

Religious Extremism in Pakistan

IT IS NEVER TOO LATE

1. Situational Analysis

Religious extremism is on its full cry in Pakistan. The phenomena have significantly grown during the past few years and have posed a serious threat to the liberal forces working in the country and to the regional peace. The religio political parties and other vested interest groups, with backing from the Jihadi Groups are leading the rising wave of extremism in the country particularly in NWFP. The entire efforts are being made and justified with the self-styled interpretation and out of context use of Islamic teachings. The well-established and respected fora of mosques and Madaris are widely utilised to promote hatred against NGO's, the West, a few neighbouring countries, and other liberal forces. The general public are being motivated to wage Jihad (holy war) against all of them.

To a greater extent, the religious groups have been able to mould the public opinion in their favour after describing their campaign as a timely effort to save Islam and Muslims. The emotional attachment of the general public with Islam, the lack of their understanding of moderate Islamic principles and the sole monopoly of Ulama to interpret the Islamic teachings has greatly facilitated this process.

The confrontational attitude of Ulama in general is not limited to a particular subject. It encompasses a number of fields and can be well judged from the development in the following areas. A good number of documented examples are available for each one of them.

a. Confrontation to the Work of NGO's

All the major religious groups are using their full strength to condemn the NGO's and their way of working. There are ample evidences on record that these groups have started the campaign in order to eliminate the liberal and moderate forces from the country. The traditional mechanism of mosques and Madaris and print media are utilised to threaten and harass the workers of NGO's. Levelling unfounded allegation against them tarnishes their image. They have been declared agents of foreign powers who are out to destroy the institution of family through spreading obscenity, vulgarity and are thus damaging the very existence of Islam. An effort is underway to force NGO's to abandon their work and close down their offices in various parts of the province. To further build the pressure on them Fatwas were issued asking the pious to pick the female workers of NGO's and solemnised forced marriages with them. There is hardly a day passing without statements flaying NGO's are not appearing in the newspapers. Another Fathwa against NGO's says that working with them is un-Islamic. In D.I.Khan, Bannu and Charsadda commando groups were formed for monitoring the work of NGO's. Frequent demands are also made

from the government to put a complete ban on the activities of NGO's all over the country.

In addition, the NGO's have been dubbed as agents of the west and the Jews. Their activities have been termed as a conspiracy against Islam and Pakistan. However, no solid argument or proof has been provided to justify the allegations levelled against NGO's. The NRDF has interviewed several anti NGO's Ulama. At many occasions the NRDF staff working in the field has observed that several Ulama who issued harsh statements against NGO's and their workers are unable to even define the term "NGO's". They spread the information only because they were asked by their leaders to do so, who needed an activity for their workers.

b. Activities of Jihadi Groups

The growing activities of "Jihadi Groups" are another indicator of the rise of extremism. A total of 37 Jihadi groups are functioning in the country particularly in NWFP. Some of them are well established and have offices located in almost all the major cities and towns. They have affiliation with various religious parties and political groups. They view and advocate Jihad as the only solution to overcome the miseries of the Muslims in various parts of the globe. They also consider Jihad as a religious obligation of every Muslim and continuously urge them to actively take part in it. These groups have been able to create a significant war psyche among Muslims in an organised manner. The general public is generously funding them. Over the years, it has become a good business for a good number of people to establish a "Jihadi Group" and live a prosperous and respectable life. The known sources of their funding include donations from the general public in the form of zakat, khairat etc. It can be observed that every 30th shop in big cities is housing a box used for the collection of such donations. The sacrificial animals skins on the occasion of Eid-ul-Azha and other occasions also go mostly to the Jehadi organisations. In addition, their strength can also be judged from their growing number of offices, wall chalking in support of their activities and calls for recruiting Muslims for Jihad in various parts of the region. The wall chalking also contains the telephone numbers of these various organisations. Some of the slogans that can be seen on walls all over the province are:

- ❖ It is the religious obligation of every Muslim to go for Jihad
- ❖ Pay Rs. 40,000 and become a Mujahid
- ❖ Heaven lies in the shadows of swords
- ❖ We want to die for Islam.
- ❖ Our struggle will continue till the destruction of.....
- ❖ Large size of families make Jihad easier
- ❖ Contact us for receiving military training
- ❖ We will not sleep till the dominance of Islam all over the world
- ❖ We will make this world a grave for
- ❖ If Jighad is terrorism, we are terrorist
- ❖ We are proud of our nuclear capability and will defend it
- ❖ Nuclear bomb is a genuine solution to liberate Kashmir

