

VIOLENCE AND MADARIS CONNOTATION: CHALLENGE OR BLAME

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ABSTRACT

The Madaris that is being propagated after 9/11 as “both ideologically activist and militant”, had been established and developed excellent traditions in South Asia, engaged deliberately in delivering religious education, strengthening Islamic values and most significantly imparting training to the eventual candidates of civil society. This research reveals that political or social violence or militancy is more than a religious one. It further reveals that social behaviors, are becoming more intolerant due to different reasons that causes violence in society more than religious behaviors. The studies also depict that the regions having more religious institutions or Madaris have less violence or militancy as compared to those regions having less Madaris. Moreover, the reasons that are proliferating violent attitudes, are also found out. The government, Ulema and society all are responsible and suffering loss. All should play a role to convert violent attitudes into peaceful and demonstrative one.

KEYWORDS: Madaris, Violence, Militancy,

INTRODUCTION:

Media reports on terrorist incidents have perplexed routine life. Mostly the international media coverage portrayed Madaris in general and Pakistanis Madaris in particular as producing leading members of the international terrorist network. Whenever and wherever any terrorist incident was happened, the reports as propagated tried their best to link it with the Madrassa and ultimately to that of Pakistan. On 9/11, a thunder was raised on US and UK media against Madaris as “Incubators of militants, factories of Jihad, and recruitment centers for holy warriors”. On 7/7 (the London

bombings in July 2005) Samina Ahmed and Andrew Stroehlein commented, “Jihadi extremism is still propagated at radical madrasas in Pakistan.... the hatred these madrasas breed is spilling blood in Western cities as well.”³ The pre 9/11 media coverage portrayed Madaris as imparting orthodox

and rigid version of Islam, hatred for the West and imparting militancy. The post 9/11 incident coverage framed the Madaris as fierce threat to global security.

Besides these, the terrorist’s links with Madaris is more dangerous for Pakistani as it has reasonable strength here. If Madaris are seriously involved in departing militant training; it may turn the whole country into civil war. Pakistani consider them as blessing and institutions of peace and supports them enthusiastically and financially. After 9/11, on media framing, number of scholarly studies have been conducted; some support the Madaris and declared allegations just accusations and some observed different challenges that are caused by Madaris. Some scholars from Pakistan consider Madaris as security threat to Pakistan.

For this purpose, the available literature including Newspapers, Journals, books etc. are perused; the issue is discussed with the general public including the educators, students, businessmen etc.; the intelligentsias are consulted and the Ulema are interviewed; some are unsatisfied with the output and performance of Madaris. The Ulema admits that their companions have made some mistakes; due to which society is suffering an unbearable loss but they also consider the government more responsible for the entire state of affairs⁴. The informal discussion has been conducted with the general public to find their opinions. Some support the system, admitting some problems by them while the others

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³ Samina Ahmed and Andrew Stroehlein, *Pakistan: Still Schooling Extremists*, Washington Post, July17, 2005

⁴ Allama Kokab Noorani, Interview with researcher at Chenab Club Faisalabad.

considers Madaris, not fulfilling their responsibility as required with the need of time. Besides these, senior government officials in the Ministry of Interior; members of the Pakistan Madrassa Education Board and law-enforcement officials are also interviewed to know the role of Madaris in present scenario. Special arrangements were made for anonymous interviews with the Counter Terrorism Department and Crises Management Cell (departments responsible for anti-terrorism operation) to find out that is there any direct linkages between Madrassa and terrorist activities.

Violence by Madaris

According to Interior Ministry, in 2012, total 948 incidents of terrorism were reported in which 2793 persons were killed. Out of 948 incidents, only 115 were declared as sectarian while 833 were of non-sectarian in nature. Only 12% sectarian incidents were happened. Likewise, out of 2793 killings, only 350 were affirmed as sectarian while 2443 were non-sectarian that meant only 13% sectarian killings. The sectarian killings include Shia 265, Deobandi 82, Brelvi 2 and Ahle-Hadith 1. It demonstrates that political or social terrorism is 7 times more than sectarian one.⁵ The analysis disclosed that religious / sectarian terrorism is not in the society as it is propagated; that meant militancy may have very little concern with Madaris or religion.

