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Education should aim at the balanced growth of the total personality of Man through the training of Man's spirit, intellect, the rational self, feelings and bodily senses. Education should therefore cater for the growth of man in all its aspects: spiritual, intellectual, imaginative, physical, scientific, linguistic, both individually and collectively and motivate all these aspects towards goodness and the attainment of perfection. The ultimate aim of Muslim education lies in the realization of complete submission to Allah on the level of the individual, the community and humanity at large.

In order to achieve the ultimate aims and objectives of education, knowledge be classified into the following two categories:

- a) Given 'perennial knowledge' based on the Divine revelation presented in the Qur'ān and Sunnah and all that can be derived from them with emphasis on the Arabic language as the key to the understanding of both.
- b) 'Acquired knowledge' including social, natural and applied science susceptible to quantitative growth and multiplication, limited variations and cross-cultural borrowings as long as consistency with the Shariah as the source of values is maintained.

There must be a core knowledge drawn from both with major emphasis on the first, specially on the Shari'ah, which must be made obligatory to all Muslims at all levels of the educational system from the highest to the lowest, graduated to conform to the standards of each level. This, along with the compulsory teaching of Arabic, should form the major section of the core curriculum. These two alone can sustain Islamic civilisation and preserve the identity of the Muslims.

From
Recommendations of the
First World Conference on Muslim Education
Makkah 1977

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To Our Readers and Contributors

Muslim Education Quarterly is a review of Muslim education in the Modern World both in Muslim majority and in Muslim minority countries. It is intended as a means of communication for scholars dedicated to the task of making education Islamic in character by substituting Islamic concepts for secularist concepts of knowledge at present prevalent in all branches of knowledge, by getting curricula and text books revised or rewritten accordingly and by proposing concrete strategies for revising teacher-education including teaching methodology. It is also expected to act as an open forum for exchange of ideas between such thinkers and others including non-Muslims who hold contrary views.

All contributors are requested to send their contributions to The Editor, *Muslim Education Quarterly*, 23, Metcalfe Road, Cambridge CB4 2DB, U.K.

The Editor reserves the right to shorten and edit the articles without any basic changes.

mosques, there were more educated Muslims than Han. Other Muslims were educated at military academies before the Communist Revolution.

Traditional Muslim education was centered around the mosque, and the homes of individual *Ahongs*. The educational institutions were either supported by the Muslim community or financed by rich citizens or Han officials.

In the beginning Chinese Muslims studied the Islamic sciences at the feet of learned *Ahongs*. It was under Hu Puzhao (1522–1597), that the system of Qur'ānic education was first established to train *Ahongs* in China. Hu Puzhao used a systematic method of teaching his *manlas* (students) the Qur'ānic literature.

As in other Muslim countries, the *manlas* learned the Qur'ān by constant recitation and memorization of passages of the Qur'ān. To learn the script students had to copy the scripture by hand. Students desiring advanced training in the Islamic sciences would travel throughout the Muslim world in search of the leading Muslim scholars.¹

Muslims had the first public school system in China.² Due to their religion the language of instruction was Arabic. Chinese was rarely studied in the schools.

The instructor at the mosque Qur'ānic school was called either *Mora* or *Ahong* 'a literate Muslim or Imam'. These terms are both of Persian inspiration.

Each Muslim community elected District Elders to administer mosque affairs. They also were responsible for employing an *Ahong* from another district to become the '*Ahong* who opens schools', in their own district. This *Ahong* was the pastor and theological instructor of the mosque. This *Ahong* was responsible for finding his own staff.³ The *Ahong* was paid a fee by members of the mosque school.

The Muslim educated class, especially teachers, were reported to possess fine libraries composed of works written in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Chinese.⁴ Many of these books were usually transcribed by hand. They were used along with printed books in the Qur'ānic schools. The *Ahongs* encouraged their students to hand-copy books because it helped them to acquire a fine Arabic hand-writing, and helped enlarge their personal library.

Due to the large number of mosques in China, and a Qur'ānic school associated with each mosque, almost all Chinese Muslims knew how to read and write some Arabic. This was necessary, because Arabic was the 'liturgical language' in the mosque.

The Hui System

A fourth of the Huis live in the Hui autonomous prefectures and 10 Hui autonomous counties.⁵ They have a long tradition of literacy, and have developed a large body of literature written in Arabic and Chinese.

