



*The Middle East Centre –  
The Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies*

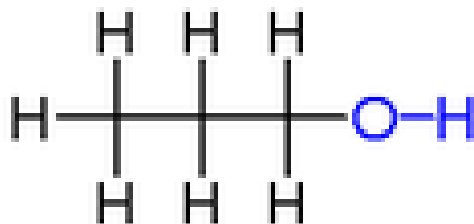


# *Accounts of Madrasas post 9/11 : Bearings of Recent History*

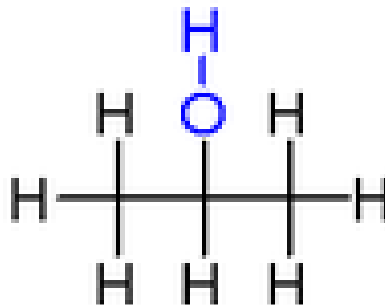
Mohammad Talib  
Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies  
Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology,  
University of Oxford

# Accounts of Madrasas: Isomorphs

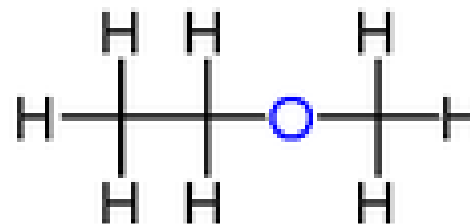
## Similar Form, Dissimilar Content



I



II

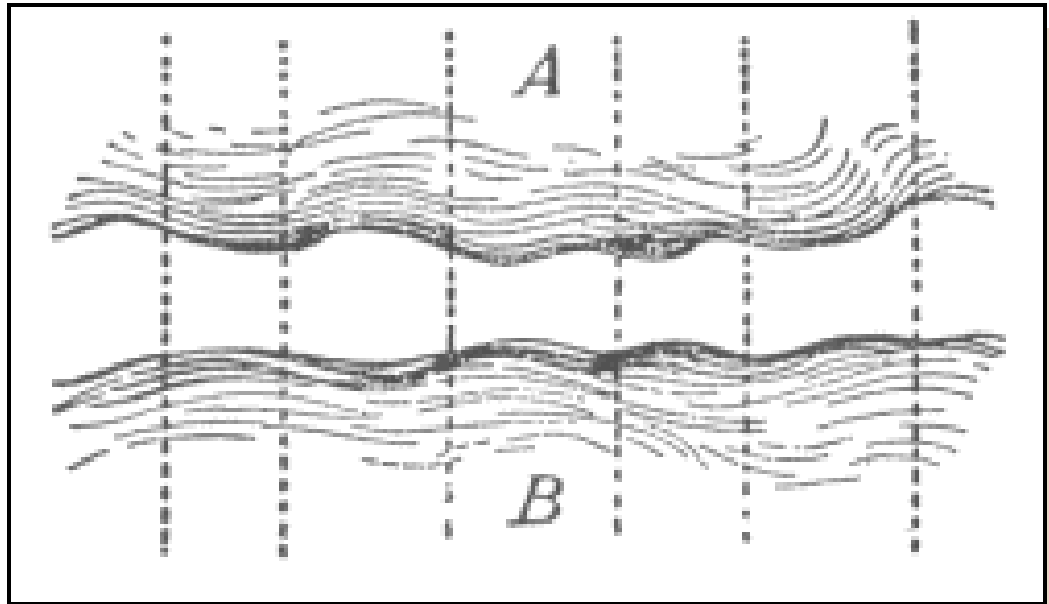


III

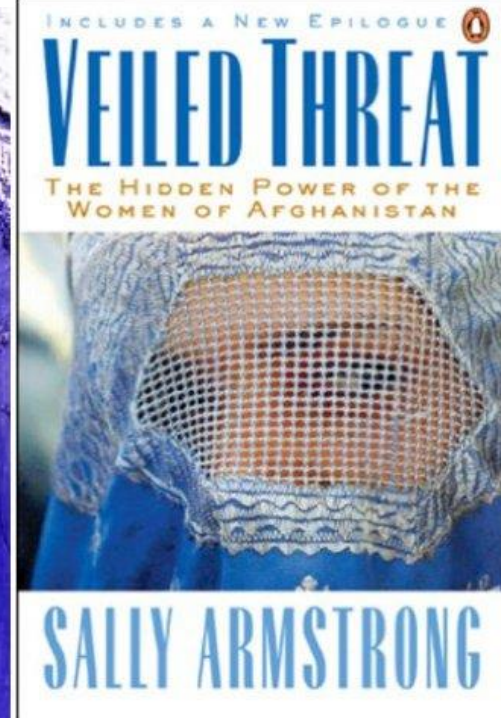
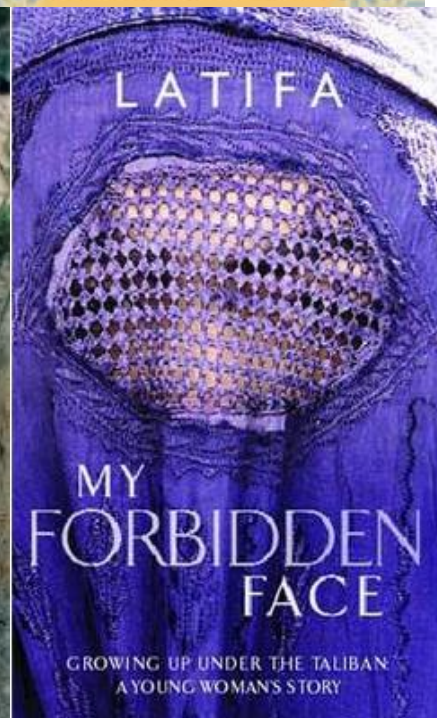
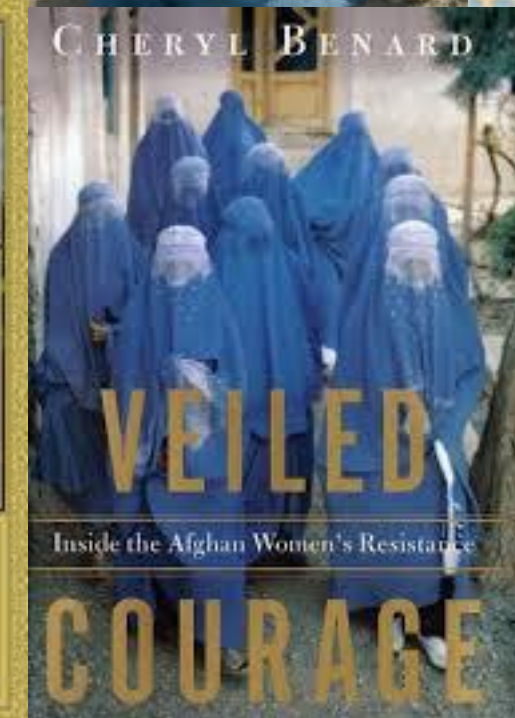
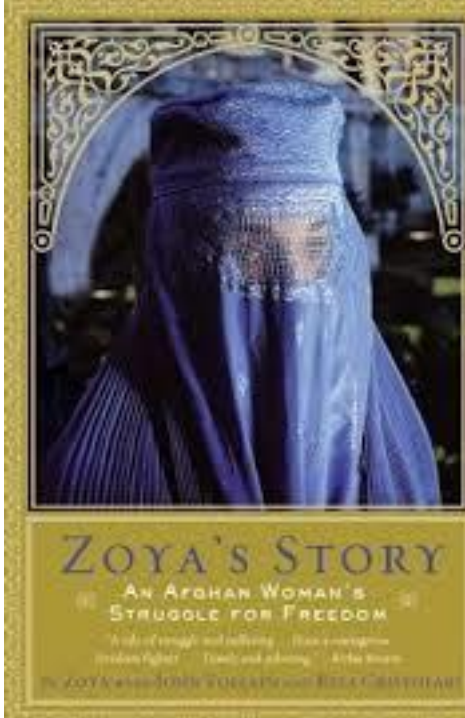
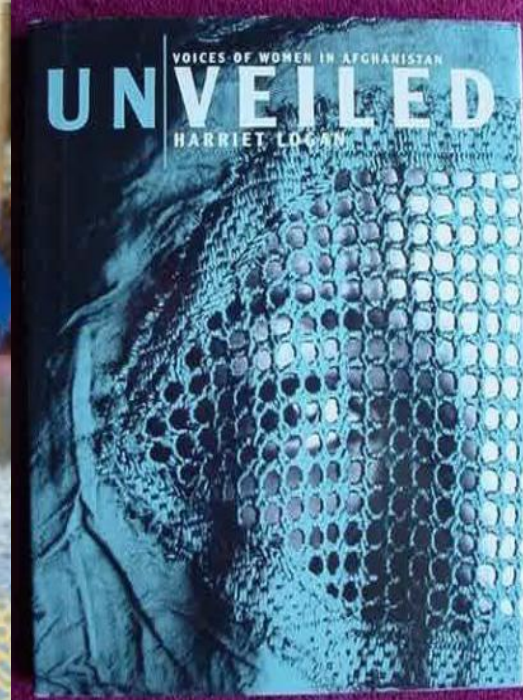
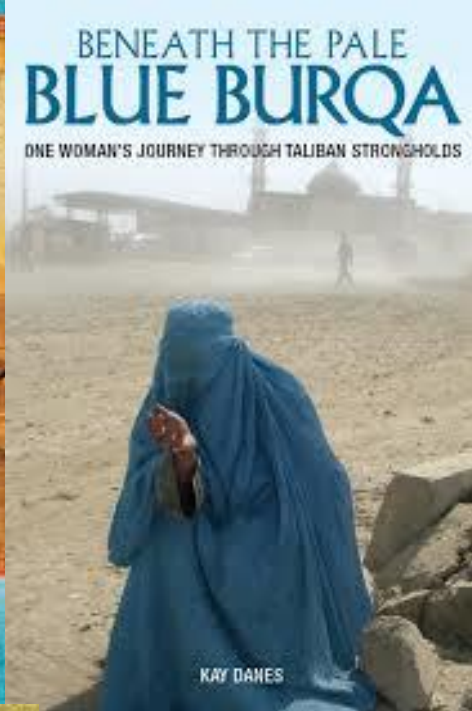
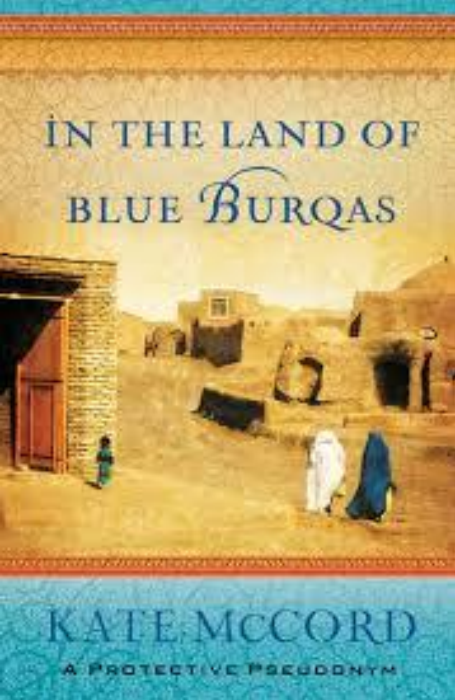
# Representation and Reality: Reflection-Refraction or an Asymptote

A straight line that continually approaches a given curve but does not meet it at any finite distance.

