-books in Pakistan -- Urdu, English, Social Studies and Civics*" used national curriculum documents and a detailed analysis of official textbooks to show how the education system was contributing to creating a culture of sectarianism, religious intolerance, and violence. The *Subtle Subversion* report also issued a set of recommendations that was intended to help inform a national debate on education reform. The report, edited by A.H. Nayyar and A. Salim, attracted a great deal of attention, and we describe here some of the responses.

A summary of the report

SDPI invited scholars and educationists from around the country, among them Professors of History, Pakistan Studies, Psychology, Linguistics, and Physics from leading universities and research centers to carry out a content analysis of Pakistani school textbooks and the national curriculum guidelines they were based on. The analysis revealed that there were systematic problems with the textbook contents, and the underlying curriculum guidelines, including:

- gross inaccuracies of fact and omissions that served to substantially distort the nature and significance of actual events in our history;
- a lack of insensitivity to the actually existing religious diversity of the nation;
- incitement of militancy and violence, including encouragement of *Jihad* and *Shahadat*;
- perspectives that encouraged prejudice, bigotry and discrimination towards fellow citizens, especially women and religious minorities, and other nations;
- the glorification of wars and the use of force;
- a lack of concepts, events and material that could encourage critical self-awareness among students; and
- outdated and incoherent pedagogical practices that hindered the development of interest and insight among students.

The report showed that the educational material violated constitutional provisions on fundamental rights by including Islamic teachings in the subjects like Urdu and Social Studies. It discovered that the problems stemmed from the prevailing national education policy which prescribed a heavy bias in education towards religious nationalism. It found in particular that the textbooks were based on curriculum guidelines prepared and enforced by the Federal Ministry of Education that were so detailed and rigid in requiring the inclusion of this material that the textbooks could not possibly be any different.

Responses

The report and the issues it highlighted were hotly debated in the country. Newspapers in both Urdu and English carried reviews, editorials and opinion columns. It was also discussed in television talk shows. The report and its findings were debated in parliament.

The debate stirred up the most fundamental political question for Pakistan: should it be a religious state governed by Islamic laws as interpreted by the clergy, or should Pakistan be a modern democratic state with sovereignty residing in its citizens and legislated by freely elected representatives.

Religious political parties reacted angrily to the report, because it attributed the bulk of the problems it identified to the process of Islamization of education put in place during the dictatorship of General Ziaul Haq, with the support of these parties, especially the Jamaat-e-Islami. The Islamic parties had used their alliance with the military government to engage in political engineering with education, aiming to mould the young mind with their political agenda of creating a religious and parochial outlook. They were aggressive in opposing any change in curriculum and textbooks. Student wings of these parties launched a Movement to Preserve the Curriculum, and protested in the streets.

Parliamentarians from religious parties accused the government of pandering to American dictates by taking out essential Islamic teachings from textbooks. In particular, they accused the government of expunging from textbooks material promoting the Islamic injunctions on jihad and martyrdom.

The Ministry of Education has reacted to the report differently at different times, and depended on the person holding the office of the Minister at any given time.

The initial reaction of the Ministry of Education was a total rejection of the findings of the SDPI report. But under pressure from the press, the Ministry appointed a committee to examine the report. The committee, which consisted of nearly as many persons from within the Ministry as from outside, met for three days and amid strong disagreements, wrote a majority report, validating the SDPI report, and recommending a revision of curricula and textbooks. However, the Minister for Education reported to the parliament that the committee saw no reason to reform curricula and textbooks. At one point, when some religious party parliamentarians accused her of purging jihad and shahadat from textbooks, she vowed that she was much in favor of jihad and shahadat.

In the meantime, the textbook boards published new textbooks according to the usual annual exercise. The new books, at least from the Punjab Textbook Board, contained more incendiary material. No one knows so far why such material came into the new school textbooks in the middle of these controversies. It was noted, however, that a content analysis of the new books appeared in a section of the press even before the books hit the market. It looked as if the new contents were added with purpose. They duly served the purpose. The education minister was completely out of her wits, and had to be posted out to another department.

One of the new textbooks, for example, contained a picture of a dog opposite a page that contained some sacred text. In another book, a very silly poem, lifted from the Internet, which spelled PRESIDENT GEORGE W BUSH as the first letters of each line, was included – and duly exposed.