The interest of a large number of people lies in this business. It seems that these groups just need an enemy to keep their business alive. The war psyche they have developed amongst their ranks will push them to explore other avenues for their expeditions. There are chances that the situation will further deteriorate if they get access to more powerful and destructive weapons. The activities of these groups are not only harmful for Pakistan but will significantly contribute to put the regional and global peace at stake.

c. Opposition to Women Participation

The religious groups are strong opponents to the women participation at various levels of decision-making. They argue that it is a religious obligation of women to remain homebound and take care of their respective families. Any change in the traditionally perceived role of women is taken as onslaught of western culture, a serious threat to the institution of family and Islam. They bitterly criticise those NGO's, which work particularly for the protection of women rights and the mobility of its female staff. They are also opposing the current plan of government according to which women will get 33 % representation at district government level. Recently, several muftis of JUI Fazal-ur-Rehman group issued religious decrees that allow forced marriages with the female workers of NGO's. Other religious groups functioning in the country have hardly this drive of JUI (F) group. Thus a deliberate effort was made to harass the female staff of NGO's in order to force them to restrict their mobility and live a life religious groups are advocating for them.

d. Anti-Western Radicalism

The opposition of western countries is a popular slogan of almost all the religious groups. They generally condemn them for hatching conspiracies against the Muslims and Islam. They consider them responsible for all the miseries of Muslim countries and resort to staging demonstrations against them. To keep politically opposition alive, very often, a number of religious groups spread hatred against west on continuous basis. At times, they urge Muslims to kill the aid workers and other western nationals if any attack is made on Afghanistan.

For a justification of their attitude towards the West, the religious groups mostly refer to the situation of Muslims in various parts of the world. They claim that the west is conspiring to keep the Muslims backward only because Muslims have the potential to fight for their dominance. They view that the USA leads the entire move. The NGO's are the tools and so fighting them is an Islamic obligation. They express Jihad as the only option left to deal with western countries and minds.

e. The Process of Talibanisation in NWFP

There seems to be a growing scope for a Taliban style leadership in the country. This is evident from the rise of various religious movements in various parts of the province. These include Tahrik-I-Nifaz-I-Shariat in Malakand Agency, Tehrik-I-Ulama-I-Bara in

khyber agency, and JUI supported extremist groups in Waziristan, Bannu, Mardan, Kohat, Chitral, Northern Areas and other parts of the province. A loose alliance of all the religio political groups has been formed under the name of IMAM in several districts of the province. The basic objective of IMAM is to exert pressure on government to ban the Cable Network and NGO's in the province. One of the common characteristics of all the mentioned groups is that they agree on the implementation of Islamic laws in its strict sense. Lately, there have been many incidents, which can be taken as test cases to judge the phenomenal growth of extremism. These include setting ablaze the wires of the Cable Networks in Peshawar, smashing the TV sets in Mardan, efforts to force the NGO workers in Peshawar, Mardan, Dir, Chitral, Swabi and D.I.Khan to close down their offices, establishment of an Islamic court in district Dir and physical manhandling of two Christian preachers in Lakki district. The preachers were later on handed over to the police for registering a case against them under the blasphemy laws.

Impact of Taliban Government on the Situation

The rise of Taliban in Afghanistan has greatly fuelled the rise of extremism in NWFP particularly in the backward rural areas. It has significantly motivated the religious groups to vigorously work for the establishment of the same type of government in Pakistan. The following problems are greatly contributing to make the general masses an easy prey to be exploited by the advocates of Taliban style government.

- ❖ Lack of social justice and good governance
- ❖ Limited availability of social services to the people
- ❖ Weak democratic institutions
- ❖ Unemployment
- ❖ Weak economy due to which price of daily goods has shot up
- ❖ Role of some newspapers fuelling the phenomena
- ❖ Monopoly of religious groups on interpretation of religion
- ❖ Exploitation of religion for personal gains
- ❖ Ignorance about the moderate teachings of Islam
- ❖ Free hand granted to the religious groups to function the way they wish
- ❖ The emotional attachment of general public with Islam (Whether general public understands/practices Islam or not they are always ready to die for it).

