MESSING UP THE PAST

EVOLUTION OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS
IN PAKISTAN, 1947 - 2000

Ahmed Salim
Zaffarullah Khan
Amtual Hafeez, Research Assistant
Report of the Project

**Enemy Images in our History/Social Studies Textbooks 1947 - 2000**

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**Sustainable Development Policy Institute**

#3, UN Boulevard, Diplomatic Enclave 1, Islamabad
Mailing Address: PO Box 2342, Islamabad, Pakistan.
Telephone ++(92-51) 2278134, 2278136, 2277146, 2270674-76
Fax ++(92-51) 2278135
URL: [www.sdpi.org](http://www.sdpi.org)  e-mail: main@sdpi.org

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Contents

Preface
1. Introduction
2. Chapter One: Educational reconstruction
3. Chapter Two: Purpose of education: Comparative analysis of educational policies since 1947
4. Chapter Three: Blind alley curriculum
5. Chapter Four: Textbooks-bringing curriculum to classroom
Recommendations
Introduction

The textbook war

“...the importance of education and the type of education cannot be over-emphasized...there is no doubt that the future of our State will and must greatly depend upon the type of education we give to our children, and the way in which we bring them up as future citizens of Pakistan... we should not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction.”

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah: message to Education Conference 1947

Textbook war is not unique to Pakistan and India. Japan and Korea are also entangled in similar controversies over narratives depicting the past. Israel and Palestine have similar problems. Besides these examples, Franco-German, German-Polish and, during the chilly days of the cold war, USA and former USSR’s projection of each other’s demonized images and narratives, bear testimony to the fact that textbooks have been used and abused to create perceptions about others in a derogatory sense by many countries.

Juxtaposed to this odd practice are the endeavors to reform the situation starting just after the hyper-nationalism experienced during the First World War. The League of Nations promoted international textbook revision because the detrimental role of textbooks in shaping views of the enemy had become sufficiently clear during the war. After the Second World War, UNESCO picked up the threads. The Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Germany has done two very fascinating projects to reform textbooks to overcome the conflict and mistrust that had built up during the course of three wars between France and Germany. Similarly the relationship between Germany and Poland had been very difficult. The German-Polish Textbook Commission, founded at the initiative of UNESCO in 1972, worked to come to an agreement about mutual portrayals in history and geography textbooks.

Will such moments of hope ever arrive in Pakistan and India to untie the Gordian knot of inflated nationalism? So far it remains a dream. Nevertheless this study has taken into account the history of education policies in Pakistan, carefully scanned curriculum documents and has reviewed textbooks taught in the nation’s classrooms during the last 55 years to build a case for similar much-needed reforms. One of the findings of this study is that the chances
of a nation going on fighting, drifting to bigotry and resorting to vendetta are high if its textbooks teach antagonistic versions of history and inject an overdose of ideology.

Both the countries won freedom from the British in 1947, and at that time Social Studies, a combination of three subjects, namely, history, geography and civics, was taught to nurture the minds of youth. However, immediately after the independence, drifts and deviations started to produce tamed and obedient citizens. History has been used to inculcate a sense of uniform national identity. The impact of this narrow approach is pretty visible in the public sphere where instead of modernity and moderation, militancy occupies the major space.

We have tried to pinpoint the moments of deviation in Pakistan with their attendant rationale and circumstances. Maybe any similar study in India, if conducted, can help identify the critical shifts in education policy and curricula and textbooks there. Wealth of research on Pakistani and Indian textbooks confirms that both the countries over the years have been the victim of a nation-building process that has been essentially devised in contrast and conflict with each other. History has been selectively interpreted and projected in order to mould the minds to be obedient to the state ideology.

Unfortunately in Pakistan, this is happening against the vision of its founding father, Muhammad Ali Jinnah who in a message to the first education conference in 1947 categorically said that our education system should be able to produce citizens with global vision and perspectives.

The issues raised in this study portray that, ever since its inception, both the state and its conservative allies in Pakistan have tried to usurp the citizens’ right to propaganda-free education. This strategy has killed the culture of free inquiry, freethinking and often free speech among Pakistanis. The state and its ministry of education at the federal level have monopolized the development and implementation of curricula to use it for systematic indoctrination. The provincial textbook boards, serving as the tentacles of the federal education bureaucracy, have served as the instruments to strengthen this approach.

One can ask that being an Islamic state what is the harm in having education well immersed in country ideology and Islamic identity? The gradual drifts in education policy and oscillations between the imperatives of being sometimes a democracy and sometimes a dictatorship, confirm that all this was and is very much a question of power and mindset. Secondly the very term ideology of Pakistan is a contested one. Some historians maintain that it is a post-independence construct devised by political forces initially inimical to the creation of Pakistan, as a means to sanctify their politics.

If we really care for the democratic future of Pakistan, then we would have to address the issue of education, curriculum and textbooks much more boldly as it serves as the DNA to determine the civic traits of our citizens.
Chapter 1

Educational Reconstruction
Textbooks in any country are comprised of the selection of contents from the existing body of knowledge. Many cultural, historical, economic, political, social, religious and philosophical filters are applied in this selection and the field of curriculum development remains the arena for contestation of many factors and forces. Various imperatives are given consideration while determining this ‘educational diet’ for the future generations.

Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy regards the education system of any nation as ‘cultural DNA’ that contains within it the detailed genetic blueprint determining what that society is destined to become tomorrow. Forward oriented or fixated on the past, democratic or authoritarian, egalitarian or elitist, peaceful or violently engaged in civil strife. The choice between such options is made when one generation passes on to the next one its values and preferences. Therefore it is up to the vision of policy-makers whether they prefer the medieval, modern or moderate course of thinking in the education system. In Pakistan theological imperatives enjoy significance in state-sponsored textbooks as they are regarded as a vital tool for formation of national identity and for grooming students into patriotic citizens because besides imparting knowledge textbooks develop and orient a child’s mind. Secondly the textbooks are perhaps among those books that are read, re-read and often memorized by heart therefore their imprint on personality lasts longer than that of any other reading.

The Oxford Dictionary of Current English Usage defines the word ‘textbook’ as ‘standard book in a branch of study’ and these books are considered as the most authentic source of information in a given area of study. However systematic inclusions and exclusions viewed through the prism of ideology and national imperatives distort them to suit various interests. In this respect Pakistan represents a classic case as the contents of the textbooks keep on changing to cater to the desires of frequent military dictatorships and occasional democratic dispensations. Both kinds of governance had their own ideological imperatives and the textbooks served as a cementing force to create personality and identity that was closer to their ambitions and requirements.

Pakistan inherited the traditions of the British colonial system of education that was introduced mainly for the purpose of producing different cadres of workers required for their administering a colony. After partition, the country required a dynamic education policy to compete with the rest of the world and meet the challenges of national development. Ostensibly we have failed on both counts.

The educational policy of Pakistan assumed a religious character initially through a resolution adopted at the All Pakistan Educational Conference held in 1947 and later by the religion-colored Objectives Resolution of 1949. The person who is well-versed in Muslim history alone will be the best citizen of Pakistan was the logic with policy makers during the initial years of Pakistan. Such a trend of thought epitomized the desire to divorce the common history and common heritage of South Asia soon after the creation of Pakistan. Therefore, today the way history is being taught in Pakistani schools is nothing but political
indoctrination on the basis of separate identity of the Muslims and the Hindus. This can be described as the “hate Hindu, hide history” approach which reinforces the typical enemy images of India and excludes many chapters of common South Asian traditions. As a result, today “the impression is that in Social Studies and Pakistan Studies classes, students don’t learn history. They are required to read a carefully selected collection of falsehoods, fairy tales and plain lies. State-sponsored textbooks illustrate appropriation of history to reinforce a national philosophy or ideology; historical interpretations are therefore predetermined, unassailable and concretized.”

Although the debate and arguments to Islamize the education system were there in the early days of Pakistan, yet, a pertinent research question that arises is whether the approach to link history with ideology was included in the textbooks immediately after 1947 or was it gradually accelerated later on? An examination to pinpoint what, when and where things went wrong reveals that in the textbooks taught in Pakistani schools during 1947-2000 it was only after the East Pakistan debacle in 1971 that we started desperately discovering our roots somewhere else instead of the rich Indus-Ganges civilization and embarked on over-emphasizing ‘separate Pakistani identity’ through textbooks. However the seeds for such an approach were laid very early. A conservative intellectual Muhammad Abdullah Qureshi in 1947 wrote that the purpose of teaching history during the colonial era was to consolidate foundations of British imperialism, and the History Department of the Punjab University was in the hands of pro-Hindu, pro-Sikh and anti-Muslim teachers. Such thinking after independence encouraged ideologues to take over the task to Islamize the teaching of history. The Punjab Education Department constituted a committee to review the curriculum. It’s History Subcommittee was headed by Syed Abdul Qadir and its secretary was Maulvi Zafar Iqbal who were of the view that the Islamic spirit should be given primacy in future textbooks. Similarly the Intermediate Boards were assigned the task to review curriculum up to the intermediate level.

Nevertheless the period after 1971 shows clearly that heroes of history were divided carefully between India and Pakistan on the basis of faith and the non-Muslim poets and fiction writers and their work also started disappearing from textbooks. The post-1971 period proved to be the moment of triumph for Islamist discourse vis-à-vis the contents of textbooks. In the post-1971 era of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Pakistan Studies was introduced as a full-fledged subject at the higher education level and specialized centers for Pakistan studies were established at Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad and other universities in 1973 with an area study approach to inculcate a sense of Pakistani nationalism in students. Later General Zia-ul-Haq picked up the thread to weave a web of ideology and used this subject to nurture his Islamized vision about Pakistan.

Today Pakistan has so many streams of education, ranging from mufassil schools to religious madrassas. In between lie modern English medium schools and separate military run schools. All these institutions cater to the educational needs of different segments and understandably teach different syllabi. However, the focus of this study is the network of state-run schools that is the largest and is under the direct control of the country’s educational bureaucracy. What is taught at these schools continues to pose a pertinent question of a link between the education system and national identity in Pakistan. Ideally education should function as an agency of cultural transmission as well as change and should reflect the dynamic process of
nation building that is continually modified by new conditions. But the findings of this study reveal otherwise. Right from the first grade the state has monopolized the development and implementation of curricula and uses them for systematic indoctrination.

**UNESCO approach**

In 1946, the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO produced a document titled “Looking at the World Through Textbooks” that aimed to eradicate factual errors, erroneous ideas, controversial interpretations and the development of arguments irrelevant because of their length or touched upon too briefly, tendentious presentations, all of which might give an unfair and pejorative image of a people or a civilization and hence embitter relations between countries.\(^4\)

Pakistan being an active member of this world body could have adopted a rational approach on the basis of that document for the achievement of this objective. But, contrary to that, the curriculum document of the National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks (1995) says that at the completion of Class-V, a child in Pakistan should be able to:

1. Acknowledge and identify forces that may be working against Pakistan
2. Demonstrate by actions a belief in the fear of Allah
3. Make speeches on Jihad (holy war) and Shahadat (martyrdom)
4. Understand Hindu-Muslim differences and the resultant need for Pakistan
5. Describe India’s evil designs against Pakistan
6. Protect himself from rumor mongers who spread false news
7. Visit a police station
8. Collect pictures of policemen, soldiers and National Guards
9. Demonstrate respect for the leaders of Pakistan.

Juxtaposed to the official vision in the closing years of 20\(^{th}\) century, as early as on September 6, 1964, a meeting of All Parties Student Workers held at Dacca University, asked the Commission on Students’ Problems and Welfare to check errors of historical nature in the books written by the Textbook Board. Contesting the state-centric approach to curriculum and textbooks many renowned Pakistani scholars like K.K. Aziz, Dr. Mubarak Ali, Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy, Rubina Saigol, Dr. Tariq Rahman, Dr. Khurshid Hasanain, Dr. A. H. Nayyar, Ahmad Salim and many others have pinpointed factual mistakes and confusing ideas in the textbooks. Their works continue to dominate in discourses aimed at stemming the rot. Our study is also a step in the same direction.

**Constitutional provisions and resultant politics**

The Objectives Resolution (1949) and the Constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973 embody provisions that had policy implications for the educational system in Pakistan. The Objectives Resolution envisaged conformity with the principles of Islam and continues to influence the objectives of education, curriculum and textbooks as the values, ideas and ethical principles enunciated in it were to be infused in young learners. Nevertheless the resolution maintained that the minorities would be free to profess and practice their religion and develop their own culture and the state would guarantee fundamental rights to all its citizens.
The Objectives Resolution was incorporated in the Constitution of 1956 as its preamble. Besides that, Article 25 of the 1956 Constitution included provisions for promotion of Islamic principles among Muslims. Teaching of Islamiat received impetus from this article, which also provided that the state would ensure facilities so that Muslims could understand the meaning of life according to the Quran and Sunnah. At the same time the religious freedom of minorities was guaranteed as a fundamental right in Article 13, and its clause (1) ensured that “no person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction or attend religious worship if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own.” The said article also made it clear that “no religious community or denomination shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in any educational institution maintained wholly by the community or the denomination.” These provisions assured religious freedom of non-Muslim children.

The provisions of the Constitution of 1962 on education were almost similar to those of the Constitution of 1956. However, going a step further, the compulsory teaching of the Holy Quran and Islamiat to Muslim children was emphasized in the Principles of Policy. Article 22 of the Constitution of 1973 pertaining to Fundamental Rights and Principles of Policy also guarantees religious freedom in educational institutions. However Article 32 of the 1973 Constitution adds learning of Arabic language compulsory, along with teaching of the Holy Quran and Islamiat. During Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s regime an official policy to rewrite history for school children started to take shape, and under General Zia-ul-Haq it became one of the numerous initiatives to construct a full-fledged ideological apparatus under the banner of Islamization.

The nationalization of educational institution in the 1970s by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto put minorities in a disadvantageous position as their institutions were also brought under a homogeneous and bureaucratic national net for education, whereas the Muslim religious seminaries were not touched and were left with the Muslim clerics. Later, these seminaries groomed the generation of jihadis (holy warriors) to serve as fuel during the Jihad against communist intervention in Afghanistan.

The outcome of this process could be well judged from the observation that “It is surprising how quite a few from the young generations of Pakistanis, during the last few decades, have diverted themselves towards a more militant and fundamentalist version of Islam. And that is not all. In most cases, national institutions like the Federal Public Service Commission, the provincial public service commissions, recruitment boards and universities, on the basis of the tests, interviews and examinations conducted by them, are complaining that many amongst the young men and women have been showing signs of a myopic mentality, subjectivity, indoctrination, prejudice and bias.”

One school of thought attributes these tendencies to some extent to the officially approved curriculum of the compulsory subject of Pakistan Studies, introduced during the martial law regime of Zia-ul-Haq and being taught from primary to university levels. The other school of thought maintains that the current religious extremism in Pakistan has one of its roots laid in the notion of the ideology of Pakistan as propounded by religious revivalist parties and groups. It has been established by many independent accounts that the concept of Hindus and
Muslims being two nations, set out by the leaders of Pakistan movement like Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Syed Amir Ali and Allama Muhammad Iqbal, who primarily struggled for the political, economic, social and cultural rights of Muslims of the subcontinent, appears to be in total contrast to the views of traditionalist religious parties.

Within traditionalist religious thought there appear to be two different strands. One group belongs to the fundamentalist ulama (clerics) and religious parties based on hatred for all non-Muslims and those Muslims who do not comply with their brand of Islam. The other belongs to the Sufi (mystic) tradition cherished by moderate religious leaders and the political parties based on peaceful co-existence with non-Muslims and pluralism for all sects of Islam. Unfortunately the orthodox category enjoys significant say in the realm of policy and decision making in Pakistan.

