

**Refugee Review Tribunal
AUSTRALIA**

RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

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Questions

- 1. Please provide information on Ahmadi identity and what kind of beliefs and practices might identify a person as being of the Ahmadi faith?**
- 2. Please provide information on the Ahmadi community. Are they an organised or an informal community?**
- 3. How is the school system organised in Bangladesh? Are there religious and secular schools?**
- 4. What is the attitude of Ahmadis to marriage between an Ahmadi male and a Christian woman?**

RESPONSE

- 1. Please provide information on Ahmadi identity and what kind of beliefs and practices might identify a person as being of the Ahmadi faith?**

A 1991 package on the Ahmadiyya produced by the Research Directorate of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada provides the extensive background on Ahmadi beliefs and practices. The section on the beliefs of the history and beliefs of the Ahmadiyya – including “Ghulam Ahmad’s claim to be the Mahdi and Messiah” and the splitting of the faith into the Qadiani group and the smaller Lahore group – is detailed, and only selections appear below (for further details see pages 3 to 9). A section is also supplied on ‘Ahmadi Religious Beliefs and Practices’ which addresses distinguishing features of belief and practice that might identify an Ahmadi from other Muslims.

3.1 Ghulam Ahmad: The Promised Messiah and Mahdi

Ghulam Ahmad’s claim to be the Mahdi and Messiah was neither original nor unusual. The concept of Mahdi, a rightly guided leader who would come at the end of time. occurs in medieval Islamic tradition.” Sunnis believe that the Mahdi refers to Jesus.” who would aid Muslims in the bloody battle against unbelievers (Kajirs).

To substantiate his claim that he was indeed the Promised Messiah. Ghulam Ahmad had to refute the traditional Islamic belief that Jesus was physically taken into the heavens and would reappear to save Muslims in days of distress. Based on his interpretation of the relevant commentaries of a verse in the Ou'ran he argued therefore that Jesus died a natural death and thus could not make a second appearance on earth." Jesus was taken down from the cross and cured of his wounds with the "ointment of Jesus" (marham-i-Isai) after which he went to Afghanistan and Kashmir where he died at the age of 120. He further claimed to have received a revelation that a tomb in Srinagar, Kashmir was the tomb of Jesus."

Ghulam Ahmad argued that scriptural statements about Jesus' ascension into heaven have to be understood metaphorically and that a messianic figure would come only "in the likeness of Jesus." Based on divine revelation and supporting his case with the Bible, the Qu'ran and the traditions of Islam (liuditli), Ghulam Ahmad asserted that he was that person. He claimed that just as Jesus had appeared 1400 years after the time of Moses, so the Promised Messiah must appear now, "invested with the spirit and power of Jesus son of Mary," in the fourteenth century of the Islamic calendar after the appearance of the Holy Prophet of Islam." Again, he claimed "I have a special resemblance to Jesus, on account of which I have been sent with his name so that I would demolish the doctrine of the cross."

3.2 Ghulam Ahmad's Claim to Prophethood

Of all the claims Ghulam Ahmad made concerning his own status and mission, his assertion, based on revelation, to be a prophet was the most controversial. As Friedmann points out, prophetic guidance is of cardinal importance in all streams of Islamic thought. Adam is considered to be the first in a long chain of prophets and a considerable number of prophets are mentioned by name in the Ou'ran." Based on the expression contained in a Ou'ranic verse in which Muhammad is designated "the seal of the prophets" (33:40), Muhammad, according to Sunni dogma, is the last prophet and prophethood thus comes to an end."

In substantiating his claim to prophethood, Ghulam Ahmad gives a narrower definition of the expression "seal of the prophets," interpreting it to mean that Muhammad is only the last law-giving prophet or the last prophet with a book. This interpretation does not exclude, therefore, the possibility that other. non-law-giving prophets may arise provided they "bear the seal and attestation of the Holy Prophet." Accordingly, he proclaimed in 1889 to be such a minor prophet, a prophet without a scripture or book of his own but with the messianic mission to rejuvenate the Islamic religion in a new light.