The biggest controversy was, however, saved for a book on Islamic Studies. One section of the Quran, which was prescribed for memorization by students by heart, was replaced by another. The accusation was that the replacement was done at the behest of foreign masters to reduce the content on jihad. The education minister was at pains to prove in the parliament that the replacement section contained no less on jihad, and that the government had no intention to reduce the content on jihad and martyrdom in textbooks.

At the same time, a chapter on jihad, its blessings, and the sacred duties of citizens towards jihadists, that was included in the Urdu language textbook of class 8 was now reproduced in the Islamic Studies textbook of class 4. This chapter looked like a page from the literature of a militant organization waging jihad against all infidels, and was for this reason

criticized in *The Subtle Subversion*. It displayed a striking disregard for pedagogical concerns because the education ministry deemed the same lesson suitable for classes four years apart.

The report and the debate it engendered also attracted international media attention and pressure from foreign governments, especially the USA, for education reform.

Amid the controversy, the Minister for Education was replaced by a retired 3-star general of the Army and a former head of Inter Services Intelligence (ISI). The new Minister appeared to recognize the resistance to reform coming from officials in the Ministry of Education and the provincial Textbook Boards, who were jealously protecting the status quo. He immediately transferred them from key positions, and the resistance from within largely crumbled.

As for reforming the textbooks and the curricula, the government decided to first revise the education policy and design new curricula before getting new textbooks written according to the new curricula. The Ministry hired consultants to undertake the first two tasks.

In order to contribute to these reforms, SDPI consulted a large number of educationists through the length and the breadth of the country and prepared a critical review of the existing national education policy, published as the 2006 report *Critical Issues in Education Policy: A Citizens' Review of the National Education Policy 1998-2010*. SDPI was given an opportunity to present its findings to the education policy review team.

Where things stand now

The government has concluded its work on education policy in the form of a white paper. A draft National Education Policy has also been prepared but it is yet to be adopted as an official document. It seems that several issues have remained unresolved. For example, what the medium of instructions should be. While the White Paper and the new draft policy unambiguously recommend mother tongue, or at least the regional language, as the medium of instructions in the primary level education, the Minister for Education has issued instructions for teaching science and mathematics in English from very early classes.

The government has also revised all the curricula from class I to XII. Apparently these have the status of approved schemes of studies, and are waiting to be implemented. The Ministry has posted them on its website for public information. The new curricula do not contain the same doctrinal demands as the old curricula did. The curricula for Urdu and English are geared more to teaching language skills and less to teaching a narrow religious and national outlook. The social studies curriculum requires teaching history as impartially as is possible. This is a sea change from the previous approach.

However, new textbooks according to the new curricula have not appeared yet. According to the Ministry of Education, this would be possible only in the academic year starting in 2009. In the meantime, students are continuing to learn from the old textbooks, containing all the problems that the SDPI report had highlighted.

The government has also announced a policy of ending the monopoly of textbook boards, by allowing schools to use textbooks from private authors and publishers as long as the books conform to the curriculum. This is not a new policy. But the old curriculum had left no space for private authors and publishers to write good textbooks. When the new curriculum is enforced, it is likely that the private textbooks will offer a good alternative to the textbook board books.

Much of the change so far has depended on the government in power and on the Minister in charge. It is possible that future governments may not give it the priority it deserves. Some may even reverse the trend. Civil society will need to continue its efforts to promote, monitor and deepen education reform for the foreseeable future.

Impact of the 'Curriculum of Hate'

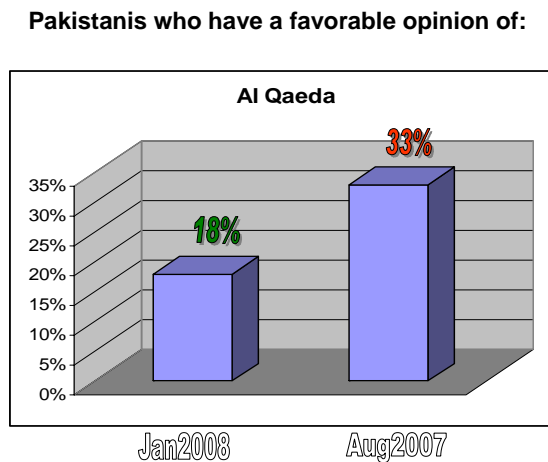
In August 2007, Terror Free Tomorrow (TFT), a non-partisan, not-for-profit thinktank, conducted a Pakistan-wide public opinion survey.³³ According to the survey "33 percent of Pakistanis had a favorable opinion of Al Qaeda."³⁴

