

## SCENARIO 250

### **MADINA MODEL - NAYA PAKISTAN OF PM KHAN**

Before moving to the merits of **Madina Model of Imran Khan** in Pakistan (2018-22), have a glance over the then prevailing facts about of Islam & Muslims in other Islamic states.

George Washington University's **Prof Hussain Askari** researched how Islamic countries are Islamic. By looking for the countries that follow the rules of the state and society in Islam, it was found that those who follow the Islamic rules in their daily life are not Muslim countries. The study (astonishingly) found that:

- "... **the most Islamically compliant country is New Zealand followed by Luxembourg. Then came Ireland, Iceland, Finland, Denmark sixth and Canada in seventh position. Malaysia is 38th, Kuwait is 48th, Bahrain is 64th, and surprisingly Saudi Arabia is at 131st position.** In this study published in GLOBAL ECONOMY JOURNAL, Bangladesh's position is below the Saudi Arabia.
- ... that Muslims are very careful about prayer, fasting, Sunnah, Qur'an, Hadith, hijab, beard, dress but do not follow the laws of Islam in state, social and professional life.
- ... that Muslims listen to more religious sermons nasihat (sane advice) than anyone else in the world, but no Muslim country could become the best country on the globe. In the last sixty years, Muslims have heard the Friday sermon at least 3000 times.
- ... Notably, a gentile Chinese businessman said, Muslim businessmen come to us with orders to make number two fake things and say to put the label of such and such a famous company. Later, when I told them to eat with us, they said, It is not halal, so I will not eat it. Is it halal to sell counterfeit goods?
- ... A Japanese new Muslim said: I see non-Muslims in western countries following the rules of Islam, and in eastern countries I see Islam but no Muslims. Alhamdulillah, I have already accepted the religion of Allah knowing the difference between Islam and Muslims.
- ... **Islam is not just prayer and fasting, it is a way of life and a matter of communication and fellowship with others.** A person who prays fast and has a scar on his forehead can be a hypocrite in the eyes of Allah.
- ... Islam has two parts, one is the public declaration of faith called 'Iman', and the other is the subject of faith called 'Ehsaan' - which is realized by following justly correct social norms. **If both are not practiced together, Islam remains incomplete which is happening in every named Muslim country.**
- ... Observance of religious prohibitions is one's personal responsibility and is a matter between Allah and the servant. But adherence to social norms is a matter between one servant and another. Lord Bernard Shaw once said:  
**"Islam is the best religion and Muslims are the worst followers".**

### **MADINA- CONCEPT OF MR KHAN:**

**On 26<sup>th</sup> July 2018;** during his victory speech made at his Bani Gala residence that was broadcast via a video link, Imran Khan claimed victory and termed the elections 2018 '**historical**', saying that he had been finally given a chance to change the fate of the country. In his address, Imran Khan promised a state which would take care of the underprivileged, with the new government's policies focused on enabling poor and the less fortunate prosper. He said:

*"A country is not recognised by the lifestyle of the rich, but by the lifestyle of the poor. I want to share the kind of Pakistan I envision, the type of **state that was established in Madina**, where widows and the poor were taken care of."*

Imran Khan assured his opponents that there would be no political victimization and vowed to cooperate with them to investigate complaints of voting irregularities. Mr Khan said his model was the **First Islamic State in Madina**, as also the vision of Pakistan's founder Jinnah. He said accountability will start with him. '**We will set an example of how law is same for everyone.**' He held that the biggest challenge for Pakistan was the economic crisis then. It never had such a huge fiscal deficit: the economy was going down because of dysfunctional institutions. His recipe for economic revival was ending corruption, helping small businesses and creating jobs. He promised to work to build a welfare state in Pakistan where uplift of downtrodden would get high priority.

Important decisions were made in a federal cabinet meeting held at PM Office on 5<sup>th</sup> September 2018 with PM Khan in the chair. The meeting also decided to abolish discretionary funds of all ministries estimating that with this move, over Rs:80 billion would become available to the national kitty.

Amongst other decisions, the government would **establish an orphanage** in the federal capital to offer shelter to homeless beggar women and children and provide assistance to Pakistanis languishing in prisons of foreign countries so that they could be reunited with their families.

Much later, on 17<sup>th</sup> January 2022, Prime Minister Imran Khan himself explained the true spirit of Islamic Civilization by writing an article for media in his own name; titled as '**Transforming Pakistan: Powerful, crooked politicians accustomed to being above law**'; saying that in Islamic civilization, the manifestation of our spiritual principles happened in the Prophet's (SAW) Medina. He wrote:

*"The rise and fall of nations are different from the rise and fall of civilizations. Nations can be raided, redrawn or re-imagined exogenously but civilizations cannot be killed from the outside, they only commit suicide."*

*The core of every civilization is its spiritual principles; when they die, the civilization dies. In Islamic civilization, the manifestation of our spiritual principles happened in the Prophet's (SAW) Medina. Besides many other important principles, there were five very important guiding principles upon which the state of Medina was built.*

*These principles are unity, justice & rule of law leading to meritocracy, strong moral and ethical foundation, inclusion of all humans in progress and prosperity, and finally, the quest for knowledge. To help revive the spirit of the covenant of Medina, **National Rahmatul Lil 'Alamin Authority** (NRA) has been formed.*

- *The first principle which laid the foundation for **Riyasat-i-Madina** was of unity.*
- *The idea of unity (Tawhid) comes from the Quran and in a sense, the entire religion is based on that. From unity of God to unity of mankind, it is the most fundamental principle of Islam.*