During presentation of Home Department, Punjab, senior officials of LEAs disclosed about sectarian militancy that they have interrogated more than 1800 hard core terrorists within 15 years; all are inspired and motivated by fire brand speakers who made Jihadi and hate speeches and persuaded them to support and join militant / banned organization; meant they are not brain-washed at Madrassa but by speaker of militant organization. In another elaborate exercise was carried out by Home department in collaboration with sister intelligence agencies to identify Madaris actively involved in militancy in 2007-08. Out of 9221 Madaris, only 170 in Punjab were identified as involved in militancy/terrorist activities. Out of these 170 Madaris, the 73 were categorized into category “A” whereas 97 as category “B”. It flashes only 1.8 % involvement. These 73 Madaris were declared “A” on the basis of providing logistic support to terrorism or some Jihadi organization leaders visited them. Five Madaris were found involved in dispatching young activists for military training in Tribal areas. It exhibits only 0.054 % involvement.

Under Home Department, Punjab, LEAs arrested and investigated 116 hardcore terrorists from 01.01.2009 to 30.04.2011. Out of them, 93 were those who directly committed terrorism while other facilitated them in one way or the other. Only 28 mean 24% had Madaris education while 97 got school education and 17 were illiterate and 3 were non-Muslims. The educational detail of the analysis is shown therein:

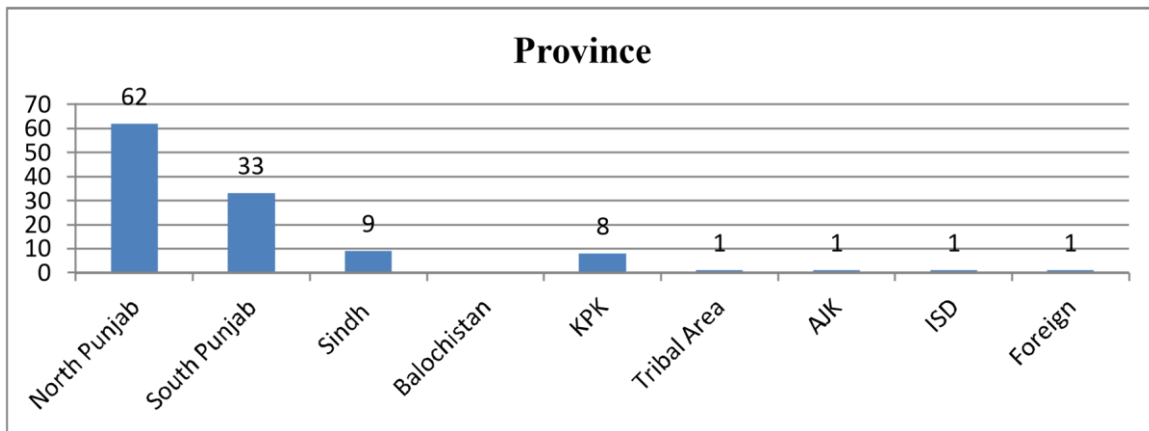
School Education		Madrassa Education		Non-Muslims
Illiterate	17	Hifz	21	03
Primary	28	Dars-E-Nizami	07	
Middle	29			
Matric/FA	28			
B.A/M.B.B.S	12			

Source: Home Department, Punjab.

Among them Deobandi were 79, Brelvi 16, Ahle-Hadith 18 and non-Muslims 3; revealed that all sects / non-Muslims shared militancy more or less meant it is political issue; not religious one linked to Madrassa as propagated. It further demonstrated that 64 were married out of 116 terrorists; disclosed that the underage are not carrying on but matured persons are equally involved in all terrorists’ activities. The territorial detail is as under:⁶