Imagine; more than 50 million Pakistanis had a favorable opinion of Al Qaeda while Al Qaeda has been designated as a "terrorist group" by Austria, Belgium, Bulgaira, Cyprus, Cazeck Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finaland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Itlay Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain and Sweden.

Imagine; so many Pakistanis having a favorable opinion of Al Qaeda while Turkey, UAE, Jordan, Australia, New Zeeland, Singapore, Albania, Austria, Azerbaijan, Croatia, Finland, Georgia, Macedonia, Ireland, Sweden, Ukraine, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaira, Cyprus, Cazeck Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finaland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Itlay, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain have actually deployed their troops to fight Al Qaeda.

Imagine; one out of every three Pakistanis had a favorable opinion of Al Qaeda while Al Qaeda was classified as a "proscribed group" under the United Kingdom's Terrorism Act 2000.

Table 5: Pakistanis who have a Favorable Opinion of Al-Qaeda:

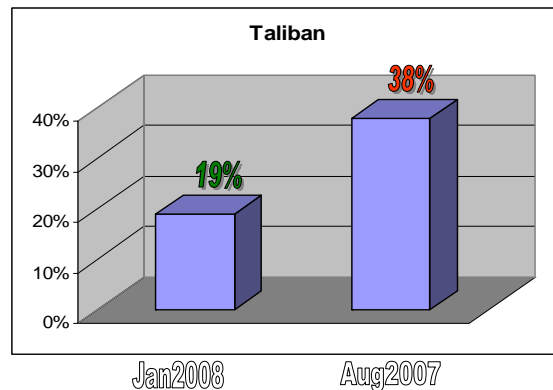


On 19 January 2008, TFT began another Pakistan-wide public opinion surevey. The survey lasted for ten days and interviewed a representative sample of 1,157 Pakistanis. Not to

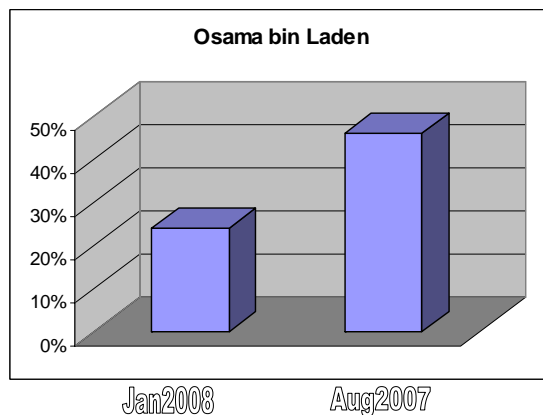
forget, that during the year 2007 Pakistanis witnessed an average of one suicide bomb blast a week. The year finally culminated with the assassination of Pakistan's two-time prime minister Benazir Bhutto.

According to TFT, "in August [2007], 46 percent of Pakistanis had a favorable opinion of Bin Laden—that's down to 24 percent now, while Al Qaeda has dropped from 33 to 18 percent, the Taliban from 38 percent to 19 percent, and other related radical Islamist groups from nearly half of the Pakistani public with a favorable view to less than a quarter today.

Pakistanis who have a favorable opinion of:



Pakistanis who have a favorable opinion of:



Conclusion

The 30-year government-sponsored experiment to produce moral and patriotic Pakistanis through primary and secondary school curricula has failed. What the curricula has produced is at least three generations of Pakistanis intoxicated on literature of hatred that of bigotry, bias, militancy, animosity, sectarianism, dogmatism and fanaticism. Government-prescribed primary and secondary curricula has produced not much else but closet *jihadis* by the millions; a network that supports and sustains mainstream performing *jihadis*.