2. Impact of the Campaign

- ❖ The religious groups have been able to mobilise the masses, to a significant degree, against the NGO's and western countries. It is evident from the fact that NGO's have become an abused and people in general hesitate to openly participate in their activities in many parts of the province. The local communities in several locations have asked the NGO's, working in those specific areas, to close down their operations in their respective localities.
- ❖ There is a growing demand for a Taliban style leadership in the country. This is evident from the rise of various Taliban like movements and groups, which have even established their own courts (tribal belt, Hangu, Dir and several other parts of the

province). According to various news items, which regularly appear in the daily newspapers. The local communities prefer to take their cases to such courts for decisions.

- ❖ The image of NGO's has been systematically tarnished. Regardless of the many successes of NGO's, a good number of their workers have reported to NRDF that they find it increasingly difficult to introduce themselves as workers of a non-government organisation in public. When they do so, they face opposition and most of their time is wasted in explaining their respective positions.
- ❖ With the passage of time other community-based groups are increasingly showing a tendency to join Ulama in their struggle against the NGO's/liberal forces. It is evident from a number of statements of the local community members and notables appearing in newspapers on daily basis in which NGO's are asked not to come to their areas. The confrontation has resulted in hampering the process of social development to a considerable extent.
- ❖ The Sarhad NGO's ittehad and several other networks of NGO's have very often voiced their concern about the rising level of threats to workers of NGO's. From these various platforms, it has frequently been expressed, that NGO's workers feel insecure to work in the field.
- ❖ The moderate people at the community level, who have been interviewed by NRDF staff expressed that they view the rise of religious extremism as a dangerous phenomena, a formidable threat to the democratic forces and regional peace. However, they have expressed their inability to openly voice their concerns about it because they feel insecure to do so.

3. The Response to the Situation

A considerable number of individuals and organisations are involved in fighting the fast rising level of religious extremism in the country. They have made a number of efforts in the past to address the prevailing situation. These included the steps taken at the following levels.

a. Government level

The successive governments in Pakistan have very often expressed their concern over the rise of extremism during the last ten years. They made loud claims to eliminate it. However, the actions they wanted to take proved abortive due to pressure of the religious parties. The present regime, although a military one, has repeatedly announced that it will check the unbridled growth of extremist groups. Several of its ministers claimed that the government will establish a secular government in the country; conduct survey of Madaris, amend the Hadood ordinance, bring changes in the blasphemy laws and revamp the curricula of Madaris. They further claimed that they will not allow any terrorist to use the land for their activities and will provide security to NGO's to smoothly function and so on. However, the ministers who issued such statements have contradicted them soon after receiving a strong reaction from the religious groups.

b. NGO's Level

The NGO's community has rendered a lot of contribution to the process of social development and democratisation in the country. They too have issued statements on various occasions to condemn the spread of extremism in the country. However, their multiple engagements to achieve the set targets, limited resources, inability to forge the required unity in their ranks for the same cause and their little understanding of the religious institutions have not allowed them to work out effective and innovative strategies to address the menace.

c. Efforts of NRDF

The rising level of religious extremism is a serious concern of NRDF since its inception in 1988. It forecast the present day situation well in advance and came up with an alternative strategy of Ulama and Development to raise awareness about the phenomena and subsequently overcome it. NRDF believes that all the sections of civil society, including democratic groups and NGO's are doing meaningful efforts in minimising the dangers of this phenomena (This fact, to a considerable extent, has widened the gap between the two sides. It is generally believed that this atmosphere of mistrust is not conducive for NGO's to make inroads in the religious institutions). NRDF, after closely analysing the prevailing situation, is of the view that the growing problem of religious extremism can only be arrested in a peaceful manner if internal changes within the religious institutions are facilitated. The reason for the argument is that the present situation has been created while exploiting the teachings of Islam. Any effort to redress the situation by liberal forces is generally branded as conspiracy against religion by the religious institutions, which further aggravate the situation. (The interpretation of religion in Pakistan is considered a domain of religion institutions, which has helped them to monopolise it). So it is necessary that the services of moderate forces amongst them shall be utilised to eliminate the growing intolerance in a peaceful manner. This in turn will also help facilitate attitudinal changes amongst the functionaries of traditional religious institutions. Such a change is vital not only for the peace and stability in the region but for building trust with people of other beliefs worldwide.