⁵ Unpublished Interior Ministry Report

⁶ Home Department, Punjab



The Police and LEAs officials disclosed different reasons for the population support to religious militancy in Southern Punjab especially the D.G. Khan division; firstly they revealed that the said division geographically adjoin with the Waziristan Agency and Khyber Pashtun Khawah (KPK) and definitely get influenced by them; secondly the area is backward, generally public hold strong religious beliefs and prefer religious education over schooling; thirdly during Zia era, effective campaign for Jihad in Afghanistan against Russia was launched and huge gathering of militants were sent under LEAs supervision. Some were returned as Gazi; they justified the Taliban government later on and they considered American attack as crusade against Islamic government of Taliban and support them with all means. Campaign initiated during Zia era is not redressed properly in these areas as required.⁷ It meant the present scenario of supporting terrorism in the Southern Punjab is the output of the campaign launched by LEAs during Zia era. According to study conducted regarding Dini Madaris student by Sajjad Hayat Akhtar and his team in Mardan, Nowshera and Peshawar in KPK, 100% did not get any Jihadi training. 100% were never be or remain a member of any Jihadi group. 100% students stated that they have not been participated in practical Jihad.⁸ C. Fair surveyed 141 Mujahidin who have offered Jihad and martyred in AJK; out of those said Mujahidin, just 19 were apparently attended Madaris full-time and the alike figure were joined the public school full-time. Nobody was recruited at a private school. So Madaris are not the most prominent recruitment venue; indeed less than a quarter of the militants (33 of 141) ever attended Madaris; out of those 33 Madaris graduates, 27 get education from Madaris for four or fewer years and majority got education at public schools.⁹ More than 79% respondents refused to admit Madaris as source of extremism. The 8% plaintiffs confirm that certain Madaris assume role to proliferate extremism and radicalization but also expose that such institutions were appreciated by the government of Pakistan and was even provided donations and appreciation by the West.¹⁰ The researcher found Madaris involvement in militancy is just 2.5; that is based on logistic supports to militants and involvement of students in reported militant / violent sectarian crimes; that is almost same as that of Home Department. No case is found that any Madaris student killed or fired other Madaris student whereas number of cases can be quoted that mentionable student leaders are killed by opponent student leaders on political basis; it reveals that Madaris students are less violent as compared to college or university students.¹¹ Likewise no case is found that one sect Madrassa student's assault over other sect neighbouring Madrassa on any sectarian issue. Incidents of sectarian terrorism like attacks of SSP on Ahle-Tashi worship places or by SM on Deobandi mosques are due to sectarian organization, having mixture of different class recruits, not to Madaris.¹² There are many issues over possession of mosque but in such issues, public is more involved than Madrassa student.¹³

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

⁷ The Writer Informally Interviewed Police and LEAs Official during January 2011 to July 2013

⁸ Sajjad Hayat Akhtar and S.Wajid Ali Shah, *Evaluation of the factors for the expansions of Deeni Madaris (Semenaries) after 9/11 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, (Pakistan: Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business, vol.3, No.5, Sep.2011), 417

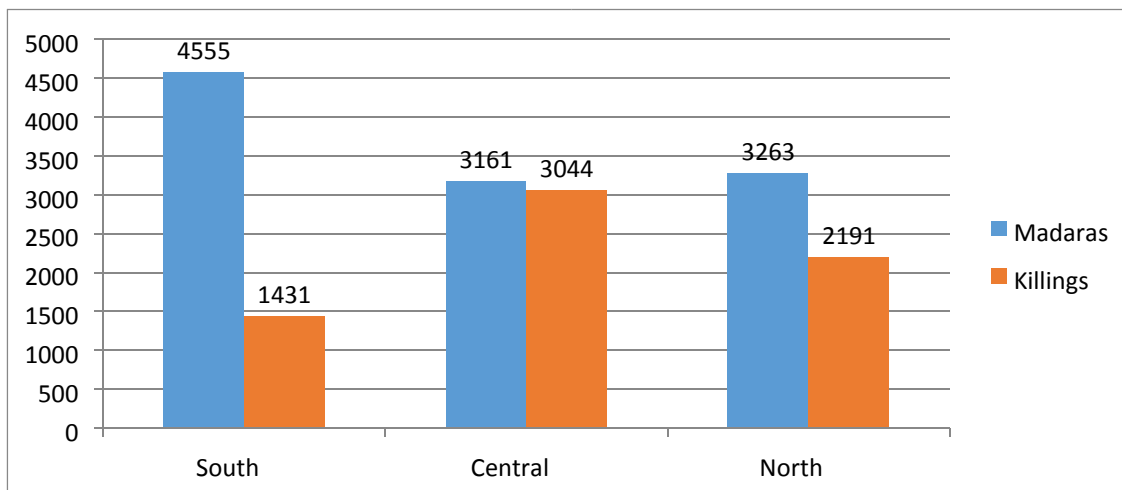
⁹ C. Christine Fair, *The Educated Militants of Pakistan: Implications for Pakistan Domestic Security*, (Rutledge: A Contemporary South Asia, Vol. 16, No. 1, March 2008), 68

¹⁰ Muhammad Aamir Rana, *Mapping Madrassa Mindset: Political Attitudes of Pakistani Madaris*, Conflict and Peace Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1, Jan-Mar 2009, (Islamabad: Pakistan Institutes for Peace Studies, Jan-Mar 2009), 113

¹¹ Interview District Officer CTD, Punjab.