The Hui literature deals with Islamic history, science, education, geography, language(s), Islamic doctrine, religious practices and commentaries on the Qur'ān. Until recently the Qur'ān was not translated into Chinese. Before 1982, selected chapters of the Qur'ān were published in Chinese.⁶

The *manlas* studied many languages. Among the Chinese Sufis, Persian was studied.⁷ Due to the communication between Muslims living in different countries, Hui Muslims learned Persian and Turkish in addition to Arabic. This

TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN CHINESE MUSLIM EDUCATION TODAY

Clyde A. Winters

In China the Muslims belong to two major groups, the Huis and the Turkish groups. The Huis speak Chinese, and are found in almost every province of the Peoples Republic of China. The Turkic-speaking Muslims on the other hand, live in the Xinjiang Autonombus Region.

Controversy surrounds the number of Muslims in PRC. Estimates of the Muslim population range from as high as 115 million by Syed K. Chisti, in a 1979 article in the *Journal, Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, to as low as 13 million, according to the 1982 national census of the PRC.

The best guesstimate of the number of Muslims in China is around 55-60 million. This figure is based on the number of Muslims it takes to support a mosque in China. The average mosque, conservatively speaking cannot be built and maintained by less than 500 Muslims in a locality. The China Islamic Association claimed that 40,000 mosques were operating in China before the Cultural Revolution. If we multiply the total number of Muslims it takes to support and maintain a mosque (500), for the period between 1955-1964, we arrive at a total of 20 million Muslims in China.

The average annual increase in the minority population in China is 2.94 per cent. If we increase the average membership of a mosque before 1964 (500), by a factor of 2.94, we arrive at a total of 1470 persons per mosque. If we multiply the 40,000 mosques which were open before the Cultural Revolution by 1470 (40,000 x 1470), we arrive at a total of 59 million Muslims in China.

The reason for the confusion surrounding the actual figure for Muslims in China has resulted from the fact that the Communists do not register minority groups according to religion. As a result the Communists have identified groups who adhered to Islam as 'Muslim by tradition'. Using this criteria the Communists have only recognized Muslims existing in areas such as Gansu, Ningxia and Xinjiang, along with certain large cities where by tradition they represented majorities or a large minority. Other Muslims who lived among the Han, especially in Yunnan, are simply referred to as Han, because they speak Chinese. The PRC government has promised 'autonomy' to minorities. As a result the government must lie about the actual number of Muslims in China to discourage further demands by the Muslims for more autonomous *zhou* (prefectures) and *xian* (counties).

There is a long tradition of scholarship among the Muslims of China. Here we will review the traditional Muslim education system in China and the Communist impact on education in Muslim autonomous districts.

Traditional Muslim Education up to 1966

The education of the Chinese Muslim usually took place at the mosque where Qur'anic schools were established. Since the schools were established in local

teachers at these schools were women *Ahongs*. Their students are reported to have been well versed in Arabic.²⁰

Huis tried to integrate into Chinese culture as Muslims. As a result they early recognized the need for their children to learn Chinese in addition to Arabic and Persian, so that they could fit into Chinese society. As a result many educational associations in the early part of this century were established around China to help finance the higher education of Muslim youth, such as the East Asia Muslim Educational Association of Jiangsu. These educational associations encouraged Muslims to learn Chinese and other languages so they could attend non-Muslim and Muslim universities throughout the world to obtain a higher education.

The Islamic Cultural Center of Shajien, in Yunnan, before the Communist Revolution, sent many students abroad for advanced study and training. It was in this way that Ma Kin (Ma Jin), one of the leading Chinese Muslim scholars of this century, obtained higher education at al-Azhar University in Egypt.

The Huis established many educational institutions along Chinese lines. In 1936, there were eleven Muslim high schools in China, three for religious education and eight for general studies.²¹ In 1948, 570 Muslim students were in Chinese colleges.²²

Traditional Islamic Education in Xinjiang

The mosque-school system in Xinjiang mirrored Muslim education in the rest of China.

The center of education in Xinjiang, which is 90 per cent Muslim, was Kuldja. According to Broomhall,²³ Salar teachers were the principle instructors in this province.

The traditional education system was based on the mosque-school and learned *Ahongs* who taught the Islamic sciences in their own homes or adjoining schools. The greatest and most learned *Ahongs* in China were from the Salar tribe such as Penshenbih Akhoud. Broomhall reports that students taught by Akoud were placed throughout China, and were respected for their education and learning. At the Salar seminaries students learned grammar, logic, interpretation, Islamic law etc. The books written in Arabic were imported from Pakistan.