What do vertical lines represent?









# CITY INFORMATION

JCDecaux

## HUMAN RIGHTS for WOMEN and GIRLS in AFGHANISTAN

### NATO: KEEP THE PROGRESS GOING!


SHADOW SUMMIT FOR  
AFGHAN WOMEN  
Sunday, May 20, Swissotel,  
323 East Wacker Drive  
11 a.m. - 1 p.m. / Free Admission

AMNESTY  
INTERNATIONAL



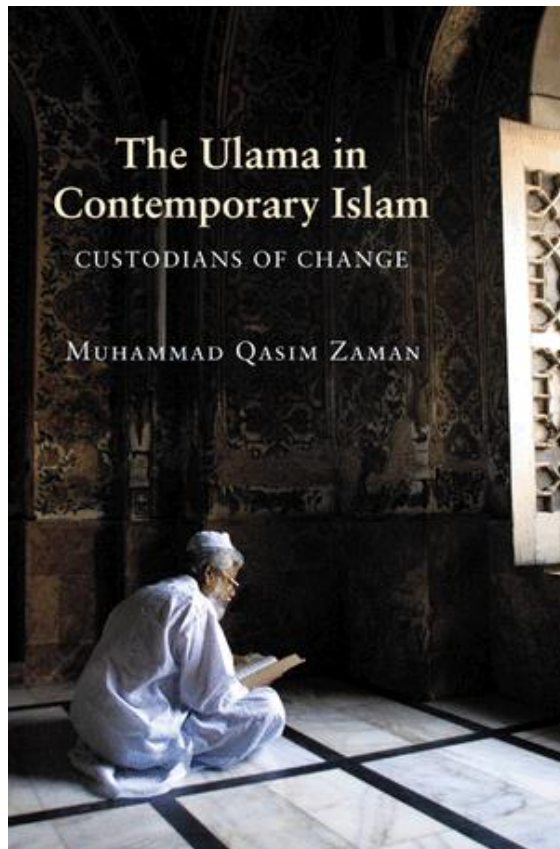
Register and take action:  
[www.amnestyusa.org/afghanwomen](http://www.amnestyusa.org/afghanwomen)





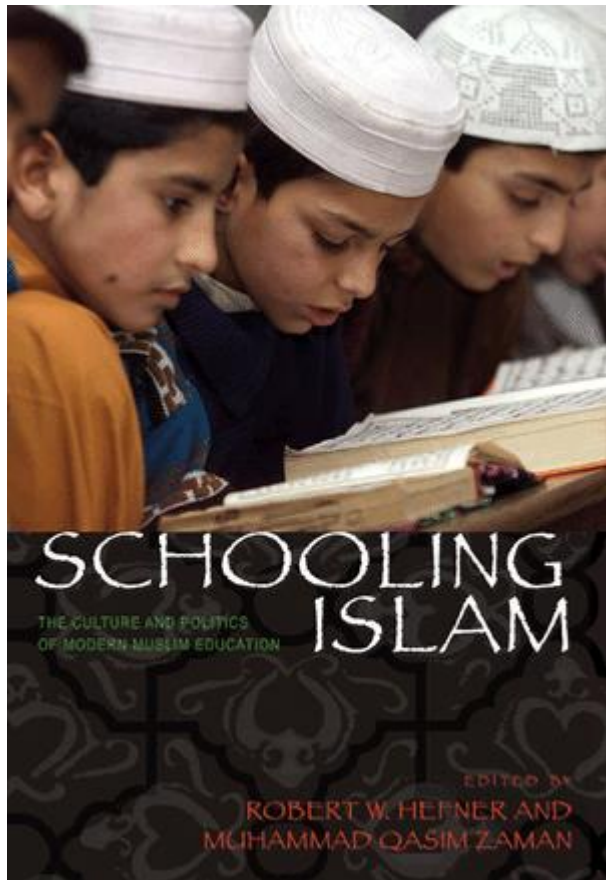
First stream of writings on the role of  
madrassahs in religiously motivated violence.  
The educational reform is proposed as a  
policy solution.

# The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change (2002)



The series editors were able to put the book in a context. They made references to Osama bin Laden and his associates in Al Qaeda and highlight the changing role of the Ulama which is often misleadingly portrayed as the guardians of tradition.

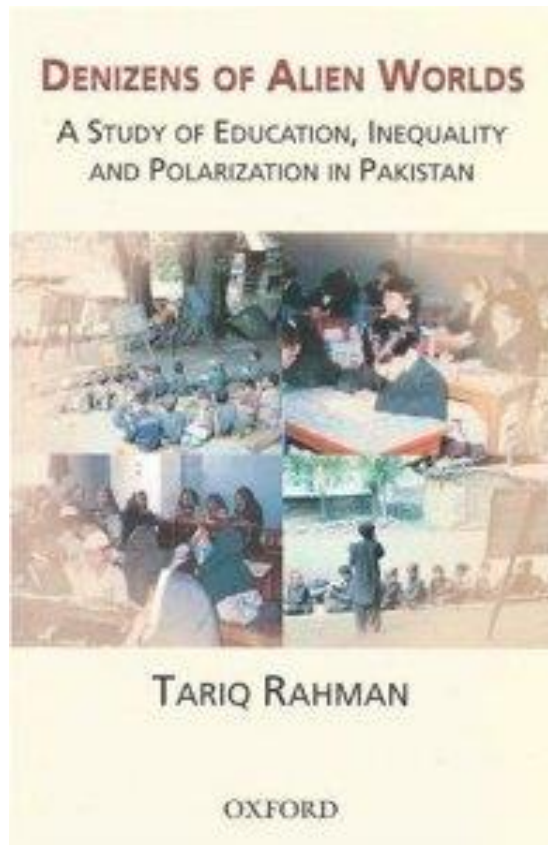
# Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education (2007)



flash-back of the problem and question: Islamic radicalism and its relationship to religious education since Taliban took over Kabul in 1996. The studies are about culture, practices, and politics of madrasas and Islamic education. The struggle for 'hearts and mind' in the world have madrasas and religious education on its frontline.



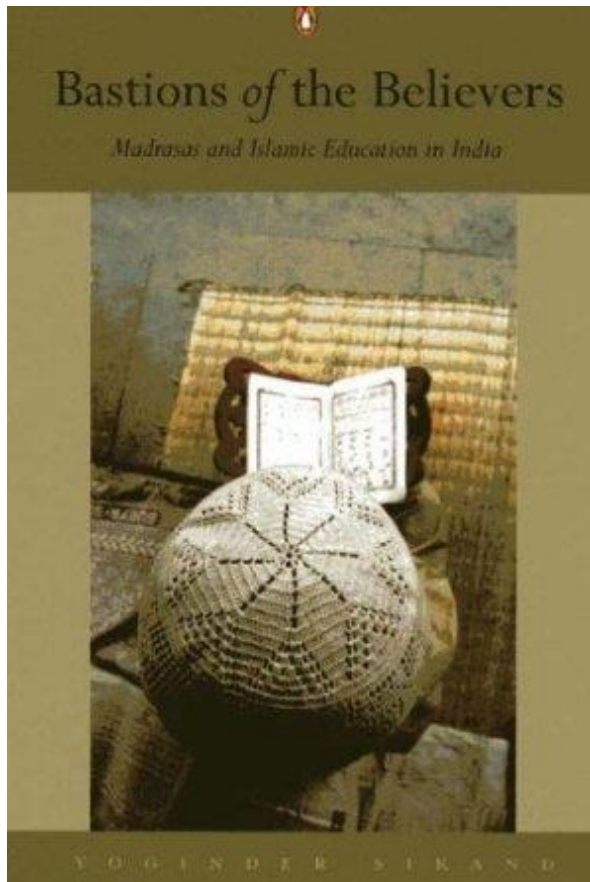
# Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan (2004)



Flash back: events around 9/11 and the context responsible for the emergence of the Taliban

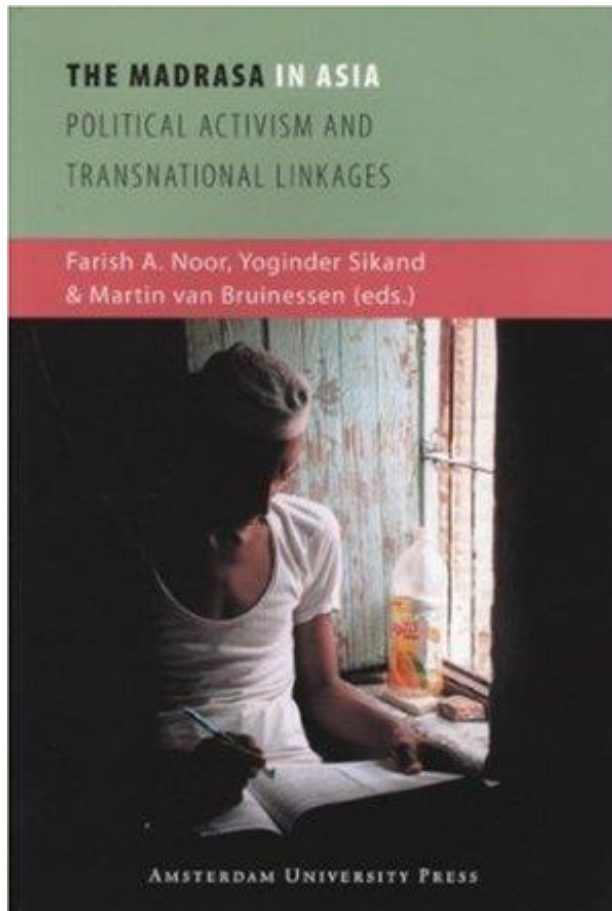
Question: how is the educational deficit part of increasing violence and inequality in Pakistan. The broader context of the study remains the.

# Bastions of the Believers: Madrasas and Islamic Education in India (2005)



Francis Robinson in the forward makes a reference to the bad reputation madrasas have acquired as a result of “of their alleged association with the radicalisation of Islam and sectarian violence. This connects with the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan and the association with Osama bin Laden.

# The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages (2008)

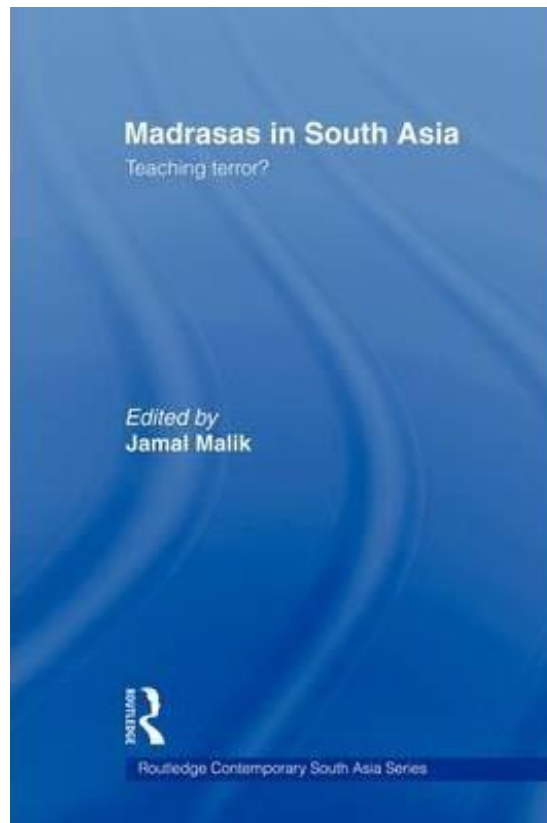


Flash back: the Global war on terror,

Flash forward: For the US the madrasa was a concern and its reform as long term strategies to prevent Islamic terrorism. Experts like Brookings Institution & P. W. Singer, have repeated the Huntingtonian thesis of the clash of civilizations.