...3.3 Ghulam Ahmad's Reinterpretation of jihad

Ghulam Ahmad recognized that in view of the religious freedom under British rule, an armed struggle in the defence of Islam was not appropriate. He rejected, therefore, a military jihad (holy war)." More important, however, by stressing his affinity with Jesus who had also rejected armed struggle, Ghulam Ahmad redefined the role of the Mahdi from that of a warrior to a peaceful Messiah." By reinterpreting the relevant verses of the Qu'ran, he argued that waging jihad, that is, fighting in the name of Allah is only justified for defensive purposes."

...4.4 The Split – The Lahore Branch

a) Doctrinal Differences

Although the dissenting members were already publishing a weekly newspaper, Paygham-i-Sulh (Message of Peace) in 1913 the final split occurred over the election of Mahmud Ahmad as Kliaijatul Masili following the death of Nur ai-Din. Muhammad 'Ali and Kamal ud-Din left with a few of their supporters for Lahore where they established the Ahmadiyya Anjuman

Ishaate Islam (Ahmadiyya Association for the Propagation of Islam) with Muhammad ‘Ali as its head. They have since become known as the Lahori Branch while the Ahmadis who follow Ghulam Ahmad’s teachings are referred to as the Ouadiani Branch.

In addition to the controversies discussed above the major doctrinal split between the Lahoris and the Ouadianis revolves around Ghulam Ahmad’s claim to prophethood. While initially at least the Lahoris did not dispute his prophethood, this belief was increasingly abandoned until the religious status of Ghulam Ahmad was likened to that of a partial prophet and mujaddid, who had been sent in the fourteenth century of the Islamic calendar to renew an Islam become decadent.

...8. AHMADI RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Ahmadis are a closely-knit and cohesive group in which the khalifa occupies a central position in the community and in the life of the members. As Gualtieri notes. “one cannot understand the community without the khulifa, nor the khulifa without his community. The high standing and “the love and devotion” which the khalifa commands are due to the messianic or charismatic qualities which as a divinely-guided leader he is believed to possess. These qualities are a powerful means of ensuring the cohesiveness of the sect and also serve as a constant reminder that because of their belief in the prophethood of the founder. Ahmadis are shunned by other Muslims.

Ahmadis are a devout and peaceful people who except for their belief in the prophethood of the founder adhere to all other tenets of Islam. Because of their reinterpretation of jihad as the peaceful propagation of their faith they are dedicated to missionary work. Ahmadis observe the five daily prayers and are exhorted to offer also a voluntary midnight prayer. In public Ahmadis fold their arms hand to elbow at the beginning of the prayer and thus can be easily distinguished from other Muslims. They are enjoined from praying behind a non-Ahmadiyyah imam but do not object if orthodox Muslims wish to pray behind their imam. They are also forbidden to join in a funeral prayer which is led by an imam who considers them to be apostates.

The movement also imposes certain restrictions on the life-style which its members are permitted to lead. According to Tahrik Jadeed (The New Scheme) which was first announced by Mahmud Ahmad in 1934 Ahmadis are forbidden to attend cinemas, theatres, circuses and places of amusement in general and are urged to adopt a simple mode of life in matters such as food, dress, housing, and furnishings.

Ahmadis may lead what we consider to be an austere life but they place a high value on education. As several writers have noted they are better-educated than Muslims in India and Pakistanis in general. Gualtieri reports that a large number have advanced professional degrees as doctors, pharmacists, lawyers, engineers and scientists (see Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 1991, *Cultural Profile: The Ahmadiyya*, June, p.10 – Attachment 1)

For an extensive discussion of how Ahmadis differ, and can be identified, from other Muslims, see Chapter 10 of *Welcome to Ahmadiyyat, the True Islam*. This text was produced by Sahibzada M. M. Ahmad, Amir of the Ahmadiyya in the United States. The text was intended as “a book containing basic information about Islam and Ahmadiyyat which could be given to people joining the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community” (Zirvi, K. 2003, *Welcome to Ahmadiyyat, the True Islam*, Alislam Store website <http://www.alislam.org/books/ahmadiyyat/WelcomeBook2ndEd.pdf> – Accessed 7 August 2007 – Attachment 2).

