

Islamism and the Islamic Caliphate in Israr Ahmed's Thoughts

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(Received: January 29, 2021 ; Revised: April 25, 2021 ; Accepted: May 15, 2021)

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Abstract

With the fall of the Ottoman Caliphate, the idea of reviving the Islamic caliphate spread from the east to the west of the Islamic world. It was as if the Sunnīs, who had not experienced the world without a caliph before, were astonished and each of them formulated the idea of the caliphate in the Islamic world. As a well-known Pakistani writer, Israr Ahmed is one of the most important theorists in this field in the eastern part of the Islamic world. His thought was a reflection of the three streams of thought that started from Azad, Iqbal, and Maududi, showing its influence in a period and under its socio-political conditions. In the present article, the main issue is to introduce the ideas of Islamism and the Islamic Caliphate as well as the intellectual transformation of Israr Ahmed in a chronological manner and historical context and to explain his political thought in this field. According to the historical-analytical method, Israr Ahmed first followed Azad's thoughts in the idea of returning to the Qur'ān and the idea of Iqbal's intellectual reform. To do so, he established Markazi Anjuman for Khuddam-ul-Quran in 1972 and publicized it in his writings. Next, the effects of the revolutionary thoughts of Maududi and the reforming views of Iqbal manifested themselves in his views. He then established Tanzeem-e-Islami in 1975 and Tahreek-al-Khilafah in 1991, returning to Azad's views and Maududi's Islamic Revolution in order to realize an overarching revolution as well as the caliphate system. The latter stage in his political theory was a combination of traditional Sunnī views on the caliphate system and modern western governance.

Keywords: Islamism, Islamic caliphate, Religious reforms, Ijtihad.

Introduction

The twentieth century was marked by important developments around the world as well as the Islamic world. The most important event of this century for the Islamic world was the fall of the ancient Ottoman Caliphate, which had been a strong barrier against foreign invasions of the Islamic world for a long time. By the end of their rule, they had been able to establish themselves as the legitimate caliphs of the Islamic world in most Sunnī areas, and their presence was essential to Sunnī political legitimacy. World War I and the fall of this state posed serious challenges to the political legitimacy of the Sunnī world. Among the people confused in this regard were the countless Muslims of India, and this led to the first ideas of Islamic rule, due to the general conditions of the Islamic world and the special features of the subcontinent. The first harbinger of this idea in the Peninsula, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) aimed at the establishment of Islamic Law (*sharī'a*) and the establishment of the divine state, leading the movement "Hizbullah." Next, 'Allāma Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) tried to remind Muslims "You are Muslim" to raise the awareness in the Muslim world and make a reform. Results of his thoughts led Indian Muslims to come to awareness that they could be a nation. This attitude was rooted in a dynamic understanding of Islam rather than a

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static one. After Iqbal, Maulana Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi (1903-1979) – with the establishment of *the Islamic Community* – indicated the goal of his movement as establishing the rule of God on earth, although given the independence of Pakistan and political engagement as a party, the latter roughly abandoned its initial cause. This resulted in the revolutionary elements faithful to the Islamic government to leave the movement and begin to organize other groups and movements to achieve the goal.

Based on the historical-analytical approach, the present paper explores the political views of Ahmed (1932-2010) who left Maududi's *Jima'at Islami* and tried to establish *Markazi Anjuman for Khuddam-ul-Qur'ān, Tanzeem-e-Islami* since the 1960s, and ultimately *Tahreek-al-Caliphate* in the 1990s for the establishment of the divine state and Islamic Law (*sharī'a*). Ahmed had the views of Azad, Iqbal, and Maududi with him; the views spread since the beginning of the twentieth century on the course of the Indian independence from Britain and the introduction of Muslim population of India in order to establish an Islamic state. This paper consists of two sections, the first of which reviews Ahmed's biography and works, and the second deals with the historical background of Islamic state discourse in the Peninsula, social and political contexts for his political theory, as well as such related topics as the Islamic state's legislative sources, status of women, *dhimmīs*, *ijtihād*, democracy, and its interaction with the party.

