

Governance of Islam in Postcolonial Pakistan: A Study of Wifaq ul Madaris, Multan

ABSTRACT

Recent interest of the academia in the encounters with Islam and its developments and colonial legacies in variety of shapes have got attention worldwide. Over the past decades, a growing interest has developed in all aspects of the governance of Islam. Be it the study in the history of colonialism, in legacies of colonial forms of governance in postcolonial societies or the way how Western countries create opportunities for the development of Islam. My focus for this paper is Wifaq ul Madaris Al-Arabia, Multan, Pakistan and its creation as case study for the governance of Islam in postcolonial Pakistan while taking into account the governance of Islam and its further methodologies implied. Wifaq was established in 1959 and served as a platform for all Deobandi madrasas to be united on examination, curricula and other constructive reforms. The governance of Islam and its socio-political impact has a wide range of issues and engagements when it comes to Pakistan.

My objective of this study is to look in to the historical development which led to the actual governance of Islam project in Pakistan and how the concerns of ulema created an institution to serve not only Islam but Pakistan. This paper will be helpful to study the kind of education being provided in Pakistani Madrassas and how its hierarchy governs the curriculum, students, teachers and financial matters involved in this governance of Islam.

Keywords: *Islam, Madrasa, Deoband, Curriculum, Education, Multan, Pakistan.*

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Introduction

Since independence the number of madrasas in Pakistan has grown remarkably. The number of madrasas in Pakistan has been shown in the table as per one of the reliable calculations.

Madrasa Growth in Pakistan (Riaz, 2008)

Sr. No.	Year	Number of Madrasas
1.	1947	245
2.	1960	472
3.	1971	908
4.	1980	2,056
5.	1988	2,861
6.	1995	3,906
7.	2000	6,761
8.	2003	7,000
9.	2006	13,500

Since Independence, religious education was marginalized as it has been under the colonial rulers (Malik, 1996). The British introduced a secular education system and since then, this has been heavily promoted by Government, while the religious education and schools were neglected and ignored (Malik, 1996). This support for modern education system and governance failure to the traditional way of education was creating a gulf between *ulama* and government. The rift between the *ulama* and politicians goes back to the nineteenth century and was exacerbated after the birth of Pakistan. The politicians were reluctant to give rights and privileges to clergy.

Role of Ayub Khan

The dispute between government authorities and the religious leadership increased under Ayub Khan (1958-1969). Ayub Khan tried to introduce a modernist version of Islam through public policies. His efforts to modernize Pakistani society led him to introduce some constitutional, legal and social changes in the Country (Ansari, 2011). This was reflected in various measures which Ayub Khan took regarding modernization of Islam and making it compatible to Western ideologies which includes establishment of Council of Islamic Ideology (1962), Islamic Research Institute (1960), Muslim Family Law Ordinance (1961) etc. Ayub's regime also focused on religious education and produced a report on Madrasa curriculums in 1961. Ayub Khan was clear that only the name of Islam

could not create a positive change and new content in the shape of these social and legal policies was introduced (Fazlur Rahman, 1976). In addition to this Ayub Khan also addressed couple of madrasa congregations one in Jamia Talimat-e-Islamia, Karachi in 1962 and one at *Daraul Uloom Islamiah*, Tando Allah Yar (Sindh) in 1959.

The Government's attempt to modernize the traditional Islamic education system was not accepted by the *ulama* who were made feel insecure by modernization plans, and his rapid development of new institutions. Ayub Khan faced criticism and resistance from the ulama towards his modernization agenda. Ayub Khan's speech on the occasion of the foundation-stone laying ceremony of *Jamia Taleemat-e-Islamia* in Karachi with the following words alarmed ulama about his intentions: "Religious thought has lost its original dynamism and is bogged down in the quagmire of stagnation (Khan, 1963)." Ayub Khan further said in the same speech that "The only way out of this crisis, to my mind, is that our highly educated sections as well as our Ulema should, in their own way, try to find out the ultimate objective which has been lost in the welter of confused thought and both should try to understand each other's point of view (Khan, 1963)."

