

PAKISTAN: Pivot for Hizbut Tahrir's Global Caliphate?



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**Pakistan Pivot for Hizbut Tahrir's Global Caliphate?
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Introduction

This report sprang from a collection of press releases and publications that the Hizbut Tahrir, Pakistan issued during 2010-2014. With the help of this primary source of information, this report explores the goals and activities of this transnational Islamist political party, with particular reference to its activities in, and the mandate for, Pakistan. Besides these documents, other sources examined to write this report mainly include Hizbut Tahrir's manifesto for Pakistan, several publications and books by its members on governance under the caliphate system. Since this report covers the period between 2010 and 2014, the political and military leaders whose names frequently recur include President General Musharraf, Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, President Asif Ali Zardari, General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and General Raheel Sharif (essentially every chief of army staff, president and prime minister during this period).

Executive Summary

Having established its offices in over 40 countries, Hizbut Tahrir baptized its presence in Pakistan in 1999, one year after Pakistan became the first Muslim nuclear power state. As a stout opponent of the democratic system, the primary goal of the organization is to revive the Islamic Caliphate system in the Muslim world. In its detailed manifesto for Pakistan, Hizbut-Tahrir explains how it intends to subject the political economy, military and foreign affairs of Pakistan to the basic tenants of the caliphate system, which draws strictly on the Shariah (Islamic law). The organization has already chosen its caliph, namely Sheikh Ata Abu Rashta. All Muslims will be required to swear allegiance once the Caliph is established, a goal that appears ambitious, if not utopian, to the context of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) leader Abu Bakr Baghdadi's declaration of Caliphate and the emergence of new followers in both Pakistan and Afghanistan. Baghdadi appointed, according to the Express Tribune (Jan 28, 2015 report) Hafiz Saeed Khan Orakzai commander of Pakistan, made public through a video released by a dissident TTP group now called Daesh-Khorassan.

Leading members of the organization frequently emphasize and justify what they insist is Hizbut-Tahrir's pacifist approach for their end goal i.e. the Caliphate. A critical study of its press releases issued in Pakistan, however, reflects a certain synergy of thought between the Hizb and other terrorist organizations' such as al Qaeda and the ISIS. This synergy in fact contradicts the claims of non violence. Interestingly, its modus operandi involves staging a military coup to replace "the existing decadent model of democracy" with the Caliphate in Pakistan. Since surfacing in Pakistan in 1999, Hizbut Tahrir has anchored its strategy in sowing dissent within the Pakistani security establishment. In the last five years, it managed to incite important officers into three, albeit unsuccessful, military coups – resonating al Qaeda chief, Dr Ayman al-Zawahiri's repeated calls on army officers to revolt against their superiors.

Back in 2004, President General Pervez Musharraf slapped a ban on the organization in Pakistan, yet it could not deter its members from organizing

public demonstrations, publishing and distributing anti-state pamphlets, regularly issuing press releases. It even attempted to hold seminars and meetings to recruit new members till very recently.

In the context of Pakistan, the study of Hizbut Tahrir's motives assumes unusual significance due to the ongoing security crisis flowing from the consequences of the war on terror. The near constant state of war since December 2001, when the US-led coalition ousted the Taliban regime and forced Afghan Taliban and al-Qaeda militants into the territories that straddle the Pakistan-Afghan border, Al-Qaeda's anti-US narrative and the deteriorating state of economy make it easier for the Hizb to prey on frustrated Pakistanis, the youth in particular. It envelops its core mission in calls for putting an end to the present exploitative political economy, ridding the army of pro-West leadership as well as the corrupt civilian ruling elite. Its stinging criticism of the present system often sounds exciting to the people craving for radical socio-political change.

Hizbut Tahrir has taken particular advantage of this favorable environment and spelt out economic, political, security, foreign policy and socio-political solutions in its manifesto. It considers Pakistan as a potent vehicle to political power because of its nuclear power status; once the Caliphate system is established in Pakistan, it will have a domino effect and lead the caliphate to spread to other Muslim countries as well, says the HuT manifesto. That is why the organization specifically focuses on the Pakistani armed forces and has been able to influence the rank and file of the Pakistan army and air force. The trial in 2011 and the eventual conviction of Brigadier Ali Khan and two majors of the Pakistan Army underscore that growing and scary influence. (The case will be discussed in detail later).

A closer look at the HuT manifesto leaves little doubt that it shares the broad contours of a future Islamic state with al Qaeda and the ISIS; they all crave and strive for reviving the Islamic Caliphate system under a Salafist-oriented state. Their modus operandi, however, differs; the HuT aims to unify all Muslim countries into an Islamic state led by a Caliph who would be elected by all Muslims and claims to employ only non-violent means to promote its mission and achieve the stated objectives. Al-Qaeda, on the other hand, is at

war with the United States, Saudi Arabia and their allies. It considers use of violent means against the enemy as legitimate and thus cannot operate as a legal entity the way HuT does in the United Kingdom or anywhere else. The ISIS, on the other hand, has demonstrated itself as a ruthless terrorist group that gained support in Iraq in the wake of perceived economic and political discrimination against Iraqi Sunnis. Originally, the group's aim was to establish an Islamic state only in Sunni-majority regions of Iraq, but after its involvement in the Syrian civil war, it expanded operations to the Sunni-majority areas of Syria as well. Unlike Hizbut-Tahrir, the ISIS not only overtly promotes religious violence but also those that disagree with its interpretation as apostates. On June 29, 2014, it proclaimed a worldwide Caliphate. This jeopardizes HuT's goal of a trans-border caliphate as most of religious militants operating in South Asia revere the Afghan Taliban chief Mullam Omar as their caliph while Baghdadi anointed himself as the ISIS caliph. He has appointed many regional representatives too such as Hafiz Saeed Orakzai in Pakistan.

Hizbut-Tahrir snubbed the Baghdadi move through an official statement saying the "ISIS has no authority to establish Caliphate", either in Syria or Iraq as it is not following the methodology of the Prophet (pbuh). It is incapable of maintaining peace and security internally and externally and the group has given allegiance to a caliph who cannot publicly declare himself as the "Amir-ul-Momineen" (commander of the faithful). For these reasons, Hizbut-Tahrir considers ISIS's announcement of the caliphate mere rhetoric. Moreover, the media spokesperson of Hizbut-Tahrir in Jordan, Mamdooh Qatishaat, also dismissed the ISIS as a "militia". Unlike, Hizb, ISIS has been designated as a terrorist organization by the United Nations and European Union and several countries including the US, UK, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Canada, Australia, Turkey and Indonesia. On the other hand, with the exception of a few Muslim countries, Hizbut-Tahrir is not banned in many of the advanced Western countries, including the UK and US, where it enjoys a massive following. The UN and Amnesty International accuse ISIS of serious human rights abuses. Hizbut-Tahrir, however, is free of such baggage. This report attempts to explain the HuT in a holistic way, with a special focus on Pakistan though. One of the objectives was to analyse the organization using the treasure-trove of information put out frequently i.e.,

press releases, weekly or occasional propagandist materials, etc. At the same time this study tries to find out if HuT stands out as a peaceful pan-Islamist entity or is just another Islamist group aiming for political power. What is the common denominator that places them all – HuT, al Qaeda, Muslim Brotherhood and ISIS - in the same league, is another question explored in this study.

Since the Hizbut-Tahrir considers Pakistan critical to the accomplishment of its endgoal, it is instructive to dwell on its strategy for Pakistan. It deploys three arguments to justify what it calls its struggle in Pakistan; first, Pakistani rulers are agents of the United States and are only working for their interests; second, the War on Terror is a pretext used by the United States and the Pakistani government to kill innocent women, children and men in military operations and drone strikes; third, all suicide bombings and terrorist attacks in Pakistan are actually conducted by private US security and intelligence agencies that are protected by the Pakistani government.

In the Hizb's view, Pakistan faces foreign policy humiliations and economic adversity due to its dependence on the “colonialist monetary system dictated by the IMF and the World Bank.” It also rejects the interest-based transactions for it being un-Islamic and terms it the mother of Pakistan's economic woes. The organization traces all its economic problems such as unemployment, crippling taxation, underdeveloped agriculture and industry, constant surges in prices and extremely expensive energy and its shortages to the interest-based international economic system headquartered in Washington.

The Hizb considers the establishment of Khilafah as the only way to liberate Kashmir from the “Indian occupation.” It vows to mobilize armies to wage war against India and calls on the “sincere” armed officers of the Pakistan Army to help the Muslims in (Indian-administered) Kashmir secure their freedom from India. Hizb activists say that if “a handful of *mujahideen* of Afghanistan can bring the American forces, re-helped by 40 other forces from around forty countries, to their knees, then “you are more than able to fight the Hindu murderers and rapists.”

Hizb is averse to Pakistan's membership of the United Nations and wants it to pull out of the world body which it says is against the Muslims and is “the concubine of America.” Instead it desires the country to establish bilateral relations with other non-colonial countries. It does not recognize any of the International Financial Institutions such as the IMF, or be part of any international treaties including the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) or agree to help NATO against Muslim countries anywhere. According to Hizb, relations with other Islamic countries do not come in the realm of foreign policy even if they are divided by agents of Kafir (infidel) colonialists. This is because they must all be unified under the Khilafah as it is obligatory under the Shariah.¹ Once the caliphate is established, the Khilafah would completely sever ties with America and every other 'Kafir' (infidel) enemy state which has been involved in active war against Muslims. Relations with such non-Muslim countries that are belligerent towards Pakistan will be established on a policy of *Harb Failan* (meaning Active War). There will be no diplomatic, economic or cultural links with such states and nor will their citizens be allowed to enter the Khilafah, even in the event of a temporary ceasefire.

Hizb ut-Tahrir is loath to Pakistan's current judicial set up, which it argues, the elites within the military and political leadership always manipulate to their advantage. Democracy is just a tool in the hands of the elite to declare what is legitimate and what is not. As a result, the judiciary only enforces the will of the elite. A Sharia-based Khilafa, on the other hand, would ensure socio-economic and political justice to all its citizens.

Hizbut-Tahrir: A Transnational Islamic Revival Movement? Origins

Hizbut-Tahrir (HuT), literally meaning “Party of Liberation” in Arabic, is a global revolutionary Islamist political party whose ideology is based on Islamic principles. As its core objective, it aims to re-establish the Islamic Caliphate system, i.e., an expansionist super-state uniting all Muslim countries around the world and governing them according to HuT's interpretation of the *Shari'ah* (Islamic law). Hizbut-Tahrir was founded by Taqiuddin an-Nabhani (1909-77), a religious cleric of Palestinian origin who was a judge at the city's Shariah Court, an appeals' court, in the Jordanian-occupied East Jerusalem in 1953. Nabhani was previously associated with Muslim Brotherhood, another Islamist organization established in 1928 in Egypt. However, due to Muslim Brotherhood's compromising stance towards the western-friendly regimes in the Middle East, an-Nabhani fell in disagreement with its ideology and set off to create a more radical organization to bring about rapid global Islamic revival. Today, Hizbut-Tahrir operates across 40 countries including the United States and the United Kingdom.²

One of the basic tenets of HuT is its rejection of democracy and capitalism which it says is secular, un-Islamic and hence a form of '*kufr*' (non-belief in Islam). Its founder denounced the democratization trends in the Muslim countries, terming it as a Western ploy. For him, Islam and the western civilization are totally incompatible which is why all Muslims need to call for a drastic change and be united under one political entity.³ Moreover, while Muslim Brotherhood had been an advocate of a gradual, bottom-up Islamization of society, an-Nabhani wished to spearhead change by adopting a top-down model, i.e., by establishing an Islamic caliphate first. In order to set itself apart from other Islamist groups which were actively involved in local political processes, members of Hizb refused to participate in politics, even that of organized opposition and pressure groups.⁴

The organization's first recruits came from the Palestinian section of the Muslim Brotherhood. Soon it developed an increasingly international

profile; its membership expanded from the Middle East to countries with migrant Muslim populations around the world.⁵ In the 1950s, its activities were confined to Jordan, Lebanon and West Bank. In the 1960s, it spread to other Middle Eastern countries and, in the 1970s, Hizbut-Tahrir started orchestrating military coups, albeit unsuccessfully, in Syria, Iraq and Jordan. Support for the party, however, declined in the Middle East in the 70s and 80s. During the 80s and 90s, many of its members in the Middle East moved to the UK, Germany and Sweden to set up party chapters there. Soon, the organization won support from some second-generation European Muslims.⁶

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Hizb also infiltrated the newly independent Central Asian states. By the latter half of the 1990s, despite being officially banned, HuT experienced remarkable growth in these countries.⁷ Its members claim that besides the Middle East, Central Asia and Europe, Hizb had also spread to other parts of Asia and Africa.⁸ After Taqiuddin an-Nabhani's death in 1977, Abdul Qadim Zallum, a Palestinian cleric, took charge of the party until 2003, when Ata Abu Rashta, an engineer and a former spokesman for Hizbut-Tahrir in Jordan, succeeded Zallum. As of 2014, according to publicly available information, Rashta was the party's global chief.⁹

A British Muslim named Imtiaz Malik set up the HuT in Pakistan, in the early 1990s. Malik had been part of the Hizb's Central Leadership Committee. According to a former HuT activist, Majid Nawaz, a group of UK's top HuT activists moved to South Asia in 1999 and at least ten were planted in each of the main cities of Pakistan.¹⁰ Naveed Butt, a staunch HuT member, who had acquired his higher education in Europe and also envisioned Pakistan as an Islamic fortress, was designated as Hizb's first spokesman in Pakistan.¹¹ For five years, Hizb freely operated under General Pervez Musharraf's regime together with a more lethal organization called Al Muhajiroun.¹² However, when in 2003 members of Hizb were discovered enlisting military officers for staging a coup to establish the Islamic caliphate in Pakistan¹³ and an alleged plot to assassinate Musharraf was uncovered, the organization was outlawed by the Musharraf government in 2004¹⁴

Organizational Structure, Strategy and Membership

Little is known about the organizational structure, chain of command or leadership of Hizbut-Tahrir as the group operates clandestinely in most parts of the world.¹⁵ The true leadership of Hizbut-Tahrir remains a secret.¹⁶ What appears certain is that the organization is heavily influenced by the secretive communist party (cadre political party) model which controls its worldwide activities and therefore, reduces the possibility of outsiders penetrating into its leadership echelons. According to a report by the American Foreign Policy Council, the global leader of Hizbut-Tahrir holds meetings with regional leaders who then distribute literature and funding to the lower tiers of leadership. District leaders in turn redistribute these as well as provide strategic direction in their monthly meetings to individual cells. For operational security reasons, most cell members are kept in the dark about other cells that are operating locally, nationally and regionally, and only know about the people in their concerned cell.¹⁷ For example, those working with lawyers or traders have no contact with those working with army personnel. Members are required to migrate from one country to another after every six years.¹⁸

With respect to internal party structure, Hizb claims that it does not encourage the concept of 'leaders' within the organization and thus, all its members enjoy an equal status. However, internal party structures do allow existence of office-bearers for the sake of organization, though there are no public office-bearers for the party. There is a chief spokesman (assisted by two deputies) who is responsible for issuing statements to the media. No member can deliver a sermon or lecture without the permission of the chief spokesman while he in turn is bound to follow the instructions of an underground central leadership. According to one source, those in charge of relevant departments take all their instructions from the UK office.¹⁹

HuT is known to be active in more than 40 countries which, along with UK and USA, include various Muslim countries such as, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Palestine, Tunisia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, Jordan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan among many others. Non-Muslim

countries where its presence is known include China, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Ukraine and Russia.²⁰ In many of the Muslim countries, particularly the Arab and Central Asian states, the governments have banned Hizb and its members are frequently arrested and imprisoned. Following legal restrictions and crackdowns in various countries, the Hizb made its organizational network more obscure. For example in Pakistan, where the organization is banned, it does not have any offices and all its organizational affairs are run from the residences of its members.²¹ There have been rough estimates about its strength in regions such as Central Asia, where its members are claimed to be from 20,000 to 100,000, and Indonesia where they are in “tens of thousands”. In Central Asia, the group's support base primarily consists of the unemployed population, factory workers, teachers and students. However, it draws significant support and sympathy also from behind the prison walls where up to 8000 of its members are known to be locked up in Uzbekistan alone.²²