Qing Dynasty Education Policy

The various governments in Beijing have for centuries constantly attempted to use education as a way to integrate Muslims into Han society. During the Qing dynasty many schools were established in non-Han areas in an attempt to assimilate the Muslims into China, by bringing them into Chinese culture and so to "dampen potential unrest".²⁴

Manchu Education Policy

Due to the Manchu desire to gain influence in Muslim areas government funds were used to establish elementary schools in the frontier regions where non-Han lived. This was in sharp contrast to the education policy implemented in the rest of China. In the rest of China, local officials had to make available their funds to support education programmes in Han areas. For example, teachers in minority areas were paid higher salaries than Han educators in traditional Han regions.²⁵

ability to speak foreign languages kept the Chinese Muslims in touch with Muslim literature published outside China.⁸ Other *Ahongs* made the *Hajj* to Makkah, and returned with news of new trends in the Islamic sciences or schools of law and interpretation of the Qur'ān.

Owing to the Hui wish to maintain their Islamic roots there was little time left for the study of Chinese. If Chinese was learned at all, Muslim students confined their study of Chinese to the curriculum laid down for all Chinese interested in taking examinations for government service.⁹

Ahongs were usually trained at the mosque Qur'ānic school. The instructor of the *Ahongs* was called the *Gai xioh Ahong*. The *Gai xioh Ahong* was responsible for most of the classroom instruction.¹⁰

Muslim students began school between the ages of 6 and 10 years – later in Xinjiang. The students were taught in Arabic. The curricula in the Qur'ānic school was *Ḥadīth*, Qur'ān, basic Math and physical science.¹¹

In the higher level Qur'ānic schools *manlas* read books about Arabic grammar, exegesis and many other texts. In the mosque school or the homes of well known *Ahongs* the students could study Persian and Turkish.¹²

The instruction in the schools was in Arabic. This led to practically all Chinese Muslims having at least a basic knowledge of spoken and written Arabic. A. K. Wu, a visitor to China in 1940, discovered that there was widespread Arabic literacy in Muslim China. He said, "their language is Arabic in origin and goes from right to left, the symbols being said to resemble tadpoles. Although I had no means of making any very accurate observations I was often surprised to notice how many of them can read and write".¹³

The Chinese learned classical Arabic. Consequently, most Chinese Muslims before the Communist Revolution could not read unvowelled Arabic.¹⁴

Often Muslims in China communicated with each other in Arabic.¹⁵ Many *Ahongs* were able to converse fluently in Arabic even though Chinese pronunciation was different.¹⁶ Arthur Cotter, of Beijing, who visited many mosques in China, reported that the knowledge of many Chinese Muslims "in Arabic was very thorough".¹⁷

The chief Muslim educational center in the Hui area was at Hozhou, in Gansu. Here *Ahongs* were trained and afterwards sent to assignments in Gansu, Shaanxi, and Sichuan provinces, before the War for Liberation.

In the 1920's, under Ma Fuh Xiang, principal education official in the Ningxia district, Chinese became a required subject taught in every Muslim school. Under the *Ahong* many schools were opened which employed well trained *Ahongs*.

The central Muslim college in China was located at Hozhou. The length of study at the Muslim college was seven to eight years. In Manchuria, the period of study at the Muslim college was at least ten years.¹⁸

The *Ahongs* were not allowed to teach in their home district, because of the fear they would claim prophethood or the status of Mahdi and stir up disunity. Broomhall observed that *Ahongs* "are drawn from a distance and are not allowed to serve as *Mullahs* in their own city lest they should, as prophets in their own country, be despised and be unable to reprove the wrongs which abound".¹⁹

Muslim women also had their own schools in Gansu and Guandong. The

schools and a subsidy for their education".³¹ Today the government pays the salaries of teachers teaching in secular schools and even of some *Ahongs* resident at mosque-schools.

In 1955, the CCP established the Institute of Islamic Theology, so as to monopolize the training of *Ahongs* or members of the Muslim community, who "were patriotic" and "law-abiding Muslims".³²

Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR), Muslim elders retained control over the recruitment of staff for the mosque-schools. The administrators of these schools were paid by the Muslim community. The 200 secondary schools and colleges where religion was taught in Xinjiang up to 1980, were staffed by government trained Imams and *Ahongs*.³³ The salaries of these teachers was paid by the state. In the late 1970's over 80,000 students were attending mosque schools in Xinjiang.³⁴

Until recently a major problem Chinese officials have had in Xinjiang is getting the Muslims to learn Chinese. Chinese officials declared in 1955, that "intensive efforts were made under the new regime to bring all Muslim children into government schools where the Chinese language was taught and used as the medium of instruction and where science was emphasized."³⁵ But until 1956, the Uygurs and other minorities in Xinjiang used the Arabic script in their schools. In 1958, the government tried to introduce the Cyrillic script. But the people have continued to use their native Arabic-based script.