- Remember that our Prophet (SAW), who was mercy for all mankind, unified people of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds into a single community. Besides Muslims, there were Christians, Jews, Sabeans and other groups who were all woven into a unitary communal whole under the state of Madina.
- The second founding principle was Rule of Law which resulted in justice and meritocracy. The Prophet (SAW) made it clear that no one was above the law. He said that nations perish when two sets of laws exist, one for the rich and another for the poor:
- "O people, those who came before you were destroyed because if a person of high status committed theft among them, they would spare him, but if a person of lower status committed theft, they would apply the punishment upon him. By Allah, if Fatima, the daughter of Muhammad (SAW), were to steal, I would have cut off her hand." [Sahih Muslim 1688]
- If one looks at the world today, one can easily witness that most successful states also have the most robust application of the rule of law. Besides several Western nations, one witnesses those East Asian economies that have recently prospered, strictly practiced this principle. Japan, China, South Korea are good examples. Whereas in those nations where rule of law was subverted, seem to be sinking into poverty and chaos. In many countries of the Muslim world, despite the prevalence of tremendous resources, there is less progress, which is attributable to lack of rule of law. Another good example is South Asia. In today's India, the apartheid rule of law has immediately brought about poverty and countless insurgencies that threaten the union of their country. In Pakistan, not adhering to the rule of law has led to siphoning off of billions of US dollars which has imposed collective poverty on our public. The pattern of politics and development in many countries of Africa and Latin America suggest the same. The so-called banana republics are the way they are because of lack of rule of law. This cause-and-effect relationship between rule of law and socio-political harmony cannot be emphasized enough.
- The third founding principle of **Riyasat-e-Madina** was of an ethical and moral transformation of the people – the concept of **Amr-bil-maaroof-wa-nahi-an-al-munkar** (doing good AND forbidding evil); the Holy Quran declares it as defining mission for Ummah:
- You are the best community that has been raised for mankind. You enjoin good and forbid evil and you believe in Allah. [Sura Aal-e-Imran; 3:110].
- Enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil is a collective duty that leads to moral transformation of a society. Nobody would dispute this principle, but there are elements in our society that are of the opinion that ethical development of people should be left to the people, the state should remain neutral about good and evil as conceived by religion. This approach is quite outmoded and problematic because it handcuffs the state from performing its ethical and moral duties and allows adversaries of the country to come in with handfuls of money and subvert our values using our own educational systems and channels of information. NRA will endeavour to engage in **amr bil maaroof** by teaching **seerat-al-nabi** (SAW) to our youth in schools and universities in the hope to raise the level the ethics and morals in our society.
- The fourth founding principle was of inclusive development through creation of a welfare state where society takes care of its poor and vulnerable and everyone is a stakeholder in the development of society and state. State of Medina was first recorded welfare state of mankind where the state took responsibility of its weak. Since we must emulate the example of our Prophet (SAW), our citizens should learn to be strict with themselves and generous with others.
- Keep in mind, however, that in recent times the idea of welfare state has been coloured by the Western European experience. Indeed, the West created impressive welfare systems from 1950s to 2010s, of which the most impressive were the Scandinavian ones. However, most of the Western welfare states were not sustainable environmentally because these were very high consumption societies that produced enormous waste. If the whole of non-West were to copy these welfare states, then our pattern of production, consumption and waste would resemble theirs, and by some estimates it would require us six more planet earths to act as sinks that would absorb our waste. Such a welfare state is neither possible nor desirable. Since Islam is the middle path, only moderate prosperity and consumption would be ideal, just enough to fulfil our basic needs with dignity and honour, with health care & education.

- *And finally, a knowledge-based society that doesn't confound literacy with knowledge. Literacy may lead to illuminative knowledge that may guide us to good behaviour, but some of the highest crime zones of the world also have very high literacy rates. One must not lose sight of an important historical fact that nearly all scholars of early and medieval Islam had deep roots in spirituality.*
- *Hence literacy alone may not be sufficient for a happy society. Knowledge with spiritual transformation from cradle to grave is important. All sources that impact human behaviour should disseminate knowledge which produces self-control, self-discipline, patience, forbearance, tolerance and a spirit of service.*
- *Lastly, in the light of our ideals, we have embarked on the road to the welfare state with some great initiatives. Despite tight financial means, we allocated unprecedented amount of money to our initiatives such as the **Ehsaas Program** which was launched back in 2019. Ehsaas Programme is a social safety and poverty alleviation programme necessary for the vulnerable groups in society. This was one of our key initiatives towards building a state that cares about the welfare of our citizens. By far, one of the greatest programs in history of Pakistan is the **Sehat Sahulat Program** which offers our citizens universal health coverage. This is not just to protect vulnerable households from sinking into poverty who often borrow money for medical treatment, but it also leads to a network of private sector hospitals all over the country, thus benefitting both the public as well as the private sectors in the field of health. Just Punjab government alone has allocated Rs:400 billion for this. The Sehat Sahulat Programme is an important milestone towards our social welfare reforms. It makes sure that some low-income groups in Pakistan may have access to their entitled medical health care quickly and honourably without financial obligations.*
- *In the wake of global economic hardship brought about in the post-Covid era, we have not neglected the fast-transforming educational arena. Our **Ehsaas scholarship** program would ensure that talented students within the under-privileged and poor strata of society would get a chance to pursue decent education that would augment their chances of getting better livelihoods. This program combined with all our other scholarships amounts to six million scholarships worth Rs:47 billion. This too is unprecedented in the educational history of Pakistan.*
- *In conclusion, I will reiterate that the most urgent of all challenges facing our country right now is the struggle to establish the rule of law. Over the last 75 years of Pakistan's history, our country has suffered from elite capture, where powerful and crooked politicians, cartels and mafias have become accustomed to being above the law in order to protect their privileges gained through a corrupt system. While protecting their privileges they have corrupted state institutions, especially those institutions of the state that are responsible for upholding the rule of law. Such individuals, cartels and mafias are parasites who are not loyal to our country and defeating them is absolutely necessary in order to unleash the real potential of Pakistan.*

[Imran Khan - the Prime Minister of Pakistan]

#### **MADINA MODEL PROJECTED IN UN:**

See an extract from **Statement by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan to the Seventy-fifth Session of the UN General Assembly delivered on 25<sup>th</sup> September 2020:**

- Mr. President, Secretary General Guterres, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.....