Despite these claims, HuT refuses to disclose the number of its active members working in Pakistan, stating security concerns as an excuse. Even in countries where Hizb is not banned such as the UK, the party keeps information about the membership strictly under wraps. This raises doubts about Hizb claims of mass membership base that it boasts about in its press releases.²³ A HuT member in Islamabad, too, talks of thousands of party members in all major cities of the country. As opposed to other Islamist organizations its membership also includes women, whose presence is visible in their public demonstrations, protests and publications.²⁴ Generally, HuT members do not disclose information about other HuT contacts with the media or non-members. However, some prominent members in Pakistan have been identified through press releases, seminars and publications such as Naveed Butt, Taimur Butt, Imran Yousafzai, Muhammad Irfan, Nadeem Khan, Shahzad Shaikh, Professor Nasir Sadar, Saad Abdul Raheem, Omar Khan, and Dr. Irfan Paracha. Most of these people are nationals to the UK.²⁵ According to Dr. Mohammed Jaber, the head of Hizb's Executive Committee in Lebanon, “Hizbut-Tahrir does not attach much importance to membership in terms of quantity. Instead it is more concerned with the quality of its members and their mastery over ideological, intellectual and juridical concepts.”²⁶

According to Ahmed and Stuart, Hizb's ideology and strategy are highly centralized. Its global leadership issues strategy instruction/commands to the executive committees of national branches which are interpreted in localized strategic action plans. Although the core ideology of Hizb ut-Tahrir stresses the indivisibility of the Islamic Community (Muslim Ummah) and rejects national identity, national executives are encouraged to interpret strategies to suit their localized needs.²⁷

Sources of Funding

HuT is an expansionist organization that requires substantial financial resources in order to maintain its organizational structure, sustain international growth and mobilize followers. Like the obscurity about its membership, HuT's secrecy makes it difficult to investigate its sources of funding. It is supposed that its financial means derive mainly from private contributions and donations. The American Foreign Policy Council says the organization appears to raise funding mostly from the Middle East, Pakistan and Europe. Its members contribute towards the operational costs of the organization which include routine outlays for printing leaflets and related literature among other things. The organizational costs are apparently relatively low as its members are mostly volunteers who run the organization's affairs from their residences. Very few, if any, volunteers get paid. A significant part of the party's technology in Central Asia is, however, funded and imported from abroad which signifies both the international scope of the organization as well as the involvement of at least some government officials that help its members in customs and immigration.²⁸

Core Beliefs

Primarily a transnational and pan-Islamist ideological political party, Hizbut-Tahrir essentially seeks to return to the Islamic Caliphate aka *Khilafah* that ruled Muslims under the four “righteous Caliphs” following the death of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). Under the Caliphate, the law of the land is Shari'ah, i.e., the Islamic law which governs all the affairs of the citizens. The modern Caliph as envisioned by an-Nabhani, the founder of HuT, would control religion, army, political affairs, economy and foreign policy of the Islamic state.²⁹ Hizbut-Tahrir disagrees with other Islamist parties, including the Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan, Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, which aim to use the existing democratic structures as a stepping stone for its members to climb up the political ladder and decision-making³⁰ on the way to seizing ultimate political power. It also emphatically rejects efforts of states like Iran, Sudan and Saudi Arabia to establish Islamic states, claiming that they do not meet the required criteria. Hizb, itself, advocates a peaceful, yet radical, political change by demolishing the existing democratic state apparatus and construction of a wholly new Islamic state.³¹ According to the Hizb mandate, a Khilafah in the modern world would liberate the Islamic community (Muslim Ummah) from democracy and capitalism which are 'kufr' tools that subjugate Muslim countries to 'kufr' states like the US and Britain.³²

In its manifesto, the Hizb is also opposed to the idea of discriminating people on the basis of school of thought, caste, color or regional identity and its members include both Shias and Sunnis.³³ Dr. Mohammed Jaber, head of HuT's Executive Committee in Lebanon, who is a Shia, claims that Hizb does not attach significance to sectarian identities or their differentiation within Islam. The objective of the party is only to promote a common Islamic identity on the global level.³⁴ However, a study of their manifesto shows that Hizb's ideology is primarily founded on “Salafism” and “Sunni Islam”.³⁵

Following is an overview of Hizb's policy positions regarding political, economic, judicial and social spheres of a Khilafah state. However, first we will discuss their criticism of democracy.

Hizbut Tahrir's Criticism of Democracy

A former spokesman of Hizb, Naveed Butt in his book, "Democracy- Root of Problems, Khilafah- the Solution", terms democracy as the "Kufr colonialist system like dictatorship." He argues that, democracy has been propagated by the west as a system of governance where people are fully represented in the political system through election of their representatives; laws are made as per the wishes of the majority while minority rights are also protected. Yet Hizb ideologues like Butt say these are false claims based on a flawed perception of reality. Democracy originated in the Greek philosophy and was adopted in Europe with the onset of secularism which separated politics from religion. The West adopted it in an effort to create an alternate system to religion but, claims Hizbut-Tahrir, that democracy has failed to solve people's problems. It backs up this claim with the argument that the source of legislation in democracy is founded on human beings' limited reasoning that can not correctly discern whether something is truly good or harmful for the subjects. In Hizb's view, only Allah has the knowledge and ability to provide comprehensive and permanent solutions to the problems facing mankind. This is why the West is divided regarding a number of matters and has not arrived anywhere near a definite solution till this day.³⁶

In democracy man is given absolute sovereignty, instead of God, to legislate for the people. With this authority elected representatives can make laws according to their whims and desires; the final decision on which rests receiving majority votes even if it is against the principles of Islam. Hizb argues that collective wisdom is not always appropriate in solving every issue. In certain issues view points should be based on their correctness or falsehood rather than the opinions of the majority. In a democratic system of governance people are not obligated to remain within the limits set by Islam. For Hizb, therefore, democracy is the biggest hurdle in implementing Islamic system.³⁷

In its opposition to democracy Hizb alleges that colonial western powers call for its restoration in its former colonies when they find it difficult to control them through dictatorship. They know that when dictatorship fails

democracy will be the best option to protect their interests. Democracy, thus, provides the ex-colonialist masters with a back door entry into the ruling systems of their former colonies where they manipulate the legislators to work for their interests. Since legislative sovereignty lies with the humans in democracy, and not God, this becomes an easy method for colonialists to control the system and exploit the resources and politics of another country. For Hizb, this is how democracy becomes a form of “enslaving humans to other humans”.³⁸

Beside rejecting democracy because of its secular basis, Hizbut-Tahrir in its various press releases, publications and manifesto, disputes the popular notion that democracy facilitates people's true representation. In its view, this is not just unique to newly democratic countries but is also the case even with even older established democracies. The reality behind democratic façade is that the elected individuals seek to achieve the interests of the capitalist multinational companies and/or lobbies that provide them with political and monetary backing to come into power, HuT maintains. Championing the cause of the people or solving their problems is not the primary concern of elected representatives and since they are obliged to these power elite groups and companies, they are not and can not be the true representatives of people.³⁹

Moreover, once in power, if the ruling faction wishes to amend the constitution or modify laws to preserve their dominance or gain immunity against judicial process, the masses have no authority or power to stop them from doing so. Irrespective of how independent the judiciary may be the parliament can always change the rules of the game and nullify the effect of any accountability by judicial process. As an example, Hizb points to the National Reconciliation Ordinance passed in October 2007 by the government of Pakistan giving immunity to the politicians despite their “horrendous” crimes against the nation.⁴⁰

Hizbut-Tahrir believes a democratic system encourages regional and sectarian bigotry. Since the majority has the power to decide in all matters it cannot provide justice to the minorities living in the state. To return to power, the head of the state has to seek support of the majority even if it

means depriving minorities of their rights. As an example, Hizb ut-Tahrir points to the US Patriot Act which it terms as a “draconian legislation against the Muslim minority” signed by the majority in America. According to this law, anyone who is accused of terrorism will be sent to jail for an indefinite period of time. Thus, being a majority decision the act allows the American Governments to keep Muslims locked in Guantanamo Bay for years without prosecution or the right to appoint a defense lawyer in the name of national security.⁴¹

Hizbut-Tahrir views democracy as an unstable system based on blackmail. The availability of the option to bring the motion of vote of no-confidence and the constant quest of the legislative members to gain more and more political influence are the driving forces of political corruption in a democratic system. In fact, the Hizb views corruption and democracy as mutually dependent. In a democratic set up it is often the most corrupt that make it to the assemblies by investing millions of rupees in their election campaigns. These corrupt elements of the society then seek not only to secure their own interests but also the interests of the colonialists that helped them coming into power.⁴²

Hizbut-Tahrir also rejects the notion of 'Islamic democracy'. It firmly believes that in democracy, whether western or Islamic, a law is not made into a state law until the majority of the public representatives have given their approval. This means that a law can be rejected based on majority votes even if it is a clear order from God. Hizb believes that laws stipulated by Allah cannot be arbitrated by referendum or vote. Islamic democracy is therefore democracy presided over by Muslims. Hizb does not believe that democracy is compatible with Islam. Muslims need to be liberated from the injustices brought about by western democracy and this can only be achieved by implementing Islam i.e. Shariah under the Caliphate system. This is further discussed in detail.⁴³

Hizbut Tahrir on Dictatorship

For Hizbut-Tahrir, dictatorship is also a form of 'kufr', a colonialist tool like democracy. It enslaves humans to the whims and desires of other human beings. The only difference between the two is that in democracy the authority to legislate laws is given to a group of elite who are elected to the parliament. In a dictatorship, on the other hand, only one person and his close associates embody the political authority. In both cases, the sovereignty for legislation and governance rests with one or more human beings which the Hizb believes belongs only to God. Like democracy, dictatorship allows the colonialists to impose laws and policies of their interests through one agent. For example, in military dictatorships colonialists can secure services through kickbacks from military contracts while in democratic set-ups they employ funds and grants for the same campaigns. In democracy the colonialists do it through the agency of a group of politicians in the legislative assembly. Thus dictatorship and democracy are essentially exploitative tools of the colonialists.⁴⁴

The Hizb therefore rejects both democracy and dictatorship because in its view none of these can replace the authority that essentially rests with God alone.

Hizbut Tahrir's Obsession with the Khilafah

The Khilafah, known as the Caliphate in English, is a political religious state which comprises the Muslim community led by the Muslim leadership. It is the responsibility of the leadership to implement only Islamic laws as well as convey the message of Islam to the rest of the world. Historically, in the centuries following the death (632 CE) of Holy Prophet (pbuh), the Caliphate system remained in place till the year 1258. It was ruled by a Khalifah, (Caliph) or "successor", who held temporal and, sometimes, a degree of spiritual authority. In the first two centuries the Caliphate grew rapidly, conquering most of Southwest Asia, North Africa and Spain.⁴⁵ Muslim armies conquering new lands would offer non-Muslims of the defeated lands two choices: embrace Islam, or pay "Jizyah" (Islamic tax) in lieu of

protection and exemption from military service.⁴⁶ Dynastic struggles followed after a few centuries. The system ceased to exist after 1258 when the Mongols destroyed Baghdad, the center of the Abbasid Empire of that time.⁴⁷

The concept of the caliphate acquired new significance in the 18th century when the Ottoman sultans, faced with the decline of their Empire, began using it as an instrument of statecraft. Faced with the erosion of their political and military power leading to territorial losses due to a series of wars with their European rivals, the Ottoman sultans started claiming their leadership of the Islamic community. This was to bolster the Ottoman legitimacy within the empire as well as to retain some degree of influence over Muslim populations which were formerly Ottoman lands.⁴⁸ However, in 1924 the Ottoman Empire ceased to exist when Mustafa Kamal Atatürk abolished the caliphate with British support and became the first president of the new Turkish Republic founded on modern and secular lines. In Hizb ut-Tahrir's words, this "opened the doors for colonialist dominance of Muslim lands". The British not only began dividing the Muslim Empire into fifty different countries but they also appointed an agent ruler over each who would comply with the orders of the British.⁴⁹

Hizb ut-Tahrir attributes the present day problems facing the Muslim world in general to the termination of the Caliphate. For example, after its abolition, the British granted Jews a state in the blessed land of Palestine which was "the land of the Isra and Mi'raj" of Holy Prophet (pbuh). The British also gave the Hindus the larger part of the Indian Subcontinent which left the Muslims with poorer regions despite Muslims having been the Subcontinent's rulers for hundreds of years. Moreover, Britain made sure that Kashmir would always remain a "bleeding wound" for the Muslim Ummah, where the Hindus inflicted extreme torture on Muslims for decades. Following the end of the Caliphate, the Hizb insists, the former Soviet Union also killed and exiled thousands of Muslims in Central Asia and even now continues with its brutal oppression in Chechnya. America, on the other hand, on the pretext of its so called War on Terror has occupied Muslim lands such as Iraq and Afghanistan where it dishonors Muslim women and kills the young and the old alike.⁵⁰

According to HuT, infidels through a continuous campaign blatantly attacks the beliefs of the Muslims, publically burns the Holy Quran and feels free to insult Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) through derogatory films made on his personality. Hizb believes that subjugation of Muslims to the non-believers has been ensured through constitutions of the Muslim countries and small modifications would not be enough to end this "slavery". Through these constitutions, Muslim rulers in order to remain in power bargain away the resources and wealth of the Ummah and implement a system which only secures the interests of the "kuffar" (infidels).⁵¹

This explains the Hizb's worldview, which essentially considers the rest of the world – led by the United States and the United Kingdom in particular - as inimical and essentially opposed to Islam and its followers. It prescribes *Caliphate* as the antidote to all the ills that the Muslim world currently suffers from – quite a naïve and utopian recipe to restore justice and dignity to Muslims.

What is the Caliphate System?

Hizb ut-Tahrir defines Caliphate or Khilafah, also known as the '*Imama*', as a unique political system which bears no resemblance to any of the governments in the Muslim world today.⁵² In the Islamic Caliphate sovereignty does not lie with the Caliph but with God who has already given mankind a set of laws to govern their lives. According to Hizb ut-Tahrir, it does not mean that the Caliphate is a theocracy or a totalitarian state. Every man and woman in the caliphate holds the right to express his/her opposition to the policies of the state without any fear of arrest or imprisonment.⁵³

According to Hizb ut-Tahrir, establishing the Caliphate and appointing a caliph is an obligation on all Muslims, male and female.⁵⁴ In its constitution comprising 191 articles, Hizb quotes divine references from the Quran and Sunnah to justify the establishment of Caliphate claiming that it is the only solution to free the Muslim Ummah from all current troubles.⁵⁵ In its publication titled, "Democracy - Root of the Problem, Khilafah – the

Solution”, Hizb spells out the structure of its proposed Khilafah. The Caliphate or Khilafah state for all Muslims would comprise thirteen different state structures. These include

- (1) Khalifah (Caliph)
- (2) Delegated Assistants
- (3) Executive Assistants
- (4) Walis
- (5) Leader/Ameer of Jihad – War Institution (meaning the armed forces)
- (6) Internal Security
- (7) Foreign Affairs
- (8) Industry
- (9) Judiciary
- (10) Administrative system which would handle all the people's affairs
- (11) Media
- (12) Bait al Mal (state treasury) and
- (13) Majlis al Ummah, i.e., Council of the Ummah or Muslim community, which would be in charge of consultation and accountability.⁵⁶

The Caliph

In its manifesto, Hizb lays down the criteria for a Caliph, method of his election and his responsibilities. It strongly opposes nationalism and racism as they are prohibited in Islam. The caliph can be from any race, color or school of thought as long as he is a Muslim and male. However, as the head of the Khilafah state, the caliph is neither a king nor a dictator. HuT makes a distinction between a caliph and a king/dictator stating that the latter two impose their authority through coercion while the caliph is an elected leader whose draws his authority from a special contract called 'bay'ah' (allegiance) by all Muslims Without bay'ah, he cannot become the head of state. The contract of *bay'ah* requires that the caliph will be just and will rule the Ummah under Shar'iah. All the legislation that he passes need to be derived from Islamic legal sources through a precise, detailed methodology called 'Ijtihad'. An elected caliph can only rule by Islam and, according to Hizb, thus, save the Muslims from the damaging dictates of the colonialist

powers.⁵⁷

In case the caliph legislates something that is either contrary to Islamic teachings or commits oppression against his Ummah, the Unjust Acts Court (Mahkamat Muzalim), which is the highest and most powerful court in the Khilafah state, can impeach and order his removal from office. In such a case, the caliph does not have the right to remove the judge who is judging a case against him. Additionally, there would be a continuous accountability of the caliph carried out by elected members of the Consultative Assembly which would include both men and women from all schools of thought, race and language. Therefore, Hizb clarifies, that the caliph should not be compared with a Pope because the caliph only has an executive post within the Islamic government. He is neither a priest nor a spiritual head of all Muslims and he is not appointed by Allah. In fact, it is due to his fallibility and susceptibility to erring that the Khilafah state would have several checks and balances in place to ensure that he and his government remain accountable.⁵⁸

In its press release titled, "Abolish Democracy, Establish Khilafah" on September 2, 2013, Hizb announced the name of the Caliph who would take over the control of the caliphate system once it has been established. The press release stated:

"Hizb ut-Tahrir under its Ameer, the eminent statesman and jurist, Shaikh Ata ibn Khalil Abu Ar-Rashtah is ready to govern the Muslim World, whether in Pakistan or any other place. It has prepared armies of capable politicians who are a government in waiting. May Allah SWT grant soon this Ummah His favour, through the return of His Shade on this earth, a just Imam, a Khaleefah Rashid, ruling by Islam."⁵⁹

Sheikh Ata Abu Rashta, who is the organization's Ameer since 2003 has been imprisoned several times by the country's rulers and has been declared a "prisoner of conscience" by the Amnesty International.⁶⁰

How Hizbut Tahrir will govern the Affairs of all Muslims

HuT claims that its legislation is not confined to religious and moral codes. It is based on Shari'ah which is a comprehensive system that offers guidance on political, economic, social, judicial and foreign policy matters of an Islamic state. Once the Caliphate is established Hizb ut-Tahrir will work for economic progress, elimination of poverty and improving the living standard of the people in the Muslim World. As an evidence, they claim that historically, Muslim Caliphate was a world leader in industry and scientific research for centuries. It was known as a wealthy state with a prosperous economy and a high standard of living.⁶¹ How the economic, political, social, and security systems of the caliphate will operate, according to HuT, are briefly discussed below.