Reference made to the new cultural war to be won. The reform of madrasa was understood as a campaign whose success can only be guaranteed with the “taming of the madrasa beast.”- pp. 11

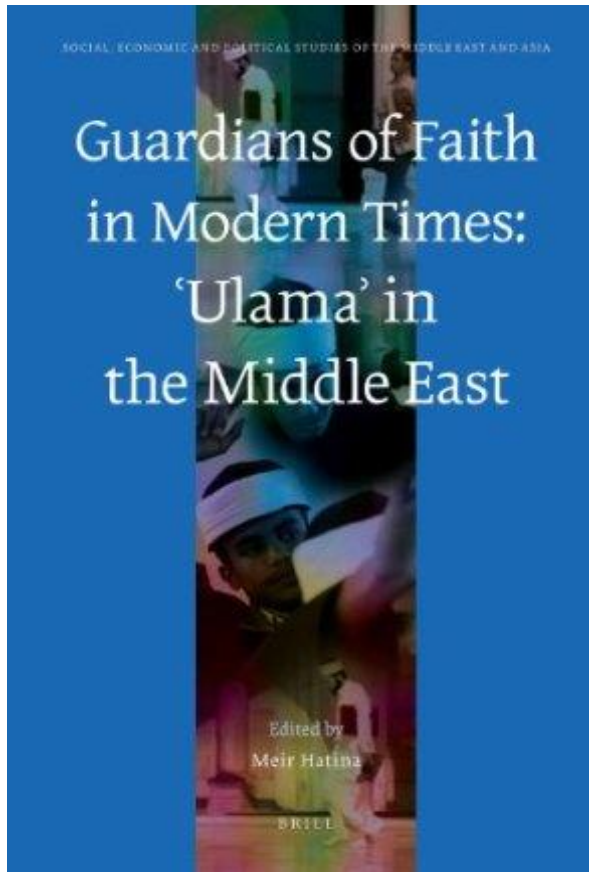
# Madrasas in South Asia: Teaching Terror?



- Flash back: post 9/11 madrasas have been linked to international terrorism.
- The volume seeks to clarify popular misconceptions about the role of madrasa education in South Asia.
- The workshop on Islamic learning in South Asia (Erfurt, Germany) was supported financially by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, the German Science Association.

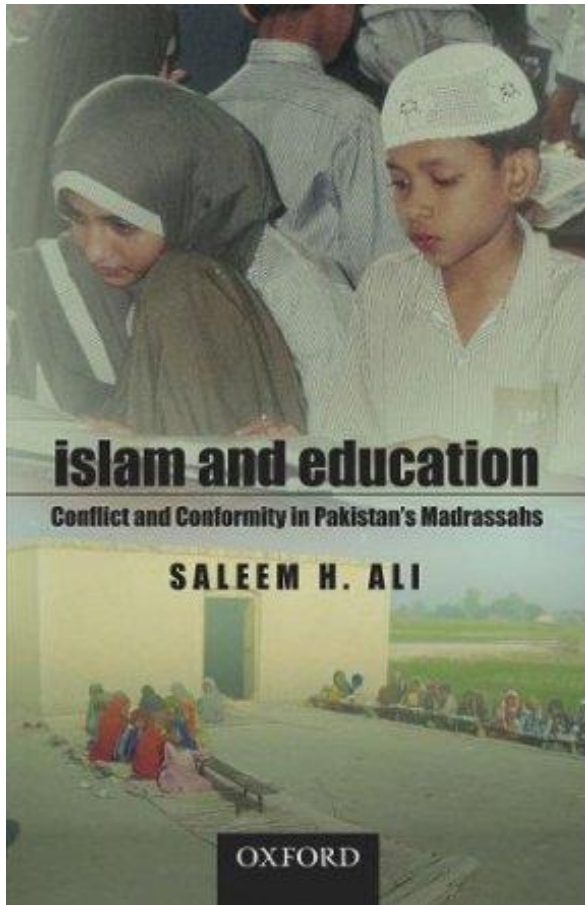


# Guardians of Faith in Modern Times: Ulama in the Middle East (2009)



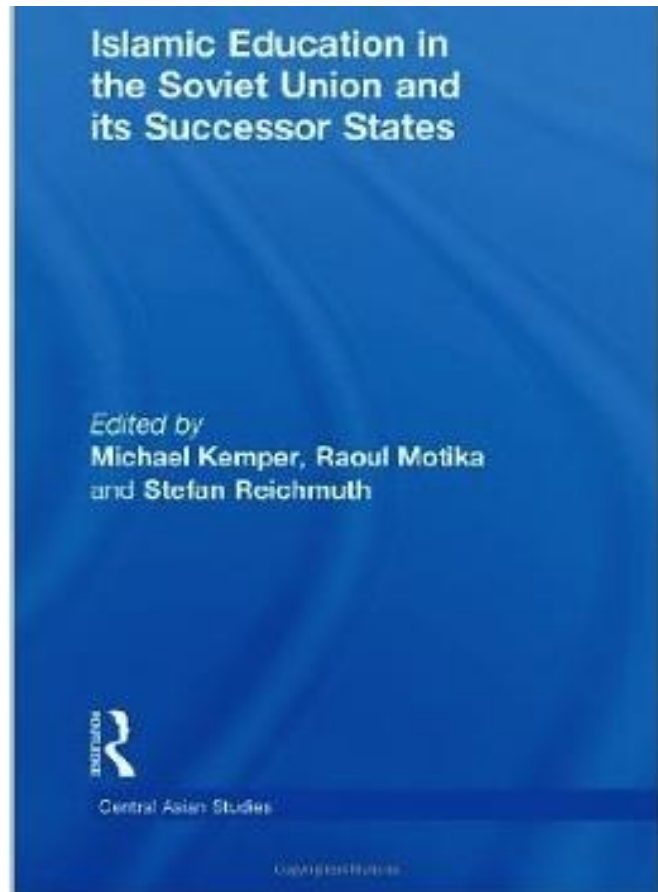
The workshop around the theme was conducted in the Nehemia Levtzion Centre for Islamic Studies at the Hebrew University in 2005. In response to the assertiveness of Sunni Ulama on moral and socio political issues on the Arab-Muslim agenda in the late 20th century.

# Islam and Education: Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan's Madrassahs (2009)



The stated aim of the study according to the author is to prevent the escalation of existing regional conflicts between Islam and the west, and providing guidance to policymakers regarding their attempts to reform educational institutions.

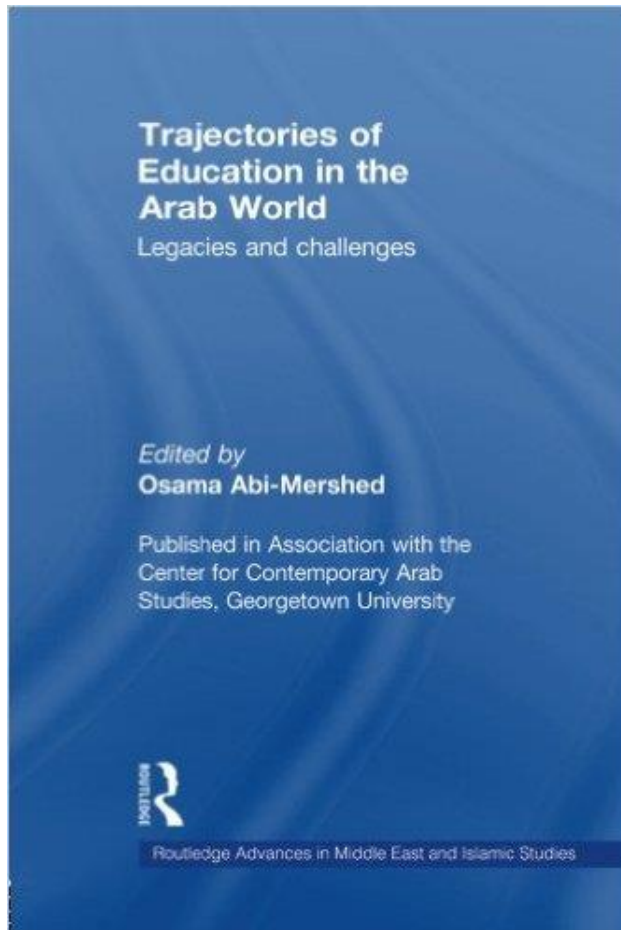
# Islamic Education in the Soviet Union and its Successor States (2010)



The Volkswagen-Foundation's programme "between Europe and the orient a focus on research and higher education in/on central Asian and the Caucasus".

There is a reference to the Soviet Union not only fighting Islam but also regulating its organisation and unintentionally shaping and perpetuating the tradition of Islam and how the conditions began to change after 1991 with the result that post soviet states as true heirs of the Soviet union carried the mark of Islam.

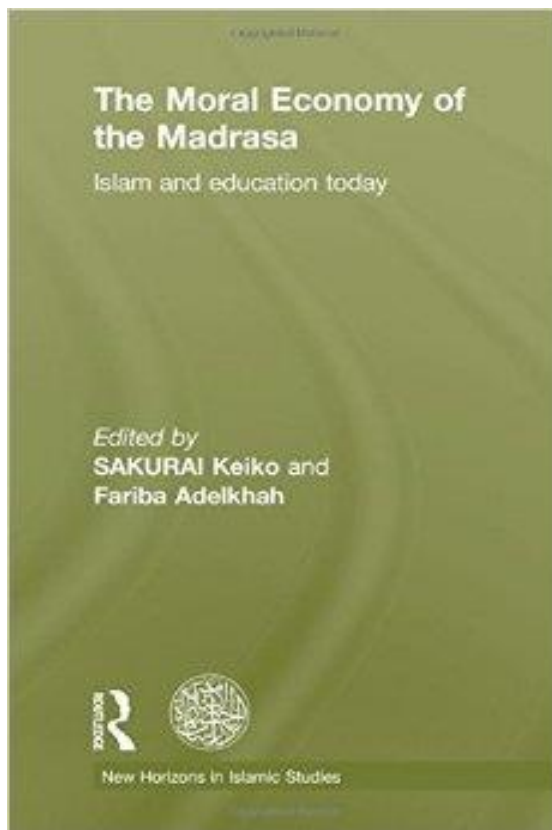
# Trajectories of Education in the Arab World: Legacies and Challenges (2010)



This volume was brought out in response to the United Nations Arab Human Development report in 2005, highlighting the Arab world's critical deficits in “knowledge, freedom, and women's empowerment” in 2002. The volume expresses the concern that, in the face of the events of September 11 there was a likelihood of restricted access for Arab and Muslim students to western universities. The editors point to the adverse consequences of such an attitude. It is also pointed out in the end that the reform of education in the region would benefit from the resources and experience of the west particularly the US.