The poisonous weed inseminated by General Zia some twenty-nine years ago has been nurtured by at least sixteen different governments, cared for by a dozen different prime ministers and fostered by half a dozen generals. The weed is now a champion tree with roots from Karachi to Khyber, a trunk stouter than any other state dogma, height higher than any other societal principle and branches that penetrate each and every aspect of Pakistani life.

While Pakistan's chain of 14,123 madrasahs churns out practicing *jihadis* the government-run near-200,000 school-conglomerate produces a comprehensive maintenance and sustenance checkerboard for the *jihadis* from madrasahs. That's cannonfodder from madrasahs and their lifesupport from primary and secondary schools. In essence, expendable Muslim lives from madrasahs and their salvation courtesy of the public school system. In short, the ideal symbiosis. Are *jihadis* and closet *jihadis* different species? To be certain, one is highly dependent upon the other. To be sure, one is necessary to the survival of the other. Mutualism, parasitism and commensalism—all in one. In tandem they fight. As a club they battle. As a troupe they engage; engage the *infidels*.

Recommendations

Donors

Donors financing the building of the physical infrastructure of schools must demand a thorough review of what curricula would be taught within the four walls of those classrooms.

Government of Pakistan

- Constitute a permanent bipartisan Curriculum Review Board;
- The Board to be independent of any official pressure;
- The Board to report directly to the Parliament through a parliamentary committee.

Federal Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan

- Publish new textbooks based on the new curriculum for the school year starting August 2008;
- No more delays please;
- Work with private publishers to meet the August 2008 target deadline;
- Create incentives for private publishers.

Honorable Members of the National Assembly of Pakistan

- Introduce legislation to bar the use of government prescribed textbooks for inciting hatred and discrimination against any section of society—especially women and minorities;
- Introduce legislation to bar the use of government prescribed textbooks for fomenting animosity against any religion;
- Introduce legislation to bar the use of government prescribed textbooks for indoctrinating hostility against other nations.

Stakeholders – Students

By: Dr A.H. Nayyar

Students are entitled to expect an education that (i) enhances their ability to learn by giving them skills to be good and efficient learners, (ii) gives them a broad picture of the world around them rather than a narrow ideologically restricted view, (iii) imparts them with enough skills to become competent individuals in the society and the world at large.

Students should ensure that their lives are not ruined by a careless and inefficient system of education. Their hard labor of several years should not be allowed to go waste by an education that does not enable them to stand up and compete in this globalized world.

Stakeholders – Parents

By: Dr A.H. Nayyar

- Parents must not allow the usurpation of genuine educational space by forces of hate, violence and that of extremism;
- Parents have the right to and should take an active interest in the conduct and content of education being provided to their children. Parents make a heavy investment in the education of their children in order to see them not only grow as good human beings and useful citizens but also as future bread winners and a means of social mobility.
- Parents must stand up and complain if their expectations are not fulfilled because of a deficient educational system. They should be worried if the space for useful value-addition is taken away by mindless and boring doctrinal material that requires nothing but rote learning and is often the cause for students to drop out;
- Parents should form parent-teacher committees to monitor as to what is being taught.

Stakeholders – Society

By: Dr A.H. Nayyar

Society needs to create an enabling environment for public interest groups of concerned citizens, parents and the intelligentsia to provide a critical and vigilant scrutiny of the quality of education and advocate reforms to ensure it meets social needs. Society at large is the ultimate loser if generation after generation is lost to poor education. Pakistani society is already facing the disastrous consequences of decades of poor education. Its educated graduates do not possess sufficient skills of problem solving to be able to meet the challenges of development. They do not have enough skills of languages and reasoning to be able to enter into rational debate with each other on national issues, making them more intolerant of dissent.

Epilogue

In March 2008, Professor Ahsan Iqbal took oath as the Minister for Education. In May 2008, the Ministry of Education decided to constitute a high level National Consultative Council for Development of Curriculum (NCC).

According to an official of the Ministry of Education, the “prevalent curriculum is not fulfilling the socio-economic needs of the country and falls behind when compared with international standards.” The new Minister of Education, as per an official handout, wants to “provide appropriate and modern techniques to develop modern syllabus.”

The Ministry of Education, through an advertisement in national newspapers, invited applications from eminent scholars, educationists and education related researchers to become a part this council.

