



# Pakistan: New Leadership, New System

For the people of Pakistan the last sixty years have been like a recurring nightmare. They have seen dictatorship before, secular democracy before, external interference and corruption before. Yet the same continued cycle of democracy, corruption, dictatorship and foreign interference continues to ravage the country. Many in western capitals, as well as those who currently head the country, see Pakistan as part of the wider 'war on terror'. Yet, ironically for a war that claims to concern itself with ending terror, it has brought death and destruction to thousands of people in the North West Frontier of Pakistan, FATA, Balochistan, Afghanistan, and has fuelled "terror" throughout the world. It is like Allah says in the Qur'an.

***“And when it is said to them, ‘make not mischief in the earth’, they say: ‘we are only peace-makers’.  
Verily, they are the ones who make mischief but they perceive not”***  
[Translated Meaning Qur'an al-Baqarah:11-12]

Our key messages are therefore simple,

- Pakistan does not need another round of dictatorship martial law, states of emergency or the sham of secular democracy. Rather, Pakistan must establish a true Islamic constitution. This constitution should guarantee elections, true accountability, an independent judiciary and a rule of law.

***“Those who do not judge by what Allah has revealed, they are the oppressors”***

[Translated Meaning Qur'an al-Ma'idah:45]

Pakistan also needs to regain its full sovereignty over all its affairs. At present Pakistan is a chess board for all types of foreign interference whether it is from the United States, the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth or the IMF.

- Pakistan needs to establish an Islamic society that is vibrant, forward looking, which is technologically proficient and which embraces all its citizens irrespective of their gender, sect, religion or race.
- Pakistan needs to urgently tackle its chronic domestic problems of corruption, law and order and economic malaise. Only radical solutions from Islam solve such problems not the cosmetic secular solutions provided by the current ruling elite.

**The Prophet (SAW) said: “Whoever cheats is not of us” (Tirmidhi).**

- Lastly Pakistan needs to chart own independent course in foreign policy, not be a conduit for the United States. Pakistan's future lies as part of a unified Muslim world that constitutes a quarter of the world's population, who control key strategic waterways and who sit on a majority of the world's energy reserves. Only a unified Muslim world can confront the challenges that will emerge in the 21<sup>st</sup> century from the United States, the EU, Russia, India and China.

The current strategy pursued by General Musharraf – agreed upon by Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif and the other members of the political establishment in Islamabad - like all the previous strategies conducted will fail and Pakistan will continue to suffer as a state and as a people. This is not simply because the feudal politicians and military rulers that have led Pakistan have been corrupt and incompetent, though this has been undoubtedly the case.

In addition to this there are two other fundamental factors: Firstly, the political establishment in Islamabad, regardless of who holds power, have agreed to outsource the country's sovereignty to outside powers, sacrificing the long terms interest of the nation for their own short term political expediency. Secondly they

have implemented a plethora of foreign ideas, foreign solutions and foreign systems. By implementing dictatorship, secular democracy, capitalism, socialism, feudalism, the rulers of Pakistan have presided over a system that not only contradicts the Islamic beliefs of its Muslim population but which has led directly to the current political chaos that we currently witness.

In Pakistan day by day people are killed, corruption remains endemic, inflation rises due to high prices and even higher taxes, electricity and clean water are scarce in rural areas and instability rages. Yet despite this tragedy, some of the Pakistani elite backed by their supporters in the international community believe that a restoration of the same constitutional order, the return of the same political parties that ruled previously and a continued commitment to the 'war on terror' in NWFP, the FATA areas and in Afghanistan is the way to proceed. This approach is not just delusional, but if unchecked will lead to the eventual destruction of the country.