Arabic Literacy in China

The Muslims of Xinjiang have not been much interested in learning Chinese, because it is easier for them to write their own language in Arabic than in Chinese. To learn Chinese a student must first learn 2500 characters for basic literacy. For a grounding in Chinese pronunciation children learn *pin yin*. Due to the complexity of Chinese writing, it takes two years to learn the Chinese syllabary, while Muslims using the Arabic alphabet can learn new words rapidly and write them immediately once they have learned the alphabet.

In 1956, the Government announced that the Cyrillic alphabet was to become the script of the Uygur, Kazakh and Kirghiz.³⁶ The script reform was undertaken with Soviet advice. The Chinese invited experts from Kazakh-speaking areas of the Soviet Union to help them introduce this script to the Muslims. This language reform from Arabic to Cyrillic was supposed to help introduce the Muslims to the modern sciences. The Chinese believed that this new script would help integrate the Muslims into greater Han society at a faster pace.

Many Muslim leaders were opposed to changing their writing system.³⁷ Before the Cyrillic script was fully introduced into Xinjiang, the Communist Party changed its mind. Due to the long history of Russian interference in Xinjiang, which is strategic for Chinese minerals and oil, the CCP soon began to question the Soviet motives behind suggesting the use of Cyrillic in Xinjiang. This suspicion caused the Party to change its mind about introducing the Cyrillic script among the Muslims, because it would have made it much easier for the Russians to introduce propaganda into Xinjiang if the Muslims were using a script of Slavic origin.

Guomindong Education Policy

After the Guomindong Nationalists took over the government, Guomindong education officials stressed the teaching of the Chinese language and literature to minorities so as to unify the country.²⁶ In general, Guomindong education policy was a continuation of Manchu presidents. The only difference was that the Guomindong recognized the principle of religious liberty.

The Guomindong sought to spread Chinese ideals among the Muslims, within government stipulations that local languages and literature would be respected. This policy was contradictory because the Nationalists wanted *Guo Yu*, the Nationalist language to be used for instruction in the schools so as to unify the nation.²⁷

In addition all primary readers used in government schools had to be written in *bai hua*, the Mandarin vernacular.

Communist Chinese Education Policy

The Communists upon entering Xinjiang encouraged the establishment of secular schools throughout the province. This policy was new; previous to Communist rule educational institutions were established by local officials and warlords, so they would be assured of the loyalty of students educated in Chinese language and culture.

The popularity of the use of Arabic among the Muslims in Xinjiang, and their wish to write their native languages, led to the Communists spending a great amount of time and money trying to force the Uygurs and other Muslim groups in the region to study Chinese.

The Communist educator Tu Zhongyuan, was appointed head of a new school for animal husbandry and farming in Xinjiang, after the Communist Revolution. This institution later evolved into Xinjiang University, in Urumqi. Tu was also the editor of the *Xinjiang Daily*²⁸.

The Communists emphasize the up-lifting of the peasants. Because the educational system encourages an emphasis on Marxist-Leninism, at the expense of Muslim culture and tradition, the Muslims do not trust the Communists.²⁹

In Yunnan, in 1949, only one grade school existed, it had 360 students. The CCP early recognized that it was in their own interest to organize and found more schools in Muslim areas, so they channelled funds for the building of new schools through local Muslim organizations. In 1950, the Chinese Islamic Association set up twenty high schools and two hundred primary schools. The high schools were spread all over China.³⁰

Before 1950, the only Islamic college in China, which taught Chinese was the Islamic Theological College, which opened at the Chongqing mosque. In Xinjiang, before the Communist take-over, there were only twenty middle schools and 1300 primary schools. Although these were higher figures than in Yunnan, most of the students in these schools were Han. Muslims preferred to send their children to Qur'anic schools.

To gain mastery over the minds of young Muslims the Communists have institutionalized the education and training of Muslims. To facilitate their control over the minds of young Muslims, they are given "priority admission into

beaming of Uyghur educational radio programmes to the Muslim nationalities in an attempt to regain Russian historical influence in this part of China.

Although the Muslims are allowed to use their own scripts, the Chinese still hope to replace it with the *pin yin* system. According to Fei Xiao-tong, of Beijing's Central Institute for Nationalities, the Muslims of China are not encouraged to use the Arabic script "because it is not very exact to express the language", since "they omit vowels in the written system".⁴⁴ This statement is untrue because the Arabic script has three vowels.

By 1977, according to the Party, 80 per cent of the people were literate in the Uyghur and Kazakh latin-style script.⁴⁵ There were many books and magazines written in this script. Between 1966-1974, around 64 million textbooks were published in Uyghur, Kazakh and other minority languages. To further encourage the use of the Latin-based alphabet some street signs and currency and the *Xinjiang Daily*, are written in Han, Uyghur, and Kazakh.