Ayub Khan always employed a modernist stance to rationalize and legitimate innovative changes while arguing the need to "liberate the spirit of religion from the cobwebs of superstition and stagnation which surround it and moves forward under the forces of modern science and knowledge (Esposito and Voll, 1996)." In addition, the Government was planning to bring a new reformed madrasa curriculum and changes, which were a great threat. Ayub Khan's statements and policies showed that he was convinced of the importance of Islam as the basis of the Pakistani nationhood (Fazlur Rahman, 1976) and its role in keeping East and West Pakistan together.

The Government of Pakistan under Ayub Khan has launched a 'madrasa reform project' in 1959 to introduce new subjects and as a result of this initiative, the *Report of 1962* was published with recommendations of improved curriculum. The *Report of 1962* was the outcome of government initiative to reform madrasa system and curriculum. The Report states, "No doubt it was Islam which gave birth to Pakistan and more than anything else it is Islam which will guarantee its future greatness. The importance of religion is therefore obvious in a country like Pakistan (GoP, 1962)." The *Report of 1962*, reform seems to be based primarily of two things as Qasim Zaman points out: "to restore the purity of religious learning to the madrasa by eliminating all that is perceived as unnecessary, nonreligious, or both; and at the same time to introduce "essential non-religious disciplines comprising modern knowledge" (Zaman, 2002). Ayub Khan's *Report of 1962* suggested formal educational system with Islamic beliefs, rites and verses from the Quran. As a subject, religion was to be

made compulsory from Kindergarten up to eight grade (GoP, 1962).

The *Report of 1962* clearly shows Ayub Khan's strategy and action to counter religious elites and to counter them by establishing new institutions and reforms. The aim of these newly established institutions was to conduct research to establish the compatibility of Islam with the modern world. The very first institution which was established under this new strategy was the Central Institute of Islamic Research on March 10, 1960 and it was renamed as Islamic Research Institute in 1962 (Fazlur Rahman, 1982). The institute was established with a motto of "to organise research on Islam, to give it a rationale and scientific interpretation in the context of modern age and to bring out the achievements of Muslims in the fields of history, philosophy, science and culture" (IRI, 2018). The major objectives and functions as follows of the institute remained Ayub Khan's objectives: (IRI, 2018)

- Act as the research arm of the university (International Islamic University) and conduct research in the fields prescribed by the Academic Council;
- Develop and disseminate methodology for research in various fields of Islamic learning;
- Study/interpret the teachings of Islam in the context of the intellectual and scientific progress of the modern world;
- Publish monographs, books research reports, research journals and such other research material as may be considered necessary for the promotion of knowledge on various aspects of Islam;
- Serve as a clearing house of knowledge on various aspects of Islam;
- Appoint study groups for identifying issues facing the Muslim society;
- Organize seminars, conferences, symposia and workshops to promote harmonious understanding amongst various schools of thought in Muslim societies;
- Perform such other functions as may be necessary for the realization of its objective.

The Islamic Research Institute established under Article 207 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1962, assigned the function of undertaking "Islamic research and instruction in Islam for the purpose of assisting in the reconstruction of Muslim society on a truly Islamic basis" (IRI, 2018). This constitutional status was provided to make it as a legal action of Ayub Khan and the objectives and functions clearly state the intention of controlling religious elites of the country.

In 1959, Ayub Government also promulgated 'West Pakistan *Auqaf* Properties Ordinance, 1959' and established Ministry of *Auqaf* for the supervision and management of religious endowments and shrines and tombs of *sufi* saints. This measure was aimed at countering power of *Pirs* in the rural areas of the Country.

The Ayub Government also set up an Ulama Academy in Lahore under the Auqaf Department in 1961 (Fazlur Rahman, 1982). The purpose of the academy was to train ulama for a few weeks to equip them with skills of administration, class management and successful engagement with academia and intellectuals of the outside world. But this service was limited because of financial resources and in its scope. This measure was to modernise Islam to make its 'soft image' for ulema and to be presented to audience in shape of followers and students in *maktabs*, mosques and madrasas.