# The Moral Economy of the Madrasa: Islam and Education Today (2011)

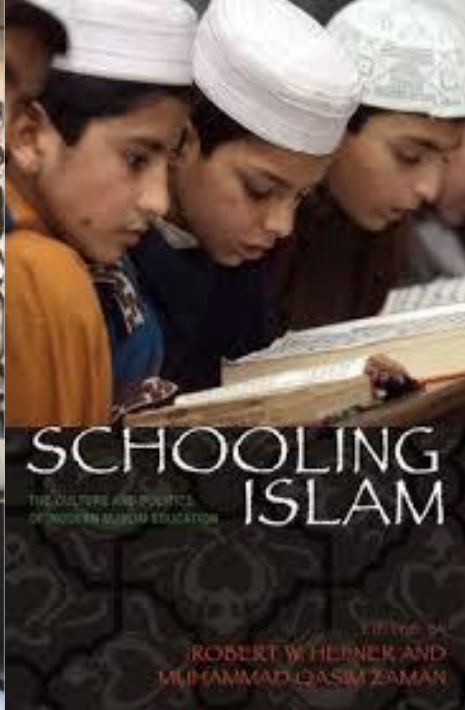
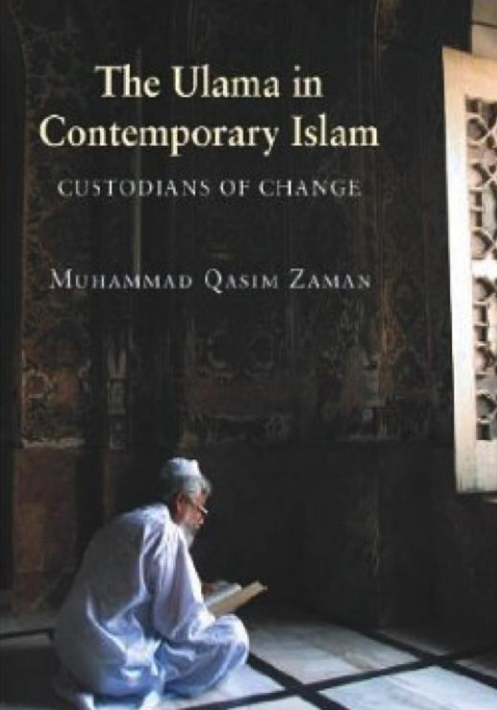


Dale Eickelman in the Epilogue admits about the perception of madrasa threat in the backdrop of 9/11. Various contributions from FATA (Pakistan), Iran, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Hui China highlight the madrasa role to be highly varied and sensitive to the societies in which they are embedded.

# The Ulama in Contemporary Islam

CUSTODIANS OF CHANGE

MUHAMMAD QASIM ZAMAN



## SCHOOLING ISLAM

THE CULTURE AND POLITICS OF MODERN MUSLIM EDUCATION

EDITED BY  
ROBERT W. HEINER AND  
MUHAMMAD QASIM ZAMAN

## DENIZENS OF ALIEN WORLDS

A STUDY OF EDUCATION, INEQUALITY  
AND POLARIZATION IN PAKISTAN

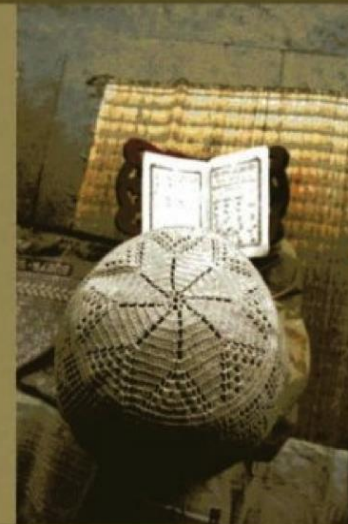


TARIQ RAHMAN

OXFORD

## Bastions of the Believers

Madrasas and Islamic Education in India

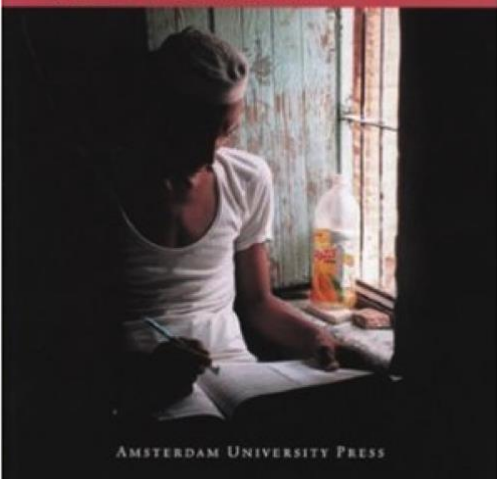


YOGINDER SIKAND

## THE MADRASA IN ASIA

POLITICAL ACTIVISM AND  
TRANSNATIONAL LINKAGES

Farish A. Noor, Yoginder Sikand  
& Martin van Bruinessen (eds.)



AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

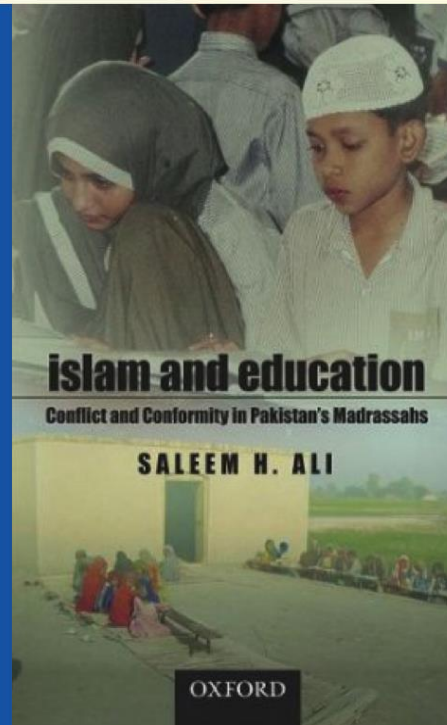
SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL STUDIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND ASIA

## Guardians of Faith in Modern Times: 'Ulama' in the Middle East



Edited by  
Meir Hatina

BRILL



## Islam and education

Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan's Madrassahs

SALEEM H. ALI

OXFORD

## Madrasas in South Asia

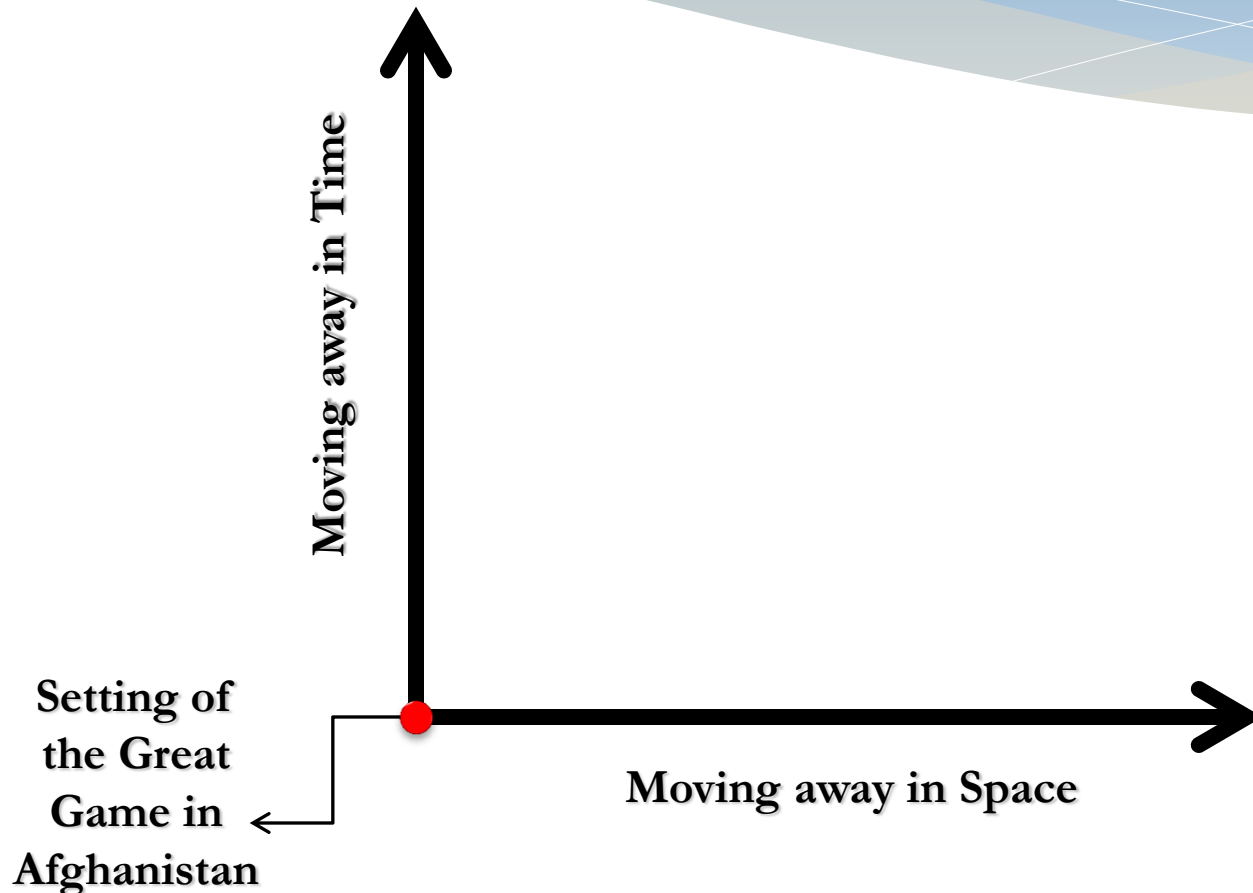
Teaching terror?