During the GPCR, Muslim schools and mosques were closed. But after 1976, with the end to the GPCR, and decline in power of the 'gang of four', the CCP increased aid to Muslim schools.

Subsequently, the CCP stopped trying to force Muslims in Xinjiang to learn Chinese. There have been rapid increases in the number of Muslim youth attending government operated schools. The policy of the Deng Xiaoping regime is to show respect for minority culture. Under Deng, mosques have been rehabilitated and Muslims can again bury their dead. During the Maoist era cremation was the rule.

Secular Education in Muslim Areas

Mass literacy programmes have been established to educate the Chinese. These programmes have included persons developing their own farm manuals and the establishment of schools in factories to educate workers before 1966.⁴⁶ At these schools workers can take junior and middle school courses. These schools were called sparetime schools because workers attended classes in their spare time.

Today in Xinjiang one out of every four people is in a primary or middle school or in college according to regional educational authorities.⁴⁷

About 94.8 per cent of school-age children were enrolled in 9,100 primary schools in 1980. In 1977, there was only 1,640 primary schools.⁴⁸ This is still much lower than the 10,051 primary schools which existed in Xinjiang in 1973. This results from the fact that many of these institutions were probably Qur'anic schools.

High school and technical education are priorities in China. In 1981, in Xinjiang there were 2000 high schools compared to 300 in 1965, with a total of 794,000 students. Today every county and commune has senior high schools.

In 1981, Chinese technical school had 38,500 students. These institutions, located in every prefecture, city and autonomous region, give classes on such things as engineering, petroleum and railway work. The first Uyghur, Kazakh and Uzbek tribesmen graduated from the Railway Department Institute in 1962.

The CCP have established many innovative programmes to try and educate people in the rural areas. In the herding communities of Xinjiang the CCP

Because of the Chinese fear of Soviet motives in Xinjiang, CCP officials decided to develop a script for the Uyghurs and Kazakhs based on Latin. The popular Muslim Communist leader Saifudin, announced this new language policy in March 1960.³⁸ This new script was based on the Han language with a phoneticization system in the Latin alphabet.

To help integrate the Uyghurs and Kazakhs into greater Han society, Han vocabulary was incorporated into the script. It was clear that the script change from Cyrillic to Latin was aimed at halting the absorption of Soviet technical terms by the Muslim minorities in Xinjiang, and decreasing Russian influence in the province.³⁹

Jiakeluofu, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Language Reform Committee Chairman, explained that the 1956 decision upon use of the Cyrillic alphabet was supposed to have been "experimental, temporary and transitional". He noted that, "Based upon current practical work and objective conditions, we have found that what is most suitable for us is not the Slav alphabet, but the Latin alphabet".⁴⁰

Even with the support given to language reform by Muslim leaders, the Uyghurs and Kazakhs, as late as 1963, were still in opposition to the introduction of the Han-based Latin script in Xinjiang.⁴¹ The Communists naturally saw this as subversion and many Muslim leaders were sent to jail. By 1965, there was still opposition to the introduction of Chinese language reforms in Xinjiang, but it was decided by the CCP that the Latin-based script would still be introduced into the Muslim areas no matter how long it took.

During the GPCR, many learning centers in Xinjiang were closed until 1969, and in other Muslim areas until 1979.⁴² At this time Jiang Qing said, "To sweep away all the remnants of the system and habits of old ideas, culture, customs / (is the) / fundamental challenge of our Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution".

The GPCR, in Muslim areas was basically undertaken by Han radicals. Due to fears the GPCR would cause a rebellion in Xinjiang, and make it impossible for the Soviets to gain influence in the area, many of its activities were discontinued after 1969.

By 1970, CCP regional officials began to renew their campaign to reform the Uygur and Kazakh scripts. With agreement between the Party and the Muslim leaders the new Chinese policy of language reform was slowly introduced in Xinjiang. By 1971, there were some 179 classes teaching the "new" Uygur and Kazakh scripts in the region's communes.