The Economic System under the Caliphate

The Hizb's manifesto talks of establishing an economic system which would grant its citizens access and incentives to pursue a life of luxury and comfort and also guarantee provision of basic necessities for the less privileged. The main aim of the caliphate would be to liberate Muslims from the colonialism in all its forms, including loans with interest from the west or western control of Muslim resources. Strongly opposing the present universal capitalist economic system, Hizb holds it responsible for the growing poverty in the world. In its view, the capitalist system wrongly seeks to treat poverty and deprivation by increasing production. To treat poverty effectively, the state should rather focus on equal distribution of wealth among the people. The first step in this direction, according to HuT, is to revive the gold standard monetary system. The fiat currencies of today produce unpredictable rise in prices which did not happen when the currency was based on gold and silver in the Islamic state. Therefore, in the Khilafah, the currency would be based on gold and silver to prevent unpredictable rise in prices.⁶²

Hizb believes that the capitalist system benefits only a few private owners of energy resources while the masses suffer hardships. HuT states that Islam provides rulings on every economic issue that include laws regarding

energy, currency, taxation, investment, agriculture, industry and so on which can rightly manage the distribution of wealth. According to Hizb, the Khilafah would abolish oppressive taxation. It would free the citizens of “excessive taxes” such as the general sales tax (GST) and income taxes and abolish interest-based financial transactions (*Riba*). Instead, it would follow Islam's own unique system of revenue collection which includes revenue from public properties, such as gas and agricultural production and from industrial production through '*Zakah*' on goods. The caliphate would focus on vigorous domestic investment to replace foreign investment and cease taking loans from the colonialists which, according to HuT, continues to keep Muslims in the debt trap because of the mounting interest. The Khilafah would also cease to operate according to the policies dictated by the IMF, which it also sees as a colonialist institution working to depreciate the currencies of Muslim developing countries for the benefit of western economies.⁶³

The financial regime the Hizb offers, has in effect never been practiced in this form in any part of the world. An end to *Riba* (interest) may excite many and resonate with the majority of those enthused by al-Qaeda, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU); interest-free Islamic banking has emerged as a buzz word in many Muslim countries, including Pakistan. Yet, in essence it hardly differs from the traditional capitalist system where interest comes off the profits on direct or proxy investments.

Industry

Hizb aims to set up an indigenous, heavy industry which would include the manufacture of machines, engines and electronics and ensure the production of cutting edge technology including nuclear power, wireless electricity, solar power, nanotechnology and space travel. To do this, it would establish two types of factories; first would be related to the assets of public property. Second would be related to heavy industry and weapons' manufacture. Hizb believes this would create employment opportunities for the entire Ummah.⁶⁴

Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of the Islamic Caliphate would primarily base on presenting the *Islamic Dawah* to other states. The execution of all economic, trading, cultural treaties, temporary cease fire agreements, and other exchanges, whether political, agricultural, industrial or communication related would not only focus on interests of the Muslim Ummah but also for spreading the message of Islam. This was the basis on which the Islamic state maintained its relationships with all other states in the days of Holy Prophet Muhammad (pbuh).⁶⁵ According to the American Foreign Policy Council, HuT claims that for the purpose of spreading the message of Islam, the caliph would appoint a defense minister who would prepare people to wage war against the non-believers, including the US. Moreover, military conscription would be compulsory for men above 15.⁶⁶

The caliphate would not promote relations with countries that are in a state of war with Muslims, such as the USA, Britain, Israel and India, other than on the basis of 'Harb Failan' (Active War). This means that the Khilafah state would have no diplomatic, economic or cultural relations with these states and nor would any of their citizens be allowed to enter into the Khilafah territory. This would apply even in the event of a temporary cease fire. The caliphate would also abrogate all previously signed military agreements that promote and secure foreign interests. These include any contract, treaty or military pacts, military bases, air bases or the insertion of private military organization or similar matters with non-believing states. The citizens of those states which have not occupied Muslim lands but they "have intentions to do so" will be allowed to enter the Khilafah on a single entry visa. However, there will be no diplomatic, cultural or trade relations with them either. With all other non-belligerent, non-Muslim states the Khilafah would establish friendly relations while being watchful of the international political scenario. Moreover, the diplomats of other countries would not be allowed to meet personnel other than the foreign office.⁶⁷

Hizbut-Tahrir considers the participation of the Khilafah in the United Nations, World Bank or the International Monetary Fund 'haram' (forbidden) which, in its view are colonialist tools whose collection of

charters and laws directly contradict the rulings of Islam. Hizb also intends for the Khilafah to launch a vigorous campaign aiming to expose the real face of colonialist international organizations and end their hegemony. According to its mandate the Khilafah would withdraw from CTBT, NPT and all other agreements of such nature prepared by colonialist powers who wish to desist others from challenging their increasing strength. Also, in matters such as the occupation of Kashmir and Palestine, the Khilafah would not seek help from the UN or countries like the USA and Britain as the rulers of the Muslim world have been doing. It would resolve these issues on its own.⁶⁸

The only inference that we can draw from the aforementioned statement is that the Khilafa would pursue liberation of Palestine and Kashmir through military means. Severing ties with countries such as the US, UK or India would also imply that the khilafa would sow the seeds of a perennial sate of conflict with non-Muslim states, thereby raising the specter of a world order based on confrontation and not cooperation.

As part of its foreign policy, Hizb claims that their proposed caliphate would re-unify the entire Muslim world as the world's most powerful state by re-annexing as well as liberating all occupied Islamic lands. It would be a voice for the Muslims from Africa to South America who are being oppressed by the injustices of 'capitalist colonialism'. With its powerful armies, immense oil, gas and mineral reserves combined with a strategic position, political vision and understanding of international politics, Hizb claims the Khilafah state would not be politically isolated. The Khilafah will not only successfully end colonialism in all its forms but allow Muslims to determine the interests of their state according to the rules of Islam.⁶⁹

Security in the Caliphate

The security regime that the Hizb proposes sounds alarmingly grandiose and brazenly militaristic – quite akin to near declaration of commitment to produce even weapons of mass destruction; the concept of minimum deterrence, according to HuT, contradicts Islam. Rather, the Khilafah would seek military superiority and manufacture and develop the most advanced

and lethal weaponry of its own. This would be regardless of the level of development and advancement of weapons by other states. It would make the Khilafah independent of states like the US, which sell arms to establish their influence and authority over the world.⁷⁰ In its manifesto, HuT has also developed the concept of *Nusrah* which means 'seeking outside assistance' from groups such as the militaries of Muslim countries when establishing the Khilafah.⁷¹

The dream of establishing superiority over others clearly flows from and influenced by the strategic doctrines that the US and Russia pursued for long i.e. strategic weapons as deterrence and means of peace.

With regards to its internal security, Hizb states that the Khilafah would not be a police state. In many of its former colonies the Europeans left behind a police system that believed in suppressing the common people and coercing them into accepting them. The Khilafah state would train and groom the police according to Islam so they would secure the life, property and faith of all Muslims for the pleasure of Allah, and provide them with remuneration appropriate to their role.⁷² Torture and imprisonment without fair trial would be completely forbidden. This would be more effective in controlling the crime rate than the way the present policing system has been regulating crimes in the society.⁷³

Society, Faith, Women and Education

HuT claims that the Khilafah state would create an Islamic society which would embrace all its citizens regardless of their religion, school of thought, race, language or gender.⁷⁴ Non-Muslim minorities (called *dhimmi*) would not be forced to convert to Islam or adopt Islamic values but would be protected by the state.⁷⁵ Thus citizenship would be without discrimination, ostensibly a reference to the globally acknowledged and practiced **concept of Equal Citizenry**. This also appears to be influenced by the values of multiculturalism and ethnic diversity currently in vogue in most countries around the world.

Difference of opinion and schools of thought based on Islam would be

allowed without imposing one over the others. Both Muslims and non-Muslims would equally retain the right to voice their opinion regarding misapplication of Islam or any unjust act perpetrated against them. According to HuT, legal differences of opinions between different schools of thought within Islam, such as Hanafi, Shafi', Hanbali, Ja'fari and Maliki would be accepted as a reality of *ijtihad*. While the caliph would not adopt any one opinion in matters concerning individual *ibadah* (worship), such as prayer and fasting, he would adopt one opinion over others in matters which concern the state, depending on the strength of evidence available.⁷⁶

The status of women in the Khilafah would not be inferior or that of second class citizens. While women would have property rights, rights over marriage and divorce as well as a place in society, their primary responsibility would be that of a mother and a wife. Hizb believes that looking after household affairs and taking care of children is a heavy responsibility in itself. However, if a woman wishes to adopt a 'legally permitted occupation', which does not affect her primary role, she will be permitted to do so.⁷⁷ Under the Caliphate, women will be barred from enjoying key positions, such as that of the Caliph, the Chief Judge or provincial governors.⁷⁸ It will also require the women to adhere to a public dress code established by Islam. This would include wearing the *Khimar* (covering of the head) and *Jilbab* (a full-length outer garment) to keep the society free from all types of negative and harmful relationships that are prevalent in the western world today.⁷⁹ The Khilafah will determine the relations between men and women and the two sexes would not be allowed to mix freely except where Islam has defined the need for the sexes to mix. This includes commerce, hiring, representation (*wikalah*) and other permitted matters or for obligatory actions such as pilgrimage (Hajj), paying charity (*Sadaqah*) or *Zakah*, helping the needy, visiting the sick and so on. The women can step out of the house for the above mentioned reasons.⁸⁰

Hizb claims the Khilafah will ensure free education at not only primary and secondary levels for all its citizens but also at higher education to the best of its ability. Unlike the existing two-tier structure prevalent in the Muslim countries today, the Khilafah would provide for a uniform high standard education system for its citizens irrespective of their wealth, belief, school of

thought, race or gender.⁸¹ This would help establish a system which would unite all Muslims from Morocco in the West to Indonesia in the East.⁸² According to HuT, the Khilafah would undoubtedly usher in a new era of stability, peace and prosperity not only of the Muslim World but beyond. It would free Muslims from the oppression of the world's biggest tyrants and allow them to utilize their resources to further the interests of Islam.⁸³

Hizbut Tahrir and Pakistan

Hizbut Tahrir looks at Pakistan as the key to its recruitment and expansion. For the Hizb, the volatile country already bleeding and reeling from the consequences of the controversial war on terror, offers an ideal support base for establishing Khilafah in this region. In a press release issued by the Hizb office in Pakistan on April 24, 2013, it stated:

“O Muslims of Pakistan! Do you not wish to give Bay'ah to a Khalifah to implement Islam, protect your Deen [religion] and shine its light over all of humankind? Do you not wish to elect representatives in the Khilafah's Ummah Council and Wilayah Councils, who act as guardians to ensure the implementation of your Deen? Hizb ut-Tahrir is amongst us to lead us to the establishment of the Khilafah.”⁸⁴

The following part of the report will focus on HuT's views specifically regarding the current political, economic, judicial, security and social conditions in Pakistan and how it intends to exploit them to fulfill its dream of a Khilafah state in this region. All Hizb views mentioned in this section are taken from its publications and press releases issued by its media office in Pakistan between 2010 and 2014. This section will, therefore, attempt to further delineate its general ideology towards Pakistan and the rest of the world.

Pakistan- Central to Hizbut Tahrir's Khilafa mission

HuT views Pakistan as the critical launching pad for the re-unification of the Muslim world under the Khilafah. In its literature, the organization states that political control of one or two strong Muslim states could provide it a critically important base which it could use to invite other states to join, thus sparking what is in essence a domino effect. Citing the increasing despair, lack of economic opportunities and secular space for political opposition, HuT leaders believe that Muslim world is reaching a 'boiling point' creating an environment conducive for an Islamist takeover. In this regard, countries significant for Hizb include those in Central Asia, Pakistan and Indonesia.⁸⁵

Hizb ut-Tahrir was launched in Pakistan in 1999 only a year after Pakistan conducted its first nuclear tests. In its manifesto, it has described Pakistan as a nuclear power state, possessing the world's seventh largest army, sixth largest population with rich and diverse agricultural and mineral resources. Despite this, Pakistan remains subservient to the will of 'colonial powers' such as the USA and Britain, something that is deplorable in the Hizb view. It says that regardless of whether the leadership in Pakistan has come through democratic elections or by a military coup, they disregarded Islam as the core guiding ideology, "which has resulted in the multitude of economic, political, social and security problems that Pakistan faces today."⁸⁶

Alluding to the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the Hizb central leader in Pakistan Naveed Butt says that the ultimate objective of the biggest migration occurred in human history in the Indian Subcontinent (in 1947 and after) was to liberate Muslims from British enslavement and to allow Muslims to live under the "shade of an Islamic system". In spite of their sacrifices, the systems left behind by the colonialist power remain intact and stronger than ever today. Using both democracy and dictatorship in its favor, the colonialists, according to HuT, have consequently managed to turn the Muslims of Pakistan into protectors of western ideas, concepts and system. Democracy, being one such concept, has been upheld by the people of Pakistan without knowing its actual secular and pro-west nature.⁸⁷

Pakistan: Problems and Solutions in Hizb ut-Tahrir's Perspective

For Pakistan, HuT offers a six-point agenda in its manifesto. According to its spokesperson in Pakistan, the party has done its homework and prepared a clear roadmap which details comprehensive economic, political, judicial and administrative alternatives to the ones existing in current capitalist and democratic administrative system. The party vows that the new system would rid the people of all injustices.⁸⁸ These alternatives will be explained following a brief commentary by Hizb on each of Pakistan's various major political, economic, social and security issues.