Ideally, educational decision making in a multi-ethnic plural society like Pakistan should be futuristic and accommodative to various competing factors and forces such as socio-economic and political goals, diverse faiths and values of the people and global aspirations of the nation. Only such an interplay can yield the best dividends for the nation whereas a solely ideological base often results in ambiguous and inconsistent policies.

**Research on textbooks**

There are many approaches to re-examine textbooks. These approaches could be classified as the cultural imperatives approach, the political imperatives approach and the external approach considering education as an instrument of social development and to be a fruitful, profitable and interesting venture. Then there is the internal approach, which regards educational activities as the starting point. For this you first devise the hardware and system, discipline, teachers, methods, and then proceed to see their effects on social development. There is also the chronological approach in which educational development is presented in a time-order sequential manner, as well as the problems approach in which one studies the problems and not the period. The present study combines most of these well-established approaches because our research question has cultural, political and chronological elements.

In order to understand the debate over the portrayal of history in textbooks, one must first be clear on the influence of education, textbooks, history and politics over nationalism. Education functions as a method for the propagation and molding of the past, for it is one of the most effective ways to promote a national narrative and to make and remake certain identities into the national identity. In imparting official interpretations of the past for the student, textbooks typically function as nationalist primers that selectively highlight elements of the past to limn an official story and etch in the outlines and myths of contemporary patriotism. Therefore textbooks have become a tangible means for the creation of identities and narratives that inspire nationalism. Such aims and objectives provide the authors of textbooks an opportunity to select what suits their vision and version. It is pertinent to mention here that the conflicts over the contents of textbooks are not confined to South Asia. In Japan, the Kojiki and the Nihongi historical compilations have been a controversial issue in the nation’s society for their alleged distortions of history. Controversy exists not only in the way these contents alter public perceptions of history, but also in the larger question of how they affect the construction and identification of nationalism. To make this point, the textbook row between Korea and Japan is worth mentioning.
In order to sincerely address such problems the following pacifying approaches exist: screening of controversial texts and their exclusion or watering down of the conflicting contents. Review of the vocabularies employed, as every individual acquires his/her final vocabularies through the educational system to conduct discourses during the rest of their lives. Within this context, another element of concern is ‘stereotypes’ in textbooks. Such stereotypes are found in abundance in Pakistani and Indian textbooks with peculiar construction and representation of Muslims or Hindus. Such images have also been disseminated over decades through stories, myths, jokes, films, skits and increasingly, through books. They have been so fully internalized within the ethnic-chauvinist discourse that it is hard to begin a serious dialogue between India and Pakistan without discarding, attacking or dismantling these clichéd views. Every topic in textbooks has a context and many ideological filters, frames and perspectives have been applied to reinforce these stereotypes.

**Curriculum and textbook development mechanism in Pakistan**

Historically the concept of State responsibility for education in the sub-continent came up with the Charter Act of 1813 that authorized the East India Company to undertake the education and moral uplift of the Indian people. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 suggested introducing practical subjects. The publication of its report coincided with Lord Ripon’s important step in the form of introducing local self-government, and the responsibility of primary education was transferred to the newly constituted local bodies. It was an opportunity to introduce essential indigenous elements in the educational hardware and software. Had that scheme been institutionalized, the tendency to introduce standard national truth, cultural prejudices and political biases, carefully articulated at the central level, might have been minimized.

Presently in Pakistan, education is on the concurrent list of subjects in the 1973 Constitution, and curriculum, syllabus, planning, policy, centers of excellence and standards of education -related responsibilities have been entrusted to the federal Ministry of Education. This goes against the spirit of devolution as envisaged in the 18th century. The law pertaining to the federal supervision of curricula, textbooks and maintenance of standards of education was approved by the Pakistan Parliament in 1976. This act states that the purpose and functions of the curriculum wing is to prepare, or cause to be prepared, schemes of studies, curricula manuscripts of textbooks and schedules or strategy for their introduction in various classes of an institution in connection with the implementation of the education policy of the federal government.

The functions of the Bureau of Curriculum & Textbooks (Curriculum Wing) of the ministry, besides so many others, include directing any person or agency to delete, improve or withdraw any portion or whole of the curriculum, textbooks and reference materials prescribed for any class on being found repugnant to Islamic teachings and the ideology of Pakistan. A bureaucrat heads the National Bureau, assisted by four provincial Bureaus.

According to the official mandate of this mechanism, the development and revision of the curriculum is an on-going process involving many factors and actors. Officially, curricula renewal is based on the following broad areas of concern:
1 To incorporate changes taking place at the national and global levels and prepare our children for the job market within the existing economic climate and provide human resources necessary to ensure sustainable national development.

2 Incorporating issues of global significance including environment change, degradation, population control, gender issues and international understanding and cooperation.

3 Fostering respect for and preservation of cultural traditions and indigenous values and way of life.

4 Inculcating moral values through Islamic principles and ethics among pupils.

5 Promoting democratic values and respect for and appreciation of cultural diversity that characterizes Pakistani society and the broader global society.

6 To introduce competency-based curricula by defining the mini process involved in learning competency at both the primary and secondary levels.

Below the federal curriculum bureaucracy the four Textbook Boards in the provinces, are responsible for development of textbooks for introduction in educational institutions. They develop these books through an open bidding by calling for draft manuscripts of the books based on approved curricula. The finally selected manuscripts are passed on to the Curriculum Wing for approval. The Wing reviews them and if they are to meet the prescribed standards, they are placed before the National Review Committee comprised of professionals in textbook development. Upon approval a certificate for their printing and implementation is issued.

The terms of reference of the National Curriculum Development Review and Revision Committee are: to take into account Islamic and national aspirations expected of a child of relevant age group, keeping in mind the policy guidelines of the government. These terms of reference for review of textbooks are intended to make sure that the books are free from any element repugnant to the Pakistan ideology and Islamic injunctions or any objectionable material including distortion of historical facts or material that may cause sectarian conflict. These defined contours for the authors of textbooks, and the binding compulsion to keep within the parameters of ideology and the officially approved version of history do away with all opportunities of independent accounts or analyses in these books.

Glimpses from Pakistani experience

Pakistani textbooks during the 1950s and 1960s were not totally estranged from old Hindu history and culture. An American scholar, Yvette C. Rosser, notes in her paper, “Hegemony and Historiography: the Politics of Pedagogy” that up until 1972, with the breakaway of the eastern wing of Pakistan, the history textbooks included much more elaborate sections on the history of the subcontinent, while adopting the colonial frame of periodization – the books described the Hindu Period, the Muslim Period and the British Period.

In this time line, Pakistani textbooks were not divorced from common South Asian heritage and history. However, the traumatic events of 1971 and the subsequent break-up of the country changed everything. Beginning with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s educational reforms, General Zia-ul-Haq, took the approach of excluding the common South Asian history and heritage to its very extreme. The right wing traditionalists who were clamouring for such an
approach since 1947 found their moment of triumph, and the centrally controlled state apparatus was set up to serve their dreams and desires.

In order to establish this point here, we may refer to certain books published during the 1950s.

1. Mian Abdul Hakim, Model Taarikh-e-Hindustan, for High Classes, Lahore 1947
   Contents: From the Aryans to Lord Mountbatten


3. Chaudhry Rahmat Khan, Mufid Taarikh-e-Pak-o-Hind, Lahore, March 1952, Contents: from the Original People of India to Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad.


6. Rafiullah Khan, Taarikh-e-Pakistan-o-Bharat, Lahore (1950s), Contents: from Indus Valley and Dravidian Period to 1526


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**Jungle of educational policies**

Inaugurating the first education conference in 1947, with a view to secure assistance of the eminent educationists of the country in determining the future educational policy and program of Pakistan, Minister of Education Fazlur Rahman, underlined the need for ‘a complete overhaul of the entire educational structure.’ He rejected outright the British system because it grew up under different political, social and economic conditions and was designed for alien ends. The other views that figured prominently during this conference were that if the country is to have a system of education which is to be truly national, it should not only be inspired in all its aspects by the national ideology, governed in all its parts by national aims and purposes and shaped in accordance with the spirit and the temper of the people it has to serve, but it should also provide, from the organizational point of view, a properly graded, closely integrated, well balanced and carefully articulated system of educational opportunities responding to the demands of modern life and the needs, interests and potentialities of boys and girls at various stages of their development.

The overall response of the conference was that Islamic ideology should form the basis of Pakistani education. It is interesting to note that prior to the Objectives Resolution in 1949, there was the resolution of the Pakistan Educational Conference recommending the adoption of Islamic ideology as the basis of education. Implicit in this resolution was the recognition
that education could not exist in a vacuum and that it must be an instrument of the ideological transformation that Pakistan had gone through.

The adoption of Islamic ideology as a basis of the educational system necessarily involved a thorough research of Islam’s contribution to the various aspects of life and its bearing on modern problems in the fields of economics, social and political relations, etc. During 1947-51, some attempts were made in the provinces to undertake an intensive study of and research in Islamiyat. An Institute of Islamic Research was created which, besides conducting research, was responsible for suggesting concrete educational projects well immersed in Islamic ideology. This very step resulted in a struggle between modernists and traditionalists that continues till the present day. It is also evident in the series of educational policies Pakistan had during the last 57 years. Immediately after its creation Pakistan had to experience political instability, especially during 1953-1956, and the traditionalist religious clerics used this as an opportunity. The first constitution of Pakistan in 1956 endorsed the concept of an Islamic State; moreover, only a Muslim could be appointed Head of State. The Council of Islamic Ideology was set up under this constitution to bring all existing laws into conformity with the Quran and the Sunnah.

After the military take over in 1958, textbooks became victims of another kind of deliberate distortion. For example, the second half of the seventh grade Geography and Civics textbook (1953 edition) was devoted to a discussion of various political systems, such as democracy, theocracy, dictatorship, and federalism. However, in a subsequent edition of this textbook (1962 edition) published during the military regime, the discussion on comparative political systems was replaced with topics like “What it means to be a good Pakistani” and “Standing in queue,” etc.

Nevertheless in Field Marshal Ayub Khan’s 1962 Constitution, the adjective “Islamic” was dropped from the name of the republic and the quite progressive Muslim Family Laws Ordinance was promulgated. The Commission on National Education was also constituted which submitted its report in 1959 embodying a modern approach towards Islamic principles. The report defined the Islamic way of life as one governed by the principles of truth, justice, benevolence and universal brotherhood, and accepted it as one of the foundations of the future educational pattern in Pakistan. The report also contained a small section on religious education, which laid down that “inspiration to be drawn from religion with its sublime moralizing effect that has special significance in Pakistan.”

Quite surprisingly, the report admitted that several religious faiths are practiced in our country and their teaching should be confined to those who profess them. The great majority of our population being Muslim, the teaching of Islam assumes particular importance. Religious education should do nothing which would impair social and political unity in the country. On the other hand, it should strengthen this unity by trying, through mutual understanding, to bring humanity together. Religion is not to be presented as dogma, superstition or ritual; rather rational Islam was to be interpreted and applied to the problems of modern life…. was the predominant message of the report. The report also stressed that our educational system must play a fundamental role in the preservation of the ideals that led to the creation of Pakistan and strengthen the concept of it as a unified nation.
Subsequently a curriculum committee for secondary education (class VI – XII) was instituted to formulate the syllabi and the curricula, keeping in mind the realization of national objectives. The committee introduced an integrated approach in which history, geography, civics and economics were co-related. Other than the knowledge of the country’s natural resources, business and commerce, the students, as per the claim of the committee, were to have a fair idea of the forces that have shaped the life of Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, leading ultimately to the creation of Pakistan as a free nation.

Besides the study of Islamic History up to 1258 AD, the syllabus included history of Islam or Muslims in Indo-Pakistan. However, the understanding and appreciation of the Hindu period was also included in the subject of Social Studies. In class VI, the outline for History of Pakistan was as under: “Pre-historic Age: The Indus Valley Civilizations (Moenjodaro and Harappa); the Aryans – their settlements and social life; Buddhism; Alexander’s invasion and its effects; coming of the Muslims – conquest of Sindh and Multan by Muhammad bin Qasim and invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad Ghauri; Muslim rule in outline – the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire.”

In the new scheme of courses, dancing and music for class VI to VIII were also introduced as elective subjects. History of Pakistan for class IX-X offered detailed courses from the earliest times to the freedom movement. It included the stone-age cultures, the Indus Valley civilization, the Aryans, the Buddha, the Mauryas and the Kushans, the Guptas and Harsha. Ostensibly, this was a balanced approach to appease both the traditionalists and the modernists. But all this euphoria was short-lived as the adjective Islamic was brought back to the name of the republic and the regime capitulated on many more points to the demands of the clergy.

Air Marshal Nur Khan issued a new educational report during General Yahya Khan’s regime, which appeared to be more receptive to Islamic interests than the polices of Ayub Khan. This report advocated inculcation of Islamic values as an instrument of national unity and progress, and as a dynamic force; an inspiration for building a democratic, tolerant and just society as envisaged in the concept of Pakistan. This endorsement of Islamic values may have been based more on political necessity than on widespread Islamic zeal of the Yahya Khan regime. The report however, was never fully implemented, being rapidly overtaken by events in East Pakistan and the birth of Bangladesh.

After 1971 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assumed power with a slogan to rebuild “a new Pakistan” and announced his education policy in March 1972 which reflected much of the work that had already been done for the Nur Khan report. The new education policy made Islamiyat compulsory for Muslim students up to Class X and vowed that steps would be taken to ensure that the curricula and textbooks for all stages did not contain anything repugnant to, or inconsistent with, the cultural and ethical values of Islam. It was also to be ensured that the study of Islamiyat did not remain an isolated affair; rather the values and the spirit of Islam were to be woven into the entire warp and woof of the educational fabric, and cooperation from parents was sought to realize this, besides the promise to use substantial time on radio and television for recitation of the Holy Quran and its translation.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto also strove to win the support of the religious elements and asked to revise the textbooks to reflect the changed policies and perspectives. An integrated Pakistan
that was one strong Islamic nation, which could overcome separatist movements and prevent another split such as the creation of Bangladesh, was Bhutto’s motivation. The textbooks continued to lay even greater stress on the Islamic perspective of historical events. The frequent use of the phrase “ideology of Pakistan” became an essential component and a focal point in the objectives of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s education policy. These objectives were:

1. Ensuring the preservation, promotion and practice of the basic ideology of Pakistan and making it a code of individual and national life.
2. Building up national cohesion by promoting social and cultural harmony compatible with our basic ideology through the conscious use of the educational process.
3. Designing curricula relevant to the nation’s changing social and economic needs compatible with the basic ideology and providing a massive shift from general education to more purposeful agro-technical education.
4. Providing academic freedom and due autonomy to educational institutions within the framework of national objectives and requirements.

The military coup on July 5, 1977 ended Bhutto’s government and eventually his life. General Zia-ul-Haq began his full-scale Islamization of the state and society. Non-Muslims were stripped of many of their rights and were made to vote in separate electorates. Strict blasphemy laws were often used selectively against non-Muslims. General Zia also started the Islamization of education. In October 1978, a new education policy was announced with five year planning, and for the first time, the aim of education was defined as stressing Islamic principles of life and a deep commitment to the ideology of Pakistan. The policy listed nine national aims of education. The first four clearly highlighted the General’s political agenda of Islam:

a) To foster in the hearts and minds of the people of Pakistan in general and students in particular a deep and abiding loyalty to Islam and Pakistan and a living consciousness of their spiritual and ideological identity, thereby strengthening the people’s unity of the outlook on the basis of justice and fair play.

b) To create awareness in every student that he, as a member of the Pakistani nation, is also a part of the universal Muslim Ummah, and that it is expected of him to make a contribution towards the welfare of fellow Muslims throughout the world.

c) To produce citizens who are fully conversant with the Pakistan movement, its ideological foundations, history and culture so that they feel proud of their heritage and display firm faith in the future of the country as an Islamic state.

d) To develop and inculcate in students, in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah, the character, conduct and motivation expected of a true Muslim.