Edited by  
Jamal Malik



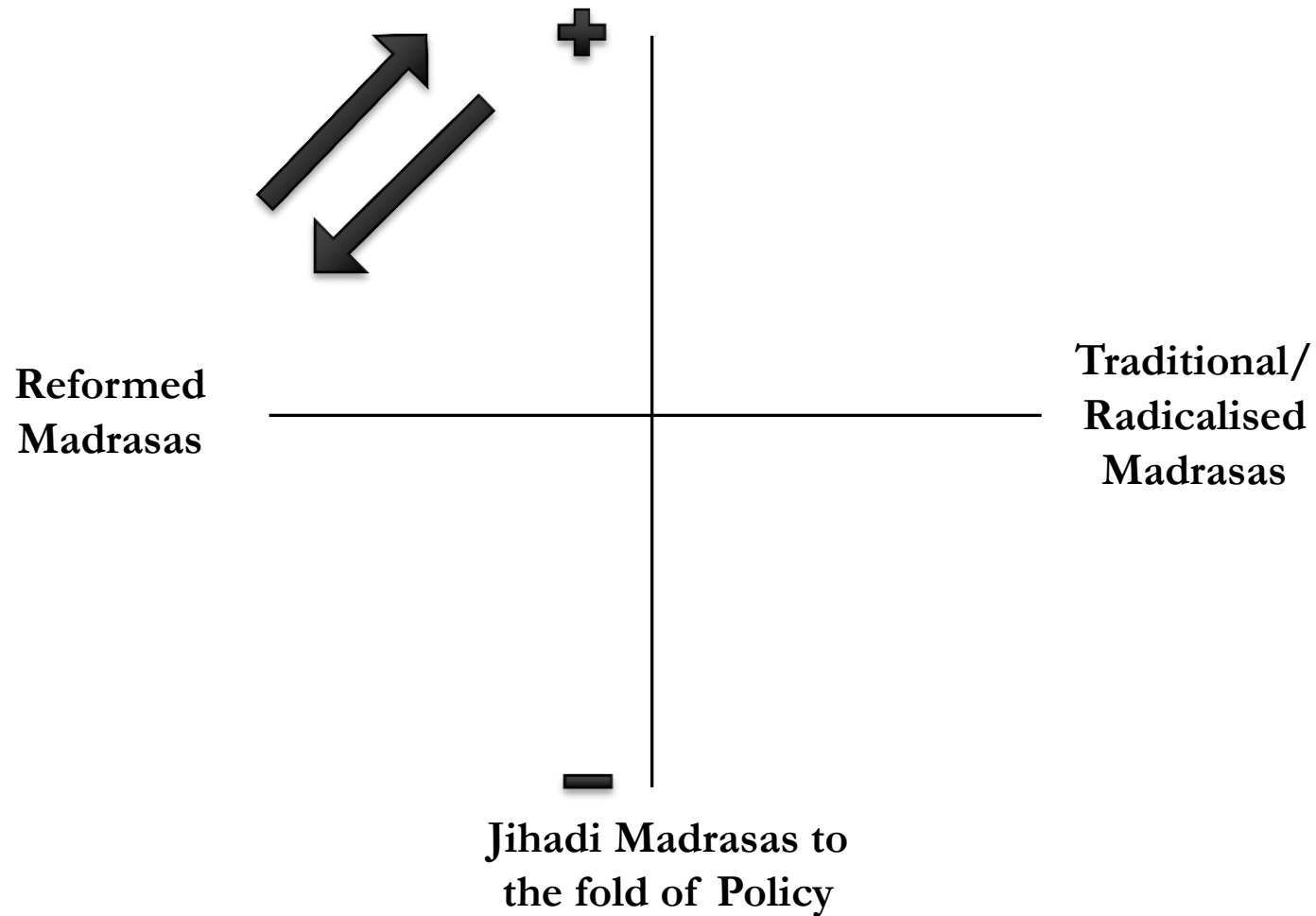
Routledge Contemporary South Asia Series

# \* Textual practices that shift the scholarly attention from the site of the Great Game



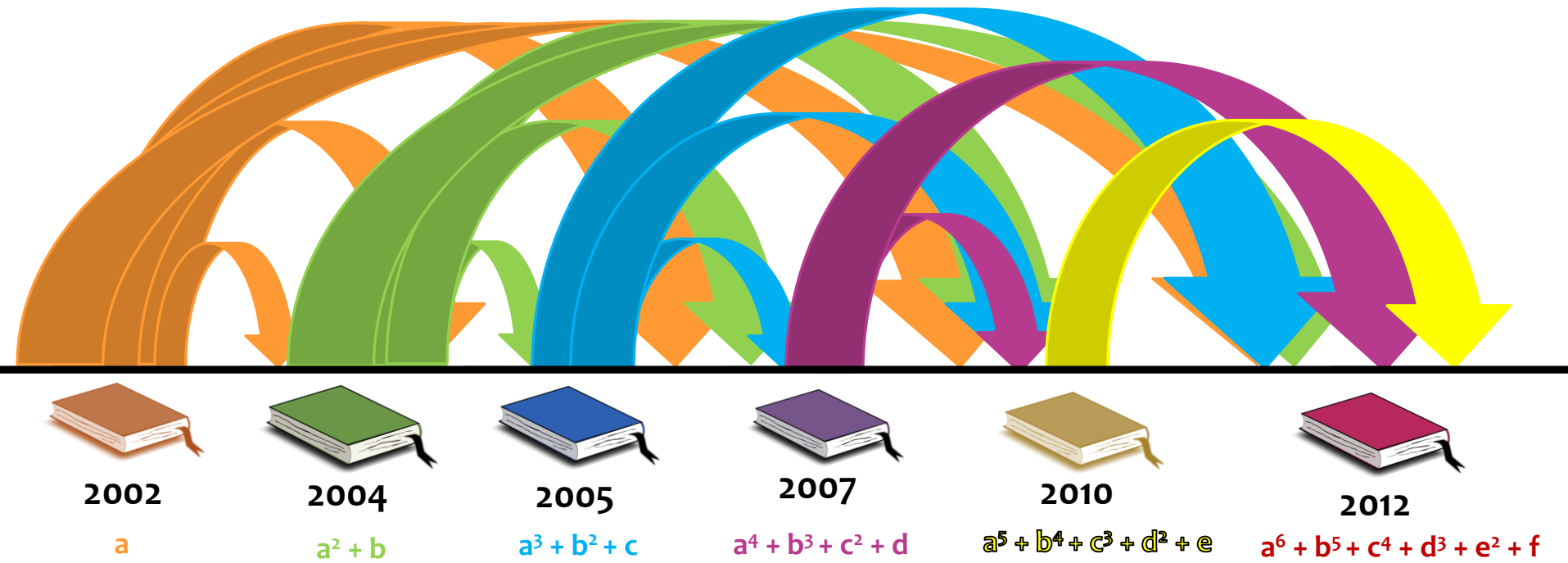


## Policy for Reforming Madrasas





# Intertextuality and Meaning Multiplication in the Diagetic Sphere of Accounts of Madrasas



# Arc of Studies on Madrasas



# Madrasa Studies: Re-presenting the Arc



# Locations of Madrasas in South & South-East Asia






# Locations of Madrasas in Africa

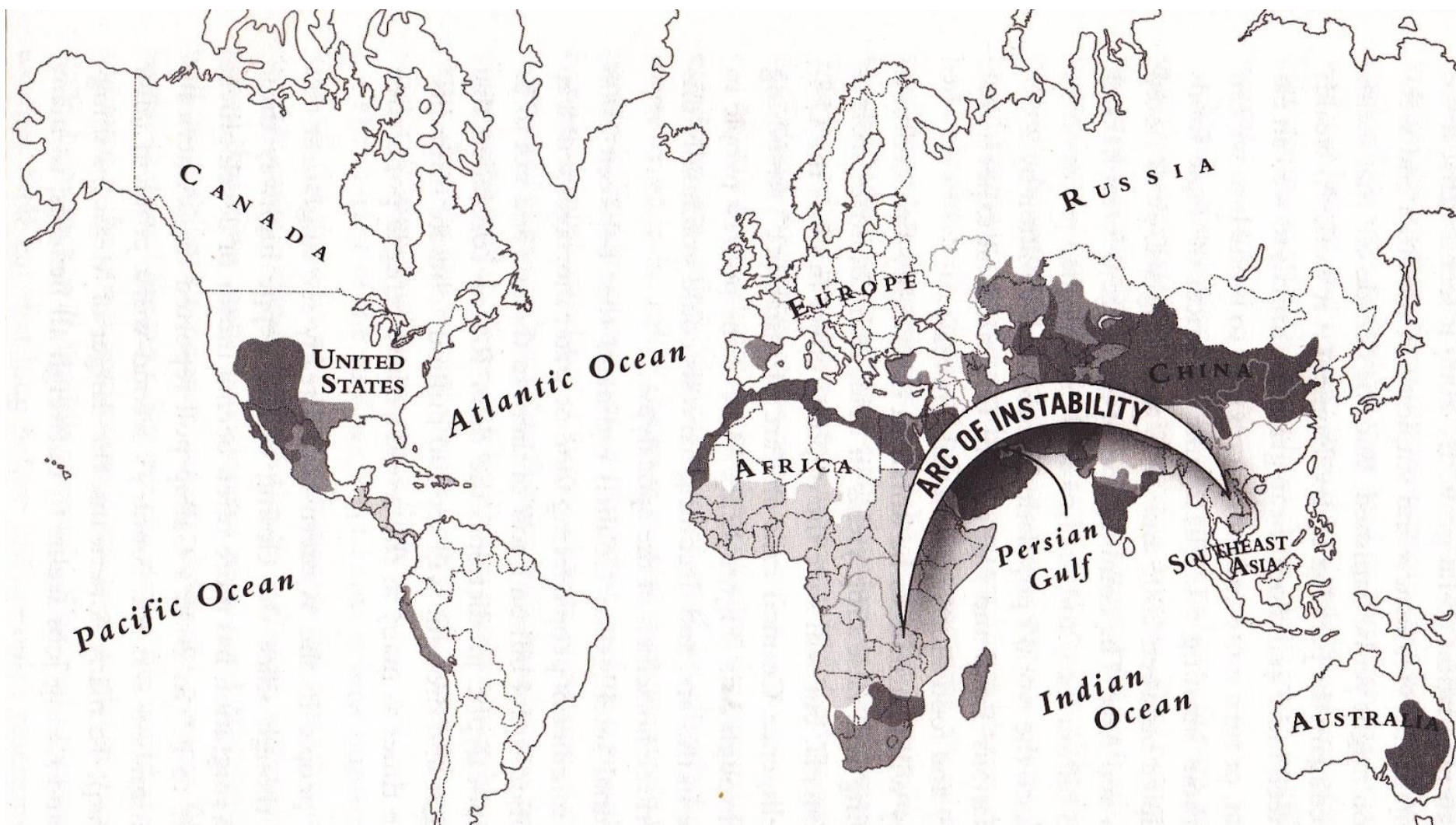


# Locations of Knowledge Directors of Madrasa Studies



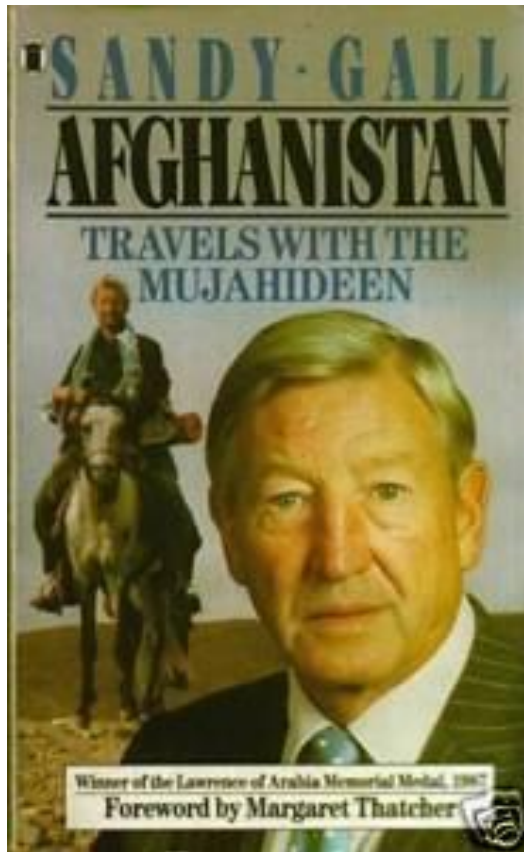


Second stream of writings on the  
collaboration between global actors and  
mujahideen for anti-Soviet covert operation