Besides the Islamic Research Institute, Ayub Khan also promulgated the Muslim Family Law Ordinance (1961). This Ordinance was based on the findings of 'Commission on Marriage and Family Laws' appointed in 1954. The Committee presented its report in 1956 (Ansari, 2011). Ayub Khan's Commission's finding and Ordinance 1961 paved a manifestation of Ayub's strategy to counter and control religious elites of all sects. The Ordinance was applicable to Muslim citizens of Pakistan and covered issues of marriage registration, succession, polygamy, '*Talaq*', Maintenance and Dowry etc. The main clauses of the Ordinance of 1961 were included: (Fazlur Rahman, 1976)

- To give the orphaned grand children shares from the inheritance of their grandfather's inheritance equal to those of their parents, should their parents have been alive,
- To lay down a procedure for and certain restrictions on contracting polygamous marriages, and
- To reform and lay down a procedure for divorce.

Ayub's Government gave constitutional protection to this Ordinance and required annulment of Ordinance to have a two-third majority of the National Assembly.

Family Planning program was also promulgated and financed by the Ayub Khan's Government in Second Five Year Plan. In 1962, Ayub Khan took plea on the basis of a statement of the Rector of AL- Azhar University, Shaikh Mahmud Shaltu who argued in favour of population control that according to the Islamic social teachings, children could not be regarded as the sole concern of individual parents but that the society also shared this concern (Fazlur Rahman, 1976).

In 1963, under Auqaf Department, an institution of higher learning was set up by transforming an older madrasa titled Jamia Abbasia (established by the Muslim ruler of Bahawalpur State in 1925), in to an Islamic University (Al Jamia Al Islamia) (Fazlur Rahman, 1982). This institution has been visibly influenced in its curriculum by that of Al Azhar. The new subjects were added like economics, history, geography, statistics and philosophy (Fazlur Rahman, 1982).

Ayub Khan tried to curtail the powers of religious elites and to maintain his own authority and supremacy in the state, he went on to create new institutions. The religious leadership was unhappy with all these measures and paved way for the emergence of madrasa education boards across Pakistan for all sectarian based seminaries.

Response of the Ulema

The ulama responded to initiatives of Ayub Khan Government. Jamat-i-Islami was on at the forefront. Individually all the governmental moves were criticised too. Maulana Ghulam Murshid of Lahore declared the 'Family Law Ordinance' as utterly repugnant to Islam (Fazlur Rahman, 1976).

Family Law Ordinance was consisted of seven members and with three women, only representation of the ulema rank was Maulana Ihtisham ul Haq Thavi and rest three were civil servants (Smith, 1971). Maulana Ihtisham ul Haq wrote his note of dissent and said that "The Commission, as he saw it, was simply attempting to inject Western ideas into Pakistani society in the name of Islam (Smith, 1971)." Maulana Ihtisham ul Haq further wrote in his note that "The sole motive to malign the ulama was that Muslims should ignore the ulama and follow the footsteps of these so called progressives. Ulama is not the name of any race or tribe but everyone who has devoted the greater part of his life to the acquisition of knowledge on religious subjects is an alim (Smith, 1971)."

Maulana Ihtisham also mentioned how Commission's members have tried to replace popular Muslim jurists and commentators without having understanding and grasping their thoughts. He further said that no one from the Commission member could take the seat of Fakhruddin Razi, Abu Hanifa or Ghazali (Smith, 1971). Maulana Ihtisham was also critical of following the West blindly in case of polygamy and stated that "our young men and women, who happened to visit Europe, often find themselves in situations in which their country is ridiculed for permitting polygamy and labelled it as inferiority complex to blindly follow the West" (Smith, 1971).

Ayub Khan's actions and strategies were speaking louder. He kept his every action 'Islamic' in appearance. Ayub Khan's appointed National Education Commission introduced the study of theology as a compulsory subject in classes one to seven (Faruqi, 1991). The Commission Report stated that "Religious education should do nothing which would impair social and political unity in the country. On the other hand, it should strengthen this unity by trying through mutual understanding to bring humanity together. Religion is not to be presented as dogma, superstition or ritual (Faruqi, 1991)."

Ayub Khan's actions compelled **ulama** of all sectarian orientation

background to create Madrasa Education Boards to protect themselves and their faith. The Report took them to reorganisation at their own levels. As a response to Committee four out of five madrasa education boards were established during Ayub Khan's government.