The implementation strategy of this education policy for the first time accorded to the mosque a unique importance, as about five thousand mosque schools were promised to be opened. Formal recognition was also given to ‘madrasas’, ‘maktabs’ and ‘darul uloom’ (three categories of religious seminaries). Islamiyat was made compulsory for all streams of education including technical and professional institutions. Arrangements for teaching of Arabic were also promised. A motivational program was to be launched for creating awareness about the ideology of Pakistan among students and teachers. Curricula and textbooks of all levels were to be reviewed to bring them in conformity with the principle of Islam and the ideology of Pakistan.
The phrase “ideology of Pakistan”, which was invented during the Yahya Khan era, was installed with vigor and all the textbooks were rewritten to assert the Islamic orientation of Pakistani nationalism, in the light of General Zia-ul-Haq’s socio-political concepts. Islamiat and Pakistan Studies were made compulsory subjects right up to the master’s level. At the intermediate and secondary levels, history and geography were replaced by Pakistan Studies, a composite of patriotic discourses, justification of the Two-Nation Theory, Muslim heroes, and discussions of the superiority of Islamic principals over Hinduism. All history that pertained to pre-Islamic events of the territory which is now Pakistan, such as Moenjodaro and Taxila, were eliminated or made irrelevant through brevity. 

In September 1978, General Zia-ul-Haq established a National Textbook Review Committee to bring textbooks in conformity with the national ideology and Islamic tenets. This revision included the removal of pictures of pigs, because they ‘misguide the youth’. After this exhaustive exercise the Ministry of Education declared that anti-Islamic material had been eliminated from 550 textbooks.

In the post-Zia-ul-Haq era, it became pretty difficult to undo what traditionalists in Pakistan had achieved. The education policies and curriculum documents which were introduced and adopted in 1992 (Nawaz Sharif) 1994 (Benazir Bhutto) and 1998 (Nawaz Sharif) were not different from previous ones in the context of Islamization and representation of ideology of Pakistan. According to the 1994 document the student should

a) be able to take pride in the Islamic way of life, and should try to acquire Islamic knowledge and to adopt it;

b) read religious books in order to understand Quranic teachings;

c) listen to events from Islamic history, and should be able to derive pleasure from them;

d) also know that national culture is not local culture or local customs but it means the culture whose principles have been determined by Islam.

Khurshid Hasanain and A.H. Nayyar note that textbooks on History and Pakistan Studies rarely mention the ancient and non-controversial cultures of the Indus Valley (Moenjodaro, Harrappa and Kot Diji), and completely bypass the entire Buddhist and Hindu periods of history. They suddenly jump to the advent of Mohammed bin Qasim in India and treat it as the beginning of history for all practical purposes. The specific ideological basis of this re-structuring is to make children regard the Muslim part of the history as the only relevant and certainly the most significant part. This process reaches its culmination with the specific learning objective suggested by the curriculum: “to understand the Hindu-Muslim differences and the resultant need for Pakistan.” Similarly one of the functions of the National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, as narrated in its official document (July 1999) is as following: “Directing any person or agency to delete, improve or withdraw any portion or whole of the curriculum, textbooks and reference material prescribed for any class being repugnant to Islamic teachings and the ideology of Pakistan”.

All educational and curriculum policies from 1947 to 2000 have been serving the state’s major objectives. Thus our textbooks, as Dr. Tariq Rahman suggests, are repeating the following messages: “First, the non-Muslim part of Pakistan is ignored. Second, the borrowing from Hindu culture is either ignored or condemned. Third, the Pakistan Movement is portrayed mostly in terms of the perfidy of Hindus and the British and the righteousness of Muslims. In describing the partition, Hindus are reported to have massacred Muslims while
Muslims are not shown to have treated the Hindus in the same manner; India is portrayed as the enemy, which is waiting to dismember Pakistan. The separation of Bangladesh in 1971 is portrayed as proof of this Indian policy rather than the result of the domination of West Pakistan over East Bengal. Above all, the 1948, 1965 and 1971 wars are blamed entirely on India, and Pakistan is shown to have won the 1965 war.”

The end result of this sustained narrow approach in the realm of educational policy is pretty evident, and on August 14, 2002 the President, General Pervez Musharraf, was obliged to say that “sectarianism, religious intolerance and violence are the major crises facing Pakistan and insignificant minority has held the entire nation hostage to their misconceived views of Islam and their fanatical acts.” In order to address this critical situation Pakistan’s educational bureaucracy is once again busy with the much-eulogized Education Sector Reforms that define the purpose of education as, “developing human resources in Pakistan as a prerequisite for global peace, progress and prosperity.” Another professed aim is to produce enlightened and skilled citizens, and for this the national curricula are being revised. Special focus is on reform of the “madrassas” (religious seminaries) and to rectify the mistakes of the past. But whether these efforts would yield any tangible results remains an open question.

End Notes

1. Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy, “The menace of education; what are they teaching in Pakistani schools today?” The News on Sunday, June 11, 2000
3. Istaqlal-I-Pakistan, Lahore 17 August 1947, Page 23
7. Charles Cummins, The Textbook Controversy, Washington University, St. Louis, December 2001
9. Yvette C. Rosser read this paper at a meeting of Islamabad Social Sciences Council in July 1999.
10. Ibid
11. The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, February 17, 1982
Chapter 2

Purpose of education: Comparative analysis of educational policies since 1947
During the last half century, Pakistan has gained excellent expertise in thickening its jungle of educational policies. During these years, at least nine documents have been prepared and produced by the country’s education bureaucracy that could be regarded as education policies or plans. Almost every successive regime, whether civilian or military, Islamic or Socialist, progressive or conservative, did not miss the opportunity to present its version of what the nation needed by way of education as an agent of change, but strictly according to its own philosophy and worldview.

This kind of practice is not confined to Pakistan. Almost every society and political system employs the process of education to create a particular kind of consciousness among its future generations that suits its domestic and global objectives defined by the ruling elite. However, the stark reality remains that no educational system in the world can claim to have produced exactly the kind of educated person that it desires.

The founding father of Pakistan provided a clear-cut message about the purpose of education to the first National Educational Conference in 1947 in the following words:

“…the importance of education and the type of education cannot be over-emphasized...there is no doubt that the future of our State will and must greatly depend upon the type of education we give to our children, and the way in which we bring them up as future citizens of Pakistan… we should not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction.”

Nevertheless the policy makers, especially those espousing a traditionalist view of Islam, never failed to deliberately ignore this message. Therefore today one can justifiably blame successive regimes for their failure to articulate a dynamic educational policy and its proper and sustained implementation as a contributing factor in making Pakistani society intolerant, violent, lacking a vibrant political culture and a sound economic base and without the resilience to withstand the diverse challenges of the modern world.

A critical and objective review of the various educational policies and the manner of their implementation shows that “setting targets, bemoaning the failure to achieve the same, and setting new targets with unqualified optimism has been a continuing game played *ad nauseam* and at great public expense over the last 50 years.” Moreover, no education policy in the country has ever compromised on the Islamic viewpoint, though with varying interpretations depending on the mindset of the regime in power, but on many occasions, they did conveniently ignore democracy as the vital building block for the Pakistani state and society.

All this happened because neither the people nor their democratically elected representatives were ever consulted in formulation of any educational policy that the country pursued during the last 56 years. Another important factor is that Pakistan has never been serious in the
practice of assessing impact, soliciting feedback or conducting any sort of empirical research to improve its policies and learn from past mistakes. The end result is understandably before us: the country has a weak political culture and ineffective institutions and looks like a boulevard of failed dreams and aspirations. Rather it faces the threat of implosion from a combination of flaws in and strains on its federal design, fears of a drift towards theocracy and Talibanization of the state and society, sectarianism and ethnic conflicts, humiliation of the political processes, a chronic economic crisis, alienation of the people, and a disarrayed civil society. It is also involved in a long-standing confrontation with India, a situation that has made the region a nuclear flashpoint. In such a scenario, only education can shield the society from its current degradation and rectify its lingering miseries.

**Defining the aim for the future**

Independent Pakistan received as its share a tiny six percent of British India's industrial capacity and a low literacy rate --- 85 percent of the population being illiterate. What it inherited in terms of an educational system was based on the British policy for the subcontinent whose aim, in the words of Lord Macaulay, was to produce a group of people to serve as interpreters between the rulers and the ruled – in other words government servants of a specific aptitude, but with a legacy of religious neutralism for the pluralist region.

The tone and tenor of the first National Conference on Education held in November 1947 was extremely critical of the existing British educational system. The Education Minister, Fazl-ur-Rahman declared it to be serving a narrow and utilitarian purpose and its growth to be largely a matter of artificial improvisation. He outlined the future parameters of education in Pakistan in the following words: “the provision for instruction in the fundamentals of religion in schools is, therefore, a paramount necessity, for without religious insight we cannot hope to build up character or lay foundations for an adequate philosophy of life.”

The conference worked out an outline for the future education system of Pakistan and decided to establish the Central Advisory Board of Education to coordinate educational programmes of the provinces which would be ‘similar to those of India’ \(^2\) and explicitly made a commitment for the provision of free and compulsory education up to primary level to every child that was to be gradually raised to middle level, with Islamic ideology as the basis of Pakistani education.

It is noteworthy, that despite the mass level communal riots and killings across the Indo-Pak borders and the resultant disturbed state of the government machinery, the state felt no hesitation in devising educational programmes similar to those of free India. The infiltration of Islamic ideology through education has always remained a complicated question for the successive governments. “The struggle between modernism and traditionalism from 1947 till the present day is evident in the various educational policies of the government. The conflict between the modern, westernized elite and the ulama of various shades of opinion is very significant and, according to military ruler Ayub Khan, divides the nation more than anything else.”\(^3\) The conflict took its bearings right from the inception of Pakistan, and many of the ulama who were once against the very creation of Pakistan, started their struggle for an Islamic state soon after independence.
Ideological raison d'etre of Pakistan

Another education conference, convened in 1951, was unanimous in giving the mandate to the central Ministry of Education to prepare “a comprehensive development plan based on practical and realizable targets in various fields of education.” In the first place, the ministry, while preparing the Six Year National Plan for Education, 1951, made a critical survey of the weaknesses and deficiencies of the existing system. Among other shortcomings, the existing system of gradations was condemned to be haphazard, unscientific and practically wasteful. Much emphasis was laid on the need for the provision of vocational education. The British educational policy was also taken into account as: “The British during their rule in India adopted a policy of strict religious neutrality. This policy, with its emphasis on a purely secular education, is understandable and can be justified on grounds of expediency; but its practical result was that it impoverished the moral fiber of the society. An education devoid of spiritual content is an education maimed and mutilated.”

The plan portrayed the ideological raison d’etre of Pakistan and set corresponding educational objectives. The aim of education was postulated as the integration of personality by stressing on the need of adoption of a positive philosophy of life by students. To achieve these ends, a religious outlook and man’s realization of his place in the system of universe was deemed necessary. It asserted that Pakistan was not established with the objective of adding yet one more state to the congeries of warring and competing states. Rather it stands for a distinct way of life based on Islamic principles.

There have been several expositions of this view of which the most authoritative is the Objectives Resolution. Before the Objectives Resolution, however, came the resolution of the Pakistan Educational Conference recommending the adoption of Islamic ideology as the basis of education in the country. Implicit in this resolution is the acknowledgement that “education cannot exist in a vacuum and that it must be an instrument for the kind of ideological transformation that Pakistan stood for.”

The tide of traditionalism was somehow held back till the assassination of the first Prime Minister, Liaqat Ali Khan. But afterwards the balance tilted in its favour. “The first real crisis came in 1953 when, during the agitation against the Ahmadis, the Government tried to uphold the western concept of de facto secularism while the ulama wanted a theocracy.” The influence of the ulama increased during the years of political instability between 1953 and 1956. The first constitution of Pakistan in 1956, for example, endorsed at least theoretically the concept of an Islamic State; for example, only a Muslim could be appointed Head of State. The Council of Islamic Ideology was set up under this constitution to bring all existing laws into conformity with the Quran and the Sunnah.

The 1959 Education Policy, popularly known as the Sharif Commission Report, reiterated the objectives of the 1947 Educational Conference and covered all educational aspects from higher and professional education to secondary, technical and vocational, primary, women’s, adult, physical, religious and military education. The maktab and madrassa education and financial aspects of teachers and students also came under discussion.
However, the policy neither provided any physical targets nor did it claim to have dealt with or solved all of the country’s educational problems. Anyway, it set up some objectives as the basis of the future plan of improvement and expansion of education, which were:

- the enrichment of education in a way that is pupil-centered and rooted for the Muslims in the spirit of Islam. Primary education was also to be enriched and made universal, and
- the selective improvement of secondary and higher education with emphasis on the skills and leadership by addition of technical and scientific subjects to the traditional liberal arts curricula, the provision of specialized staff and laboratory equipment, and the strengthening and extension of professional and technical courses.

The Report emphasized the need for interpretation of original liberal and rational Islam and its implication for the problems of modern life. It defined the Islamic way of life as one governed by the principles of truth, justice and, benevolence and universal brotherhood, and accepted it as one of the foundations of the future educational pattern in Pakistan. In establishing a liberal outlook towards religion, the Report not only realized the presence of non-Muslims in the country but also laid stress on giving a child just a basic grounding in theology and leaving his mind free to accept or harmonize with extraneous liberal world views. This way it “kept a balance between traditionalism and modernism.”

**Authoritarianism and anti-democracy approach**

There is much criticism in the Sharif Report of the private attitude towards public duty and chides the people who have not changed their thinking vis a vis the government of the country even after becoming a free nation. The spirit of indiscipline among the student and the emergence of disruptive forces of regionalism and provincialism have been deplored. The report suggested providing work programmes for students to encourage their participation in community service. A short period of one or two months of ‘National Service’ in the civil or military fields was proposed to promote a sense of discipline and patriotism.

The commission recommended the setting up of a University Grants Commission with the purpose to associate some eminent persons with unpopular or unpleasant decisions and thereby face public criticism and dilute opposition to educational reform. Its report strongly opposed the system of election for university bodies, denouncing it as an agent to hamper team spirit among teachers and setting up arenas of public debate and conflict responsible for disturbing the ‘sanctity of academic life’. It recommended the expansion and improvement of the Academic Council to make the Senate unnecessary because, according to it, bodies like the Senate, consisting of 150 to 200 members, of whom ‘a large number were elected, some of them politicians’ were cumbersome and unwieldy, and were not able to take the right decisions quickly.

The Report gave overwhelming authority over the university’s affairs to the Chancellor, i.e. the Governor of the province, who was given the power of ‘visitation and special inquiry and also approving the University statutes’. He was to appoint the Vice- Chancellor, make nominations to the Syndicate and set up an Appraisal Committee for the evaluation of the work of Professors and Readers. Since under the Constitution the Governor was also the Chief Executive and not merely the titular head of the province, and was appointed by the
President and responsible only to him, the university became a part of the governmental machinery.

Despite showing a liberal approach towards religion, the general tone of the report almost endorsed the views of the military dictator who had overthrown a democratic government. It held democratic pressures responsible for the misuse of resources in the country. However, even the positive features of the report did not win popular acceptance on account of several proposals of a bureaucratic and authoritarian nature. Additionally, its hasty implementation also became a reason for its failure.