Nevertheless, we do not judge that this is an inevitable outcome. We believe that Pakistan can attain a new leadership and new Islamic system that will herald in a new dawn for Pakistan: A new leadership, which has not been tainted with the corrupt Islamabad political establishment; a new leadership from other than the feudal landlord elite; a new leadership who do not believe in outsourcing their foreign policy to Washington and London; a new leadership that is not characterised by defeated thinking, by a colonial mentality and who exhibit an inferiority complex about Pakistan's role in the world; and a new leadership that seeks to make Pakistan's economy strong and secure by keeping wealth within the state not by siphoning it off into Swiss bank accounts and overseas property. The new system we propose will guarantee everyone's rights whether they are poor, dispossessed or sick. It will eliminate taxes such as GST on the poor and replace them with wealth taxes for the rich. It will guarantee a rule of law, proper elections and true accountability as compared to the phoney slogans from the current political parties who espouse elections for the country while practicing dictatorship in their own parties. It will ensure the high quality of schools and hospitals, and law and order for everyone in society irrespective of their financial status. It is a new system that will not just tackle corruption, but the causes of corruption found in the higher echelons of the ruling mafia. It is a new system that will chart a new course for Pakistan built on the Islamic beliefs of justice, economic redistribution for the poor, political unity and true accountability.

Hizb ut-Tahrir therefore proposes a new leadership and new system for Pakistan through the establishment of the Khilafah (Caliphate) system. This is based upon our detailed study of the Islamic texts and as a result of a deep study of the current practical problems facing Pakistan. Hizb ut-Tahrir unlike any other political party based in Pakistan is global in nature, working in over 50 other countries under the leadership of the scholar and politician Sheikh Ata ibn Khalil Abu Rushta.

We are the only party that works in the Muslim world with a global strategy to tackle the problems facing this Ummah. Yet our local presence ensures that we are always close to specific problems that exist in any country. In the case for Pakistan, Hizb ut-Tahrir has been at the forefront of the struggle against Pervez Musharraf, consistently calling him to account over both his domestic and foreign policy. Long before others were locked up in November 2007, our members have been repeatedly arrested, tortured and jailed. Yet our call for the Khilafah (caliphate) is gaining support, with over 70% supporting the call in Pakistan as cited in a recent University of Maryland poll. We are therefore uniquely placed in offering a blueprint for Pakistan's future and we offer this a summary of our vision below.

***“And verily, this is my Straight Path, so follow it, and follow not (other) paths, for they will separate you away from His Path. This He has ordained for you that you may become Al-Muttaqun (the pious)”***

**[Translated Meaning Qur'an : al-An'am:153]**

## The Khilafah state for Pakistan

### Overall

- The state will be Islamic in its basis and will neither be a dictatorship nor will it be secular democratic in nature. Consequently, its constitution will emanate from the Qur'an, the Sunnah, the Ijma of the Sahabah and Qiyas. The Islamic system has unique characteristics of which some of the key points are described in more detail below.
- The Islamic state will neither be theocratic nor does it model itself on any other contemporary Muslim state.
- The political system will ensure elections, a rule of law and an independent judiciary. The authority at all times remains with the people of the state.
- The Islamic state will embrace modern technology and seek to practically solve problems applying existing Islamic sources in a modern setting. It will not be sectarian in nature, backward looking, usurp the rights of women or be oppressive to minorities.
- A new Islamic state we believe will be a force for good and stability as it would be the first time in the Muslim world since 1924, that a state had arisen that would be in conformance with its people's beliefs, aspirations and heritage.

### The Political System

*“And if you rule, rule with justice between them. Verily, Allah loves those who act justly*

[Translated Meaning Qur'an - al-Ma'ida:42]

- An implementation of the Islamic constitution replacing the current constitutional framework.
- The new constitution will have one head of state (Khalifah) to replace the current unstable and ill defined roles of President and Prime Minister, a new People's Assembly (Majlis ul-Ummah) to replace the current National Assembly and Senate and a strengthened judiciary with a new Court of Injustices (Mathalim) to replace the existing politically manipulated legal system.
- Both the People's Assembly and the new judiciary would provide the requisite institutional checks and balances in the Islamic political system
- Both the head of state and the new People's Assembly will be elected via an open, transparent and fair process
- Pakistan will be a unitary state not a federal state, where ruling is centralised. Pakistan's federal structure has pitted province against province whether over funding, the building of dams or development. The state is one, their people are one, their unity is one and so decisions and laws will be made for the whole country. However administration over local matters would be delegated to provincial cities and towns
- The military will return to their barracks and resume their important role of protecting the state, they should not be involved in ruling affairs nor should they preside over economic enterprises.