Biography of Ahmed

As the second son to Shaykh Mukhtar Ahmed, Israr was born in East Punjab of India on April 26, 1932. During adolescence and high school, he was a student member of the movement Muslim League to establish Pakistan. With the independence of Pakistan in 1947, his family moved to the newly established country. He had been familiar with Iqbal's views through Ish'ar, his brother, and became familiar with the thoughts of Maududi after immigration. From 1949 to 1954, he was studying at the Medical College of Lahore. In 1950, he was a student member of *the Islamic Community*. He became the Nazim-e Halgha for the Medical College In 1950, Nazim-e Jam'iyyat for Lahore and Punjab in 1951, and finally Nazim-e A'lay-e Jam'iyyat from 1952 to 1954. After graduation in 1954, he became the "Rukn" (full member) of *the Islamic Community*, later the Amir of *the Islamic Community* of Sahiwal, and a member of the "parliament" (Ahmed, 2010: 13; Ahmed, 1993: 29-40). In 1957, he resigned from the membership of *the Islamic Community* and devoted himself to the study of the Qur'ān. In 1965, he received a master's degree in Islamic Studies from the University of Karachi, yet in 1971, he gave up medical practice to devote himself to Islamic studies and focus on the Qur'ānic teachings (Ahmed, 1993: 40-46). He established *Markazi Anjuman for Khuddam-ul-Qur'ān* in 1972 in Lahore to promote the Qur'ānic teachings through the Academy of Qur'ān and the College of Qur'ān as well as speeches and publications (Ahmed, 2010: 13; Ahmed, 2002: 40). In 1975, Ahmed established *Tanzeem-e-Islami* with the aim of realizing an Islamic order and also operationalizing the Qur'ānic teachings in all aspects of life (Ahmed, 1975: 8-9). In 1991, Ahmed established *Tahreek-al-Caliphate* as a result of familiarity with the ideas of *Hizb ut-Tahrir* in Britain and the United States, whose goal was to make changes in all aspects of Pakistani society and Islamic communities and the world to establish an Islamic state (Ahmed, 2010: 16-17), though his view concerning the caliphate was different from that of *Hizb ut-Tahrir*. Ahmed died on 14 April 2010, at the age 78.

The works and writings of Israr Ahmed

The works of Ahmed consist of two categories: the written works and the audio and video tapes. Regarding the former, there are more than 62 books, with all of them being in Urdu and

mainly about Islam and Pakistan. Some nine works of him have been translated into English or other languages. Among his most important written works are the following.

1. *The Islamic Renaissance: A Real Task Ahead*. Written in Urdu and published in the Journal of the *Misaq* in 1967, the book was initially translated into English in 1980, but translated again by Ahmed Afzaal four decades later. His emphasis here is on the role of faith in the revival of Islam in accordance with the teachings of the Qur'ān. What he wanted to do at that time was the intellectual reconstruction of the Muslims, an attempt his predecessor, Iqbal, had been willing to realize some 35 years before him. He made several speeches on the topic, and later published as the *Revival of Islamic Thought*. Ahmed believes that a powerful rational movement is required to realize the basic changes in intellectuals and elites. To do so, two practical steps should be taken. First, creating a broad promotion institution, and second, the establishment of the Academy of Qur'ān (Ahmed, 2011).
2. *The Rise and Fall of Muslim Ummah*, which includes a review of the history of Islam as well as a history of revivalism in Islam and Islamic movements. The book is somewhat complementary to *The Islamic Renaissance*. His goal is to introduce the history of Islam to the contemporary generation through a historic analysis to establish an Islamic identity.
3. *Bey'a (Allegiance), the Basis of the Islamic Revivalist Party* is his 1995 speech made in Illinois, U.S., focused on the traditional definition of *Bey'a*, rooted in the word bay' (sale) and revealing its role in the structure of the Islamic state, against the constitutional and democratic systems.
4. *Caliphate in Pakistan, How and Why?* which discusses the establishment of Caliphate and its related processes. The article contains two papers. In the first one, the political and social conditions of Pakistan and Islamic system are analyzed. The second deals with issues related to the Islamic state, e.g., the parliament, elections, the formation of the Caliphate, the Islamic state legislation, Ijtihād, etc.

His other works include *Islam in Pakistan*, *return to Qur'ān*, *Bey'a for Maulana Maududi*, *Method for the Revolution of the Prophet*, *Caliphate System in Pakistan*, *Research on the Movement 'the Islamic Community'*, *The Meanings of Islamic Revolution in Qur'ān*, *The Religious Revolution of the Prophet Muḥammad*, and so on. His works are on Qur'ān and the teachings of Prophet Muḥammad (s) as well as their application in the present day for an Islamic system.

Amongst his most prominent speeches are “the political system in Islam,” “ijtihād in Iqbal.” “establishment of religion,” “the goal of Tanzeem-e-Islami,” and “Islamic revolution as a process.”

A study of streams influencing the thoughts of Israr Ahmed

Ahmed was influenced by three groups of sources: a) his personal experience with his own environment and Islamist movements; b) selective western ideas; c) the views of Azad, Iqbal and Maududi. In the latter case, it must be said that the three main sources have been chronologically influencing him. The first figure affecting him was Iqbal, whose works and poetry appealed to him during his adolescence. Maududi was another effective scholar, yet Ahmed was unable to show his influence due to his lack of intellectual autonomy. The prominence of the notion of revolution in the views of Maududi played a significant role in Ahmed's later views. However, he places revolution under the category of reforming. Reform as emphasized by Iqbal is obvious in Ahmed's views during this period and his book *The Islamic Renaissance*. Reforming the thoughts of the Muslims, especially their intellectuals, and matching the social and natural science with the Islamic knowledge were emphasized by

Ahmed in that book (Ahmed, 2011: 40). In addition, Ahmed was mostly influenced by Iqbal regarding the notion *ijtihād*.