- "Since my government assumed office, our consistent effort has been to fundamentally transform Pakistan. **We envisage 'Naya Pakistan' to be modeled on principles of the State of Madinah, established by our Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).**
- .... A just and humane society where all Government policies are directed at lifting our citizens out of poverty and creating a just and equitable dispensation.
- .... our foreign policy aims to have peace with our neighbours and settle disputes through dialogue.
- .... (Ref: Prof Noam Chomsky) mankind is at even a greater risk than it was before the 1st and 2nd World Wars in the last century, and this is because of the increased threat of nuclear war, Climate Change, and sadly the rise of authoritarian regimes.
- .... we believe that the driving force in international relations must be cooperation, in accordance with the principles of international law, and not confrontation and force.
- .... the COVID-19 pandemic has illustrated the oneness of humanity. Locking down to control the pandemic has triggered the worst recession since the Great Depression in the last Century. This has hit the poorest countries the hardest as well as the poor in countries.
- .... Despite financial constraints, my government (PTI) deployed an unprecedented EIGHT (8) billion dollars for our health services; plus support the poorest and most vulnerable households **with direct cash payments through 'Ehsaas program'**; and then subsidies to the small businesses.
- .... We have not only managed to control the COVID-19 and stabilize our economy, but most importantly, we were able to protect the poorest segment of society from the worst fall out of the lock down.
- .... Today, Pakistan's response is cited among the success stories in controlling and responding to the pandemic. It was obvious that developing countries would need fiscal space to respond to, and recover from, the COVID crisis.
- .... The IMF has estimated that developing countries will need over US\$ 2.5 trillion to respond and recover from the crisis. Money that could be used towards human development is siphoned off by corrupt elites. The loss of foreign exchange causes currency depreciation that in turn leads to inflation and poverty.
- .... If this phenomenon is unaddressed, it will continue to accentuate the inequality between the rich and the poor nations, and eventually will spark off a far bigger global crisis than the present migration issue poses.
- .... There are robust anti-Money Laundering and anti-Terrorist Financing regimes. This year, I must again reiterate the threat posed to mankind due to Climate Change. Unprecedented fires in Australia, Siberia, California, Brazil; unprecedented flooding in various parts of the world; record temperatures even in the Arctic Circle. This should make us all worried for our future generations.
- .... Pakistan's contribution to carbon emissions is minimal, but it is one of those countries most affected by climate change; yet, we have decided to take the lead through our extremely ambitious program to plant 10 billion trees in the next three years.
- .... The pandemic was an opportunity to bring humanity together. This Assembly should declare an **'International Day to Combat Islamophobia'** and build a coalition to fight this scourge – scourge that splits humanity.
- .... There will be no durable peace and stability in South Asia until the Jammu and Kashmir dispute is resolved on the basis of international legitimacy. Kashmir has been rightly described as a **'nuclear flash point'** (by most concerned policy making powers).
- .... A comprehensive reform of the United Nations, including the Security Council, is essential to promote greater democracy, accountability, transparency and efficiency. Pakistan will continue to participate actively in this process and endeavour, with other Member States, to build a (peaceful) world....

It was an honour for Pakistanis that their leader Mr Khan had mentioned his governance program based on Madina Model before the UN General Assembly – but it remained limited to its mention in TWO LINES

only – no details or special steps to implement that said program. Rest of his whole speech had encompassed the points related with country's foreign policy. He mentioned various aspects like India's RSS vs Muslim genocide, the US presence in Afghanistan, Indian atrocities in Kashmir valley, formation of new Palestinian state and UN's desired roles in similar areas of the globe – BUT nothing about his NAYA PAKISTAN or the MADINA MODEL of governance in detail.

### **'NAYA PAKISTAN' OF IMRAN KHAN**

Prime Minister Imran Khan said: 'Naya Pakistan shall soon resemble the 7<sup>th</sup> century state of Madina; referring to an article appeared on media pages of 18<sup>th</sup> December 2018 (also given in above paragraphs verbatim).

Beginning with his public addresses and party meetings, Imran Khan used to repeat his vow on no less than 11 separate occasions (till Dec 2018). Although all Muslims acknowledge the Madina state as a model of perfection, Khan mostly left unsaid just ***how closely Naya Pakistan would be raised as Madina***. Was he achieving classlessness & equality and welfarism as the goal? Was the Madina Model state also a template for Pakistan's political and judicial reconstruction – replacing its 200 years old PPC, CrPC and Evidence Act etc and associated Police Rules of 1934?

To create a prosperous welfare state was a commendable and universal objective. Serving the needs of their citizens without prejudice, a few modern states already had operational systems in place. To join them, just five minutes of serious contemplation could tell Mr Khan what was needed to be done in Pakistan. The ideal plan could be:

- .... elimination of large land holdings through appropriate legislation;
- .... effective collection of land and property taxes based upon prevailing market values;
- .... setting up of summary courts to impart quick & visible justice
- .... making the courts, kutchehry, patwar khaney and police stations transparent through quick punishments for wrong-doers;
- .... making meritocratic appointments in state departments;
- .... enhancing primary & high school bases to get 100% literacy rate;
- .... developing skills in technical education institutions as its central goal – so that the people should work instead of putting them to expect CASH DISTRIBUTIONS – making them beggars;
- .... making peace with Pakistan's neighbouring states using nationalistic approach – respecting PAKISTAN-FIRST;
- .... choosing trade over aid both at domestic and abroad levels;
- .... letting politicians and bureaucracy prove their worth – would leave no option for soldiers to help civilians.
- .... Making appointments in higher judiciary through merits – not via selections by CJs, CJs, their law chambers or superior bars.
- .... Dragging land-lords into TAX-NET; could be ***10% Khums*** – the Islamic levy as per Khilafat days..