Reforms in Governance and the Administrative Structure

Hizb aims to replace the present constitutional framework and democratic parliamentary system with a Shariah-based Islamic Caliphate system. In its press releases, it delivers a stinging criticism of the present governance and the administrative structures of Pakistan.⁸⁹ Saad Jagranvi, the head of HuT's Central Contact Committee Pakistan, while addressing a public gathering in Lahore, linked the economic misery, collapse of law and order, severe energy crises, unemployment and the humiliating and failed foreign policy of Pakistan to its pro-American democratic governance system. Democracy and dictatorship, he said, only serve to secure the American interests and no matter how much reform the present system undergoes, only the "corrupt and incompetent traitors" will continue to come into power.⁹⁰

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan

In 2003, HuT declared the 1973 constitution of Pakistan – a document that most political parties have thus far treated as sacrosanct - as secular and "kufr" on the grounds that it represents the continuation of an oppressive British rule. "The 1973 constitution along with Pakistan's first constitution drafted in 1956, is built on the foundations of the British secular laws". Hizb sees this as a matter of shame that successive governments and elected representatives failed in introducing and upholding Islamic values. In its view, the ruling elites and successive establishments have attempted to

amend the constitution only to mask its secular nature and deceive people into accepting this as an Islamic constitution. To explain this, Hizb mentions the Objectives' Resolution (Qarardad e Maqasid) which begins with a declaration that, "Sovereignty in the whole universe belongs to Allah" and then gives sovereignty to the public representatives for legislation. Referring to the Council of Islamic Ideology – an entity created decades ago to scrutinize existing laws and also interpret them whenever needed in the light of the Quraán- the Hizb says the Council's advisory role in the constitution restricts it to recommendations and resolutions that are not binding on the parliament and cabinet members.⁹¹

As for the issue of voting in a democratic dispensation the Hizb contends that Islam does allow the nomination of an advocate or a representative for any permissible action. However, if this selection is for any Haram (forbidden) act, then such a selection becomes haram too. Ironically, for Hizb voting in democracy is permissible if a candidate publically discards the democratic system as 'Kufr' and his only intention to get into the legislative assembly is to "uphold the word of truth against the system of Kufr and to account the rulers". In such a case, Hizb believes a candidate may become part of the democratic system.⁹²

Democratic Governance, Pakistan and the United States

HuT attributes all mal practices in the Pakistani society, including corruption in the executive, legislature and bureaucracy, lack of social justice, violation of minorities' rights, a poor and indebted economy to the current democratic system of governance. In its view, Pakistani rulers are corrupt and the capitalist system that it follows is inherently exploitative. Both the military and the political leadership collude with the US in achieving the US interests in the region be they economic, security-related or political.⁹³

On the occasion of May 2013 elections, Shaikh Ata of HuT addressed the Election Commission of Pakistan in the following words:

"You are Muslims, and so you realize that the legislation is for Allah SWT alone, how do you allow yourselves to hold elections that will

produce an assembly to legislate instead of Allah SWT? He went on to say, How can you hold elections knowing that Zardari, Kayani and their cohorts and factions, hold the reins from behind a curtain? How can you hold elections for an assembly that makes laws to serve the interests of the political and military leadership and as a natural consequence the interests of America, which is at the very top of their interests?"⁹⁴

To prove that "the military and political leadership of Pakistan are sworn traitors", HuT frequently discussed the May 2, 2011 Abbottabad operation in its press releases. It sees the killing of Osama bin Laden in a brazen American marines' raid with the support of the "traitor rulers" as a suicide attack on Pakistan's own sovereignty. It proclaimed that the government's motive behind this act was to facilitate Obama's re-election and make Pakistan look like a "base for terrorism" in an attempt to justify the continuation of the US War on Terror.⁹⁵ In Hizb's view, this 'embarrassing' operation left behind a political vacuum in Pakistan giving rise to fears in the American and Indian administration that this could trigger the establishment of the Khilafah. To counter these fears the US officials began defending the rulers by stating that, "there is no proof that the Pakistani leadership was aware of the move to take out bin Laden". For Hizb, prime minister Yousaf Raza Gillani's felicitations' message to the American president Obama on the successful operation in Abbottabad operation was further cause for resentment among the people of Pakistan.⁹⁶

Pakistan government has adopted similar stance on the issue of US drone strikes, which according to HuT, reflects a duplicitous and hypocritical approach; they allow the US to launch unilateral drone attacks in a sovereign land without acquiring approval from the host government (Pakistan) or the UN(though the Hizb rejects the UN as an un Islamic body).⁹⁷

In September 2013, Hizb criticized the All Parties Conference, in which all political parties had decided to refer the matter of US drone attacks to the UN Security Council. In its view, US drone strikes undermine Pakistan's sovereignty when the unmanned spy UAVs kill the "innocent". Still it bars Muslims from referring such matters to the UN (because the world body is

not Islamic). According to HuT, rather than protesting against drone strikes in the UN, Pakistan should use its ability to permanently disable the destructive drone program of America and, in this regard, the will of the government is needed.⁹⁸

According to Hizb's claims, the US hands are soaked in Muslim blood. Despite the deadly American-led NATO attack on the Salala check post inside the Pakistani territory near the Pak-Afghan border on November 26, 2011 which killed 24 Muslim soldiers, and the continuous attacks by the "spy-assassin Raymond Davis network" on Pakistan's military and civilian targets,⁹⁹ the political and military leadership continues to malign Islam in favor of American interests.¹⁰⁰ For example, Nawaz Sharif, the Chief Executive of a nuclear power state, visited the USA in December 2013 to brief US President Obama on the progress in the American War on Terror and to receive further instructions to consolidate US presence in Pakistan, says the party and asks if a country like Venezuela, despite being in America's backyard, can expel American diplomats for alleged involvement in sabotage activities why can't the political and military leadership of a nuclear power do the same against American interference in Pakistan?¹⁰¹

HuT holds the US responsible for all the malevolence in Pakistan with the support of its "loyal agents" in the political and military leadership.¹⁰² In its view, democracy being secular and imperialist in essence allows US intelligence to freely operate all over Pakistan, "launching conspiracies and planting explosives from Quetta to Karachi, drowning the country in insecurity to justify America's war in the tribal areas and Balochistan". A press release issued by HuT's media house on April 24, 2013, stated, "Democracy is America's best revenge against Pakistan".¹⁰³ As a diehard challenger of the United States and the democratic governance it advocates, majority of Hizb 's press releases are fraught with allegations against the US, maintaining that it is the chief culprit behind not only every political and security problem in Pakistan but also for the economic misery and other social issues. Keeping in view the extent of US influence in Pakistan, Hizb is of the opinion that anyone vying for success in elections is basically seeking a "throne of shame and betrayal" to further American interests.¹⁰⁴

Hizb ut-Tahrir's message for Pakistan revolves around three main claims; first, Pakistani rulers are agents of the United States and are only working for their interests; second, the War on Terror is a pretext used by the United States and the Pakistani government to kill innocent women, children and men in military operations and drone strikes; and third, all suicide bombings and terrorist attacks in Pakistan are actually conducted by private US security agencies and intelligence agencies that are protected by the Pakistani government.¹⁰⁵

To turn its followers against the US and instigate masses in Pakistan, the Hizb reminds them of the “massacres carried out by the US of Muslims in the East and West”. In all these press releases, it keeps emphasizing that “America is indeed the foremost enemy of Islam and Muslims.”¹⁰⁶ According to Hizb, America firmly believes that democracy is the best revenge by torturing Muslims in Bagram (Afghanistan), Guantanamo (Cuba) and Abu Ghuraib (Iraq) prisons, by supporting tyrant regimes in Muslim lands and by giving a free reign to their agent democratic leaders to abduct, torture and murder the opponents of the USA. According to Hizbut-Tahrir, it is only democracy that can legalize inhumane acts such as drone attacks and water boarding.¹⁰⁷ Another claim that Hizb makes on the collusion between the US and Pakistan, is the 86 years sentence given to Aafia Siddiqui which in its view clearly exposes the reality of America's corrupt democratic judicial system.¹⁰⁸ Siddiqui, a born Pakistani, was reportedly caught in Ghazni, Afghanistan in 2008 with documents and notes for making bombs plus containers of sodium cyanide. She was eventually tried in New York and sentenced in February 2010 to 86 years in jail on charges of assault and attempted murder of a United States Army Captain in a Ghazni police station. The entire episode remains as much controversial as shrouded in mystery but for a number of Pakistanis, Aafia Siddiqui, who denied the charges, did become a symbol of victimization by the Americans.

Hizbut-Tahrir insists that the US is actively working towards creating “a wall of hatred between Muslims” so that it can capitalize on its colonialist objectives in Pakistan and strengthen its presence in Afghanistan.¹⁰⁹ In July 2013, Hizb held countrywide demonstrations against Secretary of State, John Kerry's visit to Islamabad, claiming that Pakistan's leadership was

inviting US officials to take further orders from them. Demonstrators held banners and placards which read, “Welcoming US Officials is a sign of treachery” and “O' Pak Army! End American Raj, Bring the Khilafah”. According to HuT, the purpose behind the meetings between the officials of the two countries is not only to secure a permanent US presence in Pakistan and Afghanistan but to ensure Pakistan's subordination to India and thus obstruct the establishment of Khilafah. In its judgment history is full of examples proving that America's closeness to Pakistan always meant more destruction and humiliation to Pakistan.¹¹⁰

Terrorism in Pakistan

In its literature, HuT claims that its activities are restricted to political actions only and it will not take any material action against rulers or anyone who attempts to hinder its mission.¹¹¹ In many of its press releases, it has condemned bomb attacks against Pakistani civilians.¹¹² In Hizb's view continued terrorist activities and sectarian violence occurring across Pakistan is being carried out by the US to win public endorsement for American occupation of Afghanistan in the 'War on Terror'. Supervised by US intelligence network with the direct and full support of Pakistani rulers the US is actively involved in the brutal bombing campaign across Pakistan. Following the twin bombings on the All Saint's Church in Peshawar in September 2013, which killed nearly 100 Christians, a Hizb press statement said “Neither Christians nor Muslims are safe from the American terrorists without the Khilafah”.¹¹³

In 2011, HuT claimed the government was diverting people's attention from the military operation in tribal areas by engaging them in artificial shortages of gas, electricity, fuel and the “government supervised killings in Karachi.”¹¹⁴ According to it, the US was using terrorists to bomb urban areas of Pakistan and target Pakistan Army to force the release of Raymond Davis. On the other hand, it was also conducting military operations against tribal Muslims in order to make Muslims fight Muslims.¹¹⁵ In HuT's opinion, the current (General) Raheel Sharif –Nawaz Sharif regime is not interested in uprooting the real bane of violence in Karachi, i.e., US intelligence and its activities and instead impress upon the people that the terrorists are too

strong to be tackled by the police and the Sindh government. Ironically, these terrorists pose no threat to American officials and activists that roam freely in Karachi while army officers, *ulema*, lawyers, doctors and the ordinary citizens continuously remain under a security threat.¹¹⁶

The Hizb basically clubs both the military and the civilian leadership as far as Pakistan's "subservience to the United States" is concerned. It sees them as the compromised ruling elites who are safeguarding US interests more than they do those of Pakistan. Hizb therefore, accuses the Raheel-Nawaz duo "of allowing American cargo containers to enter Pakistan unchecked its spies to carry arms and gather intelligence without fear of recrimination and American embassies, consulates and bases to run their terrorist network".¹¹⁷

The reference to containers comes from the massive Afghanistan-bound cargo via Pakistan that had been going on since the War on Terror began in late 2001. Pakistan never charged any transit fees on the nearly 50,000 a month containers meant for the US-led ISAF troops in Afghanistan.

To underline alleged American intelligence role in terrorism and insecurity in Karachi, the Hizb once stated that an FBI employee was arrested at Karachi airport possessing weapons and espionage gadgets, yet the government quietly facilitated his bail and let him go.¹¹⁸ Also, according to newspaper reports, over one thousand houses in Islamabad are inhabited by foreigners, most of whom are American citizens, while the Interior Minister, Chaudhry Nisar, has been reported as saying that 300 houses in Islamabad are in the use of foreign intelligence services.¹¹⁹ Hizb believes that unless American presence is not finished in Pakistan, the armed forces and civilians would continue to be at the receiving end of America's intricate planning through its so-called War on Terror which is supported through huge funding and sophisticated arms supply.¹²⁰

In a press release, Hizb also attempted to clarify its position regarding sectarian violence. Hizb explains that during the last 1300 years of Muslim history, a Shafai Muslim never killed a Hanafi Muslim or a Hanafi brother killed a Jafferi Muslim brother because of differences in juristic opinions. The current strife is the creation of the western colonialist nations that

invaded and occupied Muslim lands and planted seeds of hatred among them on the basis of nationalism, racism and sectarianism, all of which Islam strongly condemns.¹²¹ Hizb also rejected the 2014 anti-terror Protection of Pakistan Act, terming it as an “American Black Law” passed by the National Assembly for “the protection of the American Raj”. Criticizing the law, Hizb stated that the sweeping powers given to the military and political leadership under the law is not to fight terrorism but to silence those who want to implement the *Deen* (religion) of Allah and demand American expulsion from Pakistan and that it also seriously violates human rights.¹²²

This skewed view on the government's response to terrorism also underscores Hizb's clear disagreement with the majority of Pakistanis as well as the civilian and military leadership; while they condemn the perpetrators of terrorist attacks as inhuman and non-believers, the Hizb invokes the typical al-Qaeda and TTP argument to justify their violence as something directed against the Americans.

War on Terror, Afghan Taliban, Tehrik-i-Taliban and Hizbut Tahrir

According to Hizb ut-Tahrir, War on Terror is only “America's crusade”¹²³ and Pakistan should not embrace it to defend a cowardly kafir (infidel) country. With failing economy and demoralized armed forces, America needs the support of Pakistan Army to continue with its War on Terror. Hizb believes that without Pakistan's cooperation, the US could not have survived the war all these years and that it has been taking advantage of Pakistan army and using its bases and launching pads for attacks in return for only more losses to the people of Pakistan. In the War on Terror, unfortunately, hundreds and thousands of Pak army's brave soldiers, who yearn for martyrdom, have been reduced to merely a mercenaries force by fighting other Muslims in Afghanistan. Now, in the face of continuous defeat the US has even agreed to talks with the Taliban along with limited withdrawal to secure its presence in Afghanistan by hook or by crook.¹²⁴

HuT links peace in Pakistan to peace in Afghanistan which it says will not be possible until the defeat and eviction of the US-led forces from the troubled

country. The US targets civil and military installations so that the military continues to stay engaged in the War on Terror which Hizb also refers to as the "War of Fitna".¹²⁵ It uses every brainwashing tool to garner support from the Pakistani leadership to achieve this goal. The Hizb quotes the example of Taliban's attack on Malala Yousafzai in October 2012 as an opportunity seized by the Americans to promote its war in Pakistan's tribal areas.¹²⁶

Clearly, HuT abhors the US and thus also condemns Pakistan's cooperation with it in the War on Terror in Afghanistan. In its various press releases, it frequently accuses General (R) Pervez Musharraf, former Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, General (R) Kayani, former president Asif Ali Zardari, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and COAS, General Raheel Sharif of working for, and wanting to, help the US maintain its presence in the region. In pursuit of achieving the interests of their 'American masters', they have turned a blind eye to the increasing terrorism being carried out by the "Raymond Davis Network" in Pakistan. In another press release issued in March 2013, Hizb stated that the then President of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai, and the then Chief of Army Staff, General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani, were deceiving the people of Pakistan in order to protect the American interests in the region. In this context the Hizb also plays down the diplomatic and military tensions between the two countries during 2013-2014 as engineered with the objective of creating "a favorable environment so that American military bases and personnel could permanently stay in Afghanistan even after 2014".¹²⁷

That is why most of the Hizb literature consistently dismissed the US claims of withdrawal by Dec 2014 as a lie. What both Afghanistan and Pakistan need is a complete purge of the US presence beginning from removing its embassies, consulates, diplomatic staff to its intelligence network and private military, the Hizb maintains. To justify its demand of the Americans and foreign troops' eviction from Afghanistan altogether, the Hizb points to the Indo-American nexus too; it is because of the Americans that Indians are in Afghanistan and destabilizing Pakistan and tribal areas through Balochistan.¹²⁸

In one of its releases, the Hizb stated, "It is upon us to ensure that our armed

forces and tribal fighters both turn their fire and steel against the American presence". It also assured that once the Khilafah would be established, both the army and the tribal fighters would be mobilized to strike a American in the region. To call a truce between the tribal fighters and the armed forces of Pakistan, HuT stated: "Our tribal people must eliminate all miscreants from within their ranks, who call for attacks on Pakistan armed forces, rather than seeking their support to establish Khilafah through them."¹²⁹

The call for truce is erroneous and glaringly ambiguous; its not the tribes at large in the tribal areas (Federally Administered Tribal Areas- FATA) that are up in arms against the government but a minority that is using the foreign occupation of Afghanistan to legitimize its violence both in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Hizb fails in specifying which tribal fighters it is talking about; over a dozen big militant groups currently operate out of FATA, most of them originally aligned under the Tehrike Taliban Pakistan (TTP), with some of them also having gone over to the Islamic State. Following several rounds of inconclusive talks in the first half of 2014, the TTP eventually splintered into several groups as the army launched a big ground offensive in June 2014 in the embattled North Waziristan Agency bordering Afghanistan. In fact the Hizb has been critical of several attacks on school children as well as shia congregations that two factions of TTP claimed responsibility for. Precisely these factions constitute the core of anti-Pakistan terrorist groups, one of them now aligned with ISIS and led by Hafiz Saeed in Pakistan.