Another view affecting Ahmed was tMaududi's Islamic Revolution and Movement. After he left the *Islamic Community*, he established *Markazi Anjuman for Khuddam-ul-Qur'ān* and *Tanzeem-e-Islami* whose aims were to follow the reform of Iqbal and to set the stage for a revolution. The establishment of *Tahreer-al-Caliphate* in the 1990s can be seen as its manifestation in which - in addition to the Maududi's ideas - Ahmed was to follow Azad's views concerning the movement *Caliphate*. Azad's influence may be seen in founding the *Markazi Anjuman for Khuddam-ul-Qur'ān* as well as *Tahreer-al-Caliphate*, modeling *Hizb ut-Tahrir*. Yet obvious differences from the party may cast doubt on this claim. Ahmed was influenced mostly by Azad's ideas regarding the exegesis of Qur'ān as well as Farrāhī and Iṣlāhī, focusing on the internal consistency of Qur'ān (Ahmed, 2010: 14).

The idea of the Islamic caliphate in India and Pakistan

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, political consciousness arose in the Indian Peninsula. This led to the establishment of several organizations, including the Indian National Congress and Muslim League. The Indian National Congress was formed in 1885, claiming to be the Hindus' and Muslims' representative - mostly under the Hindus. However, the Muslim League was founded in 1906, aimed at supporting and advancing the rights and political demands of Indian Muslims without direct entrenchment against the rule of Great Britain, and was characterized by modern class members and feudal figures. The significance of the latter movement is obvious from the fact that Azad and Muhammad Ali Jinnah were its leading members who had a theoretical framework about Muslim rule in the Peninsula. As the disputes increased between the Hindus and Muslims, Jinnah brought about the theory of "two nations" based on the theory of historical, cultural, and religious differences between the two populations. This suggested a huge gap between Muslims and Hindus, and that there would never be a peaceful and satisfactory relationship between the two groups (Ahmed, 1993: 39).

Before the independence of Pakistan during the early stages of the movement of Indian Muslims, Azad proposed the return to Qur'ān (Ahmed, 1993: 13). Azad was trying to establish "divine rule" among Indian Muslims; so in 1913, he introduced Hizbullah (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 15). The membership of the party was on the basis of allegiance and Azad recommended one of his companions as Caliph the caliph. With the establishment of "Dar Al-Irshad," he tried to develop leaders knowledgeable in Islamic law and aware of modern education that would be an alternative to traditional scholars. In addition, he was the theoretician of the Caliphate Movement, all in his pan-Islamic days in his early life. After 1921, he changed considerably and became an Indian nationalist and a supporter of the Indian National Congress. He was among those who opposed the creation of Pakistan (Ahmed, 1993: 13-17).

Azad ceased to follow the Movement and later, Maududi called him "dead" (Ahmed, 2002: 35). After this abandonment by Azad [1], two brothers named Abdul Sattar and Abdul-Jabbar Khayri tried to follow that same cause; although it is unclear whether they had a particular divine framework of government in mind. According to Ahmed, the first figure employing a certain rational style for the revival of religious thought in Islam was Iqbal who emphasized an Islamic state in his poetry. He believed that the absolute rule belongs only to Allāh (Parray, 2011: 7). He also pointed to the man as the caliph in the six lectures in 1928, stating the framework of his opinions about the role of religion in society (Parray, 2011: 6-7). Eleven years later, Maulana Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi explained in a speech in Lahore (later published as "The political system of Islam") the two terms of the political doctrine of Islam. First, 'theo-democracy', a new word coined by Maududi, and the other 'popular vicegerency' that Iqbal had also commented about earlier (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 15-19).

Another scholar dealing with the framework of the Islamic state was Ahmed who thought somewhat differently while enjoying the ideas of the three thinkers. It was due to the accumulated experiences and his will to avoid repeating the failures or misinterpretations of the thinkers according to Ahmed. For example, Ahmed proposed collective vicegerency of the Muslims as opposed to Maudidi's popular vicegerency, which was a more restricted framework of the issue of governance in a society. As he wrote, "I think the popular vicegerency is subject to misunderstanding. In the political system of Islam, the caliph or successor is wholly owned by the Muslims to rule all citizens of a nation-state regardless of their faith" (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 19). He reveals one of the secular scholars' misunderstandings concerning Iqbal's ideas, trying to define the rule of the Muslim and non-Muslim in the Islamic state (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 16, 28).

From the perspective of those who led the discourse of *Caliphate* in the Peninsula of India and Pakistan, understanding the caliphate is based on the rejection of the absolute rule of the human. Qur'an states that ruling belongs to Allāh the Almighty, so no one can claim to have such governance but only successors of God. Ahmed divides this vicegerency into two stages. The first is the individual and personal one during which the message of God were received by his prophets as representatives of "Allāh" on the Earth and appliers of decrees and orders of God. Prophet Muḥammad (s) was the last Caliph of Allāh at the individual and personal stage.

The second stage is the collective vicegerency. This opinion is in line with the Sunnī idea. He believes that by the end of the first stage, the prophecy could not continue and no one could claim to have received a revelation from God. Then, with the death of the Prophet (s), the caliphate of all Muslim community must find a collective rather than individual form (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 19-22). In order to express the idea, he refers to the Qur'an 24:55 which says, "Allāh hath promised those of you who believe and work the righteous works that He shall make them successors on the earth," and points out that the Muslim community is being addressed in the verse (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 22).