After the fall of Ayub’s government and dissolution of the much-resented One Unit, Air Marshal Nur Khan was appointed to propose changes in the field of education. The Air Marshal earned much applause when he produced an education policy in 1969 whose final version came out in 1970. The cliché-ridden tone of his report advocated preservation and inculcation of Islamic values, universal elementary education and adult education, and a changeover from English to the national languages for official purposes.

Nur Khan’s report was more receptive to Islamic interests than the policies pursued by Ayub Khan’s regime. For instance, it advocated the inculcation of Islamic values as an instrument of national unity and progress, and as a dynamic force; an inspiration for building a democratic, tolerant and just society as envisaged in the concept of Pakistan. This endorsement of Islamic values may have been based more on political necessity than on any sincere Islamic zeal of Yahya Khan’s regime. Nur Khan’s emphasis on Islamic education did not go nearly as far as some religiously oriented elements would have liked.

The report talked about the nation’s ideological and cultural heritage and the universal structures of human knowledge and concepts of human progress to be the main source of inspiration for making the educational process fruitful and worthwhile. Thus it put forth five major areas of reform describing them as basic concepts for inspiring the goals and guidelines of educational development. These included: first of all, the use of education in preservation of Islamic values, which were pronounced to be the instrument of national unity and progress. Then, emphasis was laid on scientific, technical and vocational education; equal access to opportunities of education for all and sundry, maintaining the quality of education; and decentralization of the educational administration. The report set up the following targets of education:

1. the maximum development of human potentialities backed up by the ideological framework;
2. provoking the spirit of research and inquiry enjoined by Islam;
3. incorporating the Islamic way of life as the foundation of social responsibility and commitment; and
4. educating the masses about their distinct national heritage.

Despite its ambitious aims the policy remained inoperative as it was overtaken by the events in East Pakistan. The question of its full implementation never arose.
Beginning of a new phase

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto attained political power by capitalizing on his catchy slogan of Islamic Socialism in 1970. However bowing before the complexities of that time, especially the demoralization after the separation of East Pakistan, he sought to create a sense of national identity woven around Islamic ethos. Gradually his socialistic rhetoric dried down to appease the Islamists. For that, his government declared the Ahmadis a non-Muslim minority in 1974.

In 1977 alcohol was banned, Friday was introduced as the weekly holiday, casinos and nightclubs were closed and gambling was prohibited. It was also during Bhutto’s rule that Islam was declared the state religion and the government endorsed a variety of measures for progressive Islamization, complete with a watchdog institution, the Council of Islamic Ideology, to oversee the process. Bhutto also nationalized private and missionary educational institutions but allowed the Islamic boarding schools (madrasas) to remain free of state control. Bhutto had hoped to pacify the Islamic groups and dilute their opposition to his regime by surrendering to their demands; all these acts were of no avail. By now the Islamic parties were in full cry and refused to let up on their countrywide campaign to oust him. Finally the campaign ended when General Zia suddenly imposed martial law and took over control of the country.

A few months after Bhutto came to power, a new policy for education was announced on March 15, 1972. It promised to revolutionize the entire system of education in the country by:

- changing the education from an elite privilege to an equal opportunity,
- providing opportunity for education to every citizen regardless of race, religion or sex, origin or birth, and
- giving a massive shift to education from general education to a more meaningful agro-technical education.

It tried to appease both the conservatives and liberals at the same time – the former with provision of special facilities for women, and the latter by talking about “our basic ideology and Islam”. Ironically the policy was ‘a continuation of hoary traditions - most of them unjust” and revolved around the so-called ideology of Pakistan. Its first objective was to ensure the preservation, promotion and practice of this ideology and making it a code of individual and national life. It laid emphasis on national solidarity, which was thought to be attainable through the conscious use of the educational process in promoting social and cultural harmony compatible with that ideology. The curricula were sought to be flexible and responsive to the nation’s changing social and economic needs that could transform the existing general educational set-up to a more purposeful agro-technical one.

Another objective was the provision of academic freedom and due autonomy to educational institutions within the framework of national objectives and requirements. The policy stated that the study of Islamiyat would be compulsory for Muslim students up to Class X. It further stipulated that steps would be taken to ensure that the curricula and textbooks for all stages do not contain anything repugnant to, or inconsistent with, the cultural and ethical values of Islam. It was promised that the study of Islamiyat would not remain an isolated item in the school curriculum and that the values and spirit of Islam were to be woven into the entire warp and woof of the educational fabric. Further it was emphasized that parents have to cooperate, and that the educational radio and television channels would devote substantial time to the recitation of the Holy Quran and its translation.
Bhutto's socialist rhetoric did not bring about any egalitarian changes nor did it fulfill the dream of universal literacy. In terms of ideological imperatives his education policy was not much different from previous dispensations. However, most experts on education saw the cosmetic changes he introduced as being progressive.

Another new phase

Eleven years of military rule led by General Zia was marked by his own quest for legitimacy. Coming to power by force, he tried to justify the existence of his regime as the one that was rediscovering and redefining Pakistan within the Islamic framework. As a token of this quest,

- Ideology of Pakistan was redefined and used extensively, with the "Islamic state" being at the center.
- Education was handed over to a new brand of ulema to make it Islamic education, and
- The shalwar kameez was introduced as the official dress.

Zia was religious and, like Ayub Khan, pretty centrist. He sought national integration through the symbols of Islam and Urdu and made Islamiyat and Arabic compulsory for government schools, stating in his Education Policy that the aim of education would be, above all, to make students good Pakistanis and Muslims. Additionally, anti-Hindu and anti-India lessons were added in school textbooks.

Scholars, students, teachers, lawyers and prominent citizens attended the Educational Conference convened in October 1977. The new educational policy was to be kept under “constant review”. In his comment on the policy, the Minister of Education lamented the fact that the nation was directionless and groping in the midst of divergent views and confusion, and hence there was need to clearly set directions, define objectives and develop practical work plans through the process of education: These directions were to be set on the basis of Islam which was not merely a religion but a ‘deen’, a comprehensive system and a complete code of life. The Minister, however, deplored that, “education in Pakistan had remained ‘a subject of frequent interventions of alien models of industrially advanced countries.” The National Policy of Education was, therefore, being framed to “redefine the aims of education in the search for a purely indigenous education policy, based on national choice of strategies, within a given and relevant framework”.

On October 12, 1978 the Minister announced the new education policy. This document, unlike the earlier ones, took a full chapter to define the objectives of education. It was presented as a Five-Year Programme and promised an increase in expenditure on education to 3.7% of GNP. Summarizing the policy The Pakistan Times stated:

“The mosque will be accorded its rightful place. Five thousand mosque schools will be opened… five thousand mohalla schools will be started to provide home economics-oriented basic education to girls… A National Council on Adult Education will be established with its nucleus at Allama Iqbal Open University to supervise and co-ordinate activities relating to the adult literacy programme in the country… Recognition will be accorded to ‘madrassas’, ‘maktabs’ and ‘darul uloom’. All facilities and concessions, such as scholarships, stipends etc. available to other students will also be extended to the students of these institutions… In order to provide facilities for horizontal mobility to the students of ‘madrassas’ and ‘maktab’, the structure and curricula of these institutions will be reorganized in consultation with
respective ulema and the Council of Islamic Ideology… Islamiyat will be made compulsory for all streams of education including technical and professional institutions… Arrangements for teaching of Arabic will be made in all schools and colleges. Thirty Arabic teaching centres will be established all over the country under the umbrella of the Allama Iqbal Open University… A full-fledged faculty of Shariah will be established at the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad… A strong motivational programme will be launched for creating awareness of the ideology of Pakistan among our students and teachers… Curricula and textbooks of all levels will be reviewed to bring them in conformity with the principles and ideology of Pakistan.”

Thus the aims of education were set in conformity with the principles of Islam and the ideology of Pakistan, and their attendant cultural heritage and socio-economic needs. To strengthen the unity of the people of Pakistan on the basis of justice and fair play, the policy sought to foster a deep and abiding loyalty to Islam and Pakistan and a living consciousness of their spiritual and ideological identity in the hearts and minds of students. Then, in the quest for true Muslims amongst the society, it was deemed necessary to develop and mould the character, conduct and motivate the students in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah.

It was the beginning of full-scale Islamization of education. Critics point out the influence of the Saudi Arabian experience and the ideals of Maulana Maududi, the founder of the Jamaat-e-Islami as the driving force behind Zia’s programme of Islamization. They say “it is due to the influence of Maududi, that Islam is stressed as a ‘nizam’ (system) and the entire discourse was laden with terms like Islamic ideology of Pakistan, Islamic political system, Islamic education and Islamic economy.” Nizam-i-Mustafa, in other words complete Islamization, was, in fact, just a slogan used by the Pakistan National Alliance --- the nine religious parties’ conglomerate to get rid of the Bhutto government in 1977 --- but provided impetus to General Zia’s drive for Islamization. Therefore the new education policy aimed to create an awareness of universal Muslim brotherhood amongst students. It was expected of students to consider themselves a part of the universal Muslim Ummah and contribute to the welfare of fellow Muslims inhabiting the globe, and also to help spread the message of Islam throughout the world.

General Zia’s policy also recognized the dichotomy in the existing education systems of madrassa and darul uloom and modern school, college and university systems as the two streams were without any harmony with each other. The policy maintained that such a system was responsible for the lopsided development of the human personality in Pakistan. Advocating their integration, Zia labeled his call as “the need of the day”, and stated that the two systems “should be fused together so as to provide an Islamic vision for those engaged in education.”

Furthermore, a deeper understanding of the Pakistan movement, its ideological foundations, history and culture amongst the next generation was also sought to make them feel proud of their heritage and strengthen their faith in the future of the Islamic State. The policy decided to promote Urdu besides the provincial languages as the medium of instruction. Every English medium school had to introduce Urdu in April 1979 as a medium of instruction for all students admitted to the first grade and would thus be progressively introduced in successive grades thereafter. English was to be taught as a compulsory language from grade six onwards because it was necessary to keep in touch with modern knowledge.
In setting up guidelines for the National Textbook Review Committee, the policy made clear that its review must include the textbooks prescribed by English medium schools. The revision included the removal of pictures of pigs, because they ‘misguide the youth’. Islamiyat was made compulsory for all streams of education. The existing curricula were to be revised in consultation with the Ulema so as to inculcate in the students, a greater sense of commitment towards Islam and Islamic ideology. Pakistan Studies too was made a compulsory subject. These steps were taken to correct the ideological direction of the Pakistani society.

The provision of equal educational opportunities to all was to be made sure. The minorities were not to be ignored either and were to be provided with adequate facilities for their cultural and religious development enabling them to effectively participate in the overall national effort.

**Mosque and mohalla schools and madaris**

Unlike Bhutto’s nationalization of educational institutions that spared the religious seminaries, General Zia-ul-Haq lured them in order to make them an integral part of his vision. Ostensibly, the idea of mosque schools was devised to root out illiteracy as soon as possible, with active cooperation between the imams of mosques and the teachers of regular schools. But in fact this strategy bestowed unique power on religious clerics at the grass roots, which Zia cleverly used to attain legitimacy for his undemocratic rule. There is no doubt that in Islamic history mosques have traditionally been centers of social life and learning. However, the fact remains that in the Pakistani context, these places of worship are divided among various sects who believe in different theological interpretations of Islam, many of them at war with one another.

The plan to use mosques for primary education was officially announced in 1978. The policy stated that every mohalla and village had mosques which had enough space to run a primary school besides providing a clean religious and spiritual environment. It was planned to open a 1000 such schools every year. These schools were to have two teachers: one regular primary school teacher and the other the imam mosque to teach the Quran and Islamiyat. The policy states that special care will be taken to select those teachers who are ideologically committed, religion-oriented, and possess a missionary zeal. However the curriculum for these mosque schools was to be the same as that of other primary schools, and the students qualifying from the mosque schools would be eligible for transfer to formal education system at any stage. In addition to mosque schools, the concept of mohalla (locality) schools was also promoted. The policy also envisaged that purdah-observing respectable ladies who can read and write, but do not go out, can teach the Holy Quran and Islamiyat and other selected domestic skills such as embroidery etc to young girls in the mohalla, can run such schools.

The policy clearly indicated that the Government did not want to ignore the madaris and it was its objective to promote the integration of formal and madaris education. In defining the existing state of madaris, it was stated that most of them awarded sanads (certificate) either on their own or through one of their organizations called Vifaq-ul-Madaris (federation of religious schools), but those sanads were neither recognized nor equated with degrees/certificates of formal system of education. Most of the madaris held regular classes and an examination system, and generally a 9-year course was followed as primary
programme. The curriculum included Quran, Hadith and Fiqh with some elements of logic and philosophy. Due to special nature of these studies, all madaris used Urdu and Arabic as a medium of instruction.

The policy lamented that previous governments had done nothing to improve the state of madaris and the facilities available to the students of formal education system were not extended to those of madaris – who were doing everything either on self-finance basis or by fundraising. There were reservations among a few religious scholars to introduce modern subjects like English and mathematics in these seminaries, but the very approach to consider them for elevation and equivalence boosted General Zia’s image in the eyes of religious clerics.

All this might be General Zia’s own vision to empower religious seminaries in his search of a supportive constituency for a military dictator, but one cannot ignore the fact that at the same time a multi-million dollar project of Nebraska University to promote Jihad (holy war) was also there to prepare young Afghans to participate in a holy war against the former USSR in Afghanistan. Many religious seminaries in Pakistan also provided ample fuel to defeat the evil empire in that country. Now both Pakistan and Afghanistan have started feeling the retrogressive impact of those obscurantist policies of the 1980s. Today, in both countries, there is a special focus to reform the madaris system again ironically with the help of the United States but with changed global priorities.

Post Zia experiences

In the ten-year period (1988-1999) of democracy under Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif (alternately two terms each), very few policies of General Zia were discarded or changed. Radical Islam, to a greater extent has penetrated the educational system of Pakistan. Although both the Pakistan People’s Party of Benazir Bhutto and the Pakistan Muslim League of Nawaz Sharif had different levels of commitment to the Islamization project and the process initiated by General Zia, yet it was only Nawaz Sharif who twice took the opportunity to present new education policies in 1992 and 1998 respectively.

Being a protégé of Zia-ul-Haq, he had a soft corner for the Islamist agenda. However the strategy in the education policy of 1992 urged the adjustment of the Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies curriculum to the learning level of students and removal distortions and unnecessary repetitions. It stressed that the new curricula and textbooks in Islamic and Pakistan Studies should articulate in an attractive manner the ethical, moral, social and religious values of Islam. It also maintained that at each appropriate level, the books on Islamic Studies will present the worldview of Islam as juxtaposed to the scientific and technological worldview.

The policy of 1998 had a full-fledged chapter on the aims and objectives of education. It viewed education as a powerful catalysing agent, which provides mental, physical, ideological and moral training to Muslims. Within the context of Islamic perception, the document goes on to say that education is an instrument for developing the attitudes of individuals in accordance with the values of righteousness to help build a sound Islamic society. The policy outlines its objectives to educate and train the future generations of Pakistan as true practicing Muslims who would be able to march into the 21st century and the next millennium with courage, confidence, wisdom and tolerance. However very little was
done on the ground to realize these objectives, and Nawaz Sharif was ousted from power in October 1999.