For further sources offering similar information on Ahmadi beliefs and practices see the information provided in the following sections of previous Research Responses:

- Question 1 of: RRT Country Research 2005, *Research Response BGD17544*, 1 October – Attachment 3
- Question 1 of: RRT Country Research 2004, *Research Response BGD17010*, 1 October – Attachment 4
- Question 1-2 of: RRT Country Research 2002, *Research Response BGD15501*, 23 October – Attachment 5
- Question 1 of: RRT Country Research 2003, *Research Response BGD15853*, 16 April – Attachment 6

2. Please provide information on the Ahmadi community. Are they an organised or an informal community?

Ahmadi social networks in Bangladesh

In May 2007 DFAT advised as follows of the congregation of Ahmadiya communities in Bangladesh. The comments were made in the context of providing advice on re-location:

Religious and ethnic minorities are easily accepted in a social community, with the exception of the “Ahmadiya” community, also referred to as the “Kadianis”. The Ahmadiya community, an Islamic sect numbering 100,000 in Bangladesh has been subject to intimidation campaigns and attacks in recent years. To a greater extent than other minorities, the Ahmadiya people or families live in community clusters. This potentially makes it more difficult for them to relocate as they are less likely to be accepted by a receiving majority Muslim community, particularly in rural areas (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2007, *DFAT Report 641: RRT Information Request BGD31606*, 11 May – Attachment 8).

Ahmadi social networks generally

A 1991 package on the Ahmadiyya produced by the Research Directorate of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada devotes a section to the Qadiani branch in which it is observed that:

In accordance with the prophet’s injunction, Islamic communities do not have organized priesthoods. The Ahmadiyya are the only Islamic sect which has an elaborate organizational structure for the administration of its various activities.

...In addition to various administrative departments, in 1922 Mahmud Ahmad created the majilis-i Mushawarat (the khalfah’s Advisory Council) which consists of several appointed and elected members. As a purely advisory body the khaliya is empowered to overrule the council’s recommendations and thus, the ultimate authority was vested in him and his successors. Members contribute between one-tenth and one-third of their annual income to the community.

c) Communal Associations

Mahmud Ahmad also established a variety of associations which envelop, as it were, the daily life of community members. According to Zafrulla Kahn, Pakistan’s first Foreign Minister

and a leading member of the Ahmadiyya, the associations are designed “for the purpose, of proper training in the exercise of moral and spiritual values and marching forward towards the achievement of the purposes of the Movement.”

The associations include the Majilis Ansarullah (Association of the Helpers of God) composed of all male members of the Movement 40 years of age and over; the Majilis Khuddamud Ahmadiyya (Association of the Servants of Ahmadiyyat), consisting of all male members between the ages of 15 and 40; the Atfatul Ahmadiyya (Children of Ahmadiyya) for male children between seven and 15 years of age; the Lainah Illa Allah (Association of the Handmaidens of God) for women over the age of 15 years; and the Nasirtul Ahmadiyya (Female Helpers of God) which includes all female children between the ages of seven and 15.

Apart from social activities members of the associations who “are bound together by affectionate ties of brotherhood and sisterhood” perform manual labour “designed to uphold the dignity of labour.” There are also programmes for female members “designed to stimulate their artistic faculties and to train them in the various branches of domestic science and household duties. Since from an early age an Ahmadi’s life unfolds within these associations, they are a powerful means of instilling and re-enforcing the movement’s ideology and preventing deviations from it. Thus describing the community in its new location at Rabwah in West Pakistan, a bibliographic survey notes: “members of the Ahmadiyya community lead a pious and well-ordered religious life” (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 1991, *Cultural Profile: The Ahmadiyya*, June, p.10 – Attachment 1)

A 2006 study of transnational marriage practices among Ahmadis, authored by Dr Marzia Balzani of Roehampton University, provides the following details on the manner in which “the Ahmadi organization itself is transnational in a way that is unique among Muslims”:

There is a central mosque, located wherever the Khalifa is resident, and all mosques around the world send information to and receive instruction from this centre. The Ahmadi mosque network is designed, in fact, rather like the ancient Roman colonies where each new colony replicated the form and structure of the imperial centre, a kind of Rome away from Rome. By contrast, in most other Muslim communities mosques do not share any organizational structure or necessarily combine to present a uniform approach to matters Islamic. Indeed, they may often work as rivals to each other and have congregations that are ethnically distinct from each other.

