

Khaleefah; so the pledge is not valid except for the first one whose pledge was contracted, and whoever comes afterwards could not have the pledge contracted to him. The case under discussion is that if the Khilafah is established for two Khaleefahs when the majority of the influential people elected two Khaleefahs at the same time, and the pledge of each of them was contracted legally. So the two contracts are cancelled and the matter must be returned to the Muslims; if they established the pledge for one of them then it is contracted anew, not as a confirmation to his previous case. And if they established it to other than them, then it is contracted (to that other person).

Thus the matter is a right to all Muslims not to persons who enter in a race for it. And if two Khulafaa were established, and the majority of the influential people in the affairs of ruling and Khilafah sided with one of them and it was they who elected him, while the minority was with the other, then the pledge would be for the one who the majority of the influential people in the matters of ruling elected. (This is so) whether he was elected first, second or third, because he is considered the legal Khaleefah when the majority of the influential people elected him. The others must make a pledge to him for the sake of unity of the Khilafah; otherwise Muslims will fight him because the Khilafah is contracted by the pledge of the majority of

the Muslims. He thus becomes a Khaleefah who must be obeyed by all Muslims and it becomes haram to elect another person.

However, the reality of the ruling is that the majority of the influential people, in whose hands lays the affairs of ruling, are usually found in the capital because that is where the main affairs of ruling are conducted. So if the residents of a province or provinces elected another Khaleefah and the pledge of the one that is in the capital came first, then the Khilafah is for him because the pledge given by the people of the capital is a connotation which indicates that the majority of the influential people are on his side, and the pledge in this case is for the first. But in the case that the Khaleefah in the provinces was elected first, the preference is given to the one who has the majority of influential people on his side because the precedence of the people of the provinces in giving the pledge weakens the connotation that the majority of the influential people are present in the capital. In any case, it is not allowed to retain more than one Khaleefah, even if this leads to fighting against the one who did not have the Khilafah contracted to him. □

[Source: The Islamic Personality Vol. 2 by Hizb ut Tahrir ]

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وَأَنَّ أَحْسَنَ عَمَلِهِمْ بِمَا أُنزِلَ اللَّهُ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ أَهْوَاءَ ظَهْمِكَ

# The Demand for Khilafah Its Obligation and Unity

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## Seeking the Khilafah

Seeking the Khilafah and contending for it is allowed to all Muslims, and it is not makruh. No text was reported to prohibit the competition for it. It was established that Muslims contended for it in the courtyard of Banu Sa'ida, while the Prophet (saw) was shrouded on his bed and not buried yet. It was also established that the six people of the shura, who were from the eminent Sahabah (ra), contended for the Khilafah in front of all the companions, and the latter did not deny this and they agreed with them on this debate. This Ijma'a of the Sahabah indicates that contending for Khilafah is permissible, and it is allowed to ask for it, to seek it and to debate against each other by opinion and proof for the sake of attaining it. As for the prohibition of asking for imarah (leadership) mentioned in the ahadith, this is a prohibition for weak persons who are not fit for it like Abu Dharr (ra). However, those who are fit for the imarah are allowed to ask for it. 'Amr bin al-'Aas (ra) asked for it and the Prophet (saw) appointed him as a wali. So the reported ahadith are specific to those who are not qualified for it, whether it was for an imarah or the Khilafah. As for those who are fit for it, the Prophet (saw) did not prohibit them asking for it and he gave the imarah to those who asked for it. So since the Prophet (saw) gave the imarah to those who asked for it, and also prohibited asking for the imarah, then the

prohibition is taken to mean those who are not up to the task not an absolute prohibition.

## The Unity of the Khilafah

It is not allowed to have more than one Khaleefah in the world because 'Abdullah bin 'Amru bin al-'Aas (ra) narrated that he heard the Messenger of Allah (saw) say:

«وَمَنْ بَايَعَ إِمَاماً فَأَعْطَاهُ صَفْقَةَ يَدِهِ وَثَمَرَةَ قَلْبِهِ فَلْيُطِيعْهُ إِنْ اسْتَطَاعَ، فَإِنْ جَاءَ آخَرَ يَنْزِعُهُ فَاضْرِبُوا عُنُقَ الْآخَرِ»

“Whoever pledges an Imam giving him his handshake and the fruit of his heart should obey him as much as he can. If another comes to dispute him, strike the neck of the other (person).”

Also Abu Saeed al-Khudri narrated that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said:

« إِذَا بَوَّعَ لْخَلِيفَتَيْنِ فَاقْتُلُوا الْآخَرَ مِنْهُمَا »

“If a pledge is taken to two Khaleefahs, kill the latter among them.”

And 'Arfaja said that he heard the Messenger of Allah (saw) say:

«مَنْ أَتَاكُمْ وَأَمْرَكُمْ جَمِيعاً عَلَى رَجُلٍ وَاحِدٍ يُرِيدُ أَنْ يَشْتِقَ عَصَاكُمْ أَوْ يَفْرَقَ جَمَاعَتَكُمْ فَاقْتُلُوهُ»

“If someone comes to you when you are united over one man and wants to break your strength and divide your unity, kill him.”

Abu Hazim also narrated that he accompanied Abu Hurairah (ra) for five years and heard him narrate about the Messenger of Allah (saw) saying:

«كَانَتْ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ تَسُوسُهُمُ الْأَنْبِيَاءُ، كُلَّمَا هَلَكَ نَبِيٌّ خَلَفَهُ نَبِيٌّ، وَإِنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي، وَسَيَكُونُ خَلْفَاءُ فَتَكْثُرُ، قَالُوا: فَمَا تَأْمُرُنَا؟ قَالَ: فَوَا بَيْعَةَ الْأَوَّلِ فَالْأَوَّلِ، وَأَعْطَوْهُمْ حَقَّهُمْ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَأَلَهُمْ عَمَّا اسْتَرَعَاهُمْ»

“The Prophets ruled over the children of Israel. Whenever a Prophet died another Prophet succeeded him, but there will be no Prophet after me. There will be Khulafaa and they will number many. They asked: What then do you order us? He said: Fulfill the bay'ah to them one after the other and give them their due. Surely Allah will ask them about what He entrusted them with.”

If Khilafah was established for two Khaleefahs in two countries at the same time, it would not be valid for either of them because Muslims are not allowed to have two Khaleefahs. It is not correct to say that the bay'ah is valid to the one that had it first because the matter is to establish a Khaleefah, not to make a race for it. Also it is the right of all Muslims, not the right for the Khaleefah, so the matter must go back again to the Muslims to establish one Khaleefah in case when they had established two Khaleefahs. It is incorrect to suggest a ballot between them because Khilafah is a contract, and the ballot is not included in the contract. And it is incorrect to refer to the saying of the Prophet (saw):

« فَوَا بَيْعَةَ الْأَوَّلِ فَالْأَوَّلِ »

“Fulfill the bay'ah one by one”

Because this is the case if a pledge is given to Khulafaa when there exists a