Madrasa Education Boards in Pakistan

Over the decades, gradual growth of madrasas in Pakistan have been explained in previous pages. This growth kept rising with each passing year. Madrasas in Pakistan are usually run as independent community initiatives and organised by ulama with the help of popular subscription. However, there are some madrasas managed by the government under *auqaf* system. Madrasas also vary in their terms of location (urban, rural), their size, their available resources, their education level and their ideological attachment with a specific sectarian orientation. For having proper check and balance and control over the madrasa activities and curriculum, enriching madrasas with modern subjects as well as standardizing examinations, each sectarian orientation has established its own education board which is called *Wifaq*.

There are five Madrasa Education Boards in Pakistan, three are Sunni, one is Shia and one is associated with Jamat-i-Islami, a religious political party. Each Board represents its own sect or affiliation (Gunaratna and Iqbal, 2011). Three Sunni boards include *Wifaq ul Madaris al Arabia*, *Tanzim ul Madaris* and *Wifaq ul Madaris al Salafia*. The Shia Madrasa Education Board is known as *Wifaq ul Madaris Shia* and *Rabitatul Madaris al Islamia* is one associated with Jamat-i-Islami. Out of the existing large number of madrasas, only registered madrasas have been controlled by their respective central boards and organizations (*wifaq*). These boards regulate the syllabi and collect student registration details, forms and fee. Examination fee is charged and medium of language can be Urdu and Arabic. Board is responsible and authorised to confer degrees (Asnaad).

Five Madrasa Education Boards

Sr. No	Name of Madrasa Education Board	Sub-sect	Headquarter	Established
1.	Wifaq ul Madaris al Arabia	Deobandi	Multan	1959
2.	Tanzim ul Madaris	Barelvi	Lahore	1960
3.	Wifaq ul Madaris (Shia)	Shia	Lahore	1959
4.	Rabitatul Madaris al Islamia	Jamat-i-Islami	Lahore	1983
5.	Wifaq ul Madaris al Salafia	Ahl-i-Hadith	Faisalabad	1955

The focus in this article is to discuss how *Wifaq ul Madaris al Arabia*,

Multan was created which represents all Deobandi madrasas of Pakistan and serves as Education Board too for all affiliated Deobandi madrasa.

Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi's Followers and Their Role in Creation of the Board

Maulana Khair Muhammad was the first who convinced the migrated community attached in one way or the other with Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi for support to establish the Education Board for Deobandi madrasas. Maulana Khair Muhammad was aware of the fact that Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi's disciples and followers will help him against the Ayub Khan regime which was 'using Islam for maintaining his own political power and survival'. People willing to support Maulana Khair Muhammad became part of first committee included Maulana Ihtsham ul Haq Thanvi, Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani and Maulana Muhammad Idress Kandhalvi who were influenced by Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi and brought in more religious scholars who have been students of Thanvi's followers. These were the people who initially supported Maulana Khair Muhammad in establishment of Khair ul Madaris in Multan. These learned scholars were members of the *shura* of Khair ul Madaris. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi network worked in consultation with Khair Muhammad and the initial organisational committee started its functioning with the support of people who were previously on the *Shura* of Kahir ul Madaris and later on became the torch bearer of *Wifaq's* establishment.

These religious leaders and their services towards Deobandi Islam continued since the partition of India. Maulana Ihtsham ul Haq Thanvi, Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani and Maulana Muhammad Idress Kandhalvi migrated to Pakistan and the teachings and influence of Mulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi united them on one platform which was main idea introduced by Maulana Khair Muhammad.

Organisational Committee

Maulana Khair Muhammad called a meeting of leading Deobandi scholars on March 22, 1957 in Khair ul Madaris Multan to discuss the issues and problem faced by madrasas (Majid, 2016). The first organising committee was given the task of bringing all the madrasas on a unified platform. Maulana Khair Muhammad was the President of this Committee and Maulana Ihtsham ul Haq was its convenor (Majid, 2016). The President of the Committee was given the right to increase or decrease the numerical strength of members to serve on the Committee. The initial members of the organising Committee were as follow: (Majid, 2016)