# Afghanistan : Travels with the Mujahideen Sandy Gall (1989)



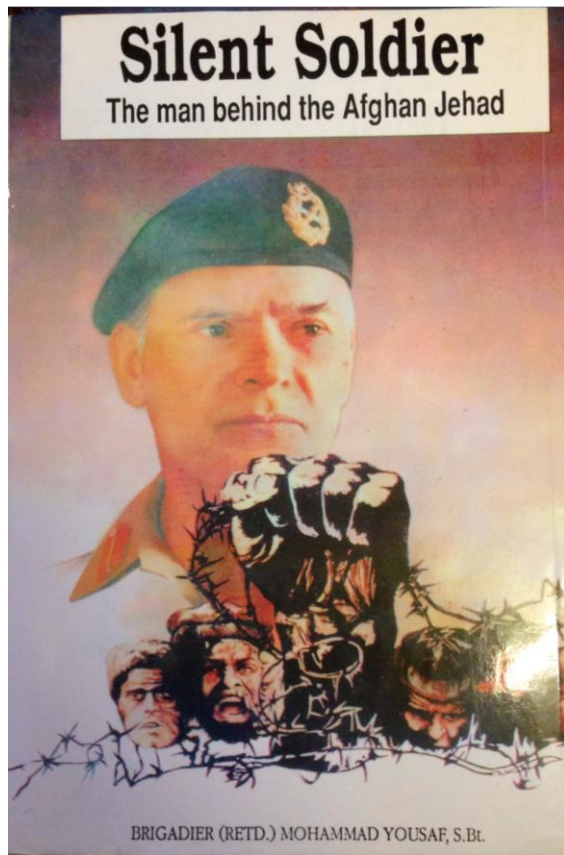
The author went along with his TV crew to Afghanistan, made 3 documentaries recording the events around the mujahideen in 1989. Margaret Thatcher in the foreword to the book hails the mujahideen's spirit of resistance.

# The US President Ronald Reagan compares the Afghan Mujahideen with America's Founding Fathers (1985)



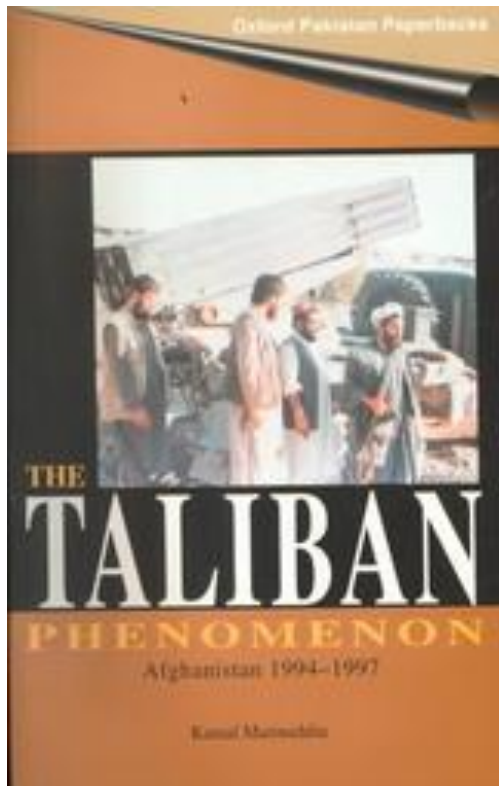
“THESE GENTLEMEN ARE THE MORAL  
EQUIVALENTS OF AMERICA’S FOUNDING  
FATHERS.” – RONALD REAGAN, 1985

# Silent Soldier: The man behind the Afghan Jihad (1991)



This is a personal memoir of Brigadier Mohammed Yousaf when he took charge of the Afghan bureau of Pakistan's ISI under the supervision of General Akhtar Abdur Rahaman. The recollections are about the role General Akhtar played in setting up the Afghan Jihad with the help of the United States and Saudi Arabia.

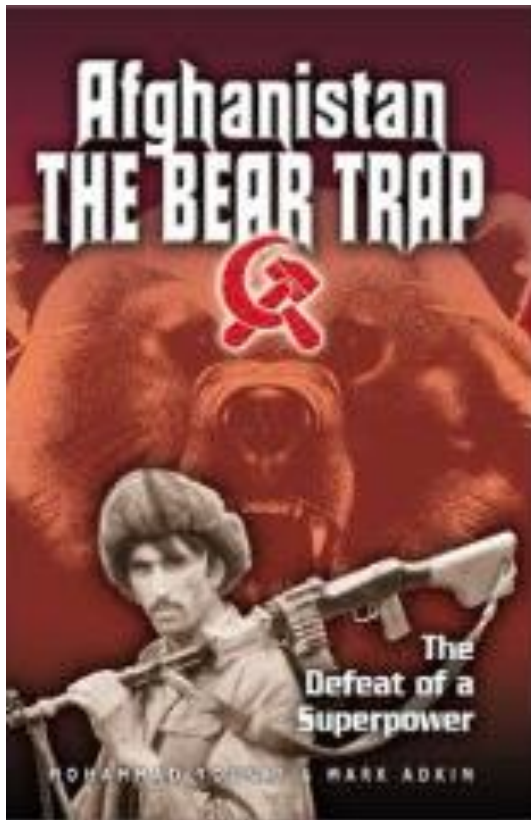
# The Taliban Phenomenon (1999)



The author worked on the book when he was the Director General of the Institute for Strategic Studies, Islamabad. The study is based on observations and interviews of a number of Afghan leaders who were active in the Afghan Jihad during the decade 1980s.

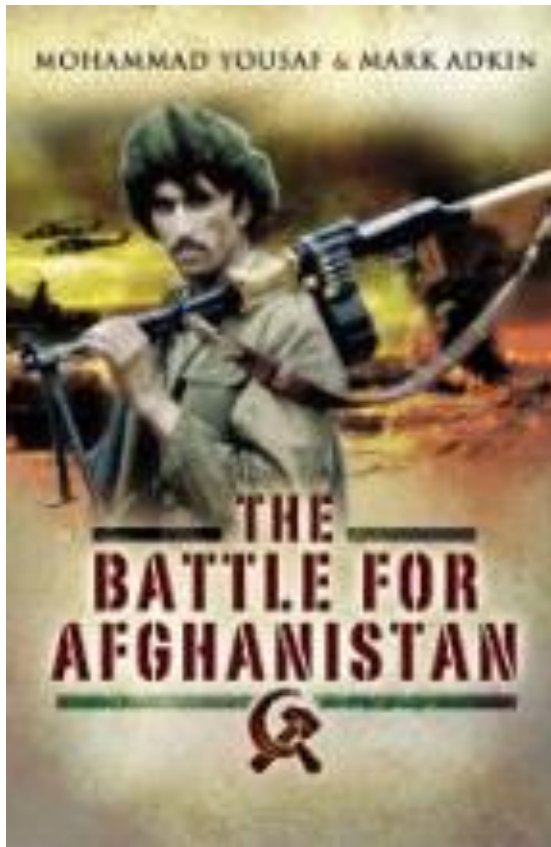


# Afghanistan: The Bear Trap (1992)



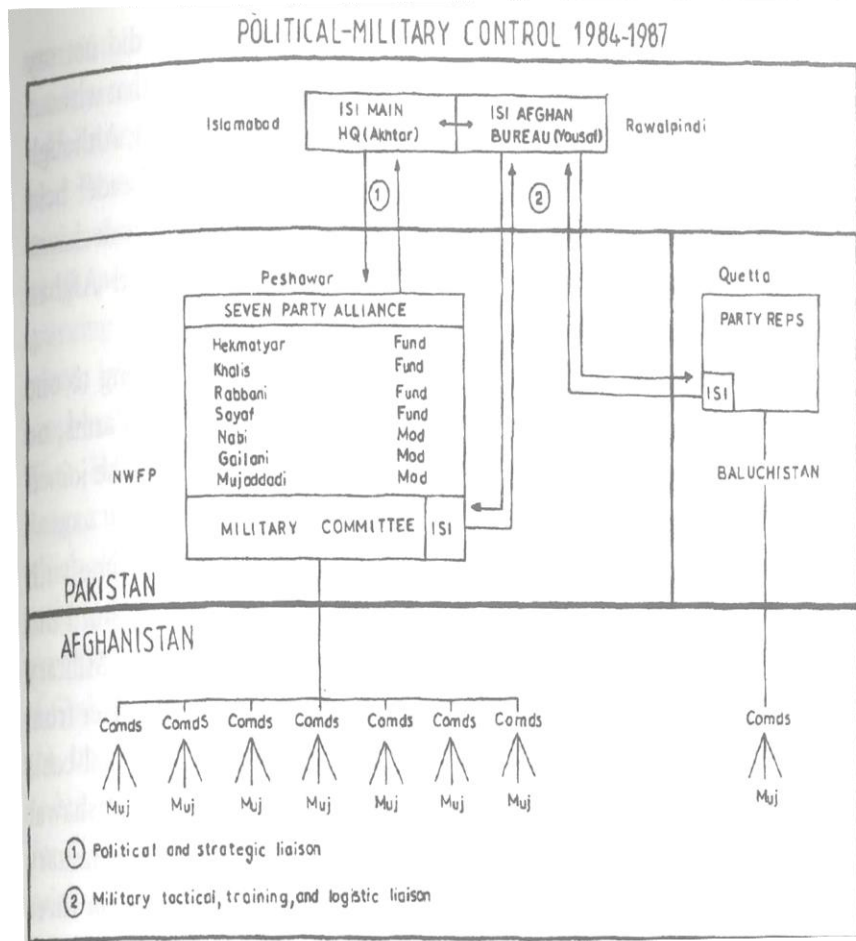
The author served as the Head of the Afghan bureau and for all practical purposes the Commander-in-Chief for the various factions of the Mujahedeen. Under the Director of the ISI, General Akhtar, Yousaf controlled the flow of arms bought by the CIA mainly from the USA, UK, China and Egypt across Pakistan. He supervised the training of the Mujahedeen in secret camps in Pakistan that were called madrasas for purposes of identification.