Hizb ut-Tahrir also advised the Afghan Taliban to abort what it calls "surrender talks" with the US and to declare support for "the Khilafah Rashida over Pakistan and Afghanistan". Talks with the US amount to "an insult to the countless Afghan civilians who have lost their lives to protect Islam". In the same press release, Hizb also outlined some suggestions as "Naseeha" (Advice) for their "Taliban brothers". HuT also rejects the Afghan Constitution, declaring the political structures of governance that it outlines are illegal and un-Islamic. Afghan government is America's puppet which has been established to subdue Islam, persecute the people and protect the interests of the colonialists. Hizb called on the Afghan Taliban to join them in their political goal of establishing the Khilafah Rashida, where the *bay'ah* would be given to the Khalifah who would rule according to the *Quran*,

*Sunnah, Qiyas and Ijama Sahaba.*¹³⁰

The Situation in Balochistan

HuT has also attempted to enlist sympathy and support of the people of the southwestern restive province Balochistan by calling it “a crown of the Islamic Ummah”, its people “noble and respected ... who love Islam” and who “fiercely resisted the British colonialist invasion”. For Hizb, Balochistan, which occupies roughly 44 per cent of Pakistan's total landmass, is significant because it borders Afghanistan and, can play an important role in its goal of establishing the Khilafah in not only Afghanistan but also the region beyond it because of its contiguity to Iran. The developing Gwadar deep sea port on the Arabian sea in Balochistan can provide strategic depth to Pakistan navy as well as enhance international trade. Besides, Balochistan is rich in gas and minerals which can help Pakistan make big economic strides. The Hizb bemoans the neglect of the province which remains deprived of basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter and has the worst of socio-economic indicators. It lacks basic infrastructure, health facilities and education and continues to be subjected to immense turmoil with Muslims from various schools of thought, language and race being killed on a regular basis. To address the troubles of the province, Hizb has issued a policy paper which outlines how the Khilafah would achieve security and prosperity in Balochistan.¹³¹

The Hizb position on Balochistan largely resonates the narrative of most of the Baloch nationalists some of whom are presently waging what they say a war of liberation from Islamabad. Their militant campaign is anchored in more or less the same grievances that the Hizb lists down to make a case for its expansion in Balochistan. The Baloch nationalists are vexed with the “military establishment” in Islamabad, while the Hizb invokes the metaphor of “traitors” to denote the central government.

HuT attributes instability in Balochistan to decades of connivance between the traitors of Pakistan and the US government. It believes that the US interest in Balochistan is because of its mineral wealth, the Gwadar port and its proximity to oil rich Central Asian states. Most importantly, Balochistan

holds strategic significance for America because it borders Afghanistan.¹³² In its Publicized Policy Position, Hizb called on the people of Balochistan to support the Khilafah system claiming that it would end the democratic system of ruling in Pakistan and, thereby, end Balochistan's sufferings. It also stated that the Khilafah state would not act as a police state or govern by force, persecution, abduction or torture of Balochistan's citizens. Rather, it would earn the loyalty of all citizens, regardless of their race or school of thought and govern according to that the people of Balochistan "hold dearest" to their heart i.e., Islam. It also declared that it would end all colonialist presence, i.e., American presence, from not only Balochistan but Pakistan in general to end the "unrest" caused by the West in the country. Moreover, it promised that under the Khilafah, Hizb would prevent private ownership of Pakistan's abundant energy and mineral resources in Balochistan.¹³³

Hizbut Tahrir's Alternative for Pakistan's Democracy: Governance and Administrative Structure under the Khilafah

HuT proposes the abolition of the National Assembly and the Senate of Pakistan since the right to legislate belongs to Allah only. It is these institutions which the US uses as instruments to preserve its interests.

Both the 17th Amendment and the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) were pieces of legislation that condoned General Pervez Musharraf's coup of October 1999, who then brokered a deal with former premier Benazir Bhutto through the controversial NRO to facilitate her return to Pakistan in October 2007. The NRO, struck down by the Supreme Court in 2010 as a contravention of the constitution, essentially pardoned all those politicians and bureaucrats who had been facing criminal proceedings for graft and abuse of power.

Unlike democracy, the Khilafah would not rule by majority vote to implement Allah's laws.¹³⁴ The structure described by Hizb is the same as the Caliphate system established after the death of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) by the first four caliphs of Islam; Hazrat Abu Bakr, Umar ibn al-Khattab, Uthman Ibn Affan and Ali ibn Abu Talib. The caliphate system was abolished

in 1924 in Turkey.¹³⁵

In Hizb view the caliph must not be taken as a national symbol or a spiritual head of all Muslims appointed by Allah; he is just a person from among the Ummah, it emphasizes. Neither should the Ummah be considered his property. There is also no concept of an heir to the throne in Islam. Thus, there is no dynastic or hereditary rule. Authority given to the caliph is by the choice and consent of the Ummah when they give him "*Bay'ah*" (allegiance). He is elected only once and contracted only to rule by Islam.¹³⁶ Since there is no pressure of re-election, the caliph knows that as long as he is correctly implementing Islam and accomplishing what he is entrusted with, he does not have to worry about this rule coming to an abrupt end. . Also, since the Khilafah does not rule on the whim of the majority, he does not succumb to any unjust demands from it and therefore, remains free from regional, district or linguistic bigotry.¹³⁷

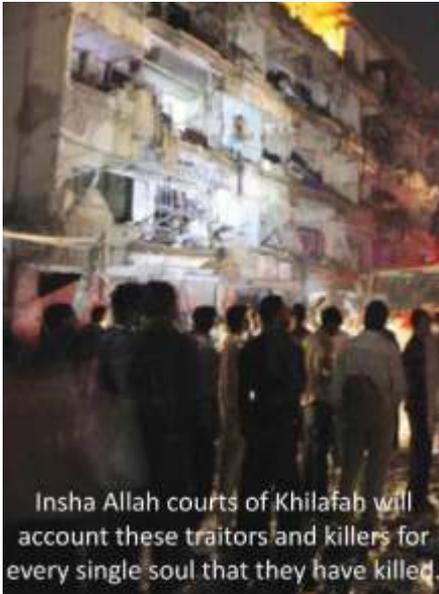
In the Khilafah system people will be represented by the Majlis al Ummah (Council of Ummah). But these public representatives will not rule nor provided with development funds like those of national assembly members, which will help prevent looting and plunder of country's resources. Unlike democracy, where the parliament can bring a vote of no confidence against the ruler, Majlis al Ummah does not have the authority to remove the caliph if it so desires thus reducing the likelihood of the caliph bribing them to sustain their support. The public representatives are approached by the people and asked to contest elections. Once elected, their responsibility is to account the ruler, ensure that he fully implements Islam, and to consult him in administrative matters related to organizing affairs of the public. Since they do not rule directly and do not receive funds to spend on the Ummah, corrupt elements will have little incentive to contest election for the Majlis al Ummah. Hence, Hizbut-Tahrir claims, the Khilafah ensures people's true representation in the ruling system rather than the majority-ruling system in democracy.¹³⁸

Hizb points out that Article 248 of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan is a discriminatory tool that favours the mighty ones only; it exempts the president, governor as well as ministers from being questioned regarding









Kayani & Zardari are Shedding Muslim Blood & Fanning Sectarianism for America

America wants to spread its war against Islam to the major cities of Pakistan. The Ummah knows that General Kayani and a small group of traitors in the political and military leadership have granted visas and allowed terrorists of the "Raymond Davis" network to hover in and around the sensitive military and civilian places across the country, so as to spill the blessed blood of Muslims, through bombings and target killings. This matter is so clear that the Ummah never grabs the necks of fellow Muslims after every so-called sectarian or ethnic killing or bombing, rather they always hold America and its agent rulers responsible for these gruesome incidents. This is why we saw yesterday that even after the passage of several hours of this inhuman incident, neither the rulers nor any of their institutions dared to enter the place of the incident, because they knew that they will face the wrath and severe anger of the people.















their responsibilities before the court. In democracy the parliamentarians, too, can legislate to exempt themselves from accountability. On the contrary, Khilafah ruling system ensures complete implementation of Islam, which makes sure that all Muslims live their life according to Shariah and not according to the desires of a group of elite.¹³⁹ In the Khilafah decisions on all issues are taken according to the detailed rulings already given by Islam which include rulings for election, Bay'ah, appointment of governors, removal of rulers and so on. In terms of the structure of the ruling system the Islamic State is established on the pillars laid down by the Shariah which include the caliph, assistants (mu'awineen) to the governors (wulaah), judges (qudaah), administrative system and the Council of the Ummah.¹⁴⁰

Khilafah allows multiple party system provided they are all based on Islam as the Khilafah would not allow any party or institution that follows the 'Kufr' ideology i.e. western democracy, socialism, racism or nationalism. According to Hizb, people are free to have their political and juristic opinions, propagate them to others and affiliate themselves with any political party as long as it is based on Islam. However, no individual, party or group is allowed to maintain any relationship with any foreign state. Relations with other states should be established and maintained only by the caliph himself and to those he delegates powers.¹⁴¹ In article 16 of its constitution, HuT claims that the Khilafah would be a unitary system where a small city like Nowshera would get the same attention as a big city like Karachi. Same goes for the organization and development of Islamabad, being the capital of the Islamic state, compared to that of Mianwali.¹⁴² In terms of monitoring crimes and security, the Khilafah would not be a police state or spy on its citizens using intelligence. It would also not torture an accused or extract a confession through cruel tactics.¹⁴³

Hizb has also outlined a roadmap about how the media and the information ministry will operate under the Khilafah state. According to this roadmap, the state media department would decide the media policy and implement it to achieve the interests of Islam and Muslims only. Its aim would be to showcase the Khilafah state as a just, great and superior country with immense military might both in times of war and peace while it would expose the oppression and corruption of other man-made systems and the

weaknesses in the militaries of those countries. The media would also work to expose the corruption and account the caliph. As part of freedom of expression, a citizen would be allowed to open a TV channel or start a publication without requiring 'No Objection Certificate'. However, he should inform the associated state institution about it and ensure that he will not print or broadcast anything contrary to Shari'ah and he will be accounted for it. In this way, the Khilafah aims to declare all obscenity and immorality unlawful and build the society on Islamic foundations.¹⁴⁴

The Economy of Pakistan

For HuT, Pakistan is currently in the clutches of a colonialist monetary system dictated by the IMF and the World Bank. It also rejects the interest-based transactions as un-Islamic and declares it the mother of Pakistan's all economic woes. In a press release titled, "Pakistan's economy under the Khilafah", HuT discussed the economic problems of Pakistan which include unemployment, crippling taxation, underdeveloped agriculture and industry, constant surges in prices and extremely expensive or constantly unavailable power.¹⁴⁵ Its first criticism relates to the pegging of the Pakistani Rupee to the US. This has put Pakistan at the mercy of crippling dollar based loans. Quoting a March 2014 statement by the Minister for Finance Ishaq Dar, a deputy to the HuT spokesman in Pakistan, Shahzad Shaikh said that a major reason for the recent gain in the value of Pakistani Rupee was another dollar based loan of 1.5 billion dollars. The Hizb considers taking interest (Riba) as a sin which can cripple Pakistan.

Interestingly, the Hizb keeps referring to the civilian-military ruling elites by clubbing the names of the prime minister and the army chief. Shahzad Shaikh, for instance, stated that the (Gen) Raheel-Nawaz government should not pat themselves on the back for this temporary appreciation of the Pakistani currency rupee against the US dollar. It advocates a return to the gold and silver standard monetary system, without which "it is not possible for Pakistan to progress economically."¹⁴⁶

When the Nawaz Sharif Government announced its 2013 budget, Hizb termed it "a continuation of the colonialist polices that have denied Pakistan

its true potential since its creation in 1947". According to Hizb, the budget was imposed by the World Bank and the IMF, which it dubs as colonialist institutions. Among the "IMF dictated policies" in the 2013 budget, were new indirect taxes which the Hizb said strangulate economic activity. It also criticizes the interest-based loans which has buried Pakistan deeper into debt.¹⁴⁷ In HuT's view, the 2013 budget also sought to undermine the state ownership of essential infrastructure thus preventing Pakistan from establishing a heavy industrial base and manufacturing indigenous state of the art weapons. Hizb says this is designed to make Pakistan perennially dependent on foreign imports critical for its economy.

Finance Minister, Ishaq Dar brushed aside accusations that the new taxation measures were prescribed by the IMF. He insisted the budget was home made. Yet, the Hizb dismissed Dar's statement as "utter nonsense", saying that democracy cannot empower the IMF with the authority to decide what is Halaal (pure) or Haraam (impure) for people.¹⁴⁸ It promises trial before the Khilafah's judiciary of all those lording over the current financial system including Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif.¹⁴⁹ In the Hizb view, by keeping its currency linked to paper money rather than gold and silver, Pakistan will continue to lose its buying power while engaging in privatization of the ownership of its wealth, such as gas, oil and electricity and claims that constitution of such destructive policies of colonialist institutions are a constant feature of democratic governments ruled by man-made laws to secure western interests.¹⁵⁰

Hizb raised the sensitive and crippling issue of "power crisis" to gain people's support in a number of its press releases. It claims that "the electricity crisis is democracy's best revenge," and adds that the real reasons for the crisis is not circular debt or limited generation capacity. Neither is it because of expensive furnace oil, or non-payments of bills; It insists that even electricity theft or the extreme inefficiencies of the distribution companies as pointed out by the government do not lie at the root of the problem. Rather, the Hizb states, the real reason is that the electricity generating plants, units and their distribution companies are privately owned, something usually encouraged in a democracy.¹⁵¹ According to Hizb, only the Khilafah can provide relief to the masses by making electricity

generation a public property. Power generation is a public property which makes privatizing electricity generation forbidden in Pakistan.¹⁵² Had it been due to the issues mentioned above, Hizb questions, why were they not resolved by the previous two regimes of Musharraf - Aziz and Kayani - Zardari?¹⁵³ In fact, the truth as it sees, is that every democratic government that comes into power in Pakistan only worries about "its interests or the interests of their masters in Washington".¹⁵⁴

In order to resolve these issues Hizb advises to draw on the earlier Muslim jurisprudence on issues such as public ownership, revenues, manufacturing goods and industry, currency, Riba (interest), agricultural lands, domestic and foreign trade and so on.¹⁵⁵ In a press release, it quoted a saying of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) ("Muslims are partners (associates) in three things: in water, pastures and fire") to justify its opposition to privatization of electricity and agriculture. Based on this the HuT announced in its manifesto that all power generating plants, units, organizations and their distributing companies would be declared as public property. Taxes imposed on furnace oil, petrol, diesel, etc., would be abolished which would not only liberate the Muslim Ummah from under-production of electricity but also reduce its cost.¹⁵⁶

As one of the solutions, Hizb proposes that the currency for Muslims should be minted in Gold Dinars weighing 4.25g and Silver Dirhams weighing 2.975g, as was commanded by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and this according to Hizb would help stabilize prices for Muslim Ummah as was the case during the caliphate. Pakistan's reserves of gold and silver at Sandak and Reko Diq (both in Balochistan) would be an added advantage once the Khilafah is established here.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, the Khilafah would ban interest and all non-Shariah economic transactions, including GST and abolish all direct and indirect taxes. Funds would only be collected from Islamic sources of revenue and taxation. These include Usher, Kharaj, Rikaz, Jizyah, Hima and Zakaah.¹⁵⁸

Hizb ut-Tahrir has also laid down a policy for increasing and improving agriculture produce, which would ensure food security and rural prosperity. Pakistan's agricultural capacity, in its view, has been kept low on the dictates

of foreign companies. To bring the agricultural sector to its full potential, the Khilafah would provide grants and interest free loans to the farmers to enhance cultivation and boost the rural population's share in the wealth produced. It would also end taxation and replace it with Shariah based revenue generation and land ownership laws, including imposition of Ushr and Kharaaj, and taking steps to efficiently use agricultural lands.¹⁵⁹

In its manifesto, HuT states that the Khilafah's treasury, Bayt-al-mal, would organize and manage the revenues and all the expenditure according to Shariah laws. The "treasurer would be the head of Bayt-al-mal". Every province, which they term as "Wilayah", will have its own branch of Bayt-al-mal headed by a Sahib Bayt-al-mal.¹⁶⁰ Hizb states that, "the finance of all the regions will be the same, as will their budget". This means funds would be spent equally per capita regardless of which area they belong to. For example, if a province falls short of its funds and is unable to raise enough revenues, then funds will be provided from the general pool to fulfil its needs.¹⁶¹ In a press release, Hizb also said that it has not been proven if the Holy Prophet (PBUH) enforced taxes on the people. It said, when the Holy Prophet (PBUH) "learnt that those on the borders of the State took taxes on the goods that entered the lands, he forbade it." This means that the Khilafah state would not impose income tax or GST on its citizens.¹⁶²

In Hizb's view, Pakistan faces foreign policy humiliations due to its economic problems and the only way to end this misery is to replace democracy with Khilafah. In Its press releases, the HuT Ameer Abu-Ar-Rashtahas called on the Muslims of the armed forces of Pakistan to help HuT achieve its objective of establishing Khilafah in the Muslim world.¹⁶³

The Education System in Pakistan

HuT concedes education as a mandated right for both sexes in Islam but regrets that since the creation of Pakistan successive governments have neglected this vital sector depriving millions of girls and boys of their fundamental Islamic right. The Hizb says that Pakistan's education system and its 'secular' syllabi is a legacy of the British and a tool that continues to produce people with a slavish mentality, confining them to play the role of minion labourers for the West and its secular slaves in Pakistan's leadership.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, the British divided the syllabi into empirical sciences and Islamic education creating two separate institutions; mainstream schools and madrassas. In Islam, religion is not detached from life and is the basis of all actions and viewpoints in a Muslim's life, according to Hizb. The current education system aims to produce only "worldly" people who do not hold Islam as a world view, while *madrassas* produce a clergy that cannot apply Islam to practical life.¹⁶⁵

This way the Hizb does not rule out main streaming the seminaries by introducing contemporary modern, scientific knowledge there in order to bring them at par with the rest of the educational system. This rather pragmatic view takes into account the current criticism of the madaris which even the clergy admits, do not and cannot produce students with professional skills required in this fast-paced world.