¹² Interview District Officer CTD, Punjab.

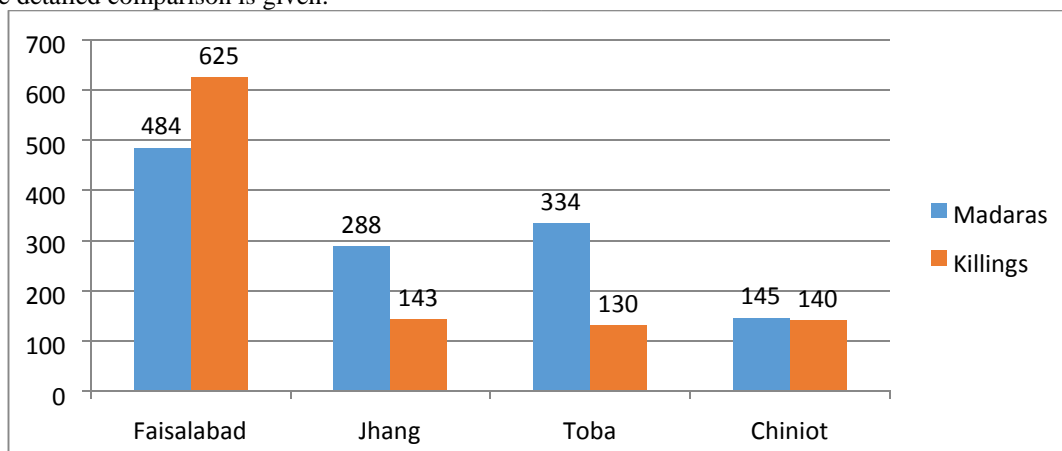
¹³ Interview District Officer CTD, Punjab.



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

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

The detailed comparison is given:



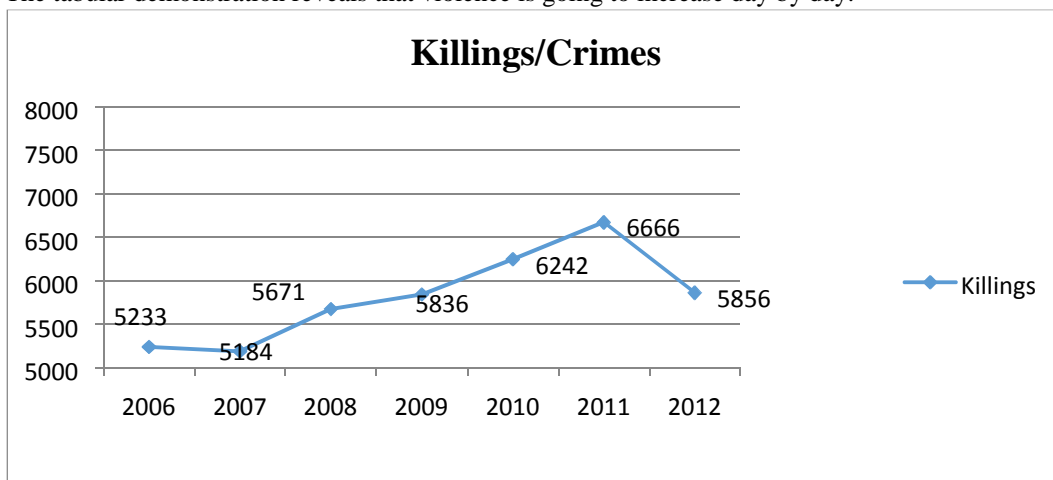
Source: Interior ministry, Islamabad & Home Department, Punjab.