# The Battle for Afghanistan (2007)



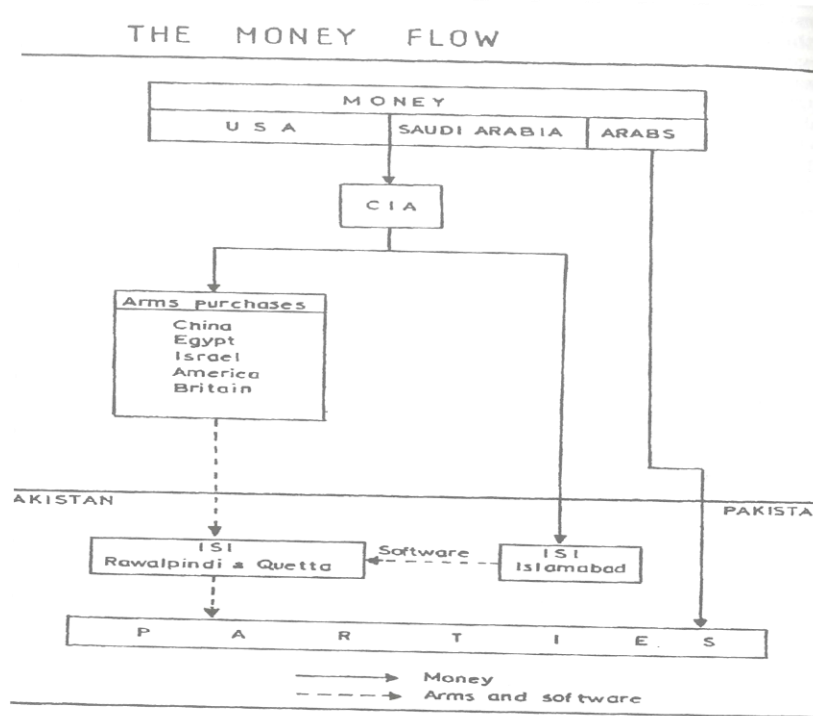
This is a paperback edition of the Bear Trap, first published in 1992, and subsequently reprinted in 2007.

# Organisation of anti-Soviet Afghan Jihad



Source: Mohammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin (2007) *'The Battle for Afghanistan: The Soviets versus the Mujahideen during the 1980s'* (p. 39)

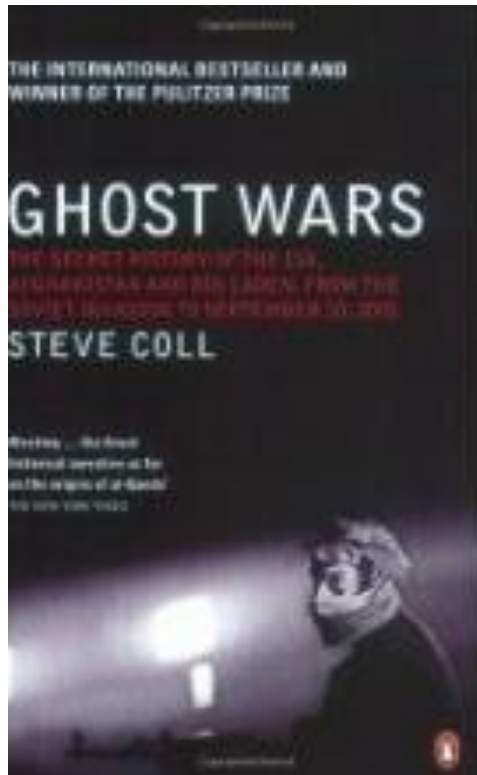
# The Global Financial Backup of anti-Soviet Jihad



Source: Mohammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin (2007) *The Battle for Afghanistan: The Soviets versus the Mujahideen during the 1980s* (p. 82)

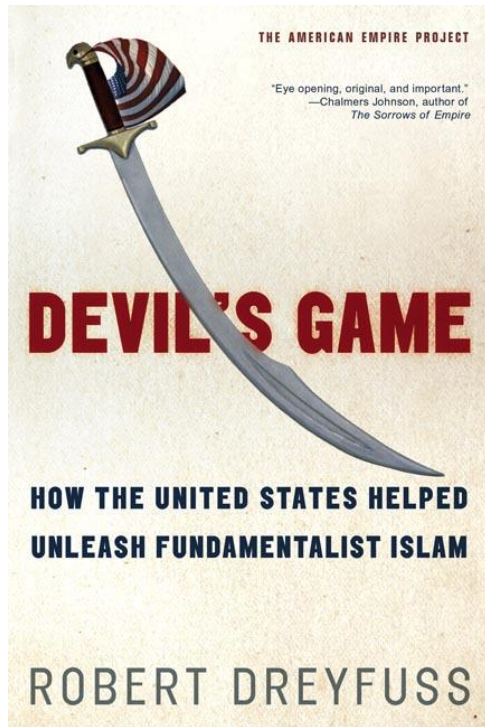


# Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001 (2004)



This book is based on declassified government files and interviews of senior US officials and foreign spymasters. It's a story of CIA's covert funding of Jihad against Soviet Union in Afghanistan. This intervention accounts for the rise of several terrorist organisations and their global network, affecting various parts of the world.

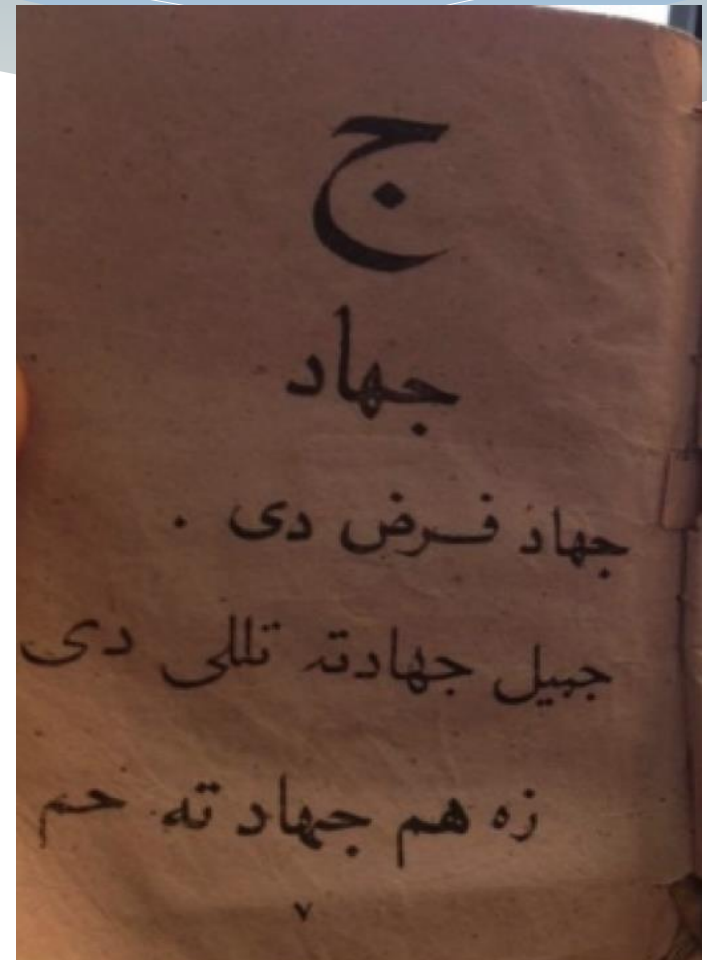
# Devil's Game: How the United States Helped Unleash Fundamentalist Islam (2005)



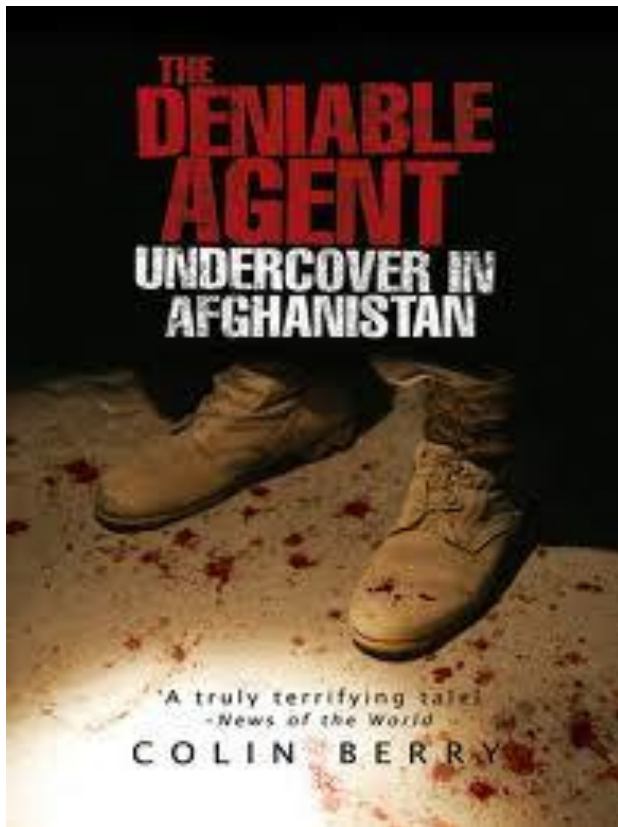
The book's question: how and why did the United States encourage and finance the spread of radical political Islam?

The book draws upon extensive archival research and interviews with a number of policymakers and officials from CIA, Pentagon and foreign service officials. The trail of American engagement is traced from the support provided to Muslim brotherhood in 1950s Egypt, to links with Khomeini and Afghan jihadis. The unanticipated consequences are felt around the world in security lapses and blowbacks.

# Genesis of Islamic radicalism: The US Textbook Project that taught Afghan children Terror



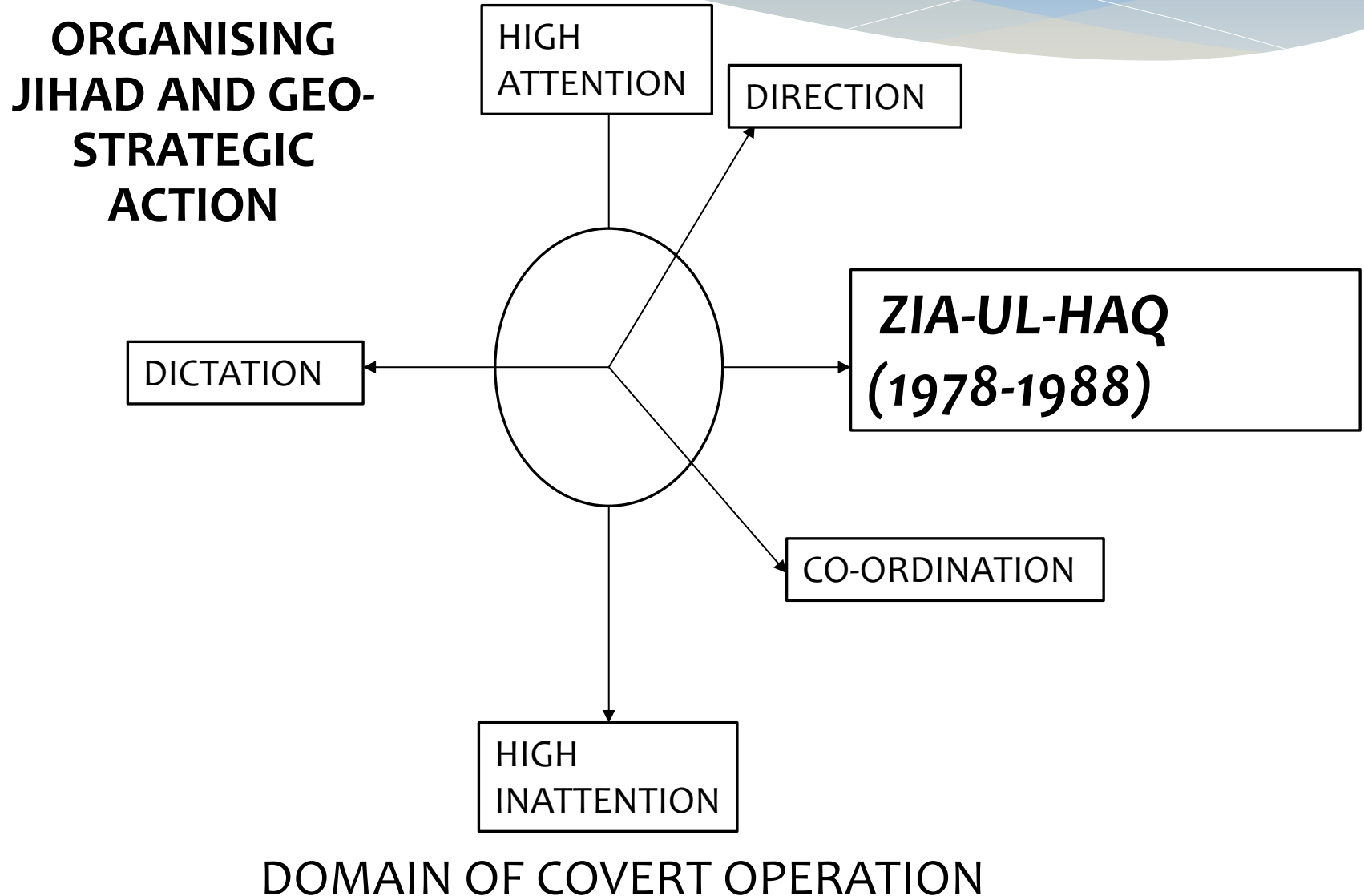
# The Deniable Agent: Undercover in Afghanistan (2006)