One of the objectives of the Ulama and Development strategy is to fight the religious extremism by involving Ulama in the developmental activities and networking them with other NGO's and outside organisations. NRDF has made significant progress since the initiation of work on this concept developed in 1993. However, it has still to go a long way to be more effective. To start with its work, NRDF categorised the Ulama into the following six different groups. The categorisation is based on their bent of mind, characteristics, exposure, motives and activities. Each group required a separate strategy to be reoriented on social issues, giving them a new direction for thinking and bringing changes in their attitude and actions. The NRDF has successfully demonstrated the capacity to make inroads in the below mentioned groups (excluding the second one) with varying degree of success.

- I. Active religio-political groups and Mohtamimeen of Madaris:** This is a major group comprising the leaders and workers of religio political parties and majority of the heads of the Madaris. These people are actively engaged in the activities of their concerned parties, groups and Madaris. Their interests are closely related and at times several of their actions are motivated by this fact. This group is leading the campaign against NGO's, the West and other liberal forces in the country. The members of this group normally interpret Islam in a strict sense. There is a marked difference between their personal views and what they say in public. The leaders want to engage their workers and the workers also need some actions in the field in order to survive among the masses and to be in the news. This is a traditional way of politics in Pakistan.

Some people among this group often wish to overcome the discrepancy between what they say and do. However, they have little capacity to come up with alternative ways of working. At times, even if some of them are able to come up with some suggestions the policy-making bodies of their respective organisations turn them down because of the pain involved in the process. Any changes in the attitude of this group will greatly help to curb extremism and giving peace a chance in future.

- II. Jihadi Groups:** This is a relatively new, small but still one of the most powerful groups comprising activists of various religio-political parties, unemployed youth and religious zealots. This group has a focus on Jihad related activities and has a great contribution in fanning extremism. Their activities include motivating people to support Jihad, recruiting youth for it, providing them training and sending them to various areas for Jihad. Majority of the members of this group are trained and war hardened. Strong commitment to their cause has enabled them to die in the name of Allah. The biggest strength of this group is not their military but the mental training, which they receive on regular basis. This group also widely exploits the Islamic teachings concerning Jihad in order to gain the support of general masses. The religio-political parties utilise their services whenever required or use their names to harass their opponents.

The mobilisation of moderate Ulama to work from a common platform, to spread the teachings of Islam concerning non-violence and strongly advocating the true interpretation of Islamic teachings concerning Jihad among the masses will greatly reduce the support for this group.

- III. Teachers and Students of Madaris:** The teachers and students in the Madaris jointly form a huge group. According to a survey of Madaris, which NRDF conducted in 1998-1999, the average number of students in four districts is around 18,000 while the number of teachers in the same institutions is around 600. These figures do not include teachers and students of informal Madaris and where (formal one) the number of students is below 30. If these figures are generalised for the 22 districts and 7 tribal agencies of the province, the combined

strength of this group can be estimated as 539,400. The food cost of this group for a period of one year is \$ 129.45 million (@ Rs. 40/person/day). This contribution mostly comes from the local population. The Muslims living in USA, Europe and Arab Countries also generously finance them.

These people are mostly humble in nature and remain restricted to their respective Madaris. The teachers of the Madaris have a great influence on their students who blindly obey them. They are involved in teaching related activities almost for 12-14 hours a day. They mostly live on dole money, receive nominal salaries for their services. They are not concerned with the administrative affairs of the Madaris in any way. They have no opportunities to receive any professional training. They have been educated in a specific way which always demands of them to remain silent, follow what their elders and teachers have told them. Majority of them strongly believe in the traditions, the books they read in their student days and consider questioning against the decent norms. They instil the same feelings in their students and thus unknowingly promote extremism. Well thought changes in the traditional curricula of Madaris, teaching methodologies, opportunities for the training of its teachers, designing of a broader frame work for their functioning and greater opportunities for members of this category to interact with outside world will be useful for them to better understand their responsibilities and to advocate peace and harmony.

IV. Ulama Affiliated with Government Institutions

The teachers of Islamic Studies and Arabic in government school, colleges, universities and district Khutiba associated with the Ministries of Religious Affairs can be put together in this group. The combined strength of this significant group is enormous. They are relatively more educated, trained, broad minded and have a good exposure to the outside world. They also have their own networks, associations and having close links with religious institutions. The government has a strong influence over them. Their services can be effectively utilised to conduct research on present day issues from an Islamic perspective, impart training to the functionaries of religious Madaris and students and raising awareness amongst the local communities. The effective utilisation of this group will greatly help in eradicating extremism and bringing the extremist elements in the main stream.