Sr. No.	Name of Member	Position	Address
1.	Maulana Khair Muhammad	President	<i>Muhtamim</i> , Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan
2.	Maulana Ihtsham ul Haq Thanvi	Convenor	Jamia Ihtshamia, Karachi
3.	Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani	Member	Jamia Islamia, Bahawalpur
4.	Maulana Muhammad Idress Kandhalvi	Member	Jamia Ashrafia, Lahore
5.	Maulana Ahmad Ali	Member	Madrasa Qasim ul Uloom Sheeranwala Gate, Lahore
6.	Maulana Mufti Muhammad Sadiq	Member	Jamia Islamia, Bahawalpur
7.	Maulana Fazal Ahmed	Member	Jamia Mazhar ul Uloom, Khada Liyari, Karachi
8.	Maulana Arz Muhammad	Member	<i>Muhtamim</i> , Jamia Matla ul Uloom, Quetta
9.	Maulana Mufti Muhammad Usman	Member	Madrasa Ahrar ul Islam, Karachi
10.	Maulana Abdullah Jalandhari	Member	Jamia Rasheedia, Sahiwal
11.	Maulana Mufti Muhammad Abdullah	Member	Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan
12.	Maulana Muhammad Ali Jalandhari	Member	<i>Muhtamim</i> , Madrasa Munawar ul Islam, Toba Tek Singh

The President and Convenor of the committee called the first meeting of all committee members on May 1, 1959 at Dar ul Uloom Islamia Ashradabad, Tando Allah Yar. The meeting continued its consultation for two consecutive days. The second meeting was held on May 26, 1959 and it was decided to establish an organisation of madrasas and a draft constitution was prepared. Third session of the committee was convened on 24,25 June 1959 to vet the minutes of previous meeting and proposed changes in draft constitution. The fourth and final meeting of the committee held on October 18, 1959 in which approval was given of establishing "*Wifaq ul Madaris al Arabia*" after long deliberations, it was also decided that *shura* members will give approval of its constitution and the President of the Wifaq will be elected by the *shura* members (Majid, 2016). The headquarters of the Wifaq was to be in Multan. The *maslak* of Wifaq will be Hanafi, Ahl Sunnat wal Jammah and following of Deobandi scholars.

First *Shura* Meeting and selection of Office Bearers

Maulana Khair Muhammad became the President of the committee and chaired all four sessions of consultation and gave consent and approval of the documents. In this way, Maulana Khair Muhammad and Jamia Khair ul Madaris got focal attention and got credit of the creation of Deobandi madrasa education board in shape of "*Wifaq ul Madaris al Arabia*". Khair ul Madaris also got another feather in its cap by holding the first *shura* meeting of Wifaq in

its premissis. The first *shura* meeting was held on the same date of the inauguration of the Wifaq which was October 18, 1959 (Ahmed, 2006). The simple procedure for taking ulama as *shura* members was adopted and it was those who are present at the time of meeting and have filled and signed Wifaq affiliation form. All those madrasa were included as *shura* members and the initial strength of the *shura* members was hundred (Majid, 2016).

The first *shura* meeting approved the Wifaq's constitution and approved its annual budget. The *shura* also elected its first President Allama Shams ul Haq Afghani for the period of three years. First Vice President was Maulana Khair Muhamamd and second Vice President was Maulana Muhammad Yousuf Binori. First *Nazim-i-Al'a* was Maulana Mufti Mahmud while Maulana Khair Muhammad and Maulana Mufti Mahmud proposed that Maulana Mufti Muhammad Abdullah be appointed the first treasurer of the Wifaq (Majid, 2016).

The following list of Presidents of the Wifaq can help us in understanding that all the leaders of the Wifaq came from different Deobandi institutions and in this way patronage of the Wifaq was rotated and handed over to other Deobandi leaders who were followers of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi.

Sr. No.	Name of Wifaq's President	Madrasa/ Jamia	From	To	Total time duration in Office
1.	Maulana Shamas ul Haq Afghani	Jamia Islamai Bahawalpur	October 19, 1959	January 12, 1963	3 years and 3 months
2.	Maulana Khair Muhammad	Jamia Khair ul Madaris, Multan	January 12, 1963	October 22, 1970	7 years
3.	Maulana Muhammad Yousuf Binori	Jamia'tul Uloom Islamia, Karachi	May 30, 1973	October 17, 1977	4 years and 4 months
4.	Maulana Mufti Mahmud	Jamia Qasim ul Uloom, Multan	May 15, 1978	October 14, 1980	2 years and 5 months
5.	Maulana Muhammad Idrees Meeruthi	Jamia tul Uloom Islamia, Karachi	November 30, 1980	1988	8 years
6.	Maulana Saleem Ullah Khan	Jamia Farooqia, Karachi	June 8, 1989	January 15, 2017	27 years and 7 months