The author was an undercover agent who liked to call himself a soldier of the Queen. He was entrusted with the task of buying back weapons which had found their way from the Western intelligence agencies to the Mujahedeen. The buying back of weapons was difficult because these were already being sold to the Afghan fighters. The operation began after the retreat of the Soviet Union.



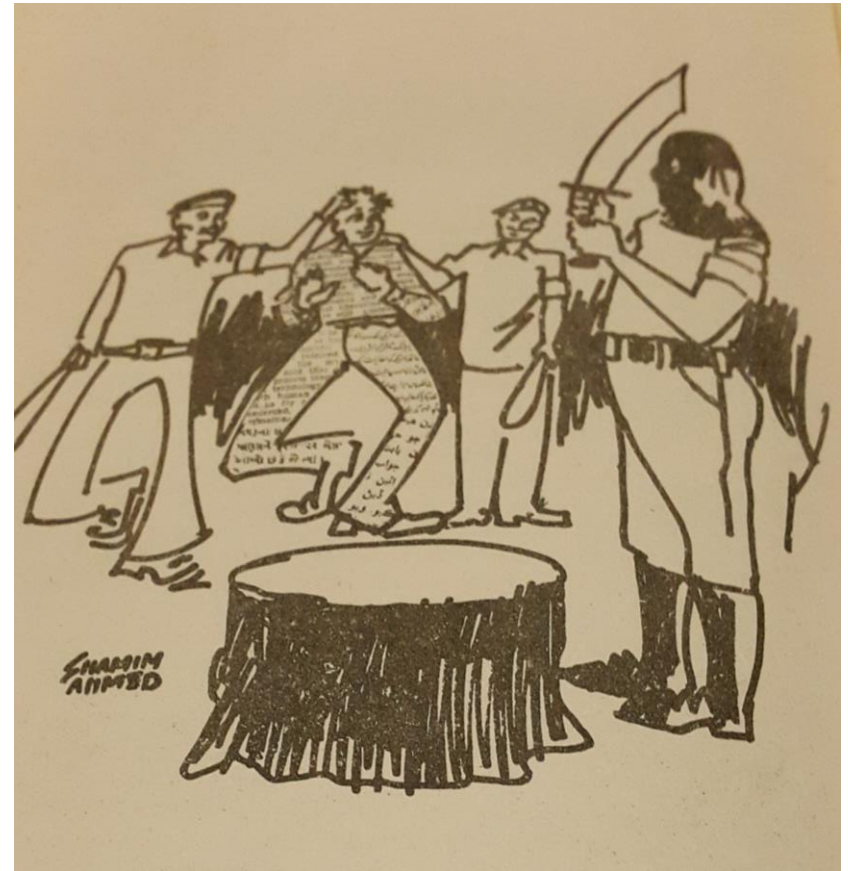
# ISLAMIZATION AS STATE POLICY



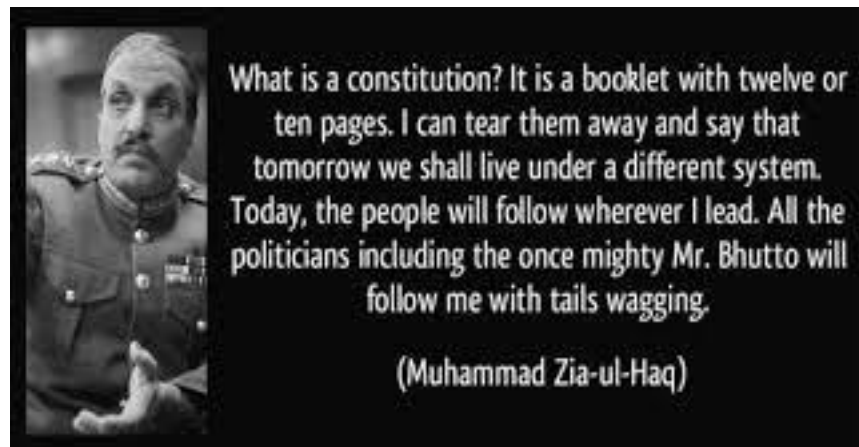
# Press Censorship Under Zia ul-Haq

The following is the list of journalists and press workers, who were killed between 1985 and 1991:

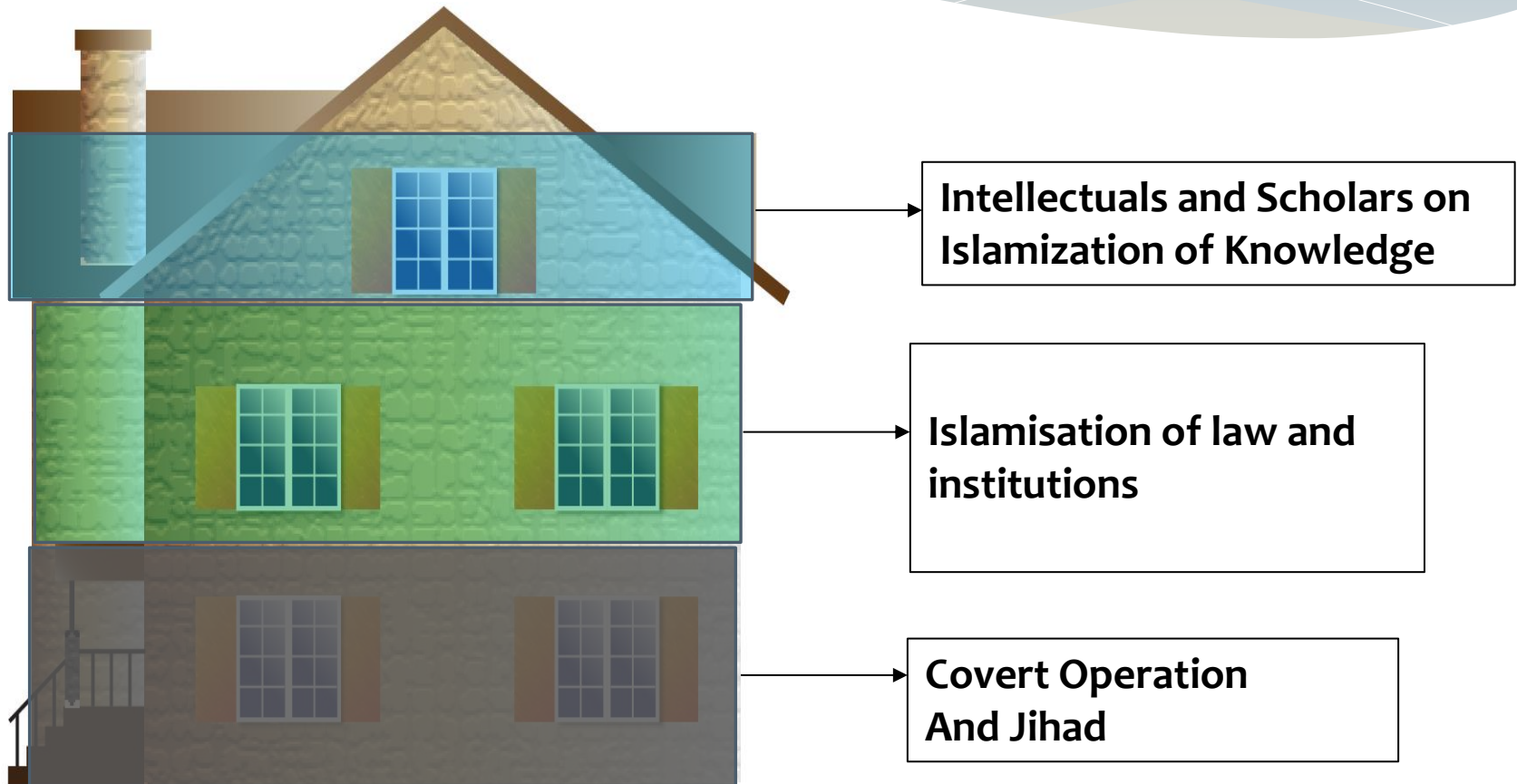
- 1- Mohammad Zaman Meerani / Nawa-i-Waqt / Mehran / Jan. 18, 1985.
- 2-Asif Iqbal / Inquilab / Karachi / Dec. 17, 1986.
- 3) Syed Burhanuddin Majrooh / Afghan Journalist / Peshawar / Feb. 11, 1987.
- 4) Wasim Qazi / Freelance / Lahore / Nov 27, 1987.
- 5) Mohammad Bux Odhano / Hilal-i-Pakistan/ Mehar / Feb. 25, 1988.
- 6) Aftab Nizamani / Freelance / Hyderabad / June 24, 1988
- 7) Abdul Karim Arain / Freelance / Padeedan / July 14, 1988
- 8) Irashad Ahmad / The Muslim / Afghan war / July 24, 1988.
- 9) Raees Amrohvi / Jang / Karachi / Sept. 22, 1988.
- 10) Pervez Pasha / Punjab News/ Faisalabad / Oct.21, 1988.
- 11) Fahim Ahmad / Hawker / Jacobabad / Sept.1, 1989.
- 12) Abdus Salam Ansari / Hawker / Jacobabad / Nov. 1989.
- 13) Rahat Kazmi / Jang / Khairpur / May 31, 1990.



# Press Censorship or Positive Control of Knowledge



# \* Architectonics of the last decade of \* Cold War (Pakistan-Afghanistan)



# Figuring out the Elephant?





# Fragmentary or Snout-and-Tail Scholarship?



An Elephant is like a Tree!