That were the BASIC jobs to be initiated in NAYA PAKISTAN - pretty hard! The successful implementation needed no less than a revolution, bloodless or otherwise. But Imran Khan wanted to match the Madina state as a political entity through SLOGANS only, it was NOT possible – nor would be now. Modern states keep geographical boundaries BUT for the Madina state, borders were irrelevant — where you lived didn't matter. Was it Imran Khan's goal to adopt the Madina state's laws and / or letting it survive as a political voice.

Built around a tribal accord, **Misaq-e-Madina**, citizenship required only that an individual should submit to the authority of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). What elements were chosen by Imran Khan to achieve his goals – **unfortunately it was only a wishful thinking nothing beyond**. How PM Imran Khan could reconcile diamond-like notions of the Madina state *vis-à-vis Pakistani nation of proven liars*.

Time has increased territorial affiliations. Everywhere, inside and outside Islam, large national armies protect borders and nationalism competes fiercely against religion as a contradictory force. Imran Khan's pledge to grant citizenship to 1.5 million desperate Afghan refugees was potentially a BIG DANGER, and the later developments after August 2021 proved Khan wrong.

Human rights activists were thrilled but delighted during his rule; but, once the adverse reactions set in, Khan's U-turn followed. He was not to be blamed alone – he had no sane or seasoned advisor in his 52-members team or so-called cabinet.

Moving on: **what about judicial matters?** Could laws of the Madina state apply in Naya Pakistan – what set of laws Khan got passed from his parliament; none. What powers and procedures he got approved from the national assembly or senate for the respective courts to adopt those Islamic Legislative reforms – NOTHING. To remind Mr Khan that the Misaq-e-Madina lists 63 rules for determining *diyat* (blood money); ransoms to settle tribal feuds; life protection for Muslims and Jews; apportioning of war expenses; etc. Which of his advisors had Mr Khan engaged to make out such rules / laws for his Naya Pakistan – for his nation of LIARS & FRAUD?

Justice is an ever-evolving concept in every culture and religion; for example, 2,000 years ago, Aristotle had argued that some individuals and races are 'natural slaves' better to be enslaved than left free. Among today's Muslims, apart from the militant Islamic State groups and a few others, no one defends slavery. In Pakistan too, owning slaves is a criminal offence – but most of us keep them in our homes and at our lands.

The notion of equality is accepted by nearly all societies now, or give lip service, to the idea that all people are equal before the law. Blood money, common in earlier times, also takes on a very different flavour. Pakistanis were outraged when a smirking Shahrukh Jatoi emerged from jail after murdering 20-year-old Shahzeb Khan in cold blood. Jatoi's wealthy parents had purchased his pardon through *diyat*, probably by pressuring Khan's family. Months earlier, CIA contractor Raymond Davis had been released after the families of the two men he had killed were paid \$2.4m as blood money.

The world of yesterday and the world of today bear no comparison. At the Holy Prophet's times, things were nicely negotiated for all warring Arabian tribes. Then, joblessness and lack of housing were non-issues; air pollution and load-shedding hadn't been conceived; and white-collar crime was awaiting invention centuries later. No police or standing army existed in the Madina state. There were no jails. However, Imran Khan never shared with Pakistanis that how would he conceive about such things TODAY (means during his governance period).

It was easy to see why certain religious slogans appealed to the popular imagination in Imran Khan times. In a country that was (and still) deeply unequal and plagued by huge class asymmetry, people yearned for an unblemished past when everything was perfect. But when Khan like leaders promise to take us there, how seriously one could take it? *The masses had responded favourably when Gen Ziaul Haq had raised a similar slogan in the 1980s — that of Nizam-e-Mustafa. Disappointment soon followed. Imran Khan's Madina slogan was NOT different at all.*

#### **MADINA MODEL AFTER 3 YEARS:**

**On 25<sup>th</sup> June 2021:** Terming the federal budget a step forward towards the country's transformation into the state of Madina, the then Finance Minister Shaukat Tarin said the government had rejected the directives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) regarding further hike in gas and electricity tariffs. Concluding budget debate in the National Assembly he said PM Imran Khan had stabilized the crippling economy by taking some ***bold steps*** and contrary to the expectations of even IMF and the World Bank, the country's GDP growth rose up to four per cent in the fiscal year 2020-21. Despite three waves of Covid-19 and crippling economic situation, PTI took many sagacious decisions like imposition of smart lockdown and as a result the wheel of the industry continued to run and the country didn't suffer much.

The FM Mr Tarin hinted at starting focus on sustainable growth and uplifting the lot of poor people.; adding that the government was taking steps which would directly give some relief to the poor. The government had chalked out a strategy to provide affordable houses to four million families. Similarly, Rs:500,000 agriculture loans were to be given to the farmers and in urban areas interest-free loan of similar amount for the individuals to enable them to start small businesses.

Under another direct relief plan, the government was issuing health card to each Pakistani. The government would also impart skill training to one person in a poor family so that the skilled person could support his/her family. Record 40 percent increase had been made in the allocations for the Public Sector Development Program in the budget 2021-22 as its volume had been increased from Rs:630bn to Rs:900bn. The finance minister vowed to bring down fiscal deficit to zero. '***We (PTI) have already reduced fiscal deficit from 7pc to 6.3pc and the current primary deficit — 3.8pc — will be reduced to 0.6pc,***' the federal finance minister claimed; GOOD IT WAS.