Wifaq's administrative hierarchy includes President, Vice Presidents, *Nazim-i-Alaa*, *Markazi Nazmin*, Provincial *Nazmin*, *Nazim Daftar* and *Khazan* Wifaq. By the year 2000, Wifaq had more than six thousand madrasa affiliated to it. The Wifaq controlled the curriculum, examinations, the issuance of degrees and certificates (Ahmed, 2006). A testament to the success of the Wifaq is the Government of Pakistan's official approval and

acceptance of the madrasa certificates and degrees, for which, the equivalence of *Shahdat ul Almia* to Master of Arts (HEC, 2004).

Objectives of the creation of Wifaq ul Madaris

The elected office bearers (*Majlis-i-Amla*) met for the first time on November 16, 1959 and approval was given for the appointment of treasurer. As the first *Shura* of the Wifaq approved its constitution and following were the objectives of Wifaq's establishment explained in the meeting (Majid, 2016).

- a. This Wifaq will devise a complete and comprehensive curriculum for the following *darajats* (levels): i) *Ibtada'ii* ii) *Wustani* iii) *Foqani* iv) *Darja Takmeel*
- b. This Wifaq will try to provide a platform to *Ibtada'i*, *Wustani* and *Foqani* madrasas to connect to each other and serve as organisational base for all of the madrasas.
- c. Wifaq will have a closer view of the needs and necessities of the latest religious trends in the curriculum and as per the need will produce books for the curriculum.
- d. Wifaq will be responsible for bringing harmony, unity and uniformity in the educational curriculum, examination system and regularity in all those madrasas who will affiliate themselves with this Wifaq.
- e. Wifaq will be responsible for research and publication of Islamic studies according to the needs of hour and will produce and commission authentic and well researched books on important topics.
- f. This Wifaq will follow the right and effective path for the progress, prosperity and survival of the religious seminaries (*Madaras-i-Deenia*).
- g. Wifaq will be responsible for providing funds for the above mentioned objectives too.

While looking into the details of these objectives, a few things need to be clarified. The first and foremost point is the involvement of Maulana Khair Muhaamad at each and every stage. No doubt, Maulana Khair Muhaamad was the one who initiated an idea of institutional base for all Deobandi madrasas but he was very much influential and vocal in all the developments from the day one till the declaration of Wifaq's establishment. The first meeting of *akabr ulema* (senior scholars) was held at Khair ul Madaris. Maulana Khair Muhammad was member of each committee and hence his role in Wifaq's creation and promulgation of Khair ul Madaris as the mouth piece of Wifaq reached to each and every corner of Pakistan. Maulana Khair Muhammad and his Khair ul Madaris gained ample support of the locals within the first decade of their relocation in Multan after they migrated from Jalandhar.

Another issue which needs to be clarified is the Wifaq's financial position. From where the money came and how was such a substantial institution came into being? The appointment of treasurer for the Wifaq was already made in initial meetings. It was decided that a bank account would be opened for the maintenance of funds in shape of cash deposits and withdrawal must be through cheques (Majid, 2016). It was decided in the first *shura* that all the madrasas that are affiliated with Wifaq will have to pay a registration fee and this registration fee was decided for *Ibtadai* madrasa twenty five rupees, *Wustani* madrasas fifty rupees and *Foqani* madrasas hundred rupees (Majid, 2016). All madrasas would pay eight percent of their annual income to Wifaq as donation for running its day to day routine matters and business. All madrasas had to mention their income in their registration form and whatever was mentioned in the registration form was accepted by the Wifaq without question (Majid, 2016). It was decided in July 1961 during a meeting held at Jamia Binori Town Karachi that the Wifaq and its affiliated madrasa would submit to a government audit to scrutiny their finances (Majid, 2016).