The analysis reveals that Madaris are peaceful institutions and are delivering peace to society. The social awareness about rights encourages public to struggle for them; it develops public attitude to be intolerable to violence. From clergies to sinful, riches to poor, industrialists to labour, teachers to students, shop-keepers to civil servants, politicians to voters; every corner of life is sacked with intolerance, abusive languages and violent attitude. In public gathering, whether it is political, social or matrimonial, often scenes of violence are flashed. A man slab Traffic Warden on checking traffic violation; a person beat doctor on mishandling of his patient and in response young doctors takes him with iron hand; public beat and even fire a dacoit, caught red-handed etc. are the daily news at newspaper. It feels as the fabric of society is undergoing to break. In term of individual ideology, majority demonstrate Talbanic (Extremist) attitude. No one bear to be criticized. "Critic" on clergy role, was declared as "Kafir or Fasiq"; on armed forces, was treated as "traitor"; on political platforms they were considered as Agents" respectively. All federal and provincial government including MQM, LEAs and Courts like Talban desire and adopt

strategy to gauge media. Thoughts and mottos are same but methods and ways of expression are different. Everyone is Talib in his attitude, sometime for personal or sometimes for alliance gains.¹⁴

According to Opotow, violence happens when basic needs remain unfulfilled and divided unequally and unjustly; some are showered extra-ordinary and some remain deprived. Violence happens at whole level from individual to society, from family to nation and from region to world.¹⁵ Philosophers vary over violent behaviour whether they are due to genetic effect or created by atmosphere. Socio-biologists debate that violent behaviour is a primarily linked with biological setup, and is provoked or suppressed by numerous situations. Deviance theory observed violence linked with several physiological reasons. They further added that violent behaviour causes physiological variances. However, majority violence is happened by physiologically as well as mentally normal individuals.¹⁶

Violence at National level reveals such a worse condition that social norms and values of Islam have faded away. According to Interior Ministry, 7151 incidents of violence including terrorism have been occurred during January to October, 2012; which includes 2755 in Sindh, 2407 in KPK, 1445 in Baluchistan and 544 in Punjab respectively.¹⁷ Comparatively situation is more dangerous in Sindh. Only in Karachi from January to September, 2012, 1732 persons were murdered including 88 police official. Within 15 days of October, 2012, 137 were killed. Whereas 841 in 2007, 1142 in 2008, 1083 in 2009, 1485 in 2010 and 1789 in 2011 were put to death respectively.⁷⁷ The Position in Punjab is comparatively better than another province. Violence cases (only murder) in Punjab demonstrates intolerable and violent attitude generally as compared to any civilized society, as depicted by crime chart from Police Head Quarter. The tabular demonstration reveals that violence is going to increase day by day:



Source: Data acquired from PHQ, Lahore.

Reasons for Violence:

The Madaris that is being propagated after 9/11 as “both ideologically activist and militant”, had been established and developed excellent traditions in South Asia, engage deliberately in delivering religious education, enhancing literacy rate, reinforcing Islamic values, reserving Islamic culture and most significantly imparting training to the eventual candidates of civil society. Observing devotion by society, it is used for recruitment of Mujahidin to counter Soviet invasion in Afghanistan under American umbrella. The private Jihad in Afghanistan through Pakistan was commenced with American Dollar. The United States indirectly and sometimes directly contributed for producing radicalization and militancy by propagating Jihad among the clergy.¹⁸ For example, specific textbooks in Darri and Pashto languages were inscribed with the inspiration for Jihad against Soviet evil at the University of Nebraska–Omaha, funded by USAID in the 1980s.¹⁹ Arms, ammunitions and Dollar were provided to Afghanis through

¹⁴ Saleem Safi, *Jirga: Taliban, Waziristan and Confusistan*, Daily Jang, Lahore, October 20, 2012

¹⁵ Opotow, Susan. *Aggression and Violence*, Morton Deutsch and Peter T. Coleman, eds., the Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2000, pp.403-427

¹⁶ Opotow, Susan. *Aggression and Violence*, Morton Deutsch and Peter T. Coleman, eds., the Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2000, pp.403-427

¹⁷ Daily Duniya News, Faisalabad, October 23, 2012 *77CNBC NEWS Channel* on 18.10.2012 at 9:00 AM

¹⁸ See Viewpoints Special Edition, *The Islamization of Pakistan, 1979-2009*, The Middle East Institute Washington, DC.