Rs:30bn were earmarked for construction and housing sector. The PTI government was also determined to take maximum advantage of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). '***We (PTI) have addressed all concerns of China and now CPEC will take off,***' the FM added – but it proved total failure at the end because we had not taken the TTP and BLA insurgents seriously. An amount of Rs:260bn were allocated for ***Ehsaas program to provide CASH assistance to poor families*** – that was TOTAL CORRUPTION like prevailed in PPP & PMLN because the CASH is distributed ONLY ON LISTS not in actual; all money goes to US & Dubai via distributors.

Mr Tarin said Pakistan was facing major structural issues in the power sector as the government had to pay Rs:900bn on account of capacity payments for electricity that was not even being utilized; causing an enormous increase in the circular debt. However, he acknowledged that making improvements in the power sector remained a big challenge for the government.

#### **SOCIAL MEDIA CRITICS ON MADINA MODEL:**

**On 17<sup>th</sup> January 2022:** PM Khan in an article: '***Spirit of Riyasat-e-Madina: Transforming Pakistan***' which he had written for various newspapers; said:

*"We have embarked on the road to the welfare state with some great initiatives. Despite tight financial means, we allocated an unprecedented amount of money to our initiatives such as the Ehsaas Programme which was a social safety and poverty alleviation programme necessary for the vulnerable groups in society.*

*The ***Ehsaas scholarship program*** initiative would ensure that unprivileged, talented students would get a chance to pursue their meaningful ambitions in education."*

In his article, PM Khan wrote that the most urgent of all challenges facing the country was the struggle to establish the rule of law. *"Over the last 75 years of Pakistan's history. The country had suffered from elite capture, where the powerful and crooked politicians, cartels and mafias had become accustomed to being above the law in order to protect their privileges gained through a corrupt system."*

The premier while giving examples of China, Japan and South Korea said if one looked at the world, one could easily witness that the most successful states also had the most robust application of the rule of law. *"In Pakistan, not adhering to the rule of law has led to siphoning off of billions of US dollars which has imposed collective poverty on our public."* The article appeared at a time when the government was already facing severe criticism due to unprecedented inflation. After the article, Twitter got flooded with mixed reactions; some said the PTI government was trying to sell religious-card while others were showing support. See some scripts below:

- *'Your model of riyasat e madina has failed khan sahab'* — Faryal Khan (@FaryalFKhan) January 17, 2022
- *"Inflation and unemployment are on the rise. A large number of patriots are facing this thing. Profiteering of profiteers is on the rise. The looters are returning. Talking about my consciousness up to my age, it feels like living in a forest. Still, I hope that someday ﴿"* — Muhammad Usama اسلام (@its\_usamaislam) January 17, 2022
- *"One of the cheapest and easiest things in politics is to sell religious card. Though i am supporter of pm iK. But selling religious card in country where population of us Muslim is 99 percent could be disastrous."* — Bilal Ahmed (@BilalAh51795966) January 17, 2022
- *"This govt has absolutely nothing to do with Riyasat Madina. People of Pakistan are suffering in every corner of the country. In riaset madina, hazrat Umer was responsible for even a thirsty dog. Do not abuse this word please."* — Hammad Khan (@hmdkhan) January 17, 2022
- *"Excellent! People of Pakistan really need to raise in character which is the biggest problem face by us. Guiding principles like rule of law and justice are a must to be implemented. We can never prosper without raising ourselves morally."* — Ghessan Mushtaq (@ghessanm) January 17, 2022
- *"Where this state of Madina goes: when people freeze to death, when ordinary citizens take law in their own hands and become judges and witnesses at the same time? Actions are needed to implement state of Madina in true sense. Only verbally nothing can be achieved"* — Ishaq Ahmaad (@IshaqAhmaad) January 17, 2022
- *"Riyasat-e-Madina is complete and perfect model for life style but yours goodness is to implement the legislations and our responsibility is to follow it."* — Waqas Ali Jafri (@WaqasAliJafri) Jan 17, 2022

Imran Khan was charmed and captivated with the working of the state of Madina of the Prophetic era of the early 7<sup>th</sup> century. There was no doubt that governance and administration of justice in the city of Madina was a great progressive achievement of the Muslims of those times. ***The governance of the city state of Madina was exemplified by justice, truthfulness, simplicity, fairness, tolerance, communion and equality before the law in an age where the great Roman and Persian Empires treated their common subjects as slaves and possessions.***

The companions of the Prophet considered love of money as the root cause of all evils and never accumulated ill-gotten money. Do we have those kinds of people in our focus now and how and by whom the Madina Model could be modeled in 2018-21's Pakistan? Looking at Pakistani print & electronic media and hearing news of corruption and plunders by those who were responsible for wellbeing and progress of the people and who were guardians of the State, it was feared that the country could be subjected collectively to God's fury and annoyance.

From sociological point of view, in the time of the state of Madina, the population was very small. The entire Muslim population of Madina and its surrounding areas was less than a million. Life was simple and

was not as complex as it is today. ***Education and military services were for the purpose of propagation of Islam's message of justice and social transformation.*** Hence, service in education and military department were voluntary without any regular daily or monthly remunerations. There was no concept of paid teachers and soldiery.

Given the prevailing situation of Pakistan in Khan's rule, it was very difficult to replicate the Madina model exactly in the same way as it was some 1400-year ago. From where PTI's Pakistan could bring those upright and honest people to run the affairs of the present large-size States on Madina model! **The best way to match the Madina Model was to get inspiration from the founding principles of the state of Madina such as rule of law, equality before the law, justice, liberty, fraternity, brotherhood, simplicity and strict adherence to the Islamic laws both in our individual and collective lives.**

Islam, in the times of state of Madina, was considered a complete code of life with equal importance given to rights of God (*huuq-ullah*) and rights of the people (*huuqul- ibaad*). To achieve the tranquility and grandeur of the Muslim predecessors (*aslaaf*), one would need to strengthen the educational systems to inculcate the ethics and morals of Islam in youth. Who could prepare many generations of students with virtues of caring, compassionate, tolerant, honest, simple, chivalrous and magnanimous individual to enable the general populace to build a model of Madina's state?