As far as the Benazir Bhutto government is concerned, it did not come up with its own education policy, although efforts were made to do so. Nevertheless, her government embarked on re-writing history through the History Commission of Pakistan, but that move was scuttled after her ouster from power in 1996. A 1994 document prepared during the second Benazir government expected from the education system that the student should:

a) Be able to take pride in the Islamic way of life, and should try to acquire Islamic knowledge and to adopt it;
b) Read religious books in order to understand Quranic teachings;
c) Listen to events from the Islamic history, and should be able to derive pleasure from them; and
d) Know that the national culture is not local culture or local customs but it means the culture whose principles have been determined by Islam.12

The military government led by General Pervez Musharraf has also embarked on Education Sector Reforms (ESR). The objective of education in this plan is to add global dimensions to the personality of Pakistani students for international peace and a culture of tolerance. The Education Ministry claims to have revised the curricula and textbooks in the light of this new vision, but unfortunately the textbooks by and large continue to mix facts and fiction. Perhaps the traditionalists have fully consolidated their role and position as ideological gatekeepers in the country’s educational bureaucracy.

End Notes

1 Kaiser Bengali, History of Educational Policy Making and Planning in Pakistan, SDPI working paper series 40, 1999
2 M. A. Aziz, The Educational Pyramid Re-inverted, March 1965, page 98
3 J.D. Kraan, Religious Education in Islam, Islamabad, 1984, page 38
4 Ibid
5 Six Year National Plan for Education 1951, proceedings, page 360
6 Ibid
7 Kraan, op. cit, page 38
8 Ibid page 39
9 Dr. Tariq Rahman, Heavy Doses of Rhetoric, from daily Dawn
10 The Pakistan Times, October 13, 1978
11 Kraan, op. cit. page 49,
Chapter 3

Blind alley of curriculum
The dictionary definition of curriculum is a course of study or the whole body of courses offered in an educational institution. In this way curriculum is a series of planned instruction coordinated and articulated in a manner to result in the achievement by students of specific knowledge, skills and the application of this knowledge. But in reality, it is a sort of software to help produce the kind of person and learning that any nation desires through the hardware i.e. its education system.

In Pakistan there has not been much public debate on what kind of an educated person we require to consolidate nationhood, achieve modern development and overcome the socio-economic and cultural problems being faced by the nation. Historically after independence in 1947, every province followed its own curriculum and textbooks according to their local needs. Hence curriculum contents varied from province to province and accommodated the cultural and ethnic diversities of a pluralist society.

But this scheme was dubbed as the legacy of a foreign regime and therefore needed to be reformed in order to be more useful and in accordance with the cultural conditions and moral aspirations of Pakistan. That is how the struggle for reforms in the curriculum started. Education Departments formed subcommittees of educationists to revise and review the existing curricula. Starting from the first Educational Conference held in 1947, for the reorientation of education in conformity with the culture of the people of Pakistan, it went on to talk of education to suit the genius of the people, consonant with national history and culture and having regard to modern conditions and the vast developments that have taken place all over the world.¹

During a meeting held in Karachi, the Pakistan History Board decided upon the syllabus of Indian and Muslim history textbooks for Pakistani schools. It was felt that certain important facts had either been omitted or mutilated by writers of history textbooks that were in use so far. The board decided that no authentic facts of history should be suppressed from the new textbooks to be prepared for the country’s schools². According to the Gazette of Pakistan, the Pakistan History Board was assigned the task of examining and recasting the existing syllabi in history and to make necessary arrangements for the preparation of suitable textbooks. In pursuance of this task, it had to undertake the preparation of a standard work on the history of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent ³.

Following the establishment of Karachi as the federal capital, the Government of Pakistan decided to set up a Central Syllabus Committee, basically to determine the subjects of study for the entire school stage and prepare graded syllabi in respect to them on the basis of the government’s decisions on the relevant recommendations of the Pakistan Educational Conference, the Advisory Board for Technical Education and the Karachi Educational Enquiry Committee. In regard to religious education, the function of the committee was to “devise an agreed syllabus of religious instruction on strictly non-sectarian lines for Muslim students”⁴.
If we look at the curricula of 1951 and 1953, we notice that antagonism for Hindus did not take up much space. The contents were devoid of radicalism, enemy images, hate speech and politicized theocratic orientations. According to the curriculum of 1953, the objectives of General Knowledge were to:

- Provide the child with opportunities of observing his surroundings, so that he could understand the climate in which he lived;
- Enable him to understand the effects of climate on human life and activities;
- Make him understand the connections forged by trade and cultural relations; and
- To develop in the child, a way of life according to standards of health and hygiene, make him understand his duties as a human being and a responsible citizen.

Ethics and manners were to be propagated in the following way among the children from class 1 to 3 respectively:

- To treat fellow children with nicety and concern, to respect teachers and parents and to learn manners like saying please, excuse me, sorry, thank you, etc.
- To observe the code of ethics of school and home, e.g. getting up early, respecting teachers and parents and using soft words during mutual conversation.
- To develop love of humanity, animals and plants, learn eating, meeting and talking manners and help the poor, needy, weak and the old.

Books for class 4 and 5 had to contain historical stories under the following guidelines respectively:

- Explanation of biographies of 10 important personalities of the past in a way not to evoke any contradiction. There were a few examples – not necessarily to be undertaken. The examples included Moses, Hazrat Fatima, Khalid bin Walid, Hazrat Umar bin Abdul Aziz, Sultan Salahuddin, Quaid-e-Azam, etc. The personalities of countries and regions to include Egypt, Rome, Greece, Europe and Pakistan could be taken into account in a way that nothing was projected against Islamic ideology.
- Explanation of biographies of 12 important personalities following the above layout. The examples for this section included Hazrat Hussain, Tariq bin Ziyad, Haroon ur Rasheed, Bu Ali Sina, Alberuni, Amir Khusro, Akbar-e-Azam, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Kamal Ataturk, etc.

**Criticism on the Curriculum**

The curriculum’s direction during the early days of Pakistan, no doubt, was a step towards a tolerant and peaceful society, at the same time not ignoring Islamic ideology and the needs of the society. But the newspapers criticized it in the following way:

- “Islamiyat has been totally ignored. If it is not taught, how could its purpose in the curricula to make children useful and good citizens be fulfilled?
- Only an Arabic *qaidah* has been devised for the students of class three.
- There is only one Islamiyat book containing 34 pages, for the fourth and fifth class. This book would be completely based on the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). No Islamic ideology or rituals are mentioned; even it has not been bothered to teach the *kalima* (Islamic creed) to the child.
- Only two prophets are mentioned in History, i.e., Hazrat Ibrahim and Moses. Among the Caliphs, Hazrat Umer and Hazrat Ali, amongst *aimma*, Hazrat Imam Hussain, and
among Muslim women, Hazrat Fatima. Therefore, Jesus and other Prophets, Hazrat Abu Bakr and Hazrat Usman and many other *sahaba* (companions of the Holy Prophet) have been ignored. Likewise, Muslim saints, imams and religious and political personalities have been ignored and people like Akbar-e-Azam, Subuktageen and Amir Khusrau have been mentioned.”

Newspaper comments laid stress on inclusion of theocratic elements in the curricula on broader basis, reflecting the perpetual struggle between traditionalism and modernism in the history of Pakistan. The Punjab Educational Journal, April 1957, offered its gratitude over the new name of Pakistan i.e. Islamic Republic of Pakistan and showed disappointment that the curricula for the primary and middle classes had retained their usual form even after the this declaration in the Constitution. The article quoted the Principles of State Policy in the following words:

- Steps shall be taken to enable the Muslims of Pakistan individually and collectively to order their lives in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah;
- The State shall endeavour to provide facilities as regards the Muslims of Pakistan etc,

The article also pleaded for a few other factors to be kept in mind, viz. that the Hindus never accepted the division of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and is occupying the fountainhead of our river systems…. They will leave no stone unturned to starve us by diverting their natural courses… The two wings of Pakistan are geographically far apart. Only the realization of the bonds of our basic ideology as brothers-in-Islam can keep us together. The newspaper criticised the curricula, maintaining that there is very little in it calculated to teach the ideology on which Pakistan was established as a homeland for the Muslims. The criticism goes on to add that there is not a single line stressing Muslim brotherhood in the Diniyat (Islamiyat book for class 6). It further states that, “it is strange that the three portions of the subject for the 8th class contain not a tinge of the required ideology…Under Urdu, one is still more surprised when one finds that nothing related to our ideology has been included. In Muasharati Uloom (Social Studies), especially in Geography it should have been mentioned how Pakistan is to overcome the handicap of distance between East and West Pakistan and how we propose to deal with the problem of having an enemy sitting at the fountainhead of our river system, on which depends all our agricultural and economic structure, and the peculiar problems of our defence.

It is interesting to note that despite such criticism and pressure from right wing parties, further developments in the field of curriculum during Ayub’s regime do not reflect any hint of Islamization or inculcation of enemy image.

**First big change on national level**

The first big change in the realm of curriculum development occurred in 1959 when, the report of the Curriculum Committee on Secondary Education was issued. The report maintained that the process of curriculum planning is an effort at meeting the “needs of the society, through the development or another, perhaps more important, dynamic entity, the human personality”. Those needs were to be assessed with a clear conception of the nation’s ideals and its intended social patterns. With a very practical approach, the report further stated that the objectives of education, which were the basis of all curricula, should be based on the assessment of immediate needs of the nation in respect of the training of manpower for
economic development and of cultural and intellectual development with a future vision. There was emphasis on the introduction of a modern language to acquire the knowledge, which other nations were already using for economic betterment, in the sphere of industry and commerce, communication and technology.

The two main objectives, maintained by the curriculum committee in formulating the curriculum in 1959, were the realization of national objectives and maintenance of uniform academic standards throughout Pakistan. The national objectives of Ayub Khan are worth mentioning. They include production of trained manpower, an educated citizenry and a competent leadership for the country; training of students to lead productive public lives and full personal lives according to their talents and interests; maintenance of freedom, integrity and strength of Pakistan and preservation of moral and spiritual values of Islam, which emanate from the concept of a universe governed by the principles of truth, justice, benevolence, equality and universal brotherhood. It is apparent that if Islam has a role to play, it is of inculcating social justice, truth and universal brotherhood. There was nothing of the sort that one could take as propagation of hatred, jihad or enemy image.

In the curriculum of 1959, Social Studies consisted of History, Geography and Civics and was deemed to give students knowledge of natural resources, business and commerce of his/her own nation in the broader context of the world. The syllabus of Islamic History comprised the history of Islam up to 1258 A.D., and also included the history of Islam or Muslims in the subcontinent, though that was to be a specialized study and it was stated that it could be undertaken more appropriately at the university level. About the syllabus of Islamic Studies, emphasis was laid on moral and practical goodness and not on superstitions and rituals. Sectarian controversies were avoided. Particular emphasis was laid on the inculcation of Islamic virtues like truthfulness, justice, toleration, forgiveness, mercy, honesty, readiness to enforce the right and resist the wrong, simplicity, self sacrifice, social service, search for knowledge. All in all, Islam was presented as a progressive social system.

A deeper look into the curriculum of Social Studies reveals that, in regard to Islam, the lessons were supposed to teach appreciation of the contribution of Islam to the development of personal and social values. The attitudes meant to be instilled in students were devoid of hatred for any community and eschewed a politicized version of Islam. These attitudes were listed as respect for parents, elders and teachers, politeness, courtesy, keenness, dutifulness, pride in the national and cultural heritage, etc. Likewise, the abilities expected of a good student were dutifulness, being a member of a social group and, as a citizen of the country and of the world, astuteness, discernment of one’s own and others’ rights, recognition of others’ viewpoint, etc. The first objective of Social Studies was to create the ability to appreciate and understand economic, political and other social problems. All this was aimed at inculcating good responsible citizenship among the future generation.

**Islamization of curricula**

The education policy proposed by Air Marshal Nur Khan, as discussed in the previous section of the report, was more receptive to Islamic interests than Ayub Khan’s policies. His report laid particular stress on the nation’s ideological and cultural heritage and only generally on the universal structures of human knowledge and concepts of human progress as the main source of inspiration for making the educational process fruitful. But the
Blind alley of curriculum
corresponding curricula couldn’t be developed as visualized in the report because there was no time for that, and the country was overtaken by the events in East Pakistan.

The education policy introduced in 1972 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto sought important changes in the school curricula of various disciplines including Pakistan Studies and History. Although its characteristics were based on researches in child psychology and aimed at developing knowledge, skill and attitudes of children along with a few other revolutionary steps, the basic layout of education had much to do with appeasing religious clerics. Bhutto strove to win the support of the religious sectors of the population and had the textbooks revised to reflect this effort. “An integrated Pakistan, one strong Islamic nation that could overcome separatist movements and prevent another break-up like the creation of Bangladesh, was his motivation… The textbooks continued to lay greater stress than before on the Islamic perspective of historical events. Islamiyat was made a required subject up to grade eight, and the use of the phrase ‘ideology of Pakistan’ was inserted into Social Studies textbooks…”

Bhutto’s Mard-e-Momin and Mard-e-Mujahid

The cultural goals of education in the new policy started with the promotion of understanding and appreciation of the fundamentals of Islam and the basic ideology of Pakistan. The social goals of education revolved around building up national cohesion by fostering social and cultural harmony through better understanding of the rich heritage of Islam, the struggle for the creation of Pakistan and a review of its achievements and lapses since independence. Whereas the cultural aims of education started off with inculcating knowledge of fundamentals of Islam and simple anecdotes about religion and country respectively.

The policy emphasized the need for evolving a new social set-up commensurate with the spirit of Islam. The aim of inculcating love for Islamic culture, for Pakistan and its ideology, with special reference to Islamic values of economic equality and social justice was attached to the curriculum of Social Studies for primary classes. The objectives of teaching Social Studies in Grade VI – VIII included assurance of the preservation, promotion and practice of basic ideology of Pakistan and making it a code of individual and national life and also building up national cohesion by promoting social and cultural harmony compatible with Pakistan’s basic ideology through the conscious use of the educational process. Knowledge of the Islamic code of personal and social life was also to be inculcated in the students.

The objectives of teaching the history of Pakistan again emphasized “an abiding love for Pakistan and the ideology of Pakistan.” It is interesting to note that one of the objectives was to infuse and imbibe a spirit of nationhood, patriotism and sacrifice in order to be Mard-e-Momin (pious Muslim) and Mard-e-Mujahid (brave Muslim). It would not be wrong to say that this objective was taken up wholeheartedly and ambitiously by General Zia-ul-Haq as the main mission of his policies.

The cultural objectives were to acquaint the students with the contribution of Muslims in the domain of literature, art and culture; bringing out the role of Muslim reformers in purifying Islam and weeding out un-Islamic practices, and to emphasize the individuality and identity of the Muslims and the role of Islam as a determining factor in the creation of Pakistan, and to enumerate the circumstances as to how the Muslims lost their freedom and how they regained it.
The social objectives had been theocratized and projected the enemy image in a manner that suggested the presence of sinister forces always working to topple the foundations of Pakistan, thus inculcating in the minds of students a sense of insecurity about their country. They included acquaintance of students with the Muslim identity, the clash of Hindu-Muslim interests and the need for Muslim solidarity and emphasis on the fact that Muslims were working for Muslim solidarity while the British abetted with the Hindus, who were determined to do away with Muslims altogether by dividing and absorbing them.

Examples from state-sponsored textbooks used in classrooms in Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan will illustrate the appropriation of history to reinforce a national philosophy or ideology; historical interpretations are predetermined, unassailable, and concretized. In this highly charged atmosphere, where history is seen as a tool to mould a nation's youth, interpretations of historical events are manipulated, heroes and villains exchange places, an antinomy of 'drishtikon' or 'nazariat' (point of view) renders interpretation-laden facts found in the vast legacy of shared historical events of the subcontinent politically mutually exclusive.