¹⁹ Opotow, Susan. *Aggression and Violence*, Morton Deutsch and Peter T. Coleman, eds., the Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2000, pp.403-427

Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence as various publications have indicated.²⁰ During that time that was being done and appreciated with the aim of defeating the Soviet Union.²¹ Later on, that radicalization slowly grew anti-American due to some reasons. Firstly, the Gulf War (1990-1991) that caused the entrance of "infidel" forces in the holy areas of Mecca and Medina that severely injured the emotions of the "Jihadist"; especially when they pondered that they had overwhelmed the "infidel" that is Soviet Union. Secondly, when the US retaliated over the terrorists' attack on two US Embassies in the East Africa and bombed Afghanistan during August 1998; irritated Jihadists that caused sympathetic and violent support for the Taliban and Bin Laden against the USA. Thirdly, the US initiated military campaign in Afghanistan in retaliation of 9/11 during October-December 2001.²² Further, LEAs found its interest and carried on policies as all states protect their interests as India in AJK by bribing their political agents and America in Afghanistan against Russia and Iran by supporting non-state actors.²³ According to Andrabi, the data from 1988 population census reveals that the Madaris movement is associated with confrontation to the Soviet incursion of Afghanistan. The increase in students initiated with the cohort in 1979 and the largest increase matched with the rise of the Taliban. Mostly the phenomenon is observed in the Pashtu belt bordering Afghanistan.²⁴ The Islamic militancy in FATA and conflict that consumes the area and disturbs the whole territory is developed under regional and international players during the anti-Soviet Jihad, the Afghan civil war and Taliban rule that cultivated and nourished militants in the territory.²⁵ Concluding discussion over US and ISI nexus, US policy makers are credited as the midwife for the transformation of these institutions and the distinct honour to ISI for being the protector of these transformed institutions.²⁶ Stern also emphasized to realize the side effects of victory over the Soviets. "Those armies (Jihadists) left behind, are haunting us today. If humanitarian concerns weren't enough to persuade us to finish the job we started in Afghanistan, national-security concerns should have been. This is a harsh lesson as we contemplate fighting new wars around the globe."²⁷ Discussing cultural and political Islam, Mamdani pronounced the term "political Islam" in the background of the Cold War; equated extremist tendencies with political terrorism; thought terrorism as product of political encounter; emphasized on the requirements to understand the term "terrorism" as a modern political movement serving modern power and traced its origin (responsible for the tragedy of 9/11) to the late Cold War. He also denounced collateral damage as an unfortunate by-product of the war and pronounced it as the very point of terrorism.²⁸

Interviewing 20 scholars and alumnae of Madaris, the researcher found the majority believed that Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization brought intolerant culture in Pakistan.²⁹ To find facts regarding Madaris involvement in militancy, a workshop was held at the University of the Punjab. The participants concluded that Taliban were those students whose seek refuge during eighties and later on, some of them joined liberation or Taliban movement to liberate their homeland caused suspicion about Pakistani Madaris. Secondly, they alleged previous military government deliberately promote the already cultivated radicalization and militancy to acquire political support from the West to lengthen their aristocratic rule. Thirdly, Pakistan as single Muslim nuclear state was not swallowed and foresees some unseen risk from Madaris military linkage as part of the big game to destabilize Pakistan.³⁰ Responding reasons for allegation upon Madaris, the respondents described; firstly, few renowned Taliban leaders who are graduated from Pakistani Madaris, secondly several migrated Afghan families during 1980's fascinated Taliban Movement caused reservations about Madaris education and character and made them contentious. All participants concluded that religious education condemns all shapes of impatience, injustice, violence, extremism and terrorism. They emphasized that Madaris are not essentially the training centre of radicalization and militancy rather they are religious institutions that teach "what God has said and the Prophet has interpreted". Further they requested the intelligentsia who alleged Madaris as militancy breeding homes to visit Madaris and watch what they are delivering and to avoid constructing forged data at their offices. They announced that they would welcome their surprise-visits.³¹

²⁰ John Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*, PP. 35-50.

²¹ Tariq Rahman, *Madrasas: The Potential for Violence in Pakistan? Madrasas in South Asia: Teaching Terror?* First published Delhi, 2008 p.76

²² Oliver Roy, *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina, Problems of Communism, Volume 38, Issue 4, 1989), 06

²³ Hamid Mir, *America aur Al-Qaida mein Rabte?* (Lahore: *Daily Jang*), September 26, 2013

²⁴ Tariq Rahman, *The Madrassa and the State of Pakistan: Religion, Poverty and the Potential for Violence in Pakistan*, (*Kathmandu: HIMAL South Asian*, February 2004)

²⁵ M. Maqbool Khan Wazir, *Geopolitics of FATA after 9/11*, IPRI Journal XI, no. 1 2011, pp.59-76

²⁶ Ali Riaz, *Global Jihad, Sectarianism and the Madaris in Pakistan*, Singapore: Working Paper No. 85, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, August, 2009