**Imran Khan and his PTI could have invented and adopt the qualities of good governance, brotherhood, pluralism and social justice from the Madina Model – BUT in Pakistan, Imran Khan was not prepared to sit on the table with PMLN & PPP's leadership declaring them corrupt. Could Imran Khan's Madina state model afford such hatred and humiliation as a part of his personal trait or behaviour.**

*Till such time PTI achieve its objective of honest human resource development to enable the junta to build Madina-type state, Mr Khan could have searched and study the successful functioning of states in contemporary times and copy their best practices.* Unfortunately, in terms of justice, rule of law and fair play, some Muslim States in Africa and Asia and especially Pakistan, remained far behind in changing their centuries old rotten laws and procedures. Did Imran Khan's parliament ever thought or tried to adopt immediate (summary) punishments for murder, hurt and theft etc as are visualized in Islam EVEN TODAY.

Imran Khan and the PTI's Pakistan needed to look somewhere else particularly toward Saudia, Iran, China or Japan for best practices in governance and statecraft. Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland and Switzerland, Spain, United Kingdom and Portugal in Europe could offer best clues about the importance of rule of law, equality before the law and good governance for overall national progress and development.

On Madina Model, one media comment termed it '***Simply, a combination of syasi (political) and mazhabi (religious) dramas.***' - June 28, 2020 at 3:33 pm at twitter.

#### **NAYA PAKISTAN HOUSING PROGRAM FAILED:**

One candid opinion prevailed that Pakistan would be democratically stronger after Imran Khan's exit as political parties in the GDP (then opposition) had all experienced the hybrid system in one way or another and were set to chart new territories in its wake. Others disagree: ***The turmoil of March-April 2022 underscored the volatility of parliamentary democracies in Pakistan.*** More broadly, the turmoil was an unfortunate distraction for a country dealing with soaring inflation, worsening economic stress, and

extreme terrorism challenge. Ultimately, it's the Pakistani public that lost their stakes whereas the political leaders -- whoever they were -- feeling easy by their personal perspectives.

Much of the promises of Imran Khan have been discussed on the previous pages of this dissertation. On another count: The vision of former PM Khan for the NAYA PAKISTAN HOUSING PROGRAM was "***...to deliver five million housing units with allied amenities to needy citizens, especially focusing on the financially underserved and middle-income communities, as a measure of comprehensive socio-economic uplift.***"

That's written on the official website of Naya Pakistan Housing and Development Authority (NAPHDA) expressing the raison d'etre of the **Naya Pakistan Housing Program**. The creation of 10m JOB OPPORTUNITIES was also subject to the provision of 5m houses. Because construction of 5m houses would have to run the wheel of construction and other allied industries of building materials and ultimately led to the creation of more job opportunities. The PTI government, to meet the above objectives, formed the NAPHDA. The generation of construction activity in the country that could provide stimulus to over 40 housing and construction-related industries was written as an objective on its official website.

However, it was unfortunate that out of 5m only around 59,000 housing units were worked upon across the country out of which 20,000 had been completed under the Naya Pakistan Housing initiative at the end of the Khan's government. In a news report, a NAPHDA spokesperson confirmed before the media that ***only the Akhuwat Foundation provided 17,000 housing units*** to the deserving ones and around 3000 apartments were erected with the collaboration of the Workers Welfare Fund. A whole host of reasons, from rising prices of building materials to lack of digitization of land records resulted in the project's dismal & failure.

Moreover, the NAPHDA, which was made to fulfil this dream by the PTI government, ***didn't deliver a single housing unit to anyone by itself***. The former prime minister himself conceded that according to his 'flagship program', 5m houses weren't supposed to be constructed by the government, but by the private sector. The government just had to support the private sector in this regard. One wonders if that was the case, then why the NAPHDA was made and blessed. Besides, a National Coordinating Committee of Housing Construction and Development was announced to review the progress of developments every week.

Notwithstanding, there were multi-faceted shortcomings of the Naya Pakistan Housing Program of the PTI government. These shortcomings jeopardized the workability and sustainability of that flagship program, despite a ***lucrative construction package in 2020*** and sizable growth in housing loan disbursements by the banking sector.

**On 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2020** Prime Minister Imran Khan announced a set of incentives for the construction sector in Pakistan, saying that his main objective was to employ the labourers so that they could be saved from '***hunger and the future difficult circumstances***.' The PM said that:

*".....Persons or entities who invested in the construction sector this year will not be asked about their source of income. The government has decided to agree to the demand of the construction sector and has introduced the fixed tax. This [move] will bring down the amount of tax to be paid. Also, if the investment is for the Naya Pakistan Housing Scheme, we will exempt 90% of the tax on it.*

*The withholding tax on materials and services has been abolished in the informal sector. Tax will be collected only on steel and cement, mainly because these are the formal sectors.*

*The government will not collect any capital gains tax from any family that wants to sell its house. A Rs:30 billion subsidies for the Naya Pakistan Housing Scheme will regulate economic activity and ensure houses for the poor were also built.*

*The construction sector is being given the industry status and the formation of **The Construction Industry Development Board** is underway; it is to promote the construction industry in Pakistan."*

The premier spoke about the **Corona-virus Relief Fund** solely for the benefit of the poor in Pakistan. **The government started giving out cheques while about four million people had already been registered for the funds.** However, the PM had reservations against people who, in the past, used calamities to hide their corruption. In tackling the coronavirus pandemic, PM Imran didn't force provinces to do anything after the 18th Amendment had been passed.

