feudalism and absentee landlordism, and this require genuine land reforms.

Giving his advice about a number of administrative issues, Dr. Israr Ahmad said that:

- 1. national census must be performed at the earliest;
- detailed statistics must be compiled about the number of adherents of various schools of thought, as this will be a practical issue in the implementation of the Shari'ah, especially concerning the personal law:
- Presidential system should be adopted by open and constitutional means and not by the back door;
- 4. provinces should be re-arranged and smaller provinces should replace the present setup, including new nomenclature for the provinces;
- 5. the Council for Defense and National Security (CDNS) should be disbanded;
- 6. Arabic language should be made compulsory at the high school level;
- the Judiciary and the Executive should be totally separated right down to the lowest level; development funds for the MNAs and other avenues for political corruption should be eliminated;
- 8. the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) should be completely integrated with the federation of Pakistan;
- written-off loans should be recovered;
- obscene and otherwise un-Islamic shows should not be allowed to go on-air from the Pakistan Television, and the use of Satellite Dish should be prohibited; and
- 11. reforms should be introduced to eradicate the vulgar display of wealth in the wedding ceremonies.

Giving his advice regarding foreign affairs, Dr. Israr Ahmad said that:

- Pakistan should recognize the Taliban government in Afghanistan and play its role in bringing about a reconciliation between Iran and the Taliban;
- the achievement of Shi'ah-Sunni harmony and of a united Islami Bloc between Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan are also essential if we are resist the hegemony of the New World Order;
- 3. Pakistan should use the good offices of Iran and China to bring about a settlement of the Kashmir problem under the Simla agreement;
- 4. trade between India and Pakistan should also be encouraged; and
- 5. Pakistan should play an active role to help control the situation in the Chinese province of Xinjiang, so as to prevent the further advance of the "Huntington Doctrine."

Giving his advice to the new government, Dr. Israr Ahmad said that:

- 1. total and unconditional supremacy of the Qur'an and the Sunnah at all levels should be made a constitutional imperative;
- all clauses in the Constitution which are in conflict with the Objectives Resolution should either be removed or made subordinate to the latter;
- 3. the status of the Federal Shariat Court should be raised, and its judges should be given a status equal to those of the High Court;
- 4. the Federal Shariat Court must be allowed to function without any restrictions.

Dr. Israr Ahmad said that due to the stagnation in the process of Islamic legislation and Ijtihad during the last one thousand years, there are considerable chances on the part of both the Federal Shariat Court and the Supreme Court's Shariat Appellate Bench of committing mistakes in their interpretation of the Our'an and the Sunnah. As such, we need to have a greater latitude for review and re-examination of their decisions and judgments, as compared to other courts. Dr. Israr Ahmad said that Pakistan will become an Islamic State, at least on the constitutional level, provided Mr. Nawaz Sharif's government can take these bold steps. The Ameer of Tanzeem-e-Islami also demanded that the government should either withdraw its appeal in the Supreme Court's Shariat Appellate Bench against the Federal Shariat Court's judgment regarding Riba (Interest), or it should expedite the proceedings of the appeal so that the case is decided as soon as possible. Dr. Israr Ahmad said that it is the government's responsibility to develop an alternate Riba-free economic model, and that it has the recourses to summon the experts in Islamic Economics from all over the world and request them to develop such a model.

Regarding the menace of feudalism and absentee landlordism in Pakistan, Dr. Israr Ahmad said that Mr. Nawaz Sharif should form a high-powered land commission consisting of eminent and learned scholars of the Islamic law, having the capability of *ljtihad*, as well as experts in land settlement. This commission should decide whether the agricultural lands in Pakistan are "Usheri" or "Kharaji," that is, whether they are the private property of the landlords or public property, to be used for the welfare of the entire population. Moreover, this commission should settle the issue of whether absentee landlordism — or *Muzare'at* and *Thaika* — is permissible in the *Shari'ah*, as the practice of crop-sharing was considered Haram (prohibited) by Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Malik, and Imam Shafa'ee. Dr. Israr Ahmad said that no improvement in the economic condition of the masses is possible without the eradication of

government will be able to negotiate with foreign powers from a position of strength rather than one of weakness.