Arabic remained the main script used in Xinjiang. But although the right to use Arabic was guaranteed by the Constitution of 1975, which said "all nationalities have the freedom to use their own spoken and written languages"⁴³; CCP policy was to make every effort to eliminate its use in Xinjiang and other areas with Muslim majorities. The CCP did re-instate the use of the Arabic script as the means of writing Uygur and Kazakh languages until the early 1980's, in response to the Russian publication of the Arabic daily newspaper in Uygur called *Yeni Hayat* (New Life). This is one of the few Soviet publications written in Arabic. The Chinese in response have accused the Russians of "Russification" of the nationalities in Xinjiang, because of their publication of *Yeni Hayat* and the

pastoral areas were operated by poor and lower-middle peasants and herdsmen.⁵²

In recent years eight institutes of higher education have been restored and two added since 1978. The region has 12 colleges and institutes that accommodate 11,000 students.⁵³

There are teacher-training colleges in Ining, Kashgar and Urumqi. In recent years two teachers' colleges and a college for advanced teacher training, and five secondary teacher schools have been founded. In Xinjiang there are nineteen secondary teacher's schools that graduated 5,600 people in 1978.⁵⁴ In 1982, there were 53,000 minority students in institutions of higher education.⁵⁵

A new method of teaching used in China today is the Television University in Xinjiang (TUX). Inaugurated in 1983, TUX enrolls 2,700 students in audio-visual courses in the Uyghur language. TUX, also has Kazakh, Kirgiz and Tajik students. Video tapes of TUX's courses in mathematics, mechanics and physics are sent to remote branches, so as to accommodate students throughout Xinjiang.

Medical Education

There is an emphasis placed on preventive medicine in China, which stressed the use of traditional and modern medical practices. This has led to the creation of many medical workers who institute preventive medicine programmes around China.

By 1961, there were around 20,000 trained medical workers.⁵⁶ The Chinese military personnel train paramedics to take part in health care systems in Muslim areas. These medical personnel are called 'barefoot doctors', because they go around the communes to provide people with basic medical care. In 1972, there was between 3000-5000 barefoot doctors. By 1977, military personnel had trained 11,000 paramedics.

Qur'ānic Schools Associated with Mosque in China¹

| Year | Number |
|-----------|---------------------|
| 1930-1964 | 40,000 |
| 1966-1976 | 2,000 ² |
| 1980 | 14,000 ² |
| 1985 | 15,400 |

(Sources: C.A. Winters, *Mao or Muhammad: Islam in the Peoples' Republic of China*, Hong Kong, 1979; Chinese Islamic Association, *Chinese Moslems in Progress*, Beijing, 1957; and Jack Chen, *The Sinkiang Story*, London, 1977.

1. This figure is based on the total number of mosques open in China with an on-site Qur'ānic school.
2. This is the total number of schools open in Xinjiang. Between 1966-1980, Qur'ānic schools in other parts of China were closed during this period.

established 'Tent Schools' or mobile classrooms, which go along with nomadic tribes on their wandering to give the herders' children an education. In addition to this, Chinese education officials are trying to place more educated youth in the countryside. Tian Yiren, during a rally in Urumqi, in 1979, called for effective measures to be implemented that would provide jobs for educated youth interested in settling in the countryside to "enable them to make contributions to the building of China's frontier".⁴⁹

Higher Education

The Chinese government spends millions of dollars on Higher Education in the Muslim areas. The selection process for college students is based primarily on the involvement of the potential student in his community. Places in college are allotted to students by a regional revolutionary committee who studies nominations made by communes and factories. Candidates make written applications for admission which must be supported by their work-mates. The methods of selection used to choose students include:

- 1) good Socialist consciousness proved in practice;
- 2) completion of middle schooling followed by at least two years of work in a factory or on a commune;
- 3) good health; and
- 4) being around 21 to 24 years of age and unmarried.⁵⁰

A Hui University was set up in Beijing, in the 1950's to accommodate Muslim students. Here they learn languages and history.⁵¹

The major institution of higher learning for the Muslims of China is the Central Institute for Nationalities (CIN). Here students are formed into cadres and trained to become administrators in the Muslim autonomous areas. In the 1950's Hui students attended branches of the CIN, at Tihua, Lanzhou, Wuchang, Guangzhou, Nanning, Chengdu, Guiyang and Kuming.

At CIN, students are trained to become cadre-leaders, teachers, interpreters and art and literary workers. The school fees and medical expenses are paid by the state. The CIN has three departments:

- 1) the political department, it trains national cadres,
- 2) the national minority languages department, here translators and interpreters are trained; and
- 3) the art department, which trains minorities in literature and art fields.

At CIN instructors teach in the minority languages or use interpreters. Students also learn the Han language. Here there are extensive collections of books in minority languages. The Muslims have separate dining areas, and are allowed to celebrate Muslim holidays.

In Xinjiang, the first University was founded in the 1950's. During the GPCR the universities were closed.

In 1972, Xinjiang colleges reopened. At this time officials began to recruit poorer and lower-middle class students for colleges. The same thing happened in the secondary schools. By 1972, 80 per cent of the schools in the rural and

In Beijing the Institute of Islamic Theology was reopened in 1982. Around 150 students study annually at the Institute.

Training centers for *Ahongs* have been established in Ningxia and Xinjiang. The Ningxia Islamic Association formed the Islamic Theological Academy, in October 1982.