Next day; Association of Builders and Developers of Pakistan [ABAD] welcomed the incentive package for construction industry announced by PM Khan. It was termed as a historic package which could be a turning point for the economy of Pakistan. Since a while ABAD was demanding incentives for the construction sector because more than 70 allied industries were depending on the construction sector. The ABAD hoped that the government would also wave off the withholding taxes for the sector, and also to consider sales tax reduction in the provinces. **Punjab and Khyber PK had already reduced sales tax to two percent;** the other two provinces were in fact waiting for PM's interference.

Amidst fatal uncertainty of the post Covid-19 scenario, providing relief to the construction industry was widely criticised - that it was eventually to benefit the already-billionaire property tycoons and cement-factory owners. With PM Khan's close friends like Aneel Musarrat of Manchester [UK] and Aleem Khan in the property sector, it was evident that who would ultimately benefit from this relief package. Yet at the same time, doctors fighting the corona-virus were not provided adequate personal protective equipment [PPE]; young doctors had launched **[on 6<sup>th</sup> April 2020]** a strong protest against inadequate PPEs in Quetta and were brutally baton-charged by the police. On the other side private-school teachers, numbering around 1.5 million, were facing financial distress as they were not being paid their meagre salaries and there was no relief package for them.

First and foremost, the government's conception of the construction industry was incomplete, if not incorrect. The construction sector globally includes civil engineering, infrastructure projects and real estate developments both in the public and private sectors. But the general understanding of the construction sector within the PTI's state-package was limited to housing and real estate, that too mainly in the private sector. Moreover, Khan's government never considered that many infrastructural developments like highways, bridges, dams, rural housing and especially the public support development programs were also the allied requirements and vital to move the wheel of the overall construction industry.

Further, the basic necessity, the availability of land or its acquisition were never insights of the leadership when it came to power. As a result, the government did not get enough land during its tenure to launch low-cost housing and the numbers lingered at a few thousand under-construction flats at the end.

Similarly, the PTI government could have first started with the digitalization of properties and embarked upon master plans for cities. That would have enabled it to assess land records and figure out accessibility to land at the beginning. But unfortunately, this didn't happen and it stayed as one of the most significant obstacles faced by the governments, federal and Punjab.

Chairing a meeting of the National Coordinating Committee for Housing, Construction and Development in August 2020, PM Khan directed to ensure automation, digitization and simplification of procedures of land

to facilitate investors and citizens. However, in December 2020, he admitted that "...**government departments are (running in) loss. They are in debt. They have land but they cannot benefit by selling it because they do not have land records.**"

The provision of banking loans was an essential component of low-cost housing. The State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) had issued a government mark-up subsidy for housing finance to facilitate the provision of subsidized financing to low and middle-income individuals. Tax incentives and lower interest rates had encouraged participation in real estate businesses – NOT housing. However, tight standards and strict prerequisites for giving out such loans persisted as a major constraint during the majority of the cases. On the other hand, it was later revealed that banking loans were largely disbursed to the non-residential sector rather residential one – nepotism and acquaintances worked the best, of course.

Lastly, the continual price escalation of construction materials appeared as the main shortcoming that the PTI government was unable to contain. Due to the ongoing inflation rate and unstable dollar position in the market, the prices of construction materials increased enormously. Owing to the sharp uptick in prices, the Construction Association of Pakistan in an advertisement (in 2021) declared their inability to execute and continue construction on public sector projects. The builders and developers in the private sector stopped kicking off their real estate projects as well as bookings because of uncertainty in building material prices. The same situation persisted till ending of the PTI govt (April 2022) with the new regime in Islamabad.

#### **RAHMATUL LIL ALAMEEN AUTHORITY:**

**On 10<sup>th</sup> October 2021:** Prime Minister Imran Khan announced for National Rahmatul-lil-Alameen Authority (NRAA) as an ideological institution of the Government of Pakistan; it was set up under the Federal Ministry of Education & Professional Training. The ordinance to set up the authority was promulgated by President Arif Alvi on 13<sup>th</sup> October 2021. The authority was destined to conduct research on the prophetic biography and hadith to build the character of the youth. In addition, the authority was tasked to consult with relevant experts to make the biography of Muhammad [PBUH] a part of the academic curriculum – ***and was also ordained with explaining Islam to the world.***

PM announced that this authority would be responsible for researching how best to disseminate lessons from the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) to the masses. The prime minister was addressing the ***Ashra-e-Rehmat-ul-Lil-Aalamin*** (PBUH) conference in Islamabad to kick off the ten-day celebration period till the 13th of Rabiul Awwal that year. He said:

*"I will be the patron myself but we have started searching for a person who has written books of tafsir, has great command [over religion] and is a scholar for the chairman. There will be an international advisory board above him on which we will bring the Muslim world's top scholars — we have looked at many names and are approaching them as well.*

*Islam was a religion of peace and humanity and the West did not understand it so the authority would also be tasked with explaining Islam to the world.*

*The scholars in the authority would be also be charged with monitoring the schools' curriculum and how the course on the Holy Prophet's (PBUH) biography was being taught and whether any changes were required to improve it."*

Additionally, there were more subjects which the prime minister had pointed to like promoting Islamic research in universities, the strengths and weaknesses of Western culture, whether our divorces have

increased and how monitoring the media and indoctrination of our own cartoons to teach our children about our culture. More emphasizing on that our Prophet (PBUH) had generated a perception that '***...education be given priority over money.***' The premier called for society to collectively tackle the issue of sexual crimes at priority.