²⁷ Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God, Why Religious Militants Kill*, New York: Harper Collins publishers, 2003, p.288

²⁸ Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War and the Roots of Terror*, (New York: Three Leaves Press, 2004), 41

²⁹ Farzana Hassan-Shahid, *The Role Of Pakistan's Madaris in The Alleged Growth of Intolerance in Pakistani Society*, University Of Phoenix, February 2010, p.57

³⁰ Tahir Mehmood Butt, *Social and Political Role of Madrassa: Perspectives of Religious Leaders in Pakistan*, (*South Asian Studies: A Research Journal of South Asian Studies Vol. 27, No. 2, July-December 2012*), 387-407

³¹ Tahir Mehmood Butt, *Social and Political Role of Madrassa: Perspectives of Religious Leaders in Pakistan*, (*South Asian Studies: A Research Journal of South Asian Studies Vol. 27, No. 2, July-December 2012*), 387-407

Besides, the study exposed that Madaris curriculum that is consisted on religious sciences is same across Pakistan. It is the same that was before eighties when Madaris were not alleged for said radicalization and militancy.³² According to Molana Sajid Mir, president Wafaq-ul-Madaris Salfia, Madaris are patriot, have no link with terrorism and are playing important role for welfare of society; some external forces are involved in nefarious activities.³³ According to Qari Hanif Jalandhri, the afghans who migrated to Pakistan during early eighties due to USSR invasions, their kids were got admitted in Madaris in tribal area along PakAfghan border; where text books on Jihad were provided to teach them. After ten years or so, when they found oppression in their homeland; they got united for peace which they exposed by establishing Taliban government. When USA attacked Afghanistan, put to end Taliban government and occupied their homeland. They observed same situation as that against USSR and stood for Jihad against USA. Afghanistan is their homeland and they had been independent. They must restore their homeland by hook or by crook.³⁴ According to Rehman Malik, interior minister, solid evidences are available over Indian linkage and support to the terrorists who are assaulting NATO and Pakistani troops instantaneously.³⁵ He added that Indian Intelligence RAW is providing finances to Taliban for assaulting US and NATO troops in Afghanistan so that it may disturb joint venture to defeat militancy and may shake mutual trust and coordination among Pakistani and US Forces.³⁶ The primary interrogation of recently arrested terrorists during Hangu operation and the intelligence reports ensure that RAW is assisting militants in tribal areas and stimulating anti-Pakistan emotions.³⁷ Moreover, clergies who cultivate sectarianism, prepare ground for sectarian violence that lead to sectarian militancy. Keeping in view the facts or basis of conflicts, the Punjab government gauged 439 Ulema while 929 Ulema movements to other districts are restricted during Moharrum-ul-Haram 2012.¹⁰³ Promotion of arms on the name of security is dangerous. News are flashed on media that in KPK arms training is being delivered to female teacher while Doctors Association in Karachi also seek permission to keep weapons for security reasons. Now government should provide weapons to combat weapons. Such efforts lead community to civil war which already adopts violent tendencies.³⁸ Kids' toys in market are generally consists on weapon; promote violent attitude in their personality.

The current discussion over Madaris whether they are blamed or promote militancy reveals that Madaris being part of the society can't remain aloof from political activities especially when they are being committed by involving religion. Owing to media and fast flow of information and reporting, common man is well aware of religious, socio-political changes occurring in society. Being a living organ of society, how Madaris teacher and students can keep themselves away from the political and social order. During a particular survey of Madaris, teachers and students expressed their views in line with public perceptions on certain issues including violent protests, suicide attacks and democracy in Pakistan.³⁹ In a survey by Pakistan Institute of Policy Studies (PIPS) more than 90% respondents does not justify suicide attacks inside Pakistan whereas majority of them justified suicide attacks in Iraq, Palestine and Afghanistan. The result is similar to fatwas (religious decrees) issued by clerics during the last three years in which they declared suicide attacks haram (forbidden) in a Muslim society but justified in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan and Kashmir.⁴⁰ Before Bhutto era, people generally hold patience, tolerate trifling and keep away from violence. The social changes begin to occur rapidly with social consciousness by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Under its effects, people demanded their rights with unarmed violence; certain groups stood in face to face against each other like labours to industrialists, students to transporters, Clergies to government over Ahmadies' issue. The anti-Bhutto movement raised the street power of Madaris and mosques on religious slogans. Finding advantages of the situation, the military ceased Bhutto rule and arrested him in July 1977. Later on, the great game caused Zia's involvement in Afghanistan against Soviet Union on American back-up. This futile association introduced Kalashnikov's culture i.e. the start of militancy. But after 9/11, the campaign against Muslims is generally considered as crusade against Islam. Academics discourses, policy analysts and journalist's portrayal of Madaris were reliant on their view of the causes of and the conditions for the rise of "Islamic terrorism." "Five perspectives can be identified for growing militancy within the Muslim world. These perspectives can be categorized as: know your enemy, Muslim exceptionalism, clash of civilizations, blowback and the weapons of the weak."⁴¹ On his visit to USA, the President Musharraf emphasized,