Ahmed does not rely only on the division of human history but makes the history of Islam or the popular vicegerency subject to a division. He took it from the time of the Prophet (s) until the Day of Resurrection and divides it into five periods. First, the era of the Prophet (s); second, Khulafā Al-Rāshidīn period; third, the cruel kingdom; fourth, the period of Muslims' slavery; and fifth, the establishment of the caliphate as defined by the Prophet (s). Ahmed believes that the World War III will happen soon and pave the way for the implementation of the final period stated in the tradition. At the end of the war, the caliphate must be established in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and then the Muslim forces will go to war under the Caliphate and the leadership of Mahdī. Then, the Jesus will emerge and put an end to Christianity. According to Ahmed, the beginning of the third millennium is characterized by the decline of Christianity and the revival of Islam (Ahmed, 2010: 17). In line with the same discourse, such extremist Islamic movements as SSP also believe in the political system of caliphate and try to restore it (Howenstein, 2008: 32).

Islamic state and caliphate in the thoughts of the Israr Ahmed

Ahmed's Caliphate discourse includes such components as the political system of Caliphate, *ijtihād*, and Caliphate and democracy.

A) Explaining the political theories of Israr Ahmeds in the field of the Islamic state

1. Backgrounds of Ahmed's political theory

In the preceding discussion, Azad's change in his policy was mentioned. This change

occurred later in a different way within *Islamic Community* and led some to change the Islamic causes of the movement (Ahmed, ...: 6). Suchlike changes among the leaders, especially Azad and Maududi, influenced the views of such followers of Islamic movements as Ahmed and made him revise his agreement with them. Maududi's aim for founding Pakistan was set the stage for the establishment of the divine state, emphasizing that Islam is not just a religion but a lifestyle with all aspects of social life (Ahmed, 2002: 36). The latter notion caused Maududi to establish the *Islamic Community* in 1941. However, with the independence of Pakistan, *Islamic Community* abandoned the notion of Islamic state and engaged in political issues. The result of such developments by *Islamic Community* made a number of members refrain from going along with the movement and gradually distance themselves from it. From the perspective of people like Ahmed, this was considered as an irregularity in the Islamic movements. He believes that *Tanzeem-e-Islami* is a unique movement in the Pakistani society, while *Islamic Community* already existed as a movement in Pakistan not comparable to *Tanzeem-e-Islami* due to such evident irregularities (Ahmed, 2002: 38).

In addition to these, Ahmed considers a few other causes to show the perplexity of the Pakistani society. At the beginning of his discussion of caliphate, he notes a few disturbing factors as: 1. regional nationalism, a nationalism raised as a result of Western secularism, 2. parliamentary democracy, 3. names and borders of provinces assigned by the British considered by the Muslims as eternal and sacred (Ahmed, 2006, Article 7). These are the three causes of irregularities in the Pakistani political structure that was to establish an Islamic state. Still, the three following causes of economic irregularity are evident in all economic levels: 4. The banking system affecting all industries and businesses - and in fact all the economy - has been contaminated by sinful interests, thus all the nation is at war with Allāh and His Messenger, according to Qur'ān, 5. The incidence of vices such as gambling, speculation, and raffles, 6. feudalism as the worst and most hated form of tyranny and usurpation remained essentially unchanged despite the introduction of the so-called land reform in two cases (Ahmed, 2006, Article 1: 7). Other irregularities are seen in the social structure, especially families and the broader community in Pakistan. This has led to threats to the family and society: 7. The mingling of men and women in social life following the West, threatening the modesty, chastity, and purity. This disturbed the peace of the family and its structure has suffered distress (Ahmed, 2006, Article 1: 7).

This was the context causing Ahmed to deal with the Caliphate system. Nevertheless, the political theory of the caliphate in the 1990s should be analyzed considering the evolution of Ahmed's views following the ideas of previous thinkers. Three areas explored before Ahmed in the Peninsula include the invitation to return to Qur'ān, the establishment of religion (*sharī'a*), and *ijtihād*.

The three areas had been raised by Azad, Iqbal and Maududi, and were confirmed by Ahmed with the same emphasis. To realize the first goal, Ahmed established *Markazi Anjuman for Khuddam-ul-Qur'ān* to promote the Qur'ānic doctrine at the social level, a task previously done by Dar Al-Irshad and Dar Al-Islam. During this period, he was influenced by the thoughts of Iqbal and partly Azad. The impact of Azad can be seen in the return to Qur'an. In the next step, he founded *Tanzeem-e-Islami* to revive *sharī'a*. He believed the society required a revolutionary change to alter the entire system and provide the conditions for the Islamization of society. He was influenced by the revolutionary ideas of Maududi in *Tanzeem-e-Islami* along with some reforming views of Iqbal. Thus, he deals mostly with an intellectual revolution rather than an actual one.