## **The Judiciary**

- All judges in the new Court of Injustices and other courts will be independent from the executive and consultative assembly. Where the court is investigating a complaint against the head of state, the head of state has no right to remove any judge involved in the case. Any verdict by a Judge is final irrespective of the wishes of the ruler.
- The rule of law will be implemented without fear or favour. No one whether in the army, feudal elite or industrial barons including the head of state will be above the law. All policies of the state can be challenged in court.

## **Accountability of the government**

- Islam obliges individuals, the media and political groups and parties to criticise, account and denounce any action of the ruler, his advisors or any policy carried out by the state that oppresses the people or disagrees with Islam, and no one should be arrested or censored for doing this. The state does not believe any ruler is above reproach and believes criticism and strong accountability from civil society are key elements in building a vibrant and productive society in Pakistan and the rest of the Muslim world.

***‘Let there arise from amongst you a group (or groups) that call to al-Khair (Islam), enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil; they are those who are successful’***

[Translated Meaning Qur’an – Al Imran: 104]

- The state believes torture, spying and arbitrary arrest as carried out by Pakistan’s intelligence and security apparatus under the supervision of the United States is forbidden under Islamic Shariah law. Such activities therefore are absolutely illegal (*haram*) and should have no place at all in any civilised society.

## **Social Policy**

- All people of the state irrespective of religion, sect, race, gender will be viewed as citizens of the state. Any attempt to oppress minorities in Pakistan such as Christians and Hindus will be strongly resisted. Any attempt to foster sectarian passions between Sunni and Shiite or inter provincial tensions will equally be resisted.

**The Prophet Muhammad (saw) said: "He who hurts a *dhimmi* [non-Muslim citizen] hurts me, and he who hurts me annoys Allah."**

[At-Tabarani]

- The Khilafah state will actively work to end the oppression of women that is so rampant under the current secular system.
- The state will exemplify how Islam views the very high status of women, including their role as active participants in family, work and political life, ensuring they have proper access to education.

## **Economic Policy**

- The priority of the state will be to ensure everyone has their basic needs of food, clothing, shelter,

health, education and security delivered. Millions of Pakistanis currently do not have access to clean water, electricity or adequate shelter. Illiteracy is at endemic levels and hospitals for the masses are dirty, disease ridden and chronically under funded.

- Every citizen male and female will have the right to free education, and the state will provide equal access to everyone regardless of financial status.
- The state will fund these priorities by abolishing cruel taxes like Income Tax and General Sales Tax (GST) which do not factor in ability to pay, replacing them with wealth taxes (*zakat*) on those who can most afford to pay and land taxes (*kharraj*) on the feudal landowners. GST especially constitutes an oppressive tax on the poor who by definition spend a larger proportion of their incomes on basic needs such as food and other essential matters.

**The Prophet [saw] said “The collector of taxes will not enter heaven”**

(Musnad Ahmad)

- The state believes everyone who is able should work. By cracking down on nepotism, closing down corrupt bureaucracies in the state sector and speculative activity on the Karachi Stock Exchange, valuable capital will be released which will enhance economic activity, innovation, an entrepreneurial spirit and wealth creation.
- The state will bring all energy resources into public ownership and end all current contracts with the foreign owned Independent Power Producers (IPPs).