Ahmadi mosques provide a religious, social and recreational environment in which, unusually for Muslims, women are expected to attend in equal numbers to men. Every Ahmadi mosque has a uniform organizational structure with women’s and men’s committees and youth organizations for girls and boys. Committee membership rotates by election. Each country mosque has a national women’s and a men’s president and an annual timetable of functions to bring the community together. In each country each region also has a local women’s and men’s president and associated committees. The mosques are ‘greedy institutions’ that depend on the voluntary work of their members and many individuals devote long hours to mosque functions. Such volunteering, expected of all members according to their capacities, provides individuals with a ready network of acquaintances and social interactions that regularly result in the establishment of marriage networks extending beyond kin connections and that are often also transnational in nature. Any Ahmadi migrating from one country to another can simply offer to volunteer in a mosque and join an instantly recognizable organization with familiar rituals and events. Such organizational conformity facilitates transnational movement and provides a strong sense of an integrated community... (Balzani, M. 2006, ‘Transnational marriage among Ahmadi Muslims in the UK’, *Global Networks*, vol.6, no.4 p.350 – Attachment 8).

For an extensive overview of the manner in which Ahmadi communities are structured as national networks, see Chapter 12 of *Welcome to Ahmadiyyat, the True Islam* (Zirvi, K. 2003, *Welcome to Ahmadiyyat, the True Islam*, Alislam Store website <http://www.alislam.org/books/ahmadiyyat/WelcomeBook2ndEd.pdf> – Accessed 7 August 2007 – Attachment 2).

In September 2007 a letter was sent to the office of the Amir of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat Bangladesh, via the Ahmadiyya Muslim Association of Australia (AMAA), asking if the office could comment on whether they were aware of any instances in which people in Bangladesh have continued to practice the Ahmadiyya faith while not being directly involved in the Ahmadiyya community and, if so, whether such persons were known to suffer mistreatment. In November 2007 the Tribunal was advised via the AMAA that “The Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat Bangladesh is not aware of any such instances” (Ahmadiyya Muslim Association of Australia 2007, Letter to RRT: ‘REF: Country Information Request BGD32579’, Ref: 325, 11 November – Attachment 9; for the RRT letter which elicited this response, see: RRT Research & Information 2007, ‘Country Information Request BGD32579’, 12 September – Attachment 10).

3. How is the school system organised in Bangladesh? Are there religious and secular schools?

According to the most recent US Department of State report on religious freedom in Bangladesh:

Religion was taught in government schools, and parents had the right to have their children taught in their own religion. However, some claimed that many government-employed religious teachers of minority religious groups were neither members of the religion they taught nor qualified to teach it. Although transportation was not always available for children to attend religion classes away from school, in practice schools with few religious minority students often worked out arrangements with local churches or temples, which then directed religious studies outside of school hours. There were at least 25 thousand Muslim religious schools, or madrassahs. Some madrassahs were government-funded and some were privately-funded, according to a recent US Government study. There were no known government-run Christian, Hindu, or Buddhist schools (US Department of State 2007, International Religious Freedom Report for 2007 – Bangladesh, 14 September – Attachment 11)

An April 2004 USAID study of education in the Muslim world provides extensive information on education in Bangladesh including the following information on the types of education available:

There are four principal types of school systems in Bangladesh.

Public Schools. The large public school education system predominates, serving roughly 90 percent of all students. Based on the colonial educational model, the system covers primary, secondary, and higher education. Early childhood education is a relatively new emphasis. Tables 5.2 and 5.3 show government schools and students by province.

Private Schools. These are mostly confined to urban centers and operated by private entrepreneurs and educators. The small but expanding private “English medium” schooling system— around 1 percent of all schools—uses English as the language of instruction. These schools are referred to as kindergarten primary schools by Education Watch.

NGO-Managed Schools. This category includes NGO-managed, low-cost private schools and nonformal education centers that mostly serve rural areas and urban slums. Estimates of enrollment range from 4 to 8 percent of total primary school-aged children. The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee's (BRAC) Non- Formal Education Program is one example. It covers more than 2.1 million children at the primary level.³ Nonformal education ranges from up to three years of basic education—which may conclude an individual's schooling—to a more comprehensive curriculum that integrates with either nonprofit or government schools and prepares students to continue their studies. Some evidence suggests that girls' attainment is somewhat stronger in nonformal and NGO-managed settings, though overall achievements in all settings are low due to class size, low attendance, poor learning environments, and other factors.