The next step in the evolution of Ahmed's ideas can be seen in the political sphere. At this point, he attempted to reconstruct the theory of the Caliphate and realized it like Azad. The caliphate theoreticians believe that Islam has a unique political system, i.e. caliphate from the

Khulafā Al-Rāshidīn period, developed by the Prophet, which must be revived. Ali Abdurrazzaq is the main critic of the idea and assumes no particular political system in Islam, and deems that the idea of caliphate is but an interpretation of the traditions (Abdurrazzaq 1925: 35-104). Ahmed believes that there is no particular political system in Islam and it endorses any of such systems, as long as they are within Qur'an and tradition. However, he ultimately believes in the caliphate system (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 25). His views turned around from reform through revolution and finally to an Islamic state in the form of a caliphate system. Yet, despite this intellectual transformation, his political system has a duality. On the one hand, no particular system is proposed by Quran and tradition, and on the other hand, a caliphate system may be an optimal example of the ideal system. Perhaps this duality could be well explained by the fact that he has obtained the so-called caliphate system from two different sources. The first is Qur'ān, which emphasizes the man as the caliph on the earth and he considers it as the realization of caliphate, opposing the traditional idea of the Muslims as a particular *caliph*. The second is the use of the term to express the succession of Prophet Muḥammad (s) in the Islamic society. None of the approaches suggests the political structure, and they are nothing but terms in the legal context. The political interpretation is recommended by those who believe in the caliphate as the political system of Islam.

2. Political theory development

Ahmed believes that Pakistani society is experiencing a political and social disease that may be resolved only with the efforts of society. This is not a personal and normal issue, but is related to the Muslim community and the conditions that can be changed. However, this change must be revolutionary to be able to transform the entire social and political system. Regarding his withdrawal from *Islamic Community*, Ahmed says, "I left it because I thought Pakistan could not become Islamic through the process of electoral politics, but such a thing is possible only through revolutionary politics. Therefore, I did my best to set the stage for the Islamic Revolution. During this period, I tried to express myself through the theoretical policies about the problems facing Pakistan in my speeches and writings" (Ahmed, 1993: 59-60). He believes that the purpose of forming Pakistan was to revive religion (*sharī'a*) in all aspects of society, yet this fact which is necessary for its stability has been neglected (Ahmed, 2006, Article 1: 8; Bai'yah: 6).

However, if Pakistan today is not a society in which Islam can rule, then what are the elements for reconstructing the Islamic society in his mind? What is the Islamic society? Is the rule of "Allāh" simply an ideal, or it actually exists and is available again? Ahmed's exemplary society might be observed at the time of the Prophet (s) and the caliphs that he calls 'caliphate following the Prophet' that should be revived again. Nevertheless, the pattern of the caliphate in the future is by no means the same as the Four Caliphs (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 22-24).

Now that we cannot create such a social order, like the prophet and the caliphs, what is our duty? Ahmed insists that we should get their principles and combine them with political organizations in the contemporary civilized world developed as a result of processes of social transformation. (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 24). He puts the restructured society under the caliphate and accordingly, the restructured society is the one where the caliphate system has been restored. However, he believes that there is no clear political structure in Islam but certain principles necessary for the evaluation of a state in terms of Islamic teachings. Therefore, Ahmed assumes the following three principles necessary to distinguish the Islamic state: (a) the rule belongs only to Allāh; (b) no statute can be executed wholly or partially in conflict with Qur'ān and tradition; (c) full citizens only include Muslims, and non-Muslims

are among the *dhimmi*s (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 26). In a society or community regenerating happiness, there will be these three principles.

To achieve this goal, Ahmed defines two practical political frameworks. The aim of political theory is to educate the masses about political issues and lead them intellectually without direct involvement in the election. They must understand what is happening, what the factors are, what our foreign policy should be, and so on. In a sense, what matters is the political education of the masses. In practical politics, the revolutionary policies related to socio-economic and political system of the country matter, which aim to change the system, not to impose the previous system. He stressed that the elections (electoral politics) leads to maintaining the system and prevents the system change (Ahmed, 1993: 59).

Ahmed believes that the problems facing Pakistan generally require changes in the socio-political areas, and it would necessitate the establishment of the Islamic institution of social justice. This is only possible with the beginning of a mass movement and the Islamic revival. The socio-economic system is referred to as the caliphate system as the main purpose of founding Pakistan that was not realized and led to the racial and linguistic fractions in the nation. In addition, the nation will be subject to the verse, “Allāh defends those who believe” (Qur’ān 22:38), only if it deals with the establishment of the caliphate (Ahmed, 2006, Article1: 8).

3. Features of the caliph and the caliphate system

In Ahmed’s view, just a superficial change in title is not enough for the caliphate. It requires a complete revolution and sacrifice for a strong popular movement and the revolutionary struggle. When the revolution led to the establishment of the caliphate, the following characteristics would emerge:

1. Absolute commitment to the rule of Allāh, i.e., the realization of Quran and tradition in practice and the implementation of such a law. In this system, the legislature (parliament) or the legislative assembly enacts laws and the supreme court has the power to overrule the laws entirely or partially in conflict with the Qur’ān and tradition.
2. The rejection of combined nationalism, which means that only Muslims, both men and women, have the right to vote, yet only men could be involved in the legislative process. Non-Muslims are *dhimmi*s, their lives and property are protected and respected, and their religious ceremonies are free.
3. The caliph should be elected by the direct vote of Muslims across the nation. The caliph should not depend on the majority of the legislative assembly or the national assembly but like presidential system in many countries, he should be elected for a given period with extensive executive powers.
4. To put an end to improper system of decentralization and regionalism
5. Land reform to put an end to feudalism
6. To execute the law of *zakat* (alms tax)
7. Legal equality for all. The caliph of the Muslims and members of the national assembly shall not enjoy any legal exemptions or special privileges.
8. To make economy pure with full elimination of interest and gambling and providing a new business and industrial structure based on the principles *mushārika* and *mudhāriba*.
9. Heavy punishment for using alcoholic drinks, narcotics, and other intoxicants
10. Gender segregation should be observed with men and women having their own distinct gender-specific activities. They should not mix with each other in educational institutes and so on (Ahmed, 2006, Article: 9-11).

Psychologically, we can say that such cases including all aspects of a society to a large extent reflect concerns of the theoretician and issues of society. The economy engaged in the

interest and gambling is disordered, social crisis is evident in the form of addiction and substance abuse. Creating an Islamic society and an Islamic institution is the issue of those who seek the ideal in such a system. Theoretician in his treatment tries to guide the society in a direction without these drawbacks.

Apart from general characteristics, he is also focused on some details. For example, he states that head of the Islamic State should be called *khalīfat-al-muslimīn* (the caliph of the Muslims). He also says that the caliph of the Muslims belongs to a specific country and should not be known as the Caliph of Allāh, and he will be the representative of the Muslims of his time. Caliph's characteristics include being a Muslim man, not less than 40 years old, and found eligible to occupy this position (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 35). He has not made it clear whether a specific country means several Islamic states or an extensive state consisting of other regions of the Islamic world. The former can be seen as proposed by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Sanhūrī in Egypt who suggests numerous Islamic states and the Islamic Ummah as not a political but a cultural entity (Nūrī, 1997: 173). The latter thought, on the contrary, is proposed by Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn and Sayyid Rashīd Riḍā who consider the Islamic Ummah within a single political structure (Riḍā: 17).

Principles of legislation in the institution of the Islamic caliphate

One of the controversial issues among Islamic scholars theorizing the Islamic state is the interpretation of the Qur'ān 4:59,

O People who Believe! Obey Allāh and the Noble Messenger and those amongst you who are in authority; so if there is a dispute amongst you concerning any matter, refer it to Allāh and the Noble Messenger (for judgment) if you believe in Allāh and the Last Day; this is better and has the best outcome.

Interpreting the verse, Ahmed believes that the term 'Obey' concerning Allāh and the Messenger suggests absolutism in legislation of the future Islamic state, yet it is not the case in the expression 'those amongst you who are in authority' and is limited to Qur'ān and tradition. The non-absolute feature includes various schools of jurisprudence (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 27). Ahmed addresses not just the caliph in person, but he includes all *Mujtahids* in this non-absolutism.

The third source of legislation in an Islamic state is *ijtihād*, which will be discussed later. *Ijtihād* is linked with the role of parliament in the legislative process. Ahmed believes that legislation in the Islamic state lies within the parliament; however, parliament has not an absolute power and must be subordinate to the two previously mentioned sources. Composed mostly of the representatives of lay people, the parliament is deprived of experts in Islamic law. Therefore, it is not possible for parliament to have the power of discretion (*ijtihād*) but must have a power to enact a certain piece of *ijtihād* (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 30). Thus, he assumes the parliament not as an independent institution, but under the *mujtahids* with such defined role of exploring their views.

The multiplicity of parties, the dhimmīs, and women in the Islamic state

The other three important issues relating to the future political system of the Islamic state proposed by Ahmed are as the following. First, Ahmed asks whether the Islamic state is a multi-party or a one-party state. He notes that many believe it to be a one-party state, but this indicates the lack of awareness. The multi-party system is an integral part of the modern state and the political education of the masses is the most important roles of them. Thus, a modern Islamic state needs the multiplicity of parties with the only difference being that all political parties must obey the principles that parliament would lay out (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 31).

The second issue concerns the status of non-Muslims in an Islamic state. Although not pleasant to a secular mind, he proposes that the dhimmīs are simply not considered full citizens. Non-Muslims will have the same rights as a Muslim in connection with the preservation of life, property, and honor; they are allowed to advertise their religion within their communities; they are allowed to compete in the business along with Muslims; the Islamic State is obliged to maintain their places of worship. Contrary to this, there are certain cases in which non-Muslims cannot be equal to Muslims. In an Islamic state, non-Muslims cannot occupy high political positions; however, they can participate in the legislative process. Why non-Muslims cannot be present in high political positions? It is because the first priority after the establishment of the Islamic state is to develop Islamic discipline and order in other countries. When non-Muslims are not involved in this matter, in the latter case, to advertise the religion, they cannot be trusted. In addition, the parliament should realize the task within the framework of Qur'ān and tradition and the unbelievers are not trustworthy for that (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 32-35).