It was further decided in a meeting held under the leadership of Maulana Khair Muhammad on April 1, 1963 that Wifaq will open a current account in Habib Bank and withdrawal of money from the bank will be done after two signatures on the cheque. The authority to sign cheques entrusted to the President and Nazim-i-Ala or President and Treasurer. The *shura* also decided to go for a public campaign for collection of donations from philanthropes. This type of public subscription also supported many madrasas and other such initiatives. The *shura* decided that Maulana Muhammad Yousaf Binori will write public subscription appeal and it will be published with the signatures of Maulana Khair Muhammad as President, Maulana Muhammad Yousuf Binori as Vice President, Maulana Mufti Mahmud as Nazim-i-Ala, Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani and Maulana Abdul Haq (Majid, 2016).

Taking an examination fee from the student was another issue which the *shura* had to resolve. Initially it was decided that each student appearing for *Foqani* examination had to pay three rupees and each *Wustani* student would pay two rupees. But on the request of madrasas which were already paying donations to Wifaq, it was decided that only qualified and pass candidate will pay five rupees as examination expenses and later on a degree or certificate fee once they apply for obtaining them (Majid, 2016).

Nisab of Wifaq ul Madaris

One objective of the establishment of Wifaq was to provide a uniform curriculum to all affiliated madrasas. In the first meeting of *Majlis-i-Amla* on December 16, 1959 an initial sketch of curriculum was prepared. The

committee suggested following four types of curriculum:

- a. *Makatib*
- b. *Mukhtasir Nisab*
- c. *Dars-i-Nizami*
- d. *Takmeel wa Takhasus*

The suggested curriculum was to be finalised on three principles taken into consideration included the time duration of education, level of education and distinction between suggested syllabus. It was also decided that *Makatib* education period should be of six years, *Mukhtasir Nisab's* duration will be of three years, eight years for the *Dars-i-Nizami* and two years duration should be of *Takmeel* (Majid, 2016).

The *Majlis-i-Amla* met on December 16,17, 1959 and approved the curriculum committee. The first curriculum committee was comprised of following members: (Majid, 2016)

1. Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani
2. Maulana Khair Muhammad
3. Maulana Muhammad Yousuf Binori
4. Maulana Mufti Mahmud
5. Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi
6. Maulana Mufti Muhammad Sadiq

The first curriculum committee approved syllabus for all the levels in its meeting held on February 18, 1960 (Majid, 2016). The curriculum committee was extended by adding a few more members on April 1, 1963 including Maulana Abdul Haq of Akora Khattak, Maulana Abdul Khaliq of Kabirwala and Maulana Abdul Haq Nafey of Ziarat Kaka Sahib. This meeting was held at Khair ul Madaris, Multan. This extended committee was given the task to finalise entire curriculum in next few months. It was also decided that committee will meet on weekly basis in Khair ul Madaris under the leadership of Maulana Khair Muhammad (Majid, 2016). After the hard work and struggle of five months the committee approved the curriculum for all levels of Wifaq in meeting held between 19 and 21 September 1963 at Khair ul Madaris, Multan (Majid, 2016).

The curriculum of the Wifaq was at par with the government schools of Pakistan. Initially the Wifaq Curriculum Committee was reluctant to accept and integrate curriculum of schools into madrasas and vice versa. It was decided in the Report of the Commission on National Education 1959 that "The whole of the primary education as approved by the Department of Education shall be compulsory for all students of Darul Uloom under the scheme now prescribed by us" (Malik, 1996).

The ulama after the death of Maulana Khair Muhammad in 1970 were not ready to accept further new proposals in revising and changing

curriculum. Two groups of ulama evolved, on one side the members who had a modern orientation and enthusiasm for reform and other group was representation of old traditionalists. The Wifaq later on revised its Curriculum Committee and raised its members to twenty. The majority of these members in the curriculum Committee were former students of Maulana Yusuf Binori from Karachi (Malik, 1996).

Simultaneously few madrasas and the learned members of the Committee started teaching several modern subjects. Dr. Razzaq was graduate of Jamia Islamiyyah, Madina, Saudi Arabia where he was trained in modern subjects. Justice Muhammad Taqi Usmani had a madrasa education besides a formal education and he has offered integrated curriculum in Dar ul Uloom, Karachi (Malik, 1996). Mufti Ghulam Qadir of Khair ul Madaris has adjusted its curriculum to that of Jamia Islamia of Bahawalpur. Maulana Salim Khan and Maulana Muhammad Asad Thanvi of the Committee has also offered an integrated curriculum in their respective madrasas.