Instead of genuine and ideal Islamic democratic traditions, we have in Pakistan only a crude imitation of Western democracy. Even though the present setup is far from ideal, the presence of two strong political parties is a must for the proper running of this system. The massive mandate received by the PML has given rise to the threat of one-party dictatorship. Under the present conditions, therefore, the Pakistan People's Party should be re-organized on sound foundations so that it can effectively play the role of Opposition. Otherwise, absolute and unchecked authority would only lead to unprecedented corruption. The Bhutto era, however, is clearly over for the PPP. Ms. Benazir Bhutto should seriously think about giving up the party chairpersonship, and the older associates of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto should bring about a change in the leadership of the party from within. The slogan of "Roti, Kapra, Makan" raised by ZAB actually represents a fundamental Islamic imperative, as it is the basic duty of the System of Khilafah (or an Islamic state) to take care of the basic necessities of all the citizens. The slogan was absolutely right, though the leader failed miserably in implementing it.

Dr. Israr Ahmad pointed out that the absence of any reference to Islam in the PML's election campaign is a very dangerous indicator. Westernized and secular elements can now claim that the people have rejected the Islamic option, and that the election results are actually a mandate against religion; indeed, the Indian press has celebrated this aspect of the election results, intrepreting it as a defeat and failure of Islamic fundamentlism. Although it may be argued that the people did not have a real choice, that PML was only the lesser of the two evils, that no notable religious party was taking part in the elections, or that the voters have become disappointed with the politico-religious parties because of their wrong approach and mutual disharmony. The massive mandate received by the PML is, however, a great test for Mr. Nawaz Sharif and his associates as well as for the Pakistani Muslims. Islam represents the only justification for Pakistan's existence and its stability, and secularism is not a wise choice as this would deprive Pakistan of its very raison d' être. Dr. Israr Ahmad said that he is in favor of encouraging trade with India; however, if the prevailing restrictions on trade and communication between India and Pakistan are relaxed without first strengthening the Islamic identity of our homeland, the inevitable result would be the devouring of the smaller country by the bigger one; thus the adoption of a secular polity in Pakistan would be suicidal.

MEMORANDUM

Presented to

Mian Muhammad Sharif, Mian Nawaz Sharif Mian Shabaz Sharif and Mian Abbas Sharif

On the occasion of their visit to **Quran Academy** on February 23, 1997

Summary of the Friday Sermons delievered in Darussalam Mosque at Bagh-e-Jinnah (Lahore), on February 14 & 21, 1997, by Dr. Israr Ahmad, Ameer of Tanzeem-e-Islami

Although the Isiamic System of Social Justice can never be established in Pakistan by taking part in the elections, but only by means of a disciplined and non-violent resistance movement, yet the political process itself must be allowed to continue and elections must be held on a regular basis. Pakistan came into being in the name of Islam, but indepence was achieved through democratic process. In view of the impediments that are faced by Muşlim revivalists in countries like Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Turkey, and Libya, it is obvious that the presense of democracy and democratic rights in Pakistan constitute a great asset from the perspective of Islamic Revivalism too. There are a number of positive points regarding the February 3 elections, for which we should be thankful to Almighty Allah, but there is also a dark side of the picture which must not be ignored.

Describing the positive and auspicious points about the February 3 elections. Dr. Israr Ahmad mentioned the fact that everything from November 5 onwards was done within the bounds of the Constitution, that the election reforms introduced by the Caretakers had highly desirable effects on the election campaign, that the polling itself was totally fair and impartial, and that the immediate reactions by Ms. Benazir Bhutto and Qazi Hussain Ahmad were not hostile or belligerent. Dr. Israr Ahmad said that the Pakistan Muslim League has received an unexpectedly massive mandate from the people, which represents the revival of both the Muslim League and that of the dynamism of Pakistan movement. Such a massive mandate means that the MNAs would not be able to blackmail the government, that a strong and stable government can encourage a great amount of industrial development, and that the