Third, the role of women in Islamic states is one of the important issues discussed by Ahmed. In his view, women can only participate in the electoral process and their role is not defined in the parliament. The first condition he proposes about the caliph is that the Caliph must be a man. Perhaps one of the reasons for his perspective toward women is the example of the time of the Prophet of Islam, and following that for his Islamic state in the future. In the early days of Islam, given the political conditions of the time of the Prophet and the Four Caliphs, women were not present in high-ranking positions. In addition to these practices, the view has been theoretically backed by the tradition as some *hadiths* attributed to the Prophet condemning the people with women as their heads, just as the case for the successor of Khusru Parwīz. This attitude has been repeatedly emphasized by jurists and narrators of the subsequent centuries, and even al-Māwardī and al-Ghazālī expressed the requirement of being male for the caliph position. Ahmed had modern studies, yet his views in this regard are mainly traditional, combining a modern view with a traditional political theory. He emphasizes the gender segregation with the women's working hours being less than those of men (Ahmed, 2006, Article 1: 11). His ideas have many disadvantages along with some limited benefits in favor of women. Ahmed had worked in two centers: educational centers and hospitals. He had observed an intense mixing of men and women in these two places. In his eyes, this mixing results in the corruption of these two environments. Therefore, his concern for the formation of the Islamic system is to put an end to such arrangements in these two institutions. In his tenth characteristic of the Islamic state, he has expressed the two centers as requiring the separation of the sexes.

B) Ijtihād

One of the most important issues among Islamic thinkers of the twentieth century is *ijtihād* and its role in religion. Ahmed considers *ijtihād* as a source of legislation in the caliphate, but places it under his proposed political system. Iqbal was also interested in *ijtihād* and called it 'the origin of movement in Islam' (Iqbal, 1930: 169). Like his predecessor, Ahmed emphasizes the role of *ijtihād* and then traces the roots of *ijtihād* and Muslims' status, but despite this, he is different from his predecessor. The difference lies in the context in which Iqbal raises the issue of *ijtihād*. What Iqbal expects of *ijtihād* is to understand the religion, while Ahmed sees *ijtihād* in the traditional form of jurisprudence. The former thinks in a mystical context, while the latter is mainly focusing on Qur'ān and tradition as the two main sources.

According to Ahmed, three notions in relation to *ijtihād* must be considered. First, any Muslim who has the ability and skill can apply *ijtihād* and express themselves with no limit at

all. Second, although *ijtihād* is not prohibited for anyone, there is a certain standard of knowledge and expertise required to perform these functions. For *ijtihād*, an Islamic scholar should be proficient in classical sciences such as Arabic, exegesis, *Ḥadīth*, as well as jurisprudence and the need to be familiar with modern social thought and contemporary world issues. The third and the most important notion in connection with the *ijtihād* is how to implement it. Everyone can do *ijtihād*, express themselves, and defend their ideas, but not everyone can enforce their ideas as a rule (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2:29).

In a historical analysis of the role of *ijtihād* in Islamic legislation, Ahmed believes that in the Four Caliphs' period, the caliph was not merely a ruler but also a *mujtahid*, having the qualifications for *ijtihād* as well as the ability to enforce it. However, later in the Kingdom period, especially under the Abbasids, the situation changed. Now the ruler had only the executive power and was incapable of *ijtihād*. Thus, *ijtihād* was given to the *fuqahā* (jurisprudents). Iqbal has also asserted the same for the history of jurisprudence, believing that the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs preferred *ijtihād* to be in the hands of individuals and not in the stable associations so as not to be too powerful (Iqbal, 1930: 198).

However, who has the ability to legislate today? Ahmed assumes the ability to belong to the parliament. When every *mujtahid* is allowed to express his opinion, there may be some disputes among scholars of jurisprudence on specific topics. In any case, only one opinion can be put into law. The question then is whose opinion or *ijtihād* is applicable? This is subject to the acceptance of the parliament. When the parliament adopted a certain *ijtihād*, it would be the law. Thus, the legislative authority is the parliament, not a *faqīh* (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 30). Regarding the point, Iqbal terms it as 'the transfer of power to a legislature representative of the Islamic schools of jurisprudence' (Iqbal, 1930: 198). For Ahmed, the power of the parliament in the legislature is limited, and it has no absolute rule. It should be subject to Qur'ān and *sunnah*, and in cases of disagreement it should be referred to a higher tribunal, the High Court for the dispute resolution (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 31).

In a final analysis of the role of *ijtihād* according to Ahmed, it can be said that this dynamic element in Iqbal becomes too limited for his successor: mainly to *sharī'a* and the inference of rulings from two sources: Qur'ān and *sunnah*. Even the legislative authority of the parliament for Iqbal becomes too restricted and under the *faqīh*'s individual *ijtihād*.