For Hizb, a few reforms in the curriculum would not suffice to change the basic structure of the education system.¹⁶⁶ Through the curriculum, the west has presented its concepts and systems in the guise of Islam so the Muslim Ummah no longer considers them alien and in conflict with Islam. According to Naveed Butt, the Hizb spokesperson in Pakistan, Kuffar have not only encroached upon and occupied Muslim lands but they have been involved in a full blown, organized cultural invasion of all Muslim countries to denigrate Islam and confuse Muslim minds with their concepts and systems.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, the solution for Pakistan is to adopt an Islamic education system and make Arabic the medium of instruction in all schools of the Ummah.¹⁶⁸¹⁶⁹

Khilafah state will ensure “world class education”, which would make the Muslim Ummah “global leader in knowledge and research, through Hizb's implementation of the constitution for the Khilafah.” It further elaborates how the organization would achieve these objectives in its Publicized Policy Position issued in February 2012. According to the policy position, while education would be free for all its citizens regardless of belief, gender, race, or school of thought it would focus on building the “Islamic personality” in the youth.¹⁷⁰ In fact, according to Imran Yousafzai, the deputy spokesman of HuT, primary and secondary education will not just be free, it would be compulsory as well.¹⁷¹ The caliph would bring an end to both Urdu and English medium schools and establish only Arabic medium schools.¹⁷² There would be no foreign or missionary schools in the Khilafah state, nor any other board of education or syllabus except that prepared by the state. All classes of the society, whether rich or poor, overseas citizens, military cadets and orphans, would study in the same schools.¹⁷³ Thus, the two-tier education structure - one for the elite and the other for the masses that is currently being followed in Pakistan - would be done away with.¹⁷⁴

Hizbut-Tahrir also discards the concept of co-education, stating that it would neither be among students, nor the teachers, “except in extraordinary cases”, which has not been defined in the manifesto.¹⁷⁵ The syllabi and methods of teachings, which would be the same in all public and private schools would have Islam as their sole basis for beliefs, values and concepts taught to children.¹⁷⁶ Hizb elaborated the two branches of knowledge that would be provided to the Ummah; the first would be related to Islamic principles which would include subjects such as *Ijtihad*, *Tafseer* and *Fiqh*; the second would be the empirical sciences, where HuT states, it would ensure “that Muslim sons and daughters excel in subjects such as engineering, chemistry, physics and medicine”. HuT claims higher education in the Khilafah state would produce innovative researchers in the fields of “agriculture, water, security, health and other vital areas enabling the Ummah to control its affairs according to its own vision and self-sufficiency”.¹⁷⁷

While foreign languages would be taught for “the purpose of carrying the call to humankind” and to translate useful texts for technical research,

Arabic would be the state language and the medium of instruction in schools. The purpose being that the Holy Quran is in Arabic and jurists cannot adjudicate properly if they lack sound knowledge of Arabic. In HuT's words, through an Islamic educational policy, the Khilafah would produce "Jabir Bin Hayan, Al-Khwarzami, Imam Shafi, Imam Abu-Hanifa, Imam Ghazali, Al-Kindi and Ibn-Qudama." (all of them known scientists and philosophers) In a press release, Imran Yousafzai, addressed the teachers and students of Pakistan in the following words; "O respectable teachers and students! Re-establishing the Khilafah is your duty, so rise and make this change possible".¹⁷⁸

The Judiciary in Pakistan

Hizb is extremely critical of the "man-made" judicial system in Pakistan, stating that the current system, "ensures that might is right and that justice is delayed". It asserts that ever since the Muslim world stopped adjudication based on the Shariah laws, state affairs, accountability and the state of the rights of people have suffered tremendously. The criterion to define crime, conviction and punishment has been dictated by the West in the light of human reasoning. In their compliance, the Muslims now only implement kufr laws with only selective implementation of Islam. An example of this is the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC), the 1860 British law that defines crime, trial and punishment. Due to multiple loopholes in this man-made judicial system, it is the weak in the society who continue to be falsely implicated in cases which drag on for decades while the privileged escape punishment.¹⁷⁶

In its Publicized Policy Position Hizb elaborates on how the Khilafah would establish a judiciary free from corruption and discrimination, and secure the rights of the people while holding the rulers accountable for their actions. According to Hizb, the most profound and detailed jurisprudence is that of Islam. It provides swift and fair justice and there are examples in history about how rulers were brought before the court for questioning. Shariah has also remained an inspiration for thirteen centuries for western nations which revised some of their legal and ruling frameworks in its light. Hizb cites examples of Britain's Magna Carta, France's Napoleonic Code and the

US Constitution itself.¹⁸⁰

HuT argues that the elites within the military and political leadership always manipulate the present judicial set up to their advantage. Democracy gives the elite the authority to decide what should be made legal and what should be declared a crime. As a result, the judiciary only enforces what the elite wish.¹⁸¹ Moreover, as democracy gives man the right to legislate, the leaders stay protected from prosecution due to judicial immunity given to them in the constitution (for example, Article 248 of the 1973 constitution of Pakistan).¹⁸²

In the Islamic judicial system on the other hand, there is no immunity for the ruler if found in violation of the rules of Islam – regardless of whether he is Caliph or *wali*. He will be brought for immediate trial and would lose the authority to re-appoint a judge if there is a case under process against him. This applies even if he seeks the guidance of the IMF, UN, ISAF or the US State Department. Moreover, unlike the regular judicial system around the world, Islam does not have an appeal system as explained in Article 83 of HuT's constitution. If the order of Allah has been clearly established in a matter and the judge gives a verdict based on that, the case is then considered concluded. It cannot be annulled by the verdict of any other judge unless the verdict is later found to be in contradiction of Islamic rulings or against the reality of the situation.¹⁸³ In Khilafah, a suspect cannot be sent to jail based on suspicion which is different from the law followed under Pakistan's Anti-Terror Courts where one is guilty until there is evidence to prove him innocent. This way, Hizb claims the Khilafah state does not pressure or coerce the accused or anyone else.¹⁸⁴

The judicial system in the Khilafah state will include three types of judges, namely (1) Qadhi Aam, who would resolve disputes between people for transactions and punishments, (2) Qadhi Muhtasib, who would be responsible for resolving the differences which harm the society, such as cheating while selling goods in the market and (3) Qadhi Mazalim, who would be responsible for resolving conflicts which arise between the public and the rulers. The eligibility criteria for becoming a judge includes being a Muslim who is free, an adult, intelligent, just and *Faqih* (one who has

knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence) and is fully informed on how they are to be implemented. Hence, a non-Muslim cannot become a judge because he does not believe in Islamic jurisprudence. For Qadhi Mazalim there is an added condition that he should also be a Mujtahid, meaning he should be competent in establishing whether the ruler that he is accounting, is ruling by the laws revealed by Allah or whether the law has no basis in the Shariah.¹⁸⁵

In its manifesto, Hizb has also outlined how the Khilafah state would deal with different kinds of crimes. In case of discretionary punishments (known as Ta'zeer), for example, forensic evidence will be sought to establish whether the crime was committed or not. This includes, for example, examination by a doctor or a midwife, in case of rape. If proven guilty, the Ta'zeer of public lashing, 15 years imprisonment and exile will be awarded for the rapist.¹⁸⁶ Hizb claims that the Khilafah would give punishments according to the rulings of Islam to restrain and deter further crimes and to act as expiations for the most severe punishments of the Hereafter for the guilty. It would ensure swift process of prosecution to ensure the innocent are not convicted and the Khilafah becomes "a beacon of justice because it implements Islamic laws."¹⁸⁷

Foreign Policy of Pakistan

In its constitution, HuT declares in Article 189:

"States with whom we do not have treaties, and the actual imperialist states, such as Britain, America and France and those states that have designs on the State, such as Russia are legally considered to be belligerent states. All precautions must be taken towards them and it would be wrong to establish diplomatic relations with them. Their subjects may enter the Islamic State but only with a passport and a visa specific to every individual and for every visit, unless they come practically belligerent."¹⁸⁸

In the organization's view, Pakistan's foreign policy has been revolving around fulfilling American interests in the region ever since independence.

By keeping friendly relations with the US, Pakistan violates the Islamic Shariah which forbids friendly alliance between a Muslim and a belligerent state and in doing so the political and military leaders have gone against their oath of protecting the properties, lives and honor of the citizens of Pakistan.¹⁸⁹ Earlier in 2011, Hizb's workers including students and professionals, demanded closure of the US embassies and bases, expulsion of their personnel including diplomats, CIA officers, Blackwater and Dyn Corp, cutting off NATO supply lines and removal of the US agent rulers in Pakistan.¹⁹⁰ However, it is not just the US; Hizb also wants the embassies of Great Britain and all other colonialists closed down in Pakistan.¹⁹¹

According to the Hizb protestors, the US has established a spy network through its military and intelligence base set up in its embassy in Islamabad from where it is controlling all the bombings and assassinations. Its other bases are located in Jacobabad, Tarbela, and at the FC Headquarters and so on, which grant America a license to kill Muslims in drone strikes. Regarding drone strikes,¹⁹² former President Zardari declared that "it makes no difference to me." While former Prime Minister Gillani excused himself by stating, "We have protested in the National Assembly."¹⁹³ Instead of breaking off ties with the US, Hizb laments that the personnel of the belligerent state have been granted free access to Pakistan's sensitive areas and cantonments. Furthermore, it grieves that it is on the orders of the US that the rulers of Pakistan have removed its armed forces from Kashmir border where they should be, to fight America's war in Afghanistan.¹⁹⁴

Such protests gained currency and grew even louder particularly in 2011 when a CIA security contractor Raymond Davis ended up killing two Pakistanis in Lahore, and b) Doctor Shakeel Afridi, a government employee, was allegedly found involved in a UN vaccination campaign that was aimed at locating al-Qaeda chief Osama bin Laden.

Hizb is also against Pakistan's attempts for normalizing political and trade relations with India. In a press release the Hizb stated ; those keen for oil and electricity import from the Hindu Bunya (loan sharks) need to explain how true India has been to the Indus Water Treaty."It says by opening the Wagah Border and signing oil and electricity agreements with India, Pakistan will

allow India an easy way through which it will not only freely trade with Pakistan but also Afghanistan and Central Asia. In Hizb's view, by doing this the agent rulers are making Pakistan strategically subordinate to India.¹⁹⁵

It rules out political or trade relations with New Delhi until the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. The “atrocities inflicted on the Muslims in the Indian-administered Kashmir by security forces” continue to be a source of grief and shame for Hizb. Successive trait or military and political leadership (including Musharraf-Aziz, Kayani-Zardari, Kayani-Sharif and now Raheel-Nawaz) have failed to challenge India on the instruction of their master, USA, despite having the 7th largest army as well as being a nuclear power. HuT states that whether India holds back Pakistan's river water, accuses it of attacking the Indian Parliament or inflicts brutalities in Occupied Kashmir, Pakistan's rulers continue to “flatter, kneel and prostrate before the Hindu state.”¹⁹⁶ Pakistan has always declared Kashmir as an international issue and has beseeched the UN Security Council many times to mediate while India has continually rejected international mediation stating that it is a bilateral matter between India and Pakistan. When President Obama stated in 2010 that it was not for the US or any other nation to offer a solution on Kashmir, according to Hizb that was “a slap on the face of Pakistani rulers”.¹⁹⁷

The Hizb considers the establishment of Khilafah the only way to liberate Kashmir from the “Indian occupation.” It vows to mobilize armies to wage war against India and calls on the “sincere” officers of the Pakistan Army to help the Muslims in (Indian-administered) Kashmir secure their freedom from India. Hizb activists say that if “a handful of *Mujahideen* of Afghanistan can bring the American forces, re-enforced by forces from around forty countries, to their knees, then “you are more than able to fight the Hindu murderers and rapists.”¹⁹⁸ Moreover, HuT perceives it as a shame that while calling for friendship with the US, Pakistan has projected Afghanistan, a Muslim majority neighbor, as its enemy. According to Hizb, the agent rulers of Pakistan artificially incite hatred between Muslims through border tensions and these borders can be easily swept away if clashes are stopped.¹⁹⁹

Hizb aims to deploy Dawah (invitation to embrace Islam) to the whole world

through Jihad as a foreign policy instrument of the Khilafah state for which it proposes to raise an army of its own.²⁰⁰ Hizb plans to unify the lands of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir and Bangladesh into one state which should possess the strength to expel not only the US from the region but also bring India back under the Islamic rule, as was the case for many centuries.²⁰¹ In its view, this would be the end of all instability, unrest, economic exploitation and bloodshed in the region as the cause has always been interference from the enimical states.²⁰²

Hizb also wants Pakistan to pull out of the United Nations, which it calls “the concubine of America”, and instead establish bilateral relations with other non-colonial countries. As earlier stated, it does not recognize any of the International Financial Institutions such as the IMF, or approves of any international treaties including the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) or agrees to help NATO against Muslim countries anywhere. According to Hizb, relations with other Islamic countries do not come in the realm of foreign policy even though they are divided by agents of Kafir colonialists into different states. This is because they need to be unified under the Khilafah as is obligatory under the Shariah.²⁰³ Once the caliphate is established the Khilafah would completely sever ties with America and every other 'Kafir' enemy state which has been involved in active war against Muslims. Relations with such non-Muslim countries that are belligerent towards Pakistan will be established on a policy of *Harb Failan* (Active War). The Khilafah state would draw only on the past rulings in Islam related to *jihad*, diplomatic relations, international treaties and preparing Islamic armies to carry out their function of conveying the Islamic Da'wah invitation to the world.²⁰⁴

The Armed Forces of Pakistan

In Pakistan, the most important institution for HuT is the military because it does not follow any constitution or law and is backed by its own discipline and power.²⁰⁵ Pakistan military and its generals constitute a key element of Hizb's political discourse. It, for instance, repeatedly took on the former Chief of Army Staff, General Kayani²⁰⁶ and likened his role to that of his predecessor General Musharraf performed on American orders. According

to HuT, General Kayani is a loyal and trusted agent of the US, who has relentlessly worked to achieve American interests in Pakistan. Its contempt for top generals goes to the extent that it accuses General Musharraf of having “engineered” the Kargil operation in 1999 only to raise Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee's profile and help him win the upcoming elections in India.²⁰⁷