Despite Bhutto's socialist rhetoric, he did not want to alienate the military or other members of the establishment. As regards Urdu and Islam, he too thought them useful as integrative symbols to counter the threat of yet another ethnic breakup. The curriculum guidelines for Urdu textbooks state emphatically that teachers should ensure that the ideology of Pakistan is never made to appear controversial, and further that, in the teaching material, no differentiation is made between the religious and the mundane, but the material should be presented from the Islamic point of view. Thus, the government, despite the fact that Bhutto had opposed the ulema both politically and intellectually, used the same pedagogic political strategies as the later regimes did. In short, the basic policies of the state in the teaching of languages, especially Urdu, remained the same under Bhutto's socialism as under the martial-law regimes.

General Zia-ul-Haq continued with Bhutto's layout in curriculum development and the phrase ideology of Pakistan was installed with greater vigor than before. The textbooks were rewritten to reassert the Islamic orientation of Pakistani nationalism, this time according to General Zia's socio-political decrees. He recognized the usefulness of having a national curriculum. In 1981, operating through the Curriculum Wing, he ordered that henceforth Pakistani education was to be totally redefined and history re-written according to his vision of Pakistan. From thence onwards the struggle for Pakistan was no longer to be shown as a victorious struggle for a Muslim homeland. Instead it was to be depicted as the movement for an Islamic state run according to Islamic laws. Even if it conflicted with reality, the heroes of the Pakistan movement –Jinnah, Iqbal, Syed Ahmed Khan---were to be projected as Islamic heroes. Furthermore all subjects, including the sciences were to be speedily Islamized.

A legacy of antagonism and radicalism

The various curricula developed after 1979 reflect Zia's theocratic zeal. The curriculum of Social Studies for class III, in its section containing the biographies of important personalities included essays on Hazrat Adam, Hazrat Ibrahim, Jesus, Moses and Muhammad (PBUH). The same section for class IV included essays on the lives of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), Hazrat Abu Bakar and Hazrat Ali. It is ironic that the concepts to be preached in this section
included ‘spiritualism, martyrdom, patriotism, jihad and pride’ etc. Here one could ask, what have martyrdom and jihad to do with a child of class IV? No doubt it was an attempt to theocratize the state and infuse radical elements in the society. This approach got stronger in the syllabus of class V, where enemy image was depicted with the assistance of ideology of Pakistan, the two-nation theory, jihad etc; and every ingredient of the history section represented only militant ideals with a touch of politicized Islam emanating from the General’ mind. The contours to write future textbooks were as follows:

1. The difference between the cultures of Hindus and Muslims.
2. Need for an independent Islamic state.
3. Ideology of Pakistan.
4. The malicious intentions of India against Pakistan (three wars with India).
5. The Kashmir dispute.
6. The need for defense and development of Pakistan.

The important personalities to be covered in the same syllabus also included Mohammad bin Qasim and Mahmud Ghaznavi, while the concepts to be inculcated in this section include martyrdom, jihad and ideology of Pakistan etc. 

Broadly speaking, the impact of the national curriculum objectives on a 12 year-old child in his last year of primary school is nothing else but a pessimistic approach towards the future with a vision that in reality, life is all about battling with visible and invisible dark, sinister forces holding Pakistan under siege. Thus, he must learn to acknowledge and identify them and fight to death. No child can retain his/her innocence after imbibing such war-mongering material on jihad and martyrdom, thus severely limiting the scope for being tolerant by refusing to accept the beliefs of other communities.

The curriculum of Social Studies for class VI – VIII also lays similar stress on knowledge about the ideology of Pakistan with the development of an attitude amongst the students to respect only the Islamic way of life and get involved in activities to promote Islam. In the chapter on ‘Advent of Islam in the Subcontinent’ the concepts to be inculcated are inclusive of jihad, martyrdom, valour and weapons like the manjaneeq, Mohammad bin Qasim and his battles and the spread of Islam and Muslim civilization in South Asia 711-1707 A.D. The suggested activities included tracing the route of Muhammad bin Qasim, drawing pictures of the manjaneeq and role-playing, etc; while the audio-visual aids included a model of the manjaneeq. The chapter, ‘Awakening of Muslims’ of the same curriculum asked for ‘preparing a list of freedom movements, collecting photos and pictures of Muslim freedom fighters, holding discussions on the deeds of these personalities; and the audio-visual aids are to include ‘portraits of freedom fighters’.

The objectives of the first chapter in the Pakistan Studies’ curriculum for class IX – X are development of an understanding of the Islamic concept of Allah’s sovereignty, the cardinal points of the Islamic way of life and provision of information about the advent of Islam in the subcontinent. The objectives for the next chapter include acquaintance with the consequences of the partition of Muslim majority provinces, feeling for the suffering of the subcontinent’s Muslims and consciousness of Hindu-British antagonism towards them.

In the introduction to the curriculum of Pakistan Studies for class XI – XII, it is stated that the inclusion of items such as ‘Islamization of all institutions of society as embodied in the
Objectives Resolution’ is made sure during curricular development. The objectives of Chapter One i.e. Genesis of Pakistan, include: to understand and appreciate the spread of Islam as a progressive, social and economic discipline in South Asia; know about the social and cultural changes brought about by Islam; and realize the importance of the revival of an Islamic Society in the changing world context, etc. The objectives of Chapter Two i.e. History of Pakistan Focusing on Problems, include inculcation of awareness amongst the students about the British and Hindu inimical attitude towards the creation of Pakistan. The next chapter, on Steps Towards Islamic State, aims to develop in the students an understanding of the Islamic provisions in all the Constitutions of Pakistan and an appreciation of the implementation of constitutional provisions on Islamization. The contents of the chapter include ‘Objectives Resolution of 1949, Islamic provisions in the constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973, and steps towards Islamization’. 19

Urdu language curriculum is also presented in a way very much similar to that of the curricula of History, Social/Pakistan Studies and Islamiyat. The objectives of teaching Urdu to students of class VI – VIII include inculcation of love and respect for religious values and Islamic civilization in the students, with national identity to be projected in a way that it propagates the solidarity of the ideology of Pakistan, love for the country, national unity and a feeling of joy in adapting to the national culture. In explaining love and respect for religious values and Islamic civilization, it is maintained that the student should develop this in addition to developing the belief in toheed (Oneness of God), consideration of Islamic rituals as the means to be the best; understanding of the ways of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), the sahaba, the aima, the ahl-e-bait and religious saints as role models; reverence for the Muslim world and awareness about the importance of jihad resulting in heartfelt motivation for it.

The student should also know that Islam is the real basis of the solidarity of Pakistan. The contents of the section on essays for class VI include the ‘Life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), important personalities of Pakistan, life of Hazrat Aisha and passion for Jihad. The stories section of class VII includes ‘Islamic brotherhood and national defense day’; while the essays section covers ‘Important Muslim personalities and important Pakistani personalities’. 25 Interestingly no non-Muslim has been considered worth mentioning in these sections. The objectives of teaching Urdu as a second language also point to the development of reverence and acceptance of Islamic values and traditions and the national ideology. 20 The formulation of the curriculum of Urdu for class IX – X is pretty much the same as of the previous classes.

Teachers’ Guides were also introduced in the educational system to make it more effective-as envisaged by the government. The Guide for Social Studies of class V has been taken into consideration to throw light on the instructions devised for teachers. According to this document the objectives of teaching Social Studies are to understand Islamic values and inculcate them in the society and develop an extraordinary love for Pakistan and be proud of being a Pakistani. The educational objectives include awareness about Islam and Islamic values and acceptance of their influence, and proper understanding of the ideology and problems of Pakistan. The teaching objectives of the first chapter include the development of an understanding of the differences between Hindu and Muslim cultures and the British and Hindu antagonism towards the Muslims of India. The concepts to be inculcated include ‘Muslim nation and the two-nation theory.’
The teaching objectives of the third chapter i.e. The Wars between India and Pakistan, ask for development of awareness in the students about the anti-Pakistan intentions of India and the importance of the Kashmir issue. The underlining concepts are projected as jihad, war, solidarity of the country, while the audio-visual aids include an informative map of the Kashmir issue, the map of Pakistan in which Kashmir is included, and pictures of Pakistani martyrs in the wars with India.

The ingredients of the seventh chapter are meant to make the students aware of the visible and invisible sinister forces that are ever ready to destroy Pakistan as their topmost priority. In addition the dark and dangerous role of rumor-mongering is to be highlighted. In the chapter about the Armed Forces reverence for the military is to be developed in the students. The teaching objectives are to impart to them knowledge about the armed forces and their duties. Audio-visual aids include, a chart containing information about the need and achievements of the armed forces; pictures of weapons and military uniforms; models of tanks, fighter aircraft and warships. The teachers are to lay emphasis on the importance of armed forces for the defence of Pakistan from the enemy, list the military ranks and show the pictures and models of planes, ships, tanks and cannon to the children.

General Zia’s Islamization drive did increase the Islamic, antagonistic and militant content in all courses – even the language courses were no spared. To understand the impact of the General’s policy one has only o perceive that after his eleven years rule many more Pakistanis have internalized extremist views and are willing to die in Jihad. Such imprints are more visible among the Pakistani middle class that by and large banks on state provided education in the network of government-run schools.

**Continuation of Zia’s policy**

Of course, Nawaz Sharif was a protégé of Zia-ul-Haq but even Benazir Butto did no attempt to attack the existing curricula. Thus no attempt was made to alter Zia’s curricula by the political regimes that followed. Patently unacceptable excuses were given by both of them that they couldn’t get the opportunity to do anything constructive. It would not be wrong to state that the reason behind their instability was their inability to bring about changes at the grass root level. Naturally democracy couldn’t flourish and the legacy of Zia-ul-Haq continued to infect every school going child.

It is interesting to note that while Nawaz Sharif issued two education polices --- in 1992 and 1998 --- he never tried to change the antagonistic, militant and over-religious foundations of the curricula which continued to portray the decisions taken in the late 1970's and was made compulsory in the mid-1980s, to reflect and reinforce the ‘national ideology’ and foster ‘a deep and abiding loyalty to Islam and a living consciousness of Muslim nationhood’. Some books written in the 1980’s are still being used in the schools. The curricula that the present government has developed contains the same ingredients of the previous decades e.g. the objective of teaching Urdu to a fourth class kid is to inculcate a passion for jihad in him.

**Military coup**

While the curriculum of General Zia-ul-Haq was aimed at keeping children ‘safe from rumor mongers who spread false news’ and make them ‘demonstrate respect for the leaders of
Pakistan’s military coup of 12 October 1999 ousted an elected government burdening the students with yet another obligation i.e. to pay respect to Nawaz Sharif in the morning and to replace him with General Pervez Musharraf in the evening.

However General Pervez Musharraf’s rhetoric about religious tolerance and need for inter-communal harmony had struck a liberal note, but the policies his regime chose to follow in respect of the curricula left little scope for optimism. For instance, shortly after he assumed office, government officials declared that madrasas were preaching sectarianism and preparing young people for militant activities and announced that their activities would be controlled, their curricula modernized, the institutions will be registered and their financial sources will be made transparent. A meeting of heads of some 250 madrassas in Karachi on 22 May 2000 warned the government against `mischievous propaganda' and declared that since the madrassas were the `citadels of Islam'; they could not be interfered with by the government. They stated that Pakistan is an ideological state and as such Islam is `the ultimate fate of the country' which `vested interests' needed to be prevented from changing. It called the Taliban the `heroes of Islam' and reiterated full support for their cause. The government move was then suspended.

Even after two decades the mindset of the Zia era, and the release of a pent-up religious rage, continues to be reflected in Pakistan's currently enforced curriculum objectives. This has proved to be a vicious circle and General Musharraf’s liberal stance is not visible in education policies. This is manifest in the curricula of 2002.

A few glimpses into the existing curriculum documents would suffice to establish that the legacy of militancy and Islamization still reflects through it. The current objectives of teaching Social Studies include the promotion of understanding of the ideology of Pakistan and inculcation of an unflinching love for Islam and Pakistan. The objectives for Chapter 8 of the book on Social Studies for class II include familiarization with the past personalities of Islam and development of understanding about the sanctity of Islamic practices. The contents of Chapter 8 for class IV include the importance of jehad and the role of “amar bil maroof and nahi anal munkar” (call for virtue and reprimand to sin) in character building.

One can hardly differentiate the existing Social Studies curriculum for class V from the one that was enforced in the 1980s. The objectives for Chapter I include development of an understanding of Hindu-Muslim differences and the need for Pakistani children to recognize the forces working against the country. Awareness about the freedom movement and promotion of the struggle for Kashmir include phrases that highlight the adverse role that Indians have played in them. Also included are Hindu-Muslim differences on culture, on the ideology of Pakistan, on India’s evil designs against Pakistan (the three wars with India), the need for the safety of Pakistan and Islam and preservation of the ideology, integrity and security of Pakistan. Chapter VI revolves around forging the importance of the military in the hearts and minds of children. The objectives include creating awareness of the role of the country’s defense forces, and the contents also cover concerns about national security against foreign invasion. Moreover, the objectives of the national curriculum on History of Pakistan for class IX – X include evaluation of the Islamization efforts by various governments in the perspective of an ideological Islamic state and the inculcation of the ‘qualities of Khudi (self-realization), jihad and martyrdom’ etc.
To conclude, it would be fitting to say that the educational curricula are promoting Islamization, hatred, militancy – underlining the ever-existing struggle between traditionalism and modernism in Pakistan. The role models presented by the curricula either belong to ancient ages or they are modern-day public servants like army officials, policemen, etc. So the children are thoroughly dosed with theocratic material and lessons of jihad and martyrdom and impressed with models of manjaneeqs, tanks and artillery and are expected to be ever ready for the ‘big sacrifice’.

Admittedly the problem spanning over decades couldn’t be solved overnight, but the process of rescuing education from the clutches of puritan and militant forces could certainly have been started in right earnest, and immediately. No society can afford to leave the curricula of schools to haphazard and unplanned growth. Rehabilitation and reform of the education system is very much necessary for a country suffering from xenophobia and hatred for others. It must be understood that basically it is inflicting harm on itself. Therefore, only the elimination of virulent and aggressive elements and identification of patriotism with civic responsibilities, such as paying one's fair share of taxes, acceptance of Pakistan's diversity of cultures and peoples, assurance of social justice, preserving the environment and so forth, can ensure us a better future.

End Notes

1. Educational Brochure, p. 44
2. The Pakistan Times, May 12, 1949
3. The Pakistan Times, April 27, 1949
4. The Pakistan Times, May 4, 1949
5. Educational Curriculum, Primary Section, Department of Education, Punjab.
6. Comments of scholars and newspapers on the specified curriculum of Punjab (Pakistan Publishers and Booksellers Association, Lahore 1953)
10. ibid p. 6
11. Elementary Social Studies Curriculum for Class I – V, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks (1973)
12. Elementary Social Studies Curriculum for Class VI – VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks (1973)
13. Rosser op. cit.
20. Urdu Curriculum (as a first and second language) for Class VI – VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks (1986)
Chapter-4

Textbooks-bringing curriculum to classroom
Textbooks are the finished product authored in the light of the given curriculum guidelines to translate a government’s policy vision into a pedagogic message. They symbolize what education planners want to implement and experiment with in the nation’s classrooms.

Textbooks are always a careful selection from the existing body of knowledge on any subject and produce the desired teaching message, with linguistic and pictorial information, captions and categorized items. Their contents are shaped according to the presumed psychological needs of the normal learner and the presumed disciplinary boundaries of the subject.