However, from the same day, criticism and controversies started in print and social media. According to analysts, the purported purpose of the new authority was to get Pakistan out of a selectively portrayed cultural breakdown and moral crisis afflicting all aspects of social life. Pakistan has been, and still is, going through regressive conservative revivalism in television segments of religious televangelism. For decades, Pakistan has been in the midst of a large scale Barelvi and Deobandi

revival with much more violence around the blasphemy law; Quranic study circles and spiritual movements like as Tablighi Jamaat and Al Huda are influencing the middle class and thus, associated beliefs and rituals of religious sectarianism were seen on increase.

Intelligentsia believed that the new authority established by Imran Khan was an extension of Gen Zia's legacy of deploying religiosity to achieve political gains, with the cover of resetting the system in the name of Islamic faith, the moves were to undermine the freedoms of expression, democratic processes in the country and encourage authoritarianism; 'Resettling the System' in **daily DAWN** dated 15<sup>th</sup> December 2021 is referred for details.

See the **Friday Times** dated 8<sup>th</sup> December 2021; it opined that the appointed founder Chairman Ejaz Akram held and promoted controversial views against ethnic civil rights groups like the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) and that Akram was critical of the concept of democracy. Akram advocated conspiracy theories (*espousing 9/11 for instance*), and regional expansionism and his concept of rule by fascist elites. Akram wrote that '*Belief in deep secularism, the idea of a republic, nationalism, capitalism, feminism, absolute freedom of speech, are all false consciousness that must be abandoned for things that work for us.*'

Due to the controversies surrounding the founder Chairman, Ejaz Akram had to resign after just two months into his formal tenure. In his place, a respected academic, Dr Anis Ahmad (Ph.D Temple University, USA), the then Vice Chancellor of a private *Riphah University* and formerly a Vice President of the International Islamic University Islamabad, was appointed as Chairman.

By establishing the NRAA, PM Khan had openly manifested that Pakistan was facing an acute form of a moral crisis; cultural breakdown was afflicting all aspects of social life AND Pakistanis, as a collective entity, had moved away from their roots. The latest step to stem the tide of this proclaimed moral decay had nothing to do with showing the real face of Islam to the outside world. Leaving aside the wholesale equivalence drawn between Pakistani culture and Islam, and the general ignorance of doctrinal and ritualistic differences that dot this society, Khan could think beyond rising divorce rates, breakdown of the family systems, and spread of *fahaashi* in entertainment – beyond *the growth of entertainment and fashion industries*.

- *In 20 years, the divorce rate among population aged 15 and above has gone up from 0.34 per cent to 0.40pc in Pakistan – then, was this topic worth for a prime minister to concentrate its energy instead of taking its nation to 100% literacy, or providing technical education to most mid-order educated ones, or expanding infrastructure for industrialization, removing poverty by providing them adequate employments OR fighting population growth etc.*

Since the early 2000s, as against growth in fashion, '*fahaashi*' and entertainment segments, Pakistan also witnessed the concurrent rise of regressive themes in TV dramas; enhanced religious televangelism in

media; spread of conservative and spiritual movements; anthropologist Ammara Maqsood's book '**New Pakistan's Middle Class**' is referred.

In nut-shell, PM Khan's politics of religiosity aside, the man he selected to head the said Authority (NRA), as part of his effort to build a **Riasat-e-Madina**, didn't believe in democracy; instead he preferred to prop up the '**elite of the elite**' to run the affairs of the state; his views about regional and global politics were extremely bizarre. Additionally, this body was mandated to monitor the country's education system and the media – what an anti-thesis to the education systems prevailing in Iran & Saudi, what to speak about comparisons with US, China or European states.

Such a sweeping mandate for the authority raised several questions about its objectives; widely alleged that it was an extension of Gen Zia's legacy of using religiosity to achieve political objectives. The appointment of Dr Ejaz Akram with his highly controversial views supporting authoritarianism reinforced worries on that count.

***One could estimate that by selecting Ejaz Akram, Imran Khan had mistakenly opened another un-necessary war-front; profoundly unwantedly*** – Mr Akram called Pakistan's political leadership coward, stupid, and sold out for many decades; ...that the '*only hope this country has now is if the whole principle and structure of governance is completely dismantled*'. He wanted the creation of a new system of governance led by an elite having an upright character coupled with much deeper understanding of ideologies, religions, civilisations, and principles of statecraft. He believed that only the military could clean up that 'mess'.

Dr Akram often stressed on correcting the 'direction of Qibla' - recalling Gen Zia's rhetoric of retrogressive laws in the name of faith. Since decades Pakistan suffered with bloodshed with the rise of faith-based extremism. Astonishly, people heard the same narrative from a person heading a body that was mandated to work for Imran Khan's vision of turning Pakistan into a 'Riasat-e-Madina'; Mr Khan attracted more hatred than applause in fact - where were we heading with that kind of worldview while aiming at monitoring of education and the media.

More troubling: that it was all being done in the name of faith. Imran Khan's vision of 'Riasat-e-Madina' was in fact an effort to further Gen Zia's obscurantist legacy – a great leap backward, the people believed.

**SUDDEN DEATH OF NRAA:** Unfortunately, the wholesome homework done for NRAA got finished because just six months later, PM Khan had to face the No Confidence Move (NCM) in April 2022 and his govt was packed. Even otherwise, it remained a fact that **NRAA could not be activated after the government notified it in the gazette due to the lack of interest of the education ministry**. The new PDM government had done away with the said Authority on 6<sup>th</sup> June 2022. Instead, the PDM government passed a new bill with amendments in the National Assembly and Senate on 9<sup>th</sup> June 2022. That amended bill was called **National Rehmant lil Alamin and Khatam-un-Nabiyyin Authority** [NRAKNA] but no attention was paid to activating the authority due to the lack of interest of the Federal Ministry of Education.