According to Hizb, Kayani was not only responsible for the slaughter of innocent children in Jam'ia Hafsa in the Lal Masjid incident in July 2007 but also for the military operations conducted in Swat, Bajaur Agency, Orakzai Agency and South Waziristan in which thousands of Muslims were killed, all on America's orders.²⁰⁸ Hizb states that he had a hand in allowing USA to threaten Pakistan's nuclear assets and bury the cause of Kashmir. Kayani, it says, played a key role in America's war from the beginning because he was first Musharraf's right hand man, designated soon as 10th Corps Commander, Director General, Military Operations (DGMO), DG ISI before elevation to the post of the Chief of Army Staff, according to Hizb. Till the end of his term as the COAS, General Kayani's main goal was to ensure that Americans establish a permanent presence in Afghanistan, whether under the cover of a limited or partial withdrawal.²⁰⁹

Criticising statements by General Kayani (such as “We refuse to bow before terror. We will fight regardless of the cost, ” on October 9, 2012) or many others by the army spokesperson Lt. General Asim Bajwa, the Hizb alleged that the Generals refrained from such harsh words when the American marines violated Pakistan's sovereignty by killing Osama bin Laden in May 2011, or when 24 soldiers of Pakistan Army were killed at Salala check post by US-led NATO in November the same year or when Raymond Davis was caught red-handed killing Pakistani civilians and nor when the Americans detained Dr. Aafia Siddiqui.²¹⁰

Moreover, Hizb alleges that by using incidents such as the get-bin-Laden Abbotabad operation and the Salala check post attack. Kayani changed Pakistan's India-centric security policy to the one that focused on “internal threat” as the biggest threat to Pakistan's security. In Hizb's view, the real “internal threat” is “America's Raymond Davis network” along with its ever

expanding American embassy in Islamabad, the NATO supply line, and the kufr system of democracy which has given a free hand to the treacherous military/political leadership of Pakistan.²¹¹ This is the reason, according to Hizb, why the US Ambassador, Richard Olson, stated that “democracy is our horse in Pakistan”. Hizb holds similar views about the new Chief of Army Staff, Raheel Sharif.²¹²

Zarbe Azb - North Waziristan Operation, 2014

This skepticism stretches also to the Operation Zarb-e-Azb that the army launched in mid June 2014 and the Hut calls it an orchestrated campaign;

*“In September 2013, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced at the United Nations his intention to hold talks with the Taliban fighters so as to prevent them from hindering the American occupation in Afghanistan.”²¹³ However, when talks failed, the Government announced to launch a military operation called Zarb-e-Azb in June 2014 to weaken the terrorists living in North Waziristan”.*²¹⁴

Here, the Hizb narrative hardly differs from that of the TTP or al-Qaeda, which insist the operation is killing “innocent Muslims” and mujahideen fighters are being prevented from fighting the “foreign occupation forces in Afghanistan.” The HuT also refrains from using the word terrorist, al-Qaeda or Taliban. Instead, it keeps referring to the militants as “tribal fighters.”

In July 2014, HuT distributed a leaflet titled “North Waziristan Operation is a Treachery against Pakistan's Armed Forces” in which it strongly disapproved the operation. It said the main threat to the US presence in Afghanistan is not only from the tribal fighters but also from the armed forces “if they were led by a sincere Islamic leadership..... they will be a grave threat to US presence in Afghanistan.”²¹⁵ According to Hizb, the US is cognizant of the “strong Islamic sentiments in Pakistan's armed forces” which earlier motivated it to play a major role in fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan by supporting the tribal Muslims in 1980s. The chaos in Pakistan has been instigated by the US to create a seemingly legitimate excuse for the government to launch a military operation in Waziristan.²¹⁶

In the same leaflet, HuT quoted an article published in the *New Yorker* on November 16, 2009, which stated that the principal fear for the US is that “extremists inside the Pakistani military might stage a coup”. In an interview with David Kilcullen in March 2009, US CENTCOM commander, General Petraeus said, “Pakistan has 173 million people, 100 nuclear weapons, an army bigger than that of the US. We're now reaching the point of an extremist takeover – that would dwarf everything we've seen in the war on terror today.” The article also mentioned that a senior Obama Administration official stated the name of HuT in this case.²¹⁷ The leaflet stated that “in order to simultaneously divide the Muslims, sink the armed forces into a quagmire of civil war and amputate Pakistan's strategic depth, USA specifically intensified demands for operation in North Waziristan, since September 2011”.²¹⁸

In the leaflet, it condemned the Raheel-Nawaz leadership for making the armed forces and security personnel fight their own Muslim brothers in the US-led war on terror.²¹⁹ In July 2014, Hizb displayed a number of banners at various localities and main roads of Lahore and Karachi, including cantonment areas, condemning the operation against North Waziristan and instead demanded operations against “America's Raymond Davis Network.”. HuT contended that the Raheel-Nawaz regime has the blood of the armed forces personnel on its hands as it has used it as a fuel in America's war in North Waziristan.²²⁰

Hizb ut-Tahrir's Call to the Armed Forces to Stage a Coup

Hizb ut-Tahrir's preferred method of bringing political change is through a coup d'état by the military of Pakistan which should first embrace Islam as its guiding politico-religious principle. In 1968 and 1969, Hizb encouraged elements in the Jordanian armed forces to stage a military coup and in 1974 it was linked to a failed military coup in Egypt.²²¹ HuT considers the military of Pakistan as the most powerful institution and has made it its prime target. This is why majority of its press releases end with a plea addressed to the "sincere officers" in the armed forces of Pakistan, asking for their "Nussrah" (material support) to aid their leader, in reviving the caliphate.²²² In its leaflet titled, "North Waziristan Operation is a Treachery against Pakistan's Armed Forces" on July 1, 2014, Hizb addressed the army officers in the following words:

"O officers of Pakistan's armed forces! Matters have gone far enough, red lines have been crossed and more are to be crossed. And it is all upon you, as you have the means to end the treachery and destruction. Act now. Uproot these traitors and grant the Nussrah to Hizb ut-Tahrir, under its Ameer the noble Sheikh Ata ibn Khaleel Abu Ar-Rashtah. Only then will you be led by a righteous Khaleefah, using your force to end the occupation of Afghanistan and rid the Muslim Lands of all kafir domination."²²³

According to a Hizb member, the military can play a significant role for its organization because "it does not follow the Constitution or any law and comes to power whenever it wants to. That is why we have been persuading military to establish the Khilafah and we have been very successful in doing that".²²⁴ HuT's Imran Yusufzai, said the "sincere" officers and soldiers of Pakistan army have already been under immense pressure due to the military leadership's role in the US-led Abbottabad operation. The Abbottabad incident is a proof that there is no difference between the corrupt political and military leadership of Pakistan.²²⁵

In February 2014, Hizb held countrywide demonstrations claiming that

"The US presence is responsible for the bombings and chaos" in Pakistan. Taking advantage of the anti-American sentiments, Hizb protesters displayed banners and placards that said, "O Armed Forces of Pakistan! Shut American embassies, consulates and bases, which are the cause of bombings and insecurity", "Democracy is the Guardian of the American Raj, Khilafah is the Shield of the Muslims" and "Wiping out the Raymond Davis Network will end the bombing campaign in the country." By calling upon the armed forces to take action, Hizb meant that Pakistan Army should stage a military coup to overthrow the pro-American democratic government led by Nawaz Sharif, thus, paving the way for establishing the Khilafah. The protesters also stated that it is only America that benefits from chaos in Pakistan, including the targeting of the tribal fighters by the Pakistani military while the traitors in the Pakistani leadership, on the behalf of the Americans point to other reasons for increasing instability in the country.²²⁶

In 2012, Hizb organized countrywide demonstrations on the issue of blasphemy against Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the 'shameful' role played by Muslims rulers in this regard. It said, "Only Khilafah will avenge Rasul Allah (SAW) as he has the right to be avenged." In these demonstrations, protesters held placards which declared, "O Pakistan Armed Forces! Respond to blasphemy against the Prophet, Close US embassy & bases" and "People of Pakistan lovers of Rasul Allah, Rulers of Pakistan protectors of Blasphemers".²²⁷

In 2013, Hizb held a seminar in Karachi titled "The Ummah is ready for Khilafah, Nussrah is the need of the hour". The seminar featured a call to the armed forces to give material support to Hizb to establish the Khilafah in Pakistan. Quoting a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, published on April 30, 2013 one of the speakers, Engineer Saham – a HuT member, told the seminar that 84% people of Pakistan supported Shariah as the official law while only 29% favored democracy. Saham said that this is the reason the traitors in Pakistan's leadership persecute military officers who support return of Islam, like Brigadier Ali Khan (discussed later) and sincere politicians who are abducted by the government. There was also a video address by the HuT's leader, Shaikh Abu Ar-Rashta, to the people of Pakistan.²²⁸

In another press release titled, "End persecution of Hizb ut-Tahrir. Kayani-Sharif regime invokes Allah's rage by arresting respected Aalim, calling for Khilafah!" HuT addressed the armed forces, saying:

"And here you are with fire and steel that can bring the Khilafah within hours to end the American Raj in Pakistan and Afghanistan forever. Hizb ut-Tahrir under its Ameer, the eminent jurist, Sheikh Ata ibn Khaleel Abu-Ar-Rashta, calls you to fulfill your duty now. Respond!"²²⁹

Thus, again and again Hizb has emphasized that it is the "duty" of the sincere elements within the armed forces to establish Khilafah and uprooting the existing democratic system.²³⁰ Arrests and intimidation by Pakistani intelligence agencies has not deterred it from its mission of protesting the government and army policies. It also continues to enlist support from within the higher echelons of Pakistan Army as well as the elites of the society in general. According to its spokesman in Karachi, Shahzad Sheikh, Hizb has been persuading the army to stage a bloodless coup and overthrow the government.²³¹ It secretly enlisted a few officers of the armed forces who were being trained at Sandhurst, the elite British military academy. According to a report, Hizb established links with about thirteen commandos of the army's Special Services Group (SSG).²³² The links between the commandos and Hizb came to the attention of the military regime of General Musharraf who had them arrested in 2003 before banning the organization in 2004.²³³

Court martial proceedings were initiated against Lieutenant Colonel Shahid Bashir, Abdul Qadir and Dr. Ahmed, who were found to have links with HuT in 2009. However, in May 2011, when a senior military officer Brigadier Ali Khan was found allegedly involved with HuT, reports regarding infiltration by Islamic fundamentalists into the senior officer corps of Pakistani army were hard to conceal.²³⁴ Brigadier Ali Khan had been a vocal critic of the American raid that killed Osama bin Laden and had also raised questions at a meeting of Pakistani generals regarding the operation. He had earlier criticized Musharraf's support for American War on Terror which resulted in blocking his promotion to major general.²³⁵ On August 3, Brigadier Ali Khan along with Major Sohail Akbar, Major Inayat Aziz, Major Iftikhar and Major Jawad

Baseer were sentenced to imprisonment for terms ranging from eighteen months to five years.²³⁶

In an investigation report by Major Kashif Saleem of Special Investigation Branch (SIB), Brigadier Ali Khan, along with four other military officers, was conspiring to target the civilian and military leadership in an air attack and pave the way for the Khilifah. This was Hizb's third attempt, in the past decade, to penetrate the armed forces and stage coup against the government. Allegedly, Colonel Bashir, arrested in 2009, had been charged with attempting to acquire classified information concerning the locations of operational bases given to the USA in Pakistan from where US drones operated.²³⁷

The discovery of several HuT wolves within the military ranks also alarmed the high command of the danger of other like-minded people ganging up for a revolt. This case also underscored how quietly had HuT proliferated the rank and file of the Pakistan army, where dissent with policies of General Kayani and General Musharraf soared particularly after of the US Marine raid on the bin Laden mansion and the Salala check post in the northwestern mountainous border terrain.

A British researcher Simon Valentine,; who studied; extremism in the Pakistani armed forces says that while HuT does not advocate violence as an element of its ideology, its modus operandi is to infiltrate the armed forces and stage a military coup against the government. Moreover, his findings revealed, that despite popular claims that there is zero tolerance for Hizb in the army, "militant Islam, including the HuT's, has much support from the grass roots to the highest level within all branches of the armed forces".

Tactics and Strategies used by Hizbut Tahrir

Surprisingly though, an article published in Express Tribune by a Hizb leader explained the aim of his party as subjecting “Muslims and western countries to Islamic rule under Shariah law, even by force if necessary”. Such publicly expressed intent runs contrary to the generic argument of “non-violence” that the HuT loves to deploy in the public discourse. He further elaborated that “Islamic rule would be spread through indoctrination, and by military means, if non-Muslim countries refused to bow”.²³⁸ In order to achieve “Nussrah” of the people of Pakistan, the Hizb strategy has centered on two important tactics: (1) Challenge the existing system and (2) target only the literate and influential segments of the society. It is only recently that Hizb began reaching out to the masses in an effort to consolidate and expand popular support for the party. Until now it had been aiming to cultivate contacts in influential circles such as those of the civilian elite and the military establishment. According to a Hizb member, the party is already targeting four or five such military leaders who, HuT thinks, will help the organization in establishing the Khilafah. On the other hand, the motive behind directly contacting the masses is to increase the demand for Khilafah and hence, put pressure on the government.²³⁹

Bureaucracy, media, judiciary, lawyers' community and political and religious parties constitute the secondary plank of support. Hizb plans to seek media's support by persuading leading journalists to help propagate its ideology among the masses. The party has already set up stalls outside offices of mobile companies to enlist staff who can share personal information about key figures with HuT.²⁴⁰ It is also targeting academic institutions known for producing civil servants, such as the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS). It claims to have successfully planted Hizb members as lecturers in the institutions,, including Punjab University, Islamic International University in Islamabad, and LUMS. Acquiring teaching positions in these prestigious institutions is not difficult for Hizb members because most of them are British-Pakistanis with qualifications from foreign institutes and, in some cases, have served as lecturers in British universities. According to a report, for example, Dr.

Muhammad Nawaz, living in Sheffield, moved from a teaching position at a university in the UK to serve in the Punjab University in 1999 with the help of Majid Nawaz. According to the same source, Hizb has backed the setting up of many front organizations that advise and guide students in matters such as getting UK visas so as to recruit more potential party activists. Primarily, its focus has been on people in major cities because it considers them as key to influencing the public opinion which can resonate in smaller cities too.²⁴¹

The Hizb clearly considers big urban centres as the key to its success and thus concentrating on major educational institutions in cities such as Lahore and Karachi.

Tools for Ideological Propagation

The tools of communication and ideological propagation employed by the Hizb include print and social media. It is extremely active in connecting with readers through emails for dissemination of its message and ideology, comprehensive programs for ideological indoctrination as well as training of its members, especially new recruits.²⁴² Following its “Declaration to the People of Power” in May 2010, HuT started an aggressive advertisement campaign in Rawalpindi and Islamabad where it displayed banners and billboards and distributed pamphlets and text messages to acquaint the public with its ideology. Despite being a banned organization, its banners advertising its declaration were openly displayed in markets, neighborhoods and on main roads between the two cities.²⁴³

Print

HuT has been publishing pamphlets, leaflets, books and booklets, in English and Urdu explaining the Khilafah and how the political, economic, judicial and social systems will operate under an Islamic government. It also regularly issues press releases, sometimes open letters to key figures and an Urdu magazine called *Khilafat*. This magazine violates the law for publication of magazines and newspapers because it does not have the required official permit for publishing and distribution. Hizb distributes its two page pamphlets outside mosques after Friday prayers which cover

significant parts of its print awareness campaign. Its workers also conduct door-to-door campaigns where they distribute pamphlets and booklets to acquaint people with the party's ideology. In 2008, police arrested boys aged between 14 and 15 in Karachi for putting up party posters. Upon enquiry, it was revealed that the boys were not members of Hizb and had no idea about the content of the posters and were paid Rs100 a day for putting up the banners. This is proof that the party also employs under aged, illiterate and unemployed youth to promote its ideology.²⁴⁴

Electronic and Online Awareness Campaign

Internet has been one of the most successful mediums for Hizb for message dissemination and multiplication. All of Hizb's publications including its manifesto, books, pamphlets, press releases, articles, press coverage, videos and its analyses of important events are available both in English and Urdu on the web. Its seminars and direct messages to the people are also easily accessible on the YouTube. Social networking websites such as Facebook and Twitter, and message boards and blogs are other important means of communication employed by Hizb to recruit new members. According to a report by Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, HuT has a group called "Rise of Khudi" on Facebook which is "a complete radicalization package" for the youth in which it quotes sayings of the Prophet (PBUH) that favor their ideology.²⁴⁵ Facebook has time and again suspended a number of HuT's accounts of various branches, media offices, pages and members. Some Facebook groups organized by Hizb activists call for "the removal of American military, intelligence and private military organization" from Pakistan.²⁴⁶

As soon as the cyber crime wing of the Federal Investigation Agency bans its websites, HuT is quick to launch new ones with the same literature. According to the daily The News International, Hizb uses Afghanistan-based satellite system to host its websites. The same system is used to send SMS messages in Pakistan.²⁴⁷ In a desperate effort to persuade the mainstream media to cover its activities, Hizb contacted several senior journalists in May 2010 to cover their press conference in National Press Club Islamabad.²⁴⁸

On a personal note, HuT activists tend to keep a track of what I say about the organization - manifest in quite fierce encounter with them after I delivered a lecture at Oxford in February 2011. Its activists have been approaching me in Islamabad too in an apparent bid to win over support for the release of their detained activists including Naveed Butt.