Examination and Admission Procedure of Wifaq ul Madaris

The establishment of the Wifaq was to provide uniform curriculum to all madrasas. Wifaq was also responsible for conducting examination at all levels. Wifaq adopted a procedure for conducting fair and transparent examinations. Some of the rules and regulations of admission and examination which were approved and adopted by the Wifaq for different levels are mentioned here.

Ibtadia

At the time of admission for this level candidate must submit Form "B" to prove his date of birth and address. Course duration for this level is five years. His madrasa is considered to be responsible for overseeing the full examination. Besides madrasa curriculum, only approved provincial textbooks by relevant textbook board will be taught (Majid, 2016).

Mutawasta

For being admitted to this level in his first-year applicant/pupil must get a pass primary certificate or equivalent. While being admitted to the third year of this level, the student should be of twelve years of age. The duration of this course is three years. The madrasa will conduct the examination for the first two years and Wifaq will only conduct exams of third year (Majid, 2016).

Sanwiah Amma

To this level, students should have passed secondary board examination

and be able to read the Quran correctly. His madrasa will be responsible to conduct examination for the first two years and Wifaq will only conduct exams of third year. For onward third year, pupil should submit attested copy of pass middle certificate from his madrasa or school's headmaster/mistress (Majid, 2016).

Sanwiah Khasa

Those candidates who have qualified *sanwiah amma* are eligible to be admitted to this level. At the time of admission, *sanwiah amma* certificate is to be submitted. The course duration for this level is two-year. The madrasa will conduct examination of first year and Wifaq will conduct exam of second year (Majid, 2016).

Aliyah

Sanwiah Khasa qualified candidate may be admitted to the *Aliyah* level. The course duration for this level is two-year.

Almiah Awal

To be eligible for admission in this level, candidate should have passed *Aliyah* from the Wifaq. The Wifaq will conduct the examination of this level and the duration of this will be one year.

Almiah Daum

To be eligible for admission in this level, candidate should have passed *Almiah Awal* from the Wifaq. The Wifaq will conduct the examination of this level and the duration of this will be one year.

Drasat Deeniai

For this level admission is granted to those candidates who have passed the middle certificate and can read Quran accurately. The Wifaq will conduct its examinations. Time duration of this level is two years. For promotion to the second year, candidate should have passed and qualified year one (Majid, 2016).

Besides these above requirements for admissions to all levels, candidates should bring filled registration card of madrasa, Form "B", National Identity card of guardian at the time of admission.

This religious education setup of admission and examination is more or less equal to that of the public sector schools. For example, if a candidate is admitted to *Ibtadia* level, he/she should also study approved provincial textbooks of relevant subjects in addition to madrasa syllabus. Another example is of the *Sanwiah Amma* level, in which, a candidate who has passed middle certificate from a government school is admitted directly.

Administrative Setup of Wifaq ul Madaris

Wifaq was established on the pattern of after leading seminaries situated in India. Maulana Khair Muhammad and his companions who supported him in establishing Khair ul Madaris and *Wifaq* were all graduates from leading seminaries in India including Dar ul Uloom Deoband, Mazhar ul Uloom and had taught at various institutions. *Wifaq*, to some extent, followed the pattern of administration of Dar ul Uloom Deoband (Naveed, 2016). The design of enormous infrastructure and administrative apparatus of *Wifaq* was replica of places where the *shura* members were taught and trained before the partition. The bureaucratic model of religious clerics in madrasas and *Wifaq* shows a high level of discipline. Maulana Khair Muhammad, Maulana Ihtsham ul Haq Thanvi, Maulana Idress Kandhalvi and Maulana Shams ul Haq Afghani all were vocal in advice to administer and advising *Wifaq* and took this responsibility on patterns of Dar ul Uloom Deoband.

Since its inception, Wifaq has been providing a platform to all its affiliated madrasas and projecting theme of 'governance of Islam' which continued to operate under the umbrella organisation like Wifaq. As per the Wifaq record twenty thousand six hundred and eighteen madrasas are registered so far. Wifaq's administrative structure is comprised of nine offices which include administration, finance, registration, examination, record keeping, affiliation, publication, reception and security. The continuous strengthening and support of the Wifaq ul Madaris as a united platform for all Deobandi madrasas got a significant place in the politics of postcolonial Pakistan.

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