Religious Schools. Depending on the source, the estimated percentage of Bangladeshi students who attend religious schools—the madrasa system—varies considerably, ranging from 4 to 12 percent. All madrasas provide a religious education to boys and for a smaller percentage of girls, who account for about 38 percent of enrollment at the primary level, according to the Ministry of Education. Aliya madrasas—an estimated 75 percent of madrasas—also provide a secular education that follows the national curriculum approved for public schools. Quomi madrasas—the remaining 25 percent—are private madrasas that provide only religious education.

...Both Quomi and Aliya madrasas follow the Sunni sect of Islam (USAID Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination 2004, *Strengthening Education in the Muslim World: Country Profiles and Analysis*, DevTech Systems website, April <http://www.devtechsys.com/services/activities/documents/StrengtheningEducationintheMuslimWorld.pdf> – Accessed 19 June 2008 – Attachment 12).

In *Welcome to Ahmadiyyat, the True Islam*, Sahibzada M. M. Ahmad, Amir of the Ahmadiyya in the United States, notes Ahmadi secondary schools are now operating in a number of countries, but Bangladesh is not listed among these.

On July 25, 1912, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I laid the first foundation stone of Talimmul Islam High School in Qadian. The T.I. High School in Qadian had a good name in the Punjab for its building, playgrounds and for its high standard and efficiency in teaching. Even students from abroad were drawn to it and sought admission. ... Since then several hundred schools have been established by the Jama'at in various countries of the world. At present, 35 Higher Secondary Schools, 44 Junior Secondary Schools, 219 Primary Schools, and 58 Nursery Schools are being run by Jama'at Ahmadiyya in different countries of the world such as The Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone (Zirvi, K. 2003, *Welcome to Ahmadiyyat, the True Islam*, Alislam Store website, p.350 <http://www.alislam.org/books/ahmadiyyat/WelcomesBook2ndEd.pdf> – Accessed 7 August 2007 – Attachment 2).

A further overview of the Bangladesh education system is supplied in Attachment 13 (Singh, S.K. 2003, 'Bangladesh Education System', *Education Watch of India*, January / February, pp.19-25 http://www.eduwatchindia.com/ISSUE-1/Bangladesh_Edu_Sys.PDF – Accessed 19 June 2008 – Attachment 13).

4. What is the attitude of Ahmadis to marriage between an Ahmadi male and a Christian woman?

In *Welcome to Ahmadiyyat, the True Islam*, Sahibzada M. M. Ahmad, Amir of the Ahmadiyya in the United States, advises that: "men are allowed to marry women of the

‘people of the Book’ (i.e., those who follow a Revealed Scripture), although it is not considered preferable”.

...men are allowed to marry women of the ‘people of the Book’ (i.e., those who follow a Revealed Scripture), although it is not considered preferable.

The Promised Messiah and Mahdi has limited the category as of the ‘people of the Book’ to Jewish and Christian women. He has also prohibited Ahmadi women from marrying non-Ahmadi men. The reasoning behind this is very sound. A woman is not permitted to marry outside her faith because when she is in her husband’s home environment, she and her children are exposed to non-Muslim and non-Ahmadi culture and practices. This makes it very difficult for her to remain steadfast in her own faith and bring up her children as Muslims. A man, on the other hand can more easily influence his wife and bring her into the Islamic way of life (Zirvi, K. 2003, *Welcome to Ahmadiyyat, the True Islam*, Alislam Store website, p.420 <http://www.alislam.org/books/ahmadiyyat/WelcomeBook2ndEd.pdf> – Accessed 7 August 2007 – Attachment 2).

Marzia Balzani’s 2006 study of transnational marriage practices among Ahmadis finds that while there are some differences amongst different Ahmadi communities with regard to marriage between ethnicities, the one common “condition for marriage is that both parties to the marriage must be Ahmadi”. The report does note examples in which marriages with Christian families have been entered into though in these examples the Christian partner has fulfilled an expectation to convert to the Ahmadi faith to make the marriage possible. The relevant extracts follow:

Ahmadi transnational marriages share many of the characteristics of transnational marriages among other British South Asian Muslim and Punjabi Sikh populations. However... the processes of conversion to Ahmadiyyat and the need to incorporate new converts through marriage have resulted in flexible patterns of and attitudes towards marriage that are unusual among South Asians.