Demonstrations

HuT is banned under Pakistan's anti-terrorism laws because it propagates hate speech and incites violent activity. However the ban has not stopped it from holding frequent protests to register its dissent against issues opposed to its ideology and to demonstrate how much manpower and support it has garnered in Pakistan. After the ban in 2004 the number of participants in its public events dropped markedly. However, the number has risen again in recent years.²⁴⁹

According to a British researcher Simon Valentine, the party's views have attained widespread support because of increasing anti-American sentiments in the society.²⁵⁰ In anti-US rallies that it conducted in 2009 in Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad and Peshawar, more than 200 Hizb activists were arrested. Such demonstrations give Hizb an opportunity to disseminate its message among the participants and a chance that the media would cover the rallies in the big cities.²⁵¹

Recruitment and Training of Members

According to a Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies' report, the party recruits members by first identifying persons with potential to further Hizb's ideology and then convincing the recruit to join their cause. The training of a new member takes about three to six months in which five to six members would then develop close association with the recruit. In the first phase Hizb works to correct and convert the recruit's view according to *Salafism*. The second phase acquaints him with the objectives and strategies of HuT. The third and last phase is identifying his potential so he can be assigned responsibilities, whether within the organization or in recruiting new members.²⁵² Once recruited, Hizb advises its followers:

“Let no Masjid, school, university campus, market, office be deprived of the call for the Khilafah. carry the call loud and clear, whether it is by discussions, bayyans (address), dars (lessons), SMS, e-mail, radio or even television broadcast. Let the call for Khilafah resound throughout this land and within this part of the Islamic Ummah. And call your sons, brothers, fathers and uncles in the armed forces to deliver a death blow to the American presence in the region giving Nussrah to Hizbut Tahrir to establish the Khilafah”²⁵³

The HuT also holds weekly study circles to educate its existing members and recruit more activists. Before the ban in 2004, these were organized more openly in mosques and restaurants but now these activities take place behind closed doors. Individual meetings with influential and educated people are also held to convince them about the party's agenda and recruit more people.²⁵⁴ HuT holds debates and seminars for target students, academics and scholars in an attempt to kindle their interest in its ideology. It held a seminar titled “Ramadan: A Month of Islamic Dominance” in 2009 in major cities of Pakistan which allowed Hizb to freely discuss its ideology and persuade people to join its cause. A summary of these seminars reveals that Hizb members incite the audience to reject America's 'political intervention' in Pakistan and state that it is *Haraam* (sacrilegious) to sign agreements with non-believing states that interfere in the affairs of an Islamic Khilafah state.²⁵⁵

Hizb ut-Tahrir and Al Qaeda

Hizbut-Tahrir is not an extension of Al Qaeda but one can discern little difference in their ultimate goals;²⁵⁶ both are fundamentalist and moralistic in their interpretation of Islam. Both organizations are extremely anti-west and hope to re-establish the Islamic caliphate system in the Muslim World. Al Qaeda has openly declared war against the West and triggered the US-led War on Terror. The Hizb, on the other hand, declares in its manifesto that once the caliphate has been established, it would not only sever diplomatic relations with western states but it would avenge those which have caused sufferings to Muslims all over the world.²⁵⁷

Both seek an Islamic state through militant means; Al Qaeda, through its terrorist attacks, and Hizb, through military coups. Although, Hizb boasts non-violence as a means to political power yet, according to a former Hizb member, the “hardliner's views indirectly but surely encourage violence,” therefore “it is inaccurate to describe it as a non-violent organization”.²⁵⁸ In its press releases, it has openly invited Taliban to join in its efforts to put an end to American presence in Pakistan. A tweet by the official Twitter account of the Central Contact Committee of HuT Wilayah Pakistan on June 23, 2014, said “#Taliban Will Burn Your Palaces in #Islamabad, #Lahore: Spokesman,” referring obviously to the big official offices and residences of the prime minister, the president and the humongous farm houses of prime minister Sharif's entire family. Nevertheless, it shows that the Hizb endorses Taliban in carrying out terrorist activities against the government of Pakistan.²⁵⁹ Despite advocating similar ideologies and a clandestine mode of existence and operation, members of HuT have never themselves turned to terrorism or violence. The group has consistently advocated non-violent methods in pursuing its objectives and its members engage only in political and intellectual activities to propagate its message.²⁶⁰ In February 2014, many TV channels ran a ticker which reported that the Interior Ministry had sent a report to Karachi Police and Rangers where it referred to Hizbut-Tahrir as a branch of Al Qaeda. In a harsh response, Hizb's deputy spokesman, Shahzad Shaikh, rejected the report as “false allegations” and that “Islam forbids material or militant struggle for the establishment of Khilafah”. He

said the Hizb was an Islamic political party which works for the establishment of Khilafah through an intellectual and political struggle and not terrorism. This issue arose when Hizb members were found distributing leaflets on the premises of Karachi University despite being a banned organization.²⁶¹

Apart from their varying views on terrorism, Hizb believes in the top-down approach to establish the Caliphate and then resolving the issues besetting the Muslim World, while organizations such as Muslim Brotherhood and al Qaeda's technique is more bottom-up Islamization of society.²⁶² The conditions under which both al Qaeda and HuT operate are similar. Both have been declared illegal in almost all the countries except for a few western states.²⁶³ Katerina Dalacoura, in her book "Islamist Terrorism and Democracy in the Middle East" states that employing a hardline interpretation of Islam is not in itself a cause of Islamist terrorism. In fact, the reason al Qaeda is an Islamist terrorist organization is because of socio-economic and strategic factors, such as poverty and social alienation of its members which is the underlying difference between the activities of al Qaeda and Hizbut Tahrir.²⁶⁴

Future

The American Foreign Policy Council concludes that Hizb's commitment to a non-violent struggle is conditional. The party will cease to be non-violent if a legitimate authority, the Caliph, declares *Jihad* for his Ummah. Additionally, Hizb also endorses the concept of defensive *Jihad* where Muslims are required to fight an invader if attacked. This has the potential to be interpreted very broadly and has been applied by Hizb to fighting back the coalition forces in Iraq and Afghanistan. Their ambiguous views on non-violence were further revealed when the group began distributing pamphlets in Denmark which urged Muslims to "kill (Jews) wherever you find them, and turn them out from where they have turned you out". Following this, HuT was banned in Denmark.²⁶⁵

Even though Hizb has, in its literature, "restricted itself to political actions alone" and claims not to resort to material actions against those who

attempt to hinder its mission, its conduct in general, and the violence-inducing rhetoric, propagation against non-Muslims, and the reiteration of its quest for caliphate do fly in the face of its claims because, critics conclude, this party too suffers from a dichotomy in ideals and the questionable means it wants to achieve them.

An eye-opening illustration of this came through a blog ***Why I ceased contact with the Hizbut-Tahrir*** by Umair Tariq, a young telecom engineer from Islamabad. Published in August 9, 2011 (<http://blogs.tribune.com.pk/story/7391/why-i-ceased-contact-with-the-hizb-ut-tahrir/>), the blog detailed the frustrating encounters of Umair Tariq with the HuT in some of the middle class residential sectors of capital Islamabad. The blog offers an instructive read on how religio-political parties prey on young minds by drawing on convoluted accounts of Muslim history and distorted interpretations of the Quraan and sunnah.

"I remember when the HuT lied to people and bribed them with free food to make them come to their meetings," recalls Umair in the blog when talking about first encounter with Hizb ut-Tahrir in the summer of 2001 when a friend asked me to bring as many people as I could for a *social gathering*.

"To my utter surprise, the gathering was a protest arranged by Hizb ut-Tahrir Islamabad Chapter to protest the American attack on Afghanistan. Being just 16-years-old and fed with what I had seen around me, I was eager to get the 'real facts' that the western media was keeping from us."

The protest started with recitation from the Holy Quran. The verse quoted was a famous one from Surah Ahzaab that deals with the friendship with Jews and Christians. The speaker explained that Jews and Christians (he explicitly said 'West and Western sponsored NGOs' after that) were afraid of the 'rise of Islam in Afghanistan and wanted to wipeout the caliphate from there and it has been mentioned in a Hadith as well.' He went on to recite a Hadith about the rise of an Islamic Army from Khurasaan and told us that Khurasaan is the old name of Afghanistan (Some of the TTP factions speak of Khurasaan too). We were told that American agents are like the munafiqeen of Medina and they pronounced the decrees on the

basis of hypocrisy.The speakers said that Islam and Pakistan were in danger and that USA will destroy our nuclear bomb because they are afraid of the power of the caliphate. According to the men Islamic territories in Spain, Armenia, Russia and in other countries of Eastern Europe could be reclaimed if we just united on a one-point agenda of caliphate and supported the caliphate in Afghanistan.

Young Umair explained how his inquisitive nature forced him to counter one of the HuT mentors with some pointed questions during one of the internal teaching sessions i.e *dars*.

After answering a few of my queries however, the speaker stopped me from asking further questions and quoted a hadith that said that there is a thin line between Islam and Kufar. I immediately knew that he was about to declare me Kafir. I didn't lose hope, I attended many other sessions and tried to expunge my doubts, but to no avail.

My last experience with the Hizb ut-Tahrir was in the aftermath of the earthquake in 2005. During the usual dars and Caliphate rhetoric (that I was not satisfied with) the speaker said that the earthquake was occurred because we are not doing enough to bring shariah in Pakistan. I wanted to ask which Shariah? There are so many versions and everyone knows that.

Then came the final break for the disenchanted Umair, frustrated because of “misinterpretation of Quran and Hadith and misuse of different verses of Quran in the pamphlets that HuT distributed after every Friday prayers outside mosques.”

It was the day they termed suicide bombings as a justifiable response to the situation by saying an eye for an eye. The statement was just between people close to the patron of HuT I-10 (a residential sector in Islamabad) and it was not said openly. I was unable to understand why they lied to people and told them about the lavish dinner after the meeting? Their answer to every question is Muslims should bring Caliphate and everything will be fine!

In its literature, the Hizb keeps alluding to the notion that a violent confrontation between Muslims and non-Muslims is a probable eventuality, although it has not yet spelt this out in definitive terms.²⁶⁶ It is also reflected in its continuous call on the armed forces of Pakistan and other Muslim countries to launch military coups.²⁶⁷ It repeatedly exhorts them to take revenge from 'kuffar' states like US, Britain, Israel, India etc.²⁶⁸ Following the raid that killed Osama bin Laden in May 2011, HuT, for example, produced pamphlets that urged soldiers to turn against their commanders and revolt against the military hierarchy in order to help establish a global Islamic Caliphate.²⁶⁹

They kept snubbing claims by the army and government that the American attack (to take out Osama bin Laden) took place without their knowledge or tacit support.

According to the American Foreign Policy Council, even though Hizb does not openly adopt violence as a means to achieve its goals, the group is still radicalizing its members who then go on to conduct violent acts in their own capacities. According to Zeyno Baran, Hizb is active in ideological tutoring of Muslims and therefore “serves as a *de facto* conveyor belt for terrorists” for other organizations who plan and execute terrorist attacks. According to him, many notable militants affiliated with radical Islamist groups were previously members of HuT such as Omar Sharif, who tried to blow himself up in a Tel Aviv bar in 2003. The British intelligence officials later discovered a cache of Hizb's literature from his residence.²⁷⁰ The picture that emerges from this study is one of a global, transnationalist Islamist political party that goes by a dangerous roadmap for replacing the existing western social and governing systems with a khilafa. In addition to ensuring strict accountability of the rulers, prompt justice, free education, equality and just distribution of wealth and resources for its citizens, it claims that its foreign policy will be based on Islam – though ambiguous which version of Islam. Through Islamic *Dawah* and *Jihad*, HuT aims to preach to the world in order to bring “humanity out of the darkness of kufr into the light of Islam”. It discards the current “secular” constitution of Pakistan, but considers the present security establishment as central for replacing the current dispensation with a caliphate.

The end-goal for HuT, like all the Islamist organizations, is the establishment of a Sharia rule in the nuclear-armed Pakistan; it espouses to create enabling environment for a military coup through “sincere” lower-cadre officers of the Pakistani military who will then turn against their pro-American military leadership and stage a coup d'état to help Hizb in heralding its Islamist revolution. Although, it is not engaged in traditional religious missionary work, yet in many ways the Hizb operates in the gray area between politics, ideology and violent action. It does not act as a conventional political party because it rejects the existing political system. It embodies an isolationist world view whereby it rejects most of the world powers as non-believers/infidels and stops short of declaring to develop weapons of mass destruction to lend the khilafa an edge over all others. It also champions the cause of equality of all the citizens for all the residents of the khilafa – a term that appears to have been inspired by the western notion of Equal Citizenry, a concept that remains cardinal in the western democracies. While the the HuT message carries little mass traction, its surreptitious way of proselytizing and infiltration of critical segments of the society i.e. bureaucracy, military and academia poses a formidable challenge to the civilian and the military ruling elites. Much more alarming for the Pakistani security establishment is the HuT's stated goal of engineering a coup to grab political power for establishing the khilafa state.

The HuT may not be a violent group but its ideology does justify use of violence for political ends as much as Al-Qaeda and others do. The group may appear just a utopian rabble-rouser but its pandering to the Pakistan military officers does germinate a propensity to consider violent means for securing political power as religiously justifiable. The group's base may remain limited and its appeal confined to particular sections of the society, but its messaging is as toxic and inciting as those of others such as Al-Qaeda and IS. This may not translate in to popular support for the group but the specter of this ideology infecting minds of people at large remains a probability. Support and empathy for HuT within the army and bureaucracy – the way it had existed for Jamaate Islami since the creation of Pakistan in 1947 – is politically scary and potentially debilitating for social peace and harmony; the presence of such influential people within governance and security structures of Pakistan means they can certainly try to scupper state

plans or blow holes in the national security. And this essentially can feed into endeavors of all those who would want to establish an Islamic state in Pakistan. As long as they share this end goal all Islamist, trans-national groups such as HuT and al Qaeda remain a potent threat to all those who would like to see Pakistan survive and thrive as a liberal Islamic state, as a respectable democratic member of the global community.

These groups including the HuT in fact represent a civilizational threat to Pakistan's present socio-political fabric. Equally dangerous is the HuT for the Pakistani armed forces; Brigadier Ali Khan simply epitomized the infiltration that HuT has managed within the Army. The Pakistan Navy and the Air Force are no exception either. An attempt in September 2014 by a mid-career officer to hijack a boat armed with missiles from the Navy's Karachi Yard also delivered a stunning warning to the authorities. The plan was to fire those missiles at the American warships that were to participate in joint exercises next day.

Since the Hut considers the Pakistani armed forces as the key to and the pivot of the global Khilafa, security agencies shall have to stand vigilant for all the times to come. We know the encroaching threat and the Military Intelligence has been asked to be ruthless with anybody suspected of links with organizations such as al-Qaeda and the HuT, General Shamim Wyne, a former chairman of the joint chiefs of committee - the de facto deputy of the army chief, had told me immediately after the arrest of Brig Ali Khan in 2011.

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It is an undeniable fact that for the past many centuries, the word Khilafah is being used. However, it is certainly not a religious term. Religious terms cannot be coined by scholars like Razi, Ghazali, Mawardi, Ibn Haazm and Ibn Khuldun. Similarly, not every word that Muslims start using in a particular sense becomes

a religious term. Scholars of Islam must bear in mind that the precepts of God's religion must remain pure and unaltered. No scholar, jurist or Hadith doctor has the authority to make people liable for a directive for which the Almighty has not made them liable.

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