At the Ningxia Islamic Theological Academy, *Ahongs* attend courses for six months. During this period students attend lectures on the Qur'ān, Islamic doctrine and commandments, and the history of Islam. They also study the status of Islam in Arab countries and the religious policies of the PRC. This *Ahong* training course is paid for by the state. In 1983, the first 34 *Ahongs* graduated from the course and received certification in Islamic studies.⁶⁴

Islamic-oriented High Schools in China¹

| Year | Number |
|------|-------------------|
| 1936 | 11 |
| 1948 | 20 |
| 1950 | 50 |
| 1977 | 2000 ¹ |

(Sources: Wing tsit-Chan, *Religious trends in modern China*, New York, 1953; and Jack Chen, *The Sinkiang Story*, London, 1977.)

Muslims in Xinjiang are also training new *Ahongs*. Namat Sait, director of the Religious Division of Xinjiang Nationalities Commission, noted that there were 15,000 *Ahongs* in Xinjiang in 1983. According to Mamat, 600,000 yuan has been allocated to build or renovate mosques in the region.⁶⁵

Namat said that an Islamic college will soon be established in Urumqi, the capital of Xinjiang. In addition he reported that 15 *manlas* had been sent to study at the Beijing Qur'ānic College, and 3 students to institutions in Egypt.⁶⁶ Each *Ahong* in Xinjiang is usually paid an allowance of around 120 yuan a month.

Traditional Muslim education is thriving in contemporary China, due to the PRC's need for educated workers in areas with Muslim majorities. Chinese officials hope support of Muslim schools can provide Muslim workers with the basic skills needed to participate in the future industrial development of New China.

Notes

1. Clyde Ahmad Winters, *Mao or Muhammad: Islam in the People's Republic of China*, Asian Research Service, Hong Kong, 1979.
2. M. Broomhall, *Islam in China*, (London, 1910) p.238.
3. M. E. Botham, "Chinese Islam as an organism" *Muslim World* 14, no.3, pp.261-266.
4. J. Hutson, "The Szchuan Moslems", *Muslim World* 10, (1920) pp.254-55.

1. This figure is based on the number of high schools in Xinjiang which taught Islamic knowledge.

Muslim doctors are trained at medical colleges around China. The largest college training Muslim doctors is the Xinjiang Medical College founded in 1956, to train minority doctors. Before the Communist Revolution, there were only eighteen doctors in Xinjiang. Since 1956, this number has grown a "hundredfold".⁵⁷ The Norman Bethune Medical School (secondary level), has trained 2,000 medical workers for Xinjiang.

In 1984, there were 1.3 million minority students in Xinjiang's student body. Of this total 9,200 were students at Xinjiang's 13 colleges, and 14,600 minority students were in secondary technical schools. Around 262,000 students were in high school and 1 million in primary schools. There were 70,000 minority teachers in the region.⁵⁸

Contemporary Traditional Islamic Education

The CCP views religion in many respects as a form of spiritual pollution. But Islamic traditional education is tolerated in Muslim areas such as Xinjiang and Ningxia because of 1) they need to have educated Muslims to help in the economic development of the country; 2) they need educated Muslims to help develop their oil industry in Xinjiang; and 3) Muslim parents were already providing their children with an Islamic education in their own homes.

During the GPCR, many traditional Muslim centres of learning were closed in Xinjiang and other Muslim areas. Consequently, during much of the GPCR, Muslim youth were taught Islamic knowledge at home or in public buildings. On 9 October 1980, the *Chinese Youth Daily*, reported that Muslims in Ningxia were criticized for turning primary schools in several communes into mosques, depriving students of their school buildings. In some Muslim communes students were taught Islamic knowledge on a part-time basis in public schools.

Jiang-jing, a professor at Hebei University, observed that: "Muslim education has been carried on at home, for all Muslim parents feel obliged to pass their belief and tradition down to the next generation. Muslim habits and customs are taught to children from the cradle; however some Chinese social values are included, such as filial piety".⁵⁹

Under Chinese law no person under 18 years can be taught religion. But the *Chinese Youth Daily* complained in 1982 that parents in Xinjiang were forcing religion on their children.⁶⁰

Most Muslim schools were re-opened after the fall of the 'gang of four' in 1976. The re-emergence of Islamic-oriented schools in predominantly Muslim areas is a highly significant element in the educational situation in contemporary mainland China.

In 1969 when Red Guard activities were ended in Xinjiang there were over 20,000 students attending 2,000 mosque schools.⁶¹ Today there are 20,000 Imams in China according to the CCP Central Document, written in 1982.⁶² Yet this estimate appears to be low because in Xinjiang alone there are 14,000 mosques and 15,000 Muslim clergy and other functionaries.⁶³ There is usually a mosque for each production team of 200-300 people.