- V. **Tablighi Group:** The Tablighi is a non-violent group formed by a religious scholar in the sub continent. It draws its huge membership from almost all sections of the society. They command respect among the general public and are widely appreciated for their calm attitude. According to newspapers the total membership of this group is around 3.5 million. They travel in small groups from place to place for preaching purposes. They mostly stay in mosques. Each member of the group bears their own cost of travelling and food. They are not involved in any political activities and are selflessly working to build the capacity of general public to understand and practice the Islamic rituals. They do not

support the current interpretation of Jihad. However, it is the corner stone of their preaching methodology not to openly oppose the prevailing beliefs of individuals and groups of people. They rather prefer to work silently.

Over the years, some senior members of the Tablighi group openly advocate to broaden the scope of their work by play a more meaningful role in addressing the prevailing grave social issues. They need to be motivated and facilitated in this regard. Any such action on their part to be involved in the developmental activities will greatly help the local communities to get a much better access to social services. This in turn will also be useful to reduce the level of prevailing extremism in the country.

- VI. Moderate Ulama:** The Ulama belonging to this category are highly educated and have independent and more moderate views on all the prevailing social issues. They command high respect in their jurisdictions. They are scattered all over the province and have no or very little contact with each other. Very few persons amongst them would have made efforts to form a common forum for communication with people as a group. Any effort to bring them together on a common platform will change them into a formidable force, which can be utilised to abate the rising extremism at the local level.

4. Achievements of NRDF

NRDF has been actively working with the above-mentioned types of groups in four districts of the province since 1993. It has collected a good data about them. Based on this data it developed an awareness and communication strategy for each group. The objective was to win their support for the process of social development in the province. The strategy is being implemented and tested out in three different geographical regions through six different projects with varying degrees of success.

The pioneering work of the organization has explored new dimensions to the community development in Pakistan and has laid down a strong foundation for more comprehensive and specialized efforts. Simultaneously, NRDF has demonstrated the capacity to successfully implement the concept in the most demanding circumstances. The concept has proved its utility as a useful, socially acceptable and cost effective way of working with local communities in various sectors. The initial phase has confirmed that the religious institutions can be effectively utilize to organize communities, mobilize local resources, raise awareness and facilitate actions to solve the day-to-day problems. Further more, it was found helpful in showing a path to mitigate the affect of rising Taliban phenomena in the region and building an open minded, peaceful and moderate society. The summary of key achievements is given below:

- ❖ Contacts were made with over 4000 religious functionaries of varying educational background and discussions with them were held on current day issues. These efforts resulted in the formation of core groups comprising of Ulama, representatives of local communities and CBO's in four districts. They are regularly participating in the

activities of NRDF. They have also initiated their own activities in their respective jurisdictions. These activities included awareness raising concerning women rights, family welfare, conflict resolution, establishment of home based schools, plantation campaigns, environmental sanitation, supporting the female workers of NGO's, abating noise pollution including that of mosques loud speakers etc. Furthermore, they positively contributed in addressing the rising tide of extremism through presenting the moderate aspect of Islam. This process, although successful, yet is in its initial stage and needs to be continued and further strengthened.

- ❖ A strong development based network of progressive and open-minded Ulama in NWFP was formed. The network has the representation of all sects and a separate wing of female religious functionaries. They are ready to accept more responsibilities pertaining to social development in their respective jurisdictions. Over the years of association with NRDF and participation at various forums they have acquired a much better understanding of their role to mobilize local resources, ensure community participation and take part in the awareness raising activities of vital social importance.
- ❖ The research cell of NRDF has prepared 40 Kutbat/lessons on current day issues (400 pages A 4 size). It involved Ulama, women groups and students and teachers of universities and colleges in its preparation. Thus the scope of research work was broadened. The lessons highlight the moderate and liberal interpreting of Islam. In addition, material for preparing 40 more Khtbat has been gathered and needs to be finalized. Over 30 key Madaris has shown their interest to include this work in the syllabi of their respective Madaris. The 40 Khtbat has already been field-tested. Furthermore, booklets on “Taleem and Islam” and “Women Rights in Islam” were prepared and disseminated.
- ❖ A two-day workshop and follow up discussions on the syllabi of Madaris were successfully organized. Representatives of key religious institutions of the province attended this workshop and supplemented the NRDF steps for a dialogue on proposing necessary changes. This move opened up an entire new field for intervention in four different areas and promotion of basic education in the country. These fields included 1) broadening the scope of Madaris education through inclusion of worldly subjects in curricula 2) teachers training 3) improvements in the teaching methodologies and 4) policy reforms in the curricula of Madaris. The experience gained through this workshop and many other follow up discussions with Ulama suggests that this work, although gigantic in nature, must be continued. NRDF has the required ability to continue working in these many extra sensitive fields for which sufficient resources needs to be ensured.
- ❖ Over 300 orientation and capacity building workshops and formal meetings were organized with Ulama. These were useful in building their capacity to understand the world around them in a better way, review their role and responsibilities and contribute to the process of social development, mobilize local resources, interact other civil society organization and interpret Islam in its moderate sense.