The relationship between the caliphate and new political thoughts (Western theory of democracy)

Theoretically, the aforementioned division of individual and collective representation seems to be acceptable. In practice, however, the history of Islam has always witnessed the individual rather than collective rule. Why has not such a state been established? To answer this question, Ahmed tries to compare Islam and democracy. He believes that after the Prophet, all the rulers were monarchs and the collective rule has been raised due to the contemporary democracy. However, Ahmed assumes both as a rebellion against God's will. He quotes Iqbal concerning the devil's parliament suggesting the expression of human self-awareness and independence in determining his sovereignty. Yet, this self-awareness is no different from the earlier monarchy. The reason for this is the assumption of absolute sovereignty for humans. The individual rebel against God in the past has now become a collective entity. Ahmed stresses that the idea of collective sovereignty is influenced by the teachings of the Prophet. However, its collective representation element has been removed and instead, the absolute sovereignty for humans has been adopted (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 22-24). The real democracy makes sense when a human being becomes aware of his status as a representative and not having any absolute authority. It has always been neglected;

therefore, Islamic state proposed by Ahmed tries to follow the orders of God and establish the religion, professing the sovereignty of God and collective representation of the Muslims.

More importantly, Ahmed emphasizes that the rule of the Four Caliphs complies with the modern forms of government. He assumes it an integrated system and comparable to the modern presidency as well as the parliamentary system. However, perhaps the best form of political structure that can be adapted for the future caliphate is the U.S. federal presidential system that will be very beneficial to Pakistan (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2, 25).

Interaction between *Hizb ut-Tahrir* and *Tahreek-al-Caliphate*

Some believe that the idea of founding *Tahreek-al-Caliphate* by Ahmed has its roots in his familiarity with *Hizb ut-Tahrir* in the U.K. and the U.S. (Ahmed, 2010: 16-17). However, the fundamental differences between Ahmed and *Hizb ut-Tahrir* set the stage for their theoretical differentiation. For instance, Ahmed insists that no specific political system has been proposed by Qur'ān and tradition; yet, *Hizb ut-Tahrir* believes in the caliphate as the only form of Islamic system. Ahmed ultimately employs the caliphate in his political theory to refer to the Khulafā Al-Rāshidīn's era as well as the collective representation of the Muslims, not as based on Qur'ān and traditions. The basic difference between Ahmed and *Hizb ut-Tahrir* concerns the region in which the caliphate should be established. *Hizb ut-Tahrir* has always stressed that Arabic lands as the cradle of Revelation is the best place for establishing a caliphate (Ḥazratī & Qādirī, 2010: 64), while Ahmed believes that the caliphate should be established in Pakistan as the ideal country for the Islamic state and a model for all the world (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 36). He is aware of the Arab world centrality, but asserts that the center should be transferred to Pakistan in the second Islamic millennium, referring to Shari'atī and Bin Nabī (ibid.) [2]. *Hizb ut-Tahrir*, on the contrary, considers the Arab world as the center and rejects transferring out of it, although it is based in the U.K. Another difference is the one-party attitude of *Hizb ut-Tahrir* (Ḥazratī & Qādirī, 2010: 64), while Ahmed emphasizes the multi-party political system.

In cases where the similarities between the two movements is evident, it does not mean Ahmed has followed *Hizb ut-Tahrir*, since from the first decades of the twentieth century in the Peninsula, there were the idea of the caliphate in the form of the Caliphate Movement. The main point the two movements have in common is to resort to the tradition of the Prophet (s) which can be considered as a methodology to establish the caliphate. In addition, for both movements, *Bey'a (Allegiance)* plays a significant role (Ahmed, 2006, Article 2: 35-6; Ḥazratī & Qādirī, 2010: 64).

Conclusion

Ahmed's political ideas can be best understood as seen in a process. When he was a member of *Islamic Community*, his views did not have certain coherence. After leaving the movement, he studied Qur'ān and Islamic Science for a while. Then, due to his background of Iqbal's reforming views, Azad's return to Qur'ān, and Maududi's Islamic Revolution, he wrote his first work, *The Islamic Renaissance*. This work shows the influence of Iqbal, yet with a fundamental difference: In the revival of religious thought in Islam, Iqbal addresses all Muslims and believes that it should include all intellectual aspects of the Muslims, as Muḥammad 'Abduh emphasized. Ahmed's *Islamic Renaissance* addresses the elites and influential audience of the Islamic nation and aims to change their attitude to be able to change society's thoughts, as Jamal wished.

His Islamic system aims to implement the teachings of Qur'ān and tradition. As he asserts in the division of human history, human history will end in this system. In his view, historical

periods include individual as well as collective representations. According to a hadith from the Prophet (s), the collective representation is divided into five eras, i.e., those of the Prophet, the Khulafā al-Rāshidīn, the kingdom, the recession of the Muslims, and ultimately ‘the caliphate in the manner of Nabi’. Ahmed believes that, in the end, the caliphate will dominate. The Muslim community is now in the fourth era and with the World War III, the fifth era will approach and this form of sovereignty – that is in accordance with the Holy Prophet method – will continue until the Day of Resurrection.

His political view seems to be very idealistic and similar to apocalyptic attitudes among different religions. Despite the theoretical belief in such modern state elements as the multiplicity of parties, elections, parliament, etc., he is very traditional as it is evident in his division of society into Islamic and non-Islamic (dhimmīs), limiting the role of women, etc. The attitude may be adopted among some radical and extremist groups and cannot become widespread as the dominant movement in the contemporary society with women’s social and political self-consciousness.

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