The closure of Qur'anic schools during the GPCR has caused a shortage of young *Ahongs*. To rectify this situation Muslims have begun to train youth for the '*ulamā*' (literate Muslim class).

53. *China Reports*, (1980) no.49, p.67.
54. *Beijing Review*, 14 July 1961, p.4.
55. Bernhard Dilger, "The education of minorities", *Comparative Education*, 20, no.1 (1984) pp.155-164.
56. Chen, op cit., p.298.
57. Ibid., p.313.
58. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS)-Chi*, Urumqi-PRC. 7 January 1984.
59. Jiang-jin, "When and how Muslims came to China", *American Muslim Journal*, 4 November 1983, p.6.
60. Christopher S. Wren, "Islam after Persecutions rebounds in China", *New York Times*, 15 June 1983, p.12.
61. Chen, op cit., p.331.
62. Clyde Ahmad Winters, "Contemporary trends in Traditional Chinese Islamic education", *International Review of Education* 30, no.4 (1984), pp.475a-479.
63. Wren, op cit., p.1.
64. "Moslem imams trained in Ningxia", *Xinhua News Agency*, 7 May 1983, p.7.
65. "Xinjiang religious leaders on religious freedom", *Xinhua News Agency*, 18 August 1983, p.12.
66. Ibid., p.12.

5. Yin Ming, *United and Equal*, (Beijing, 1977) p.31.
6. I. Mason, "Notes on Chinese Mohammedan literature", *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 56, (1925) pp.172-215.
7. G. G. Warren, "D'Ollone's investigation of Chinese Muslims", *New China Review* 2, (1920) p.410.
8. *Ibid.*, p.410.
9. *Ibid.*, p.410-11.
10. M. E. Botham, "Islam in Kansu", *Muslim World* 10, p.380.
11. Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mohometisme en Chine*, Paris, 1878.
12. Botham, "Islam in Kansu", *op cit.*, p.381.
13. A. K. Wu, *Turkistan Tumult*, (London, 1940) p.220.
14. F. H. Rhodes, "A survey of Islam in China", *Muslim World* 11, (1921) p.59.
15. Broomhall, *op cit.*, p.239.
16. *Ibid.*, p.241.
17. *Ibid.*, p.241.
18. *Ibid.*, pp.240-41.
19. *Ibid.*, p.241.
20. *Ibid.*, p.243.
21. Wing Tsit Chan, *Religious trends in Modern China*, (New York, 1953) pp.182-216.
22. *I-Chen* (Future of Islam), no.22, 29 August 1948.
23. Broomhall, *op cit.*, pp.265-67.
24. E. S. Rawski, *Education and popular literacy in Ch'ing China*, (Ann Arbor, 1979) pp.33-34.
25. *Ibid.*, p.58.
26. Cyrus H. Peake, *Nationalism and Education in modern China*.
27. Jack Chen, *The Sinkiang Story*, London 1977.
28. *Ibid.*, p.95.
29. R. Israeli, "The Muslim minority of China", *Asian Survey* 21, no.8 (1981) pp.901-919.
30. Wing, *op cit.*, p.201.
31. Kao Hao-jan, *The Imam's story*, (Hong Kong, 1960) p.60.
32. M. Rafiq Khan, *Islam in China*, (Delhi, 1963) p.59.
33. Chen, *op cit.*, p.329.
34. *Ibid.*, pp.331.
35. C. Ahmad Winters, "Islam in China", *al-Ittihad* 13, (July 1976) p.20.
36. *China News Analysis* (CNA), no.43, 23 August 1962, p.4.
37. D. H. McMillen, *Chinese Communist Power and policy in Xinjiang 1949-1977*, (Boulder, Colorado, 1979) p.117.
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39. McMillen, *op cit.*, p.119.
40. Jiakeluofu, "Strive for the successful realization of the Great Leap forward plan language reform", *XJRB* 23 March 1960.
41. McMillen, *op cit.*, p.185.
42. Winters, see n.1, pp.43-44.
43. *Ibid.*, p.44.
44. Shi Ming Hu and Eli Seifman, "Culture as a developing process. Language reform in the Peoples' Republic of China", *Asian Thought and Society*, no.2 (September 1976), pp.195-203.
45. Chen, *op cit.*, p.299.
46. P. Mauger (ed.), *Education in China*, Anglo-Chinese Institute, (London, 1975) p.13.
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51. P. C. Yu, "Moslems in New China", *People's China*, (August 1952) p.13.
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