- ❖ The female team of NRDF was successful in initiating a number of activities with the most traditional female Ulama and religious institutions thus creating a foundation for future work which is highly commendable in the present circumstances of opposition and controversies. There is a strong need to carry it on further. The links established will be of immense importance to promote female education.
- ❖ NRDF made significant progress in networking religious institutions with civil society organization. On many fora the Ulama were brought together with people from other developmental organizations, women groups and foreign delegations for discussion on vital issues. These interactions helped both sides to understand each other views in a better way. It also paved the way for their collaboration to a limited extent. Through this work the NGO's also got an opportunity to meet Ulama and understand the need for involving them into the mainstream of development.
- ❖ Survey of religious Madaris in Peshawar, Swabi, Mansehra and Kohat districts were conducted and an authentic database on them was developed. In addition, a KAP study of Ulama in relation to education in district Kohat was conducted.
- ❖ A survey of out of school children in district Kohat was conducted during which 13700 non-school going children were identified and basic information about them were collected. NRDF with the active support of local Ulama mobilized local communities for the enrolment of the identified children in schools. Till date 5000 of them has been enrolled in different schools of the area.
- ❖ NRDF opposed the religious decree that allowed forced marriages with female workers of NGO's. It mobilised its entire team, network of Ulama and community representatives to address the grave issue and block the way for the imminent unjust treatment of female workers of civil society organisations. NRDF met senior most Ulama, community representatives and government officials, communicated its serious concern to them and sought their help to minimise the damage that has took place. An article on rise of religious extremism was prepared and disseminated. This campaign proved to be a big success as several religious scholars and clerics issued counter decrees and statements to counter the previous decrees.
- ❖ NRDF has documented its experiences in the form of 13 different reports. These are available at the main office of the organisation.
- ❖ Strategic allies (in the form of around 20 Madaris and over 100 Ulama in each district) in have been identified. They are willing to collaborate with NRDF. A commitment has been obtained from them to bring changes in the curricula of their respective Madaris.
- ❖ Dialogues with senior leaders of religio-political groups were initiated and a formal communication channel with them was established.

These efforts of NRDF will greatly help in building a movement of development in the long run. However, miracles shall not be expected in a short span of time. NRDF needs time and support of other like-minded people and organisations to speed up its efforts. It also required resources to replicate the concept on larger scale. It also needs the support of government to implement parts of the recommendation it has derived from its work for policy level reforms in this specific sector.

5. Suggestions for Specific Future Actions

Consequent upon the experience gains in implementing the project and conducting various activities we believe that there is an ample scope for improvement in the current situation. Following are the specific sectors for future working.

a) Strengthening the core groups and their Training

- ❖ Formation and strengthening of core groups comprising of open minded and moderate Ulama and religious institutions, representatives of local communities and their mobilization in favor of developmental activities and fighting extremism.

b) Research, publication and Awareness Raising

- ❖ Further research on the syllabus of Madaris
- ❖ Formulation of policy suggestions to positively influence religious institutions
- ❖ Developing appropriate extension messages
- ❖ Publish motivational material developed during the pilot phase.

c) Supporting strategic Allies

- ❖ Material inputs such as books, audio-visuals aids and teachers' training.
- ❖ Exposure visits for religious persons
- ❖ English language courses at British Council, Peshawar

d) Formulate policy suggestions for future

- ❖ Formulation of packages for reforms in restructuring the religious Ministries
- ❖ Formulation of regulations for streamlining the functioning of religious Madaris while introducing some aspects of school education in the curricula of Madaris.

Written by:

Tahseen Ullah Khan

Phone: 844585

E-mail: nrdf@psh.paknet.com.pk