On May 13, Professor Ahsan Iqbal resigned from the cabinet over disagreement on the issue of sacked judges.

- ¹Pervez Hoodbhoy; What are they Teaching in Pakistani Schools Today? April 15, 2000
- ²Pakistan Country Report; September 2004
- ³CRS Report to Congress December 23, 2004
- ⁴Number of students from the International Crisis Group; number of institutions from the National Education Census 2005
- ⁵Economic Survey of Pakistan 2006-07
- ⁶Articles 8 to 28; The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan by the Information Gateway to Pakistan; http://www.infopak.gov.pk/constitution_pakistan.aspx
- ⁷There a total of 36 items in the Concurrent List; Federation and Constituion by Dr Farroq Hassan; The Nation, Tuesday, April 12, 2005
- ⁸Report of the Commission on National Education 1959. Ministry of Education, Islamabad, p. 360
- ⁹The Ford Foundation was incorporated in Michigan as a charitable foundation created to fund programs that “promote democracy, reduce poverty, promote international understanding and advance human achievement.”
- ¹⁰Dr Wells was one of ‘America’s Ten Outstanding Young Men in 1939” and Dr Salam won the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1979 for his work in Electro-Weak Theory.
- ¹¹Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was President of Pakistan from 1971 to 1973 and Prime Minister of Pakistan from 14 August 1973 to 5 July 1977.
- ¹²Journal of the Russian Ministry of Defense, April-June 2004.
- ¹³Ministry of Education; <http://www.moe.gov.pk/edupolicy.htm>
- ¹⁴International Labor Organization;
http://www.ilo.int/public/english/employment/skills/hrdr/init/pak_1.htm
- ¹⁵National Education Policy Review; <http://www.moe.gov.pk/nepr/default.asp>
- ¹⁶National Education Policy Review, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan;
<http://www.moe.gov.pk/nepr/WhitePaper.pdf>
- ¹⁷White Paper [Revised] Febraury 2007, Chapter 10, Religious Education, Paragraphs 1 & 2.
- ¹⁸White Paper [Revised] Febraury 2007, Chapter 10, Religious Education, Paragraphs 3.
- ¹⁹White Paper [Revised] Febraury 2007, Chapter 10.1, Policy Recommendations; Recommendation No. 4.
- ²⁰White Paper [Revised] Febraury 2007, Chapter 10.1, Policy Recommendations; Recommendation No. 7.
- ²¹Department of History; The Soviet War in Afghanistan. Module Convenor: Dr Mark

Galeotti; <http://www.keele.ac.uk/depts/hi/modules/hist-254/HIST254lecibib.pdf>

²²Cassiopeia;
http://www.cassiopeia.org/wiki/index.php?title=Soviet_war_in_Afghanistan

²³In the late 70's, the only institutionalized platform in the U.S. to study Afghanistan was at the University of Nebraska at Omaha; <http://world.unomaha.edu/cas/>

²⁴"From U.S., the ABC's of Jihad"; The Washington Post, Saturday, March 23, 2002; Page A01;
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A5339-2002Mar22?language=printer>

²⁵World Policy Institute publisher of World Policy Journal;
<http://www.worldpolicy.org/journal/articles/wpj02-1/Davis.pdf>

²⁶Ibid

²⁷Ibid

²⁸The Center for Public Integrity; Investigative Journalism in the Public Interest;
<http://www.publicintegrity.org/wow/bio.aspx?act=pro&ddlC=61>

²⁹John Imle, Unocal CEO, stated that his company spent between \$15 million to \$20 million on Central Asia oil pipeline (CentGas) project. On 10 August 2005, Unocal merged with Chevron Corporation.

³⁰USAID awarded the Afghan educational textbooks contract to Creative Associates International Inc., a Washington, D.C.-based private firm; <http://www.caii-dc.com/>

³¹Textbook for Class 6, Social Studies, Page 126; Authored by: Prof Mian Muhammed Aslam, Prof Muhammed Farooq Malik, Qazi Sajjad Ahmed and Mrs Hifsa Javed; February 2005.

³²President Discusses War on Terror; National Defense University, Fort Lesley J. McNair; <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/03/20050308-3.html>

³³<http://www.terrorfreetomorrow.org>

³⁴The survey had a margin of error of 3 percent