³² Tahir Mehmood Butt, *Social and Political Role of Madrassa: Perspectives of Religious Leaders in Pakistan*, (South Asian Studies: A Research Journal of South Asian Studies Vol. 27, No. 2, July-December 2012), 387-407

³³ Molana Sajid Mir, *Daily Express*, February 17, 2014, p.9

³⁴ Qari Hanif Jalandhri, Interview with the Researcher on September 14, 2014 at 11:30 am.

³⁵ Rehman Malik, *Solid Evidences of Indian Involvement in Pak Provided to Foreign Office*, The Nation, December 9, 2009.

³⁶ M. Maqbool Khan Wazir, *Geopolitics of FATA after 9/11*, IPRI Journal XI, no. 1 2011, pp.59-76

³⁷ Muhammad Saleh Zafar, *Bush Gives Malik a Pat on the Back*, Rawalpindi: The News, August 1, 2008 103 *Daily Jang*, Lahore, November 05, 2012

³⁸ Ali Moeen, *Cash for Gun*, Multan: Daily Jang News, February 05, 2015

³⁹ Muhammad Aamir Rana, *Mapping Madrassa Mindset: Political Attitudes of Pakistani Madaris*, Conflict and Peace Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1, Jan-Mar 2009, (Islamabad: Pakistan Institutes for Peace Studies, Jan-Mar 2009), pp. 1-13

⁴⁰ Muhammad Aamir Rana, *Mapping Madrassa Mindset: Political Attitudes of Pakistani Madaris*, Conflict and Peace Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1, Jan-Mar 2009, (Islamabad: Pakistan Institutes for Peace Studies, Jan-Mar 2009), pp.

⁴¹ Ali Riaz, *Faithful Education-Madaris in South Asia*, (New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 22-27

“OK, now, again, these are the misperceptions that you in the West have. If a boy has been born in London and 20 years he stays there, he comes to Pakistan for two months, you think for... You mean to say for 20 years he was an angel and in these two months he got indoctrinated? Is that what you think? Is that really what you think?”⁴²

The President called whole scenario as “the clash of civilization”.⁴³

Farish A. Noor see Madaris as remained fundamentally anti-Western and anti-secular in toto; and determined to keep Muslims separated from the rest of world. As the logic of the ‘War on Terror’ followed its inevitable course, Americans and Western seem trying to win the ‘hearts and minds’ of Muslim leaders and governments.⁴⁴

Quoting US reporter who interviewed well-known bank robber, Willie Sutton in 1940s and asked why he robbed only bank. His answer was understandable: “Because that’s where the money is.” Starrett argued that militant organizations that require youth recruitment. So they definitely recruit them from the places like, “Schools (and mosques) are where the young men are.”⁴⁵

CONCLUSION:

The study has emphasized that Madaris are just blamed and propagated as incubators otherwise they are the best NGOs that are serving communities genuinely. Presently Pakistan is paying the cost and bearing unendurable damage. Pakistan have more social and political violence than religious one. The government, the Ulema and the society are responsible to proliferate the said violence and militancy. So serious and concrete efforts are required to control militancy and mitigate the ideology that had been instigated during Zia era.

⁴² Noor ul-Haq, President Musharraf’s Interview with CNN on Visit to USA, 12-18 September 2005 109Ibid.

⁴³ *The interview of President Mushraf to USA*

⁴⁴ Farish A Noor, *Behind the Walls: Re-Appraising the Role and Importance of Madrasas in the World Today: The Madrasa in Asia Political Activism and Transnational Linkages*, (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 20.

⁴⁵ Gregory Starrett, *The American Interests in Islamic Schooling: A Misplaced Emphasis?*(Middle East Policy Institute, Vol. XIII, NO. 1, 2006), 129-130