In Pakistan, textbooks have more often than not served as a tool in the hands of successive governments for propagating their subjective outlook towards history, polity, society, religion, the world and so on, to shape the desired type of national identity. Authoritarian regimes and the gatekeepers of ideology have always made sure of the delivery of carefully sifted contents to the students in order to mould them in favour of orthodox and reactionary systems. The outcome is quite obvious. Over the years, the textbooks in the nation’s classroom with their markedly communal-cum-chauvinistic stance have produced a generation that is narrow-minded, prejudiced, and intolerant in its outlook. For instance, the Class I textbook of the Punjab Textbook Board declares:

> Pakistan is our country. We live in our country. Pakistan is an Islamic country. Muslims live here. Muslims believe in one God. They do good deeds.

The above statement, in addition to eliminating the claims of any community other than Muslims over Pakistan, establishes that monotheism is the distinctive trait of a pious people who belong to this state. Quite obviously, in this way a particular Muslim identity is inculcated and seeds of contempt, intolerance and hatred for other communities at home and abroad are sown.

The writing of textbooks undergoes a certain process in Pakistan. The curriculum is devised under the government’s policy directives and accordingly sent to the Textbook Boards, which in turn get the textbooks written and published according to the priorities and goals of the state. Textbooks, being the basic source of information for students and the foremost expression of the objectives desired by the curriculum, allow an educational system to act as a national social process to shape children's' minds.

**Struggle between traditionalism and modernism**

The educational process in Pakistan is marked by a constant struggle between traditionalism and modernism, with the former gradually dominating the later. The state’s assumption of its so-called religious duties and pedagogic purposes becomes a handmaiden of religious and political purposes of the rulers. For instance, the contents of the curricula of 1951 and 1953 had less radicalism and fewer enemy images, hate speeches and politicised theocratic
orientations. In contrast, according to the curriculum document of 1994, the basic aims of Urdu language teaching are to construct an Islamic identity, and the learning of language itself has to serve Islamic religious purposes, and holds good even for those students who are not Muslim. Thus Muslims and the Islamic way of life acquire a special place in the mind of the child right from the start, and the equal rights of all citizens and their diverse ways of living and beliefs are obliterated. Quite amazingly, language teaching also aims to convince students to divest the national culture of any regional or local context.

With the same logic, textbooks on History and Pakistan Studies rarely mention the ancient and non-controversial cultures of the Indus valley, and completely bypass the entire Buddhist and Hindu periods of our history. The ideological basis for this specific learning objective, are suggested by the curriculum of 1994 in the following words: ‘To understand the Hindu-Muslim differences and the resultant need for Pakistan.’ Therefore the advent of Mohammed bin Qasim in India is treated as the beginning of history for all practical purposes to make the students regard the Muslim part of their country’s history as the only relevant and the most significant part. As regards India, it figures quite often --- in the stories of wars, in the context of Kashmir, or simply as a Hindu neighbour. Not just confined to the teaching of history, the entire curriculum is embedded in macho, war-oriented and anti-Hindu ideals of a nation-state. The textbooks interchange the word ‘Bharat’ with India in a seemingly un-patterned manner, but if one looks carefully, the former gets preference in contexts that are explicitly hostile.

Such politics of inclusion and exclusion could be well judged from an example of a textbook, ‘First Steps in our History’, published in 1965 and 1990. Some changes marked in the two editions of the same book are as under:

1965 Edition

1. Mahatma Gandhi, whose full name was Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi, was born at Porbander, in India, about a century ago.
2. He started practice, but he did not make a good lawyer.
3. Mahatma Gandhi had joined the Indian National Congress… It aimed to speak on behalf of all the peoples of India, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis alike.
4. It was through the Congress that Mahatma Gandhi carried on his agitation against foreign domination.
5. For self-purification he observed silence almost once a week, and frequently resorted to fasting with the same object.
6. Mahatma Gandhi’s fame had spread far and wide as an apostle of peace.
7. Mahatma Gandhi was a good and pious man.
8. Indians and Pakistanis and others in the world mourned the death of this great man.

1990 Edition

1. Mahatma Gandhi’s full name was Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi. He was born at Porbander, in Bharat.
2. He started practice, but he did not make a good lawyer like the Quaid-e-Azam.
3. Mahatma Gandhi had connected himself with the National Congress… It **claimed** to speak on behalf of all the **peoples of the Subcontinent** – Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsees alike.

4. It was through the Congress that Mahatma Gandhi later on carried his agitation **against the British rule**.

5. **Dropped from new edition.**

6. Mahatma Gandhi’s **name** had spread far and wide as a **great leader**.

7. Mahatma Gandhi was a **merciful Hindu leader**.

8. **Hindus and Muslims** and others in the world mourned the death of that great **Hindu leader**. ²

This analysis establishes that in addition to the replacement of the word ‘India’ with ‘Bharat’, the other changes carried a visible communal substance. According to the new understanding, the Indian National Congress claimed to speak on behalf of the peoples of the sub-continent – obviously, the implication of this change being to hold the Congress accountable for nurturing some ‘ulterior motives.’ Perhaps Gandhi’s acts of self-purification are deemed opposed to the established version of the two-nation theory, therefore, they find no place in the new book. In an attempt to underline the difference between Hindus and Muslims, the fact of Mr. Jinnah being a competent lawyer and the myth of Gandhi being an unsuccessful one is highlighted in the new book, a rather puerile effort. The implication is Muslim superiority over Hindus. ‘Gandhi’s fame’ has been replaced by ‘Gandhi’s name’ and ‘Indians and Pakistanis’ by ‘Hindus and Muslims’ etc. In addition to the projection of Hindu-Muslim differences, these changes or replacements show how communalization has happened in Pakistan in certain phases.

The survey of textbooks from 1947 to 2000 collected for this project establishes that the process of communalisation can be divided into two main phases. The first phase is spread from 1947 to 1971 and the second starts from 1971 and continues till today.

**First Phase, Post-independence (1947-71)**

The Founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, from the very beginning, made it clear that Pakistan was not going to be a theocratic state ruled by religious priests. Advocating equal citizenship to all communities and hinting at religious freedom which would preclude any kind of religious identity he had said in his inaugural address to the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947, “…in the course of time, Hindus will cease to be Hindus, and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of the individual, but in the political sense as citizens of one nation.” ³

After the creation of Pakistan, the contours of the future structure of the state were hotly debated. The nature of the state, including its ideology, was discussed. Since religion had played an important role in the creation of Pakistan, the role of religion in the context of an independent Pakistan assumed significance. The following lines from the preface of a textbook might be of interest:

*Pakistan was a new name, which in our time, was proposed for a free Islamic country. But the idea of an independent Islamic country was not new, because the Muslims had been striving for it from the days*
when the Mughal kingdom began to display weakness and decline, and their blood began to be wasted in mutual conflicts, struggles for crowns and thrones and the selfish attitude of the nobles and amirs. It then became evident that the kingdom could not be revived by making sacrifices to infuse a fresh spirit into it.  

The above statement projects the growing regret of Muslims over the fall of the Mughal empire as the basis of the demand for Pakistan, rather than the Hindu-Muslim differences – a theme which is running through the present textbooks all the way to the graduation level.

While framing the Constitution of Pakistan, a debate had ensued in the Constituent Assembly regarding its parameters and its Islamic content. The unitary formula of the state was approved, stating that it was in consonance with Islam. Moreover, the political elite of Pakistan, comprising the Muslim bourgeoisie, feudal lords and bureaucratic elites, were not in favour of an Islamic state: rather, they wanted to confine the role of Islam to imparting a cultural identity to it because the system of education under which they were educated made them familiar with the Western type of democracy based on the principle of separation of religion from politics. Their position was subsequently strengthened by Pakistan’s alignment and dependence on the West in economic and defence matters. Therefore, the theocratic tendencies finding their way into the educational process had to contend with liberalism, and the textbooks in the 1947-71 phase, reflect both schools of thought, with the latter being more prominent.

The basis of the communalisation of textbooks was the narrowly defined two-nation theory, but in the early years of Pakistan, its elaboration was more in the political and economic context than ideological. The difference between the ways of life of the two communities was projected with an emphasis on the fact that one community, being in a majority, could adversely affect the interests of the other. Quaid-e-Azam himself on one occasion explained the two-nation theory in the following words: “The Hindus and Muslims are two separate nations; their religion is different, their way of life is different... One of the nations has a vast majority, while the other is numerically small. Therefore they cannot form a government jointly.” The Hindus were considered a political entity, who were trying to outdo the Muslims hence it was a political struggle and not a religious one.

Similarly the Hindu-Muslim relationship was not represented in an overtly hostile and antagonistic manner. For instance, the following preface of a textbook propagates the idea of religious tolerance and mutual harmony between the two communities.

*In this book not only have religious tolerance and respect for the leaders of every community been kept in mind but it has been ensured that events are described in a way that they should not lead to religious strife, and that students of different faiths should develop affection and friendship for each other instead of hatred.*

With the passage of time and sudden shifts in the reins of power, the infusion of hate-filled contents into government propaganda started. Despite the passage of the Objectives Resolution by the Constituent assembly in 1949, education was still by and large secular. The Mauryas, Ashok, and other Hindu rulers and leaders of the sub-continent were rather
generously treated in history books, and instead of a blatantly communal approach, a
civilized view was taken of religious diversity. The following excerpts from the preface of
another textbook confirm this point:

Due respect and regard have been shown to the monarchs, leaders
and elders of every nation so that students should learn to revere each
other's national ancestors and a spirit of tolerance, broad mindedness
and unity is engendered in them… There are certain textbooks that are
not devoid of prejudice and heart-burning contents and have become
the cause of mutual acrimony and bias among different nations.
However, this history book is not motivated by such national emotions.
Whatever good deeds have been done by Hindu and Muslim rulers for
the welfare of the people of India have been laid before the students
without religious discrimination, so that their minds should remain free
of communal hatred, and when they end their education they should
be seen as models of mutual love and brotherhood and devoid of
prejudice, narrow-mindedness and reciprocal dislike. 6

As is evident, this excerpt from the preface of a textbook carries a tone that is respectful
towards the faith and ideals of other communities, and decidedly a step towards minimization
of communal hatred. Additionally, in contrast to the tendencies of blind hero-worship existent
in current textbooks, Muslim heroes were also criticized at certain places. For instance, a
book states about Muhammad bin Qasim that no doubt “He laid the foundation of a Muslim
kingdom in India, but the very first brick of this foundation was not straight, that is why the
structure constructed on this foundation was aslant and fragile... 7” It is suggested that
instead of relying on the sword, Muhammad bin Qasim and the conquerors that followed him
should have spread a message of love and tolerance and consequently gained a majority for
themselves. This way the terrible accidents of history would have been spared.

Distortion of history by certain nationalistic supra-elements was also criticised by some
historians. The colouring of history according to the writers’ personal likes and dislikes was
discouraged. “The first condition while writing history is that whatever happened in the past
must be recorded in its true colours… However, this principle was thrown to the winds while
compiling our textbooks and everything was presented in the mould of the writers’ personal
views.” 8 Although concerted efforts to bring adverse contents into the newfound Pakistani
nationalism were initiated, yet, even in this atmosphere, there was a secular character in the
propaganda. Secondly, as discussed earlier, diversity of opinion was always existent. If there
were some reflections of an organized propaganda launched by some historians on behalf of
the state or leftist inclinations, a liberal approach also existed. For instance, the following
passage portrays Hindus as a cunning and unreliable community and projects Muslims as the
underdogs:

At the instance of Gandhi the Congress ministries in the provinces
drew up a new educational policy, popularly known as the Vidya
Mandir Scheme and drafted by a few Congress experts on education.
The syllabi prepared under this scheme were a practical demonstration
of the wish to revive Hindu culture and civilization. It was a Hindu
national scheme and it was foisted by force on the Muslims too. 9
Hindus under the leadership of Gandhi were held responsible for the imposition of Hindu culture on the Muslims in order to foster Hindu nationalism. On the contrary another book hails Gandhi as a person who ‘loves austerity, is strong-minded and fearless and a superb politician.’ He is declared to be a very great leader of India and the moving spirit behind the All-India National Congress. Moreover he is portrayed as a peace-loving leader and a major role has been attributed to him in curbing the partition violence and massacre.

Gandhiji was a very great leader of his time... When the day of freedom approached there was a hitch in the political settlement with the Muslims, and finally the partition of the country was announced... Communal riots were already taking place and Gnadhiji was trying to end them... As he reached Delhi he was horrified to see the condition of the Muslims... He went round the city calling upon people to desist from killing and resettled the Muslims in their homes... When he saw that things were not taking the desired shape, he announced that he was going to fast unto death. "So long as people's hearts are not purified of hatred I will not eat or drink anything. I don't care if I die."...Just three days after this the situation changed drastically and there was peace everywhere. Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims vowed to live together...The whole world mourned his passing away. In Pakistan the mourning was just as intense as in India... He was a man of iron determination and strict in his principles. Such men are born once in centuries.

The communal rioting and the terrible killings that took place during the partition also find expression in textbooks. It is noteworthy to see how the subject has been treated with the projection of atrocities on both sides of the border and with a less than communal flavour:

Muslim troops were overseas. India was divided into two parts. Rioting began in the length and breadth of India and Pakistan. Innocent, unarmed Muslims were murdered by the Hindu and Sikh wolves. As the wholesale looting of property proceeded, the British laughed. Muslims gave the same treatment to Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan. But who was responsible for all this? Should not the British be held culpable for the killing of hundreds of thousands of Muslims and Hindus?

Maybe this state of affairs was a cause of amusement for the British, but it was certainly a catastrophe for the region. This excerpt represents Hindus and Muslim massacring each other, but instead of inculcating hatred for other communities in the minds of Pakistani children by only mentioning the atrocities against Muslims, the blame is put on the British administration.

The region that had witnessed brotherhood and mutual understanding between diverse communities was overwhelmed by the rage and passion of communal warfare. About ‘the land of Buddha, the Bharat of Asoka and the Hindustan of Akbar,’ another book states:
When the free dominions of India and Pakistan were being born, and official celebrations were going on in Delhi and Karachi, humanity was taking its last breaths in the homes of those who had fought the battle for freedom and suffering wounds at the hands of man himself. The wine of freedom was so intoxicating that mankind staggered on its feet and lost all sense of brotherhood. When eyes opened, mothers were being bereft of infants and brides were losing their honour. Little bodies were snatched from their mothers' laps, flung in the air and impaled on spears and bayonets. The marble domes of mosques were razed to the ground and the golden spires of temples were burning in the dust. Instead of shouts of zindabad what could only be heard were the wails and screams of victims. People were being looted in the name of the Quran, the Granth and the Vedas. Brotherhood was burning in the flame of freedom. Culture and civilization were on fire, along with the songs of Kabir, the sayings of Nanak and the religious tolerance of Muhammad bin Qasim. Smoke was rising from the Taj Mahal, the caves of Ajanta and the discussion halls of Akbar. And looking at all this, the land of the Buddha, the Bharat of Asoka and the Hindustan of Akbar stood silent.  

Another facet of the movement for Pakistan was that it was not supported by certain religious groups who went to the extent of declaring Jinnah as kafir (infidel). After the creation of Pakistan, these ulema lost their credibility due to their known opposition to the new Muslim state. Hence, to prove their credentials and commitment to Islam, they tried to press for the Shariat to be the basis of the Constitution. The demand sounded convincing because “the very ideology of Muslim nationalism, howsoever ambiguously formulated and wrapped in populist terminology, contained immanently a religious character.”