**“People are partners in three things, waters, feeding pastures and fire”**

(Musnad Ahmad)

- Pakistan requires a comprehensive energy strategy as not one megawatt of electricity has been added to the National Grid since 1999 and power shortages (load shedding) are rampant. The Pakistani government is now entering into contracts with IPPs for thermal power generation at a tariff as high as 14 cents per unit; almost six times it would cost to import electricity from Central Asia. Controlling one’s energy and having a comprehensive plan will not only deliver lower cost electricity to the people of Pakistan but will ensure key resources are owned by the state on behalf of the public, not by private companies on behalf of their shareholders.
- WAPDA and KESC will be in public hands, its senior management overhauled and corruption tackled at the highest level, such corruption only increases prices for the common man. A clear distinction will be made between national ownership of such resources and the use of private expertise for services in these sectors. It is also clear that Pakistan has no viable energy strategy to address its long term structural mismatch between demand and supply other than seeking political unification with the Muslim world.
- To ensure effective land redistribution and to avoid an over concentration of wealth, the feudal structure of Pakistan needs to be broken down. Therefore land will be confiscated from existing landowners if not productively used for more than three years. This land will be given to those that require it and the sub working standards of those who work in Pakistan’s agricultural belt will be urgently addressed. Feudal landlords will no longer have the right of veto on whether their workers can be educated or not.
- The state will eliminate all interest and short term speculative based transactions replacing them with economic transactions which align with Islamic principles of risk and reward. Financial transactions

such as asset based financing, partnerships and direct productive investment into the real economy rather than obscure financial instruments, have proved to be not just viable in recent years but are intrinsically more stable. Savings on the interest paid on domestic bonds and other foreign exchange liabilities, as well as the external debt of \$40 billion will be invested into solving poverty and public services.

- The state will initiate industrialisation as a long term strategy and shift Pakistan away from its over dependence on the agricultural sector especially relating to cotton. This will be done through greater investment in education, skills and training.
- The currency will be formally pegged to the Gold and Silver standard rather than shadowing the US dollar. The US dollar as a fiat currency has no intrinsic value and as such depreciation is common as has been witnessed in recent times.

### **Foreign Policy**

- The state will align its foreign policy within the context of its own sovereignty and will cease to be a conduit for other nations. It will have clear goals of propagating Islam.
- The state will end support for America's 'war on terror' both in the NWFP, FATA, Balochistan and Afghanistan. The state will not kill its own citizens in an attempt to win support in western capitals. Pakistan will therefore reallocate the current 100,000 troops being used to fight America's war, to defend Pakistan's borders as well as being sent overseas where appropriate to support interests in the wider Muslim world.
- The state will work for political unification in the Muslim world, to leverage the benefits of people, resources and geography. A unified Muslim world will then be better able to compete with the US, the EU and the growing powers of India, China and Russia.
- The state will work to liberate Kashmir from its illegal foreign occupation and will resist any attempts by either internal agents or outside powers to further fragment Pakistan into smaller entities.
- The state will act as a force for justice in exposing the current international Capitalist colonial system which has concentrated global wealth in the hands of a minority while billions live in abject poverty suffer from curable disease and lack basic sanitation and electricity.

### **Conclusion**

Pakistan is now at a crossroads. The people of Pakistan have witnessed the failure of both military dictatorship and democratic rule. The secular system offers nothing more than the same Benazir, Nawaz and Musharraf who have brought the country to the chaos we see today. Surely, at this critical juncture in the country's history, the people deserve a new alternative. We believe the time has come to seriously consider a new leadership, a new thinking and a new system to take Pakistan forward.

Let us see the end of the systems of corruption and subservience that have plagued Pakistan for decades. Let us remove this old system and bring a new government that is harmonious with the beliefs, values and sentiments of the people that will stand for the people and interests of the country.

Hizb ut-Tahrir urges you to support and strengthen this global movement to bring a new dawn for Pakistan.

***“But seek the abode of the Hereafter in that which Allah has given you, and do not neglect your portion of worldly life, and be kind even as Allah has been kind to you, and seek not corruption in the earth. Verily, Allah likes not the Mufsidun (mischief-makers, corrupted)”***

**[Translated Meaning Qur'an - Al-Qasas:77]**