...although Ahmadis are not compelled to follow exogamous marriage rules, they are nevertheless, like British Punjabi Sikhs, likely to marry non-kin and to find spouses for their well-educated offspring from an increasingly global Ahmadi diaspora. Indeed, as I suggest in this article, British Ahmadi women may be more likely to choose a spouse from the UK or Canada than from Pakistan, but this is not necessarily the case for Ahmadi men. However, unlike other British South Asian populations, the Ahmadis as a community also welcome marriages between different ethnic groups and so contract marriages that are both transnational and interethnic. The only condition for marriage is that both parties to the marriage must be Ahmadi. A further distinction between Ahmadis and other South Asian Muslim communities is that the mosque may play a key role in arranging marriages.

...Ahmadi missionaries... used the tactics of the Christian missionaries in India against the Christians themselves, and in an explicit move of ‘reverse colonialism’, were sent to the UK and USA in the early twentieth century to convert the Christian populations of those countries to Ahmadiyyat, or ‘the true Islam’.

...Often new converts are single and relatively well-educated. Once converted, the mosque and the Ahmadi social network will help to arrange a marriage for the convert and so secure her or him within mutually reinforcing and supporting Ahmadi links. So where shared cultural background is often a prerequisite for a marriage within many South Asian communities, the only condition the Ahmadis explicitly state and always cite for accepting a marriage is that the ‘outsider’ be Ahmadi and therefore, in religious terms, not an outsider at all. Maintaining ethnic group endogamy, which is a central consideration in many South

Asian arranged marriages and is taken to be a ‘key feature in the longterm maintenance of transnational networks’, is not a primary concern (Ballard 2001: 46). In fact, given that the long-term goal is to convert the world to Ahmadiyyat, such inward-looking and self-limiting marriage practices would only delay the inevitable global victory. The Ahmadi endogamy of faith not only maintains transnational networks but also helps develop new ones and so spreads the faith (Balzani, M. 2006, ‘Transnational marriage among Ahmadi Muslims in the UK’, *Global Networks*, vol.6, no.4 p.345-8 – Attachment 8).

List of Sources Consulted

Internet Sources:

Google search engine <http://www.google.com>

Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)

BACIS (DIAC Country Information database)

REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)

ISYS (RRT Research & Information database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)

RRT Library Catalogue

List of Attachments

1. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 1991, *Cultural Profile: The Ahmadiyya*, June. (RRT General Papers S10481)
2. Zirvi, K. 2003, *Welcome to Ahmadiyyat, the True Islam*, Alislam Store website <http://www.alislam.org/books/ahmadiyyat/WelcomeBook2ndEd.pdf> – Accessed 7 August 2007.
3. RRT Country Research 2005, *Research Response BGD17544*, 1 October.
4. RRT Country Research 2004, *Research Response BGD17010*, 1 October.
5. RRT Country Research 2002, *Research Response BGD15501*, 23 October.
6. RRT Country Research 2003, *Research Response BGD15853*, 16 April.
7. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2007, *DFAT Report 641: RRT Information Request BGD31606*, 11 May.
8. Balzani, M. 2006, ‘Transnational marriage among Ahmadi Muslims in the UK’, *Global Networks*, vol.6, no.4. (RRT General Papers 32200)
9. Ahmadiyya Muslim Association of Australia 2007, Letter to RRT: ‘REF: Country Information Request BGD32579’, Ref: 325, 11 November.
10. RRT Research & Information 2007, ‘Country Information Request BGD32579’, 12 September.

11. US Department of State 2007, International Religious Freedom Report for 2007 – Bangladesh, 14 September.
12. USAID Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination 2004, *Strengthening Education in the Muslim World: Country Profiles and Analysis*, DevTech Systems website, April <http://www.devtechsys.com/services/activities/documents/StrengtheningEducationintheMuslimWorld.pdf> – Accessed 19 June 2008.
13. Singh, S.K. 2003, 'Bangladesh Education System', *Education Watch of India*, January / February, pp.19-25 http://www.eduwatchindia.com/ISSUE-1/Bangladesh_Edu_Sys.PDF – Accessed 19 June 2008.