The second phase: 1971 till today

Although Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who dominated the political scene of Pakistan after 1971, had included the slogan of Islam and Islamic socialism in his manifesto, he declared that the question of Islam in the political context of Pakistan was irrelevant because both the exploiters and the exploited were Muslims. Gradually as time passed, he veered away from socialism. Actually, the unbearable jolt of the defeat in the 1971 war that converted East Pakistan into Bangladesh played a major psychological part in the thinking of those times. A debate initiated on the meaning of Pakistan. Some distortion of history by vested religious interests started and a new discipline for schools emerged called "Pakistan Studies". This discipline took the place of History and Geography. This was an effort to redefine Pakistan and what had remained of it. The bitterness of the 1971 war was fresh, and the hatred for Bengali Hindus got reflected in textbooks. Bhutto used the term “Islamic Socialism” to gain political legitimacy and placed extra emphasis on Islamic unity, especially through strengthening Pakistan’s ties with the Muslim states of the Middle East. This heightened the sense of Islamic identity in Pakistan.

During General Zia’s period, Islam was used to consolidate his hold on power, legitimise his rule and exclude any threat to his government. He declared himself an ardent and pious Muslim and considered himself most suitable to rule over an Islamic state. After taking over,
he praised the spirit of Islam that had characterised the anti-Bhutto movement. In his address to the nation on July 5, 1977, he said:

*It proves that Pakistan, which was created in the name of Islam, will continue to survive only if it sticks to Islam. That is why I consider the introduction of the Islamic system as an essential prerequisite for the country.*

Unlike Bhutto, Zia lacked mass support, so political legitimisation through Islam was the only viable option available to him. Therefore, both the regimes left long-lasting impacts on the educational process in Pakistan, and the books written during these tenures are still taught in schools, colleges and universities. In theocratising the textbooks, even science subjects were not spared. Teaching of language and history suffered alike. History was rewritten and Pakistani nationalism was projected according to General Zia's socio-political decrees. Even Jinnah had to be redefined to suit the new Pakistan.

The fact that Jinnah was a secular person was erased from textbooks and he was projected as a devout Muslim whose only desire was to set up a theocracy. Islamiyat was made a compulsory subject up to the master’s level. From the new History, all pre-Islamic events that took place in the territory that is now Pakistan, were eliminated or made irrelevant through brevity. The information was picked up in the form of desired chunks, and shady areas were further blurred or simply dropped. For instance, in the *Social Studies for Class VI*, the creation of Bangladesh is described in one paragraph and the causes are attributed to some internal and external factors. The entire history of the poor treatment of East Pakistan, the state repression there, the role of the army and the economic exploitation of the east wing were omitted. Thus, the real historical reasons for the formation of Bangladesh remained concealed because of the inability of the authorities to deal with contradictions.

Specific emphasis was laid on Islamization of the state and the propagation of religious mindset was scattered all over the textbooks. The following excerpt from a textbook confirms the new approach adopted after 1971:

*For both collective and individual living the Muslims receive inspiration and guidance from their faith. Islam lays down principles for relationship and rights among human beings, and also organizes the state and the society. On every issue the standards are laid down by the Quran and the actions and sayings of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). This very outlook on life of the Muslims became the basis for the Pakistan movement. Pakistan has been created by an ideology, and this ideology is provided by our religion, Islam. And this is all that Islamic ideology means. That is, in Pakistan its politics, society and economics, in fact the entire system of living, would be under the dictates of Allah, and in every matter guidance would be sought from the Quran and the Sunnah.*

Pakistani textbook writers were constrained by the imperative of proving the inevitability of the two-nation theory. Thus there were, by the necessity of this agenda, numerous misrepresentations by omission. Secondly, the two-nation theory acquired a somewhat
different flavour in the post-Bangladesh scenario. It continues to be justified and all the history of mutual co-existence is denied:

*The Two Nation Theory means that the Indo-Pak subcontinent is populated by two nations – the Muslims and the Hindus. Although the two nations lived together for centuries they could not learn to co-exist as one.*

*In the beginning, Muslim leaders put forward the demand that the Muslims of the subcontinent should have legal and constitutional protections in keeping with their separate identity. But when these protections were denied, and instead the Congress Party tried to thrust on the Muslims the culture and civilization of the Hindus (who were in a numerical majority) the Muslims decided to seek a separate homeland for themselves. That is how Pakistan came into being.*

In Pakistani textbooks, the two-nation theory mostly begins with the arrival of Mohammed bin Qasim in Sindh and is further strengthened by Mahmud Ghaznavi riding through the Khyber Pass seventeen times. In forming the ideological basis for Islamization of the state and adopting an intolerant and anti-liberal approach, history is exploited to its full. General Zia’s quest for true and devout historical Muslim figures within the ummah in the subcontinent (inclusive of Jinnah) extends also to Aurangzeb, who is seen as an orthodox and pious Muslim, stitching caps and endowing mosques; whereas his fratricide is not mentioned. A textbook praises Aurangzeb in the following words:

*Aurangzeb thoroughly eliminated the liberal elements from his darbar. Aurangzeb implemented the Shariah in the State and handed over the Law and Order department to ulema.*

As against this, Akbar is given dismissive treatment. He is usually ignored, along with the elimination of any room for questions or alternative points of view in the historical narrative. Discussions on Akbar are short and superficial and the events of his life are not elaborated upon. Some textbooks often fail to even include Akbar’s name in the brief discussions on the Moghul period. It is an amazing feat of historiography in which fifty years are simply erased because Akbar’s secularism and cultural synthesis does not fit in with the infallibility of the two-nation theory. The following excerpt from a textbook confirms this point.

*The faithless atmosphere prevalent in the Sub-Continent, instead of diminishing, worsened because of Akbar’s liberal policies.*

Akbar’s religious policy is condemned and he is held responsible for spreading faithlessness in the region. Regarding Hindu-Muslim differences and the resultant need for Pakistan, a Muslim identity, projecting Muslims as superior, innocent and pious people, as against the hostile and violent communities, finds due place in textbooks. As in the *Social Studies for Class III*, Muslims are shown to be good and kind-hearted who treated others well. The same technique of picking up chunks of information relevant to the state’s aspirations is reflected in nearly all textbooks. The same book asserts that India, extremely hostile to Pakistan, attacked this country in 1965, but we were brave enough to defeat her. Likewise, all the
history is represented as a conflict between good and bad people – Muslims obviously having better attributes. The *Social Studies for Class VI* represents a role model of courage and truth for the Muslim youth in the following words:

*Mahmud of Ghazni was a brave and true Muslim. He craved to raise the flag of Islam in the Sub-Continent by all means. His wish came true and he is remembered as the destroyer of idols in history.*

Mahmud of Ghazni is seen as a hero and a saviour, bringing truth and justice to the subcontinent. His pillage and looting are not mentioned. His motivations, according to the textbooks written within the narrow constraints of the "Ideology of Pakistan" were purely religious. Noble intentions are attached to his plunder and destruction of Hindu temples. Quite ironically, these textbooks condemn Hindus for their several attempts e.g. Hindi-Urdu controversy, and the shuddhi and sanghtan movements to erase the Muslim culture and civilisation. Another excerpt about Mahmud provides another example of such a manner of thinking:

*Mahmud of Ghazni answered the Raja of Thanesar in the following words: “We Muslims believe that the more we preach Islam in this world and destroy the religious places of other communities, the more we would get the reward in the life hereafter.”*

The communal substance acquires bitterness and venom in serving as a perfect tool in the hands of rulers in spreading hatred and intolerance amongst the citizens. History is presented in religious and Hindus-versus-Muslims terms – with the former always coming up in a bad light. Yet another example to establish this point is as follows:

*Chanakia devised some principles of statesmanship. Hindus still practice them. He advocated the principle of jiski lathi uski bhains (might is right) in politics. He would say that the king who becomes powerful should not waste any moment in attacking the neighbouring countries.*

Students are taught that Hindus, being conniving and manipulative, would let go of no opportunity to attack Pakistan. The portrayal of a sinister visible or invisible enemy provokes children’s minds to begin a search for the enemy in their own society or across the border, taking up the mental space that should normally be occupied by natural innocence. Moreover, Hindus are projected in textbooks as backward and superstitious, burning widows and wives:

*Hindus were clumsy as regards dress before the advent of Muslims in the region. They used to cover their bodies with one or two cloth-sheets. Muslims introduced the dress, which covered the body properly and looked good.*

Inherent cruelty is ascribed to Brahmins. If given a chance, they would come down heavily on Muslims and Shudras, depriving them of even the basic necessities of life. On the other hand, Islam brought peace, equality, and justice to the subcontinent and only through Islam could the sinister ways of Hindus be held in check. In *Social Studies for Class VI*, a
comparison of Hindus with Buddhists and Muslims is undertaken. Gautam Buddha is praised for opposing the iniquities of the Hindu caste system. The success of Buddhism in the region is attributed to the ‘social evils’ of Hindus. Still worse treatment is given to Hindus in their comparison with Muslims. Muslims are glorified and Hindus humiliated. For instance, criticism of the Hindu form of architecture, combined with their attitude towards women is represented in the same sentence like metaphysical conceit:

\[
\text{Hindus used to live in narrow and dark houses and looked down upon the women.} \quad 24
\]

Quite naturally, Hindus are associated with narrowness and restrictions, whereas Muslim architecture is presented as open, spacious and grand. Such descriptions and comparisons naturally give rise to prejudice and communal hatred. In this anti-Hindu campaign of the textbooks, Gandhi once more finds new definitions:

\[
\text{The situation was getting worse in India, but whenever his attention was drawn to Hindu-Muslim riots he would keep mum and never say anything. Some Muslim leaders went to him and requested him to use his influence to improve the relations between the two communities, but the request yielded nothing…} \quad 25
\]

In contrast to the books published shortly after 1947 when the memories of the pre-partition era were still fresh, Gandhi had a role to play in ending the Hindu-Muslim riots in the region, but in current textbooks, he is represented as acting in sympathy with the Hindu communal elements.

Congress is represented as a pro-Hindu organisation with innocent Muslims being its prime target. Certain hate material is also propagated while representing the socio-political role of the Congress. Instead of discussing the political and economic factors in detail and the resultant need for Pakistan, the idea is driven home that the Hindus wanted to use their majority to deny all rights to Muslims and really mistreated them hence partition became necessary:

\[
\text{Very soon the Congress drew up a list of demands… On the face of it all these demands were reasonable, but if they had been conceded, the Hindus stood to gain while the Muslims would have had a raw deal. The British form of government can be successful in only that country where religious and social differences have been removed, education is widespread, the population is prosperous and the people can be expected to give their considered opinion on national level. If the British officers were removed from the government offices the Hindus would have taken over all the posts and the Muslims would have gained nothing. With competitive exams too only the better-educated Hindus would have stood to benefit.} \quad 26
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It is hard to imagine a process of education less likely to contribute towards a strong commitment to increasing tolerance and democratisation in society. Not surprisingly, the textbooks of private schools are a way different from state sponsored textbooks.
A whole new world: the private schools’ textbooks

The textbooks of private schools carry a very different message, and there is a wide gulf between the curricula devised by the government and that adopted by the privately managed schools. A comparison of the Pakistan Studies syllabus and text in matric and O-level, done by Farah Khan, brings to light valuable contrasts:

- The Matric textbook, which at times reads like a badly done PR job by a government spokesman, puts an emphasis mostly on religion, civic obedience and the ‘duty’ of the individual to the state, and sacrifice and conformist behaviour. Whereas, in the O-level textbooks, students are taught Pakistan’s economic and political history, and told of issues of governance and under-development and how these are closely linked to the political economy.

The matriculation textbook has nine chapters: the ideological basis of Pakistan; its establishment, its state and government; its land, its natural resources, its people and their culture; international affairs; relations with the Muslim countries and the country as a welfare state.

The 0-level book has three sections. The first on political economy, has the following nine chapters: underdevelopment; the first decade; Ayub's reforms-I; Ayub's reforms-II; the creation of Bangladesh; Bhutto's reforms; Bhutto's fall; the Zia years and foreign policy.

The second section on culture has two chapters: the culture of underdevelopment and the imprints of the past. The third section has one chapter called disarticulated development.

Where the matriculation student starts off with a lesson in religion, the first chapter of the O-level book is about underdevelopment in the country. Where the former talks about the importance of ideology and rituals of Islam, the latter projects bitter realities faced by Pakistan on its inception as an underdeveloped state. Both the books retain their specific tones till the end. The matriculation book ends with the sentence: "God helps those who help themselves", whereas, the 0-level book sums up with references to Pakistan's current economic and social problems. It ends with the question whether the "disarticulated capitalism" of the Third World will be able to provide some sort of cementing bond to remove the political and economic dichotomies of the region.

Conclusion

It is obvious that in state-sponsored textbooks, authoritarian and somewhat supernatural attributes are taught which kill all prospects of creating doubts in children’s minds, of raising questions, of provoking thought, and the possibility of challenging the finality and superiority of the presuppositions and biases that are being taught. The intervention of the State in the educational process has encouraged students to be uncritical and submissive to authority and treat education as a process simply of memorizing certain facts. At the same time, it encourages teachers to adopt the authoritarian attitude required for establishing the finality of their word and the words in the textbooks. Additionally, it has enforced the distortion of historical facts in textbooks, encouraged religious chauvinism and glorified militarism. They have been written from the point of view of successive governments. At many places, these textbooks act as an advertising agency of the government. For instance, a lesson teaches the
advantages of thrift, and talks about the National Savings Center, a government-owned financial institution. Yet at another place, a paragraph advises students to reject rumours, as they are a conspiracy of the visible and invisible sinister enemies. If we imagine a child with no other source of information but these textbooks, he would be astonished to know that there is a world beyond Pakistan, Muslim countries, and our eternal enemy, India.

These textbooks deprive children of role models who could have inspired and motivated them towards creativity and to address the conflicts of their society in a humanistic, compassionate and intelligent manner. There is no reference to human unity, human rights, and individual freedom in these textbooks. If there is any, it is imbued with religious overtones, and, thus, loses its universal appeal. The outcome manifests itself in the form of violence and intolerance prevalent in Pakistani society today, and as a failure in creating a critical mindset and a social consciousness amongst the nation.

End Notes

1. Dr. Kh. A. Haye, First Steps in our History (Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd., 1965) pp. 207-213
2. Dr. Kh. A. Haye, Our History (Indo–Pakistan Subcontinent)–Book IV (Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd., 1990) pp. 161-164
5. Mian Abdul Hakim, Model History of India for High Classes (Lahore, 1947)
6. Chaudhry Rehmat Khan, Mufeed Tareekh-e-Pak-o-Hind (Lahore 1952) pp. 4-6
8. Ghulam Rasul Mehr, Tareekh-e-Pakistan-o-Hind for Girls and Boys of Sixth Class (Lahore, 1950)
11. Mashaheer, for Boys and Girls, Part 3 (Lahore 1951)
12. Phool Tareekh-e-Pakistan-o-Hind, in accordance with the syllabus of the Board of Secondary Education (Lahore 1957) p. 368
17. Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi, Javed Iqbal, Ghulam Abid Khan, Pakistan Studies for Ninth & Tenth Classes (Lahore, 1991) pp. 15,17
22. Social Studies for 5th class, Punjab Textbook Board, 1985, p. 1
23. Pakistan Studies for Intermediate classes, Punjab Textbook Board, 1985, p. 4
25. Dr Abdul Hamid, Abdul Ghafoor Chaudhry, Pakistan Studies for the Ninth & Tenth Classes (Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, April 1973) pp. 156-157
26. Dr Abdul Hamid, Abdul Ghafoor Chaudhry, Pakistan Studies for Ninth & Tenth Classes (Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, April 1973) pp. 138-139