



1 Editorial

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5 Quotation

Anyone who follows the speeches of the new president will quickly realise that the worlds most powerful man, leader of the worlds superpower, has a problem with putting words together. In actual fact when one studies his speeches, they will find them incoherent and grammatically incorrect, with sentences that a child at kindergarten in hometown Texas would find hard to reconcile.

5 Reference

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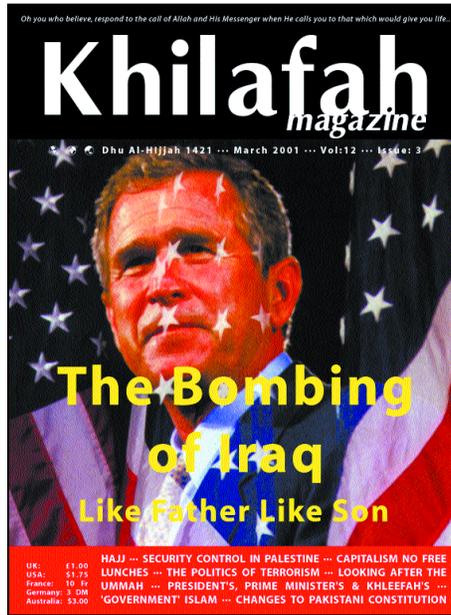
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8 Labbayk Allahuma Labbayk

All praise is to Allah (swt), who allowed us to successfully fast the month of Ramadhan Al-Mubarak, and followed it with the blessed months of Al-Hajj, which begin in Shawwal and conclude in Dhul-Hijjah, introducing a new season of goodness and prosperity. "And proclaim to mankind the Hajj (pilgrimage); they will come to you on foot and (mounted) on every kind of camel, lean (due to) journeys through deep and distant (wide) mountain highways" [TMQ Al-Hajj: 27].

9 Joint Security Control in Palestine

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat has launched a blistering verbal attack on Israel, but said he was still ready to work for peace in the Middle East. Arafat made an outspoken attack on what he termed a "savag and barbaric war" that Israel had waged on the Palestinians. He accused Israel of using prohibited weapons and ammunition.



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10 The Bombing of Iraq

The bombing of Iraq on Friday 16th February resulting in the death of two people and injuring scores more demonstrates the west's real intent, ambition and ideology.

It all started with the gulf war, in the aftermath of which Iraq was left severely devastated. Thousands dead, medical shortages, food and water supply breakdowns, devastation in transportation and communications...

12 Capitalism - No Free Lunches

Roland Dumas, Albert Fujimori, Felix Estrada and Peter Mandleson are the most recent Western politicians to have been caught in the sleaze game. The extent of big business and its influence on the Western political system is becoming increasingly transparent. It is becoming more and more difficult to dismiss these individuals as merely a few 'rotten apples,' rather, it seems the entire barrel is rotten.

13 The Politics of Terrorism

Terrorism is defined by the Terrorism Research Centre as, "the systematic use of physical violence against non-combatants but with an audience greater than the immediate victims in mind, to create a general climate of fear in a target population in order to affect some kind of political and or social change." The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines terrorism as, "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property, to intimidate or coerce a government, ...

14 Looking after the Islamic Ummah

The prophet Muhammad (saw) said, "He who wakes up in the morning and does not think of the affairs of the Muslims is not one of us" [Muslim]. A Muslim must, therefore, be concerned about the situation of other Muslims. This is an obligation (fard) as much as prayer is an obligation...

17 President's, Prime Minister's and Khaleefah's

For the last two decades the world has witnessed the resurgence of Islam. Islam has burst onto the world stage as a force, which is shaping the minds of millions of people throughout the world. The call for the re-establishment of the Khilafah is on the lips of all those who are in the midst of the da'wa...

19 Following the Mainstream 'Government' Islam

The Kuffar attacked the concept of the Khilafah saying all the Khulafah were corrupt, and Islam did not define the ruling system as the Khilafah. They even extracted Fatwas from the agents amongst the so-called Ulema, such as Ali Abdur Raziq of al-Azhar who stated the Khilafah was just a historical phenomenon...

22 Necessary Changes to the Pakistani Constitution

The political movement initiating the establishment of Pakistan did not have a constitution. Surprisingly, for a State claiming an ideological foundation, after the establishment of Pakistan, the Government of India Act of 1935 was declared Pakistan's constitutional base...

24 Muhammad (saw) Targeting of Nusrah for the attainment of Statehood

The political movement initiating the establishment of Pakistan did not have a constitution. Surprisingly, for a State claiming an ideological foundation, after the establishment of Pakistan, the Government of India Act of 1935 was declared Pakistan's constitutional base...

26 Kyrgyz Crackdown on Islamic Religious Groups

As President Askar Akayev establishes the administrative groundwork for his third term, a government crackdown in Kyrgyzstan is continuing.

26 Events Diary



Editorial

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Assalaamu Alaikum Wa Rahmatullahi Wa Barakatahu,

Al-Baihaqi reported in his Sunan that Anas Bin Malik (ra) said: "When the Prophet (saw) came to Medina, the people had two holidays from the days of Jahiliyyah. He (saw) said: "When I came to you, you had two days which you used to celebrate in Jahiliyyah. Allah has replaced them for you with better days, the days of slaughter (Adhaa) and the day of Fitr." Also Imam Ahmad in his Musnad reported that Uqbah bin Amir (ra) reported the Prophet (saw) to have said: "The day of Fitr and days of Tashriq are our holidays, the people of Islam."

On Eid al-Adha, Muslims all over the world will remember the story of Ibrahim (as) and his complete submission to the orders of Allah (swt). Allah (swt) informs of this in the Qur'an,

"O my Lord! grant me a righteous (son)! So We gave him the good news of a boy ready to suffer and forbear. Then when (the son) reached (the age of) (serious) work with him he said: 'O my son! I see in vision that I offer thee in sacrifice: now see what is thy view!' (The son) said: 'O my father! do as you are commanded: you will find me if Allah so wills one practising Patience and Constancy! So when they had both submitted their wills (to Allah) and He had laid Him prostrate on his forehead (for sacrifice) We called out to him 'O Ibrahim! You have already fulfilled the vision!' thus indeed do We reward those who do right" [TMQ As-Saffat: 99-105].

Indeed, Eid al-Adha is a day of celebration for over one billion people around the globe. Although we will perform the Qurbani, pray the Eid Salat and play with the children on this day, our hearts and our minds will not be at ease due to suffering felt by our brothers and sisters around the world. The replacement of the butcher Ehud Barak by his evil brother Ariel Sharon and the continued oppression of the Muslims of Palestine will bring tears to our eyes during the du'a after Salat.

The food that we eat on this day will remind us of the many who are dying hungry in Afghanistan due to the sanctions imposed by the United Nations. It is agitating that America and Pakistan both have the audacity to send food and supplies to Afghanistan whilst at the same time they are the ones who enforce the starvation.

The slaughtering that we perform on this occasion as a worship to Allah (swt) should provoke us to think about our rulers worship of the Kuffar allowing them to inflict slaughter upon the Muslims of Iraq. The sons of Abu Hanifa (ra) have been repeatedly bombed by the new age Genghis Khan, America and Britain, the so-called 'peace-

makers' of the world. This unprovoked attack demonstrates to us the true nature of the Kuffar, which Allah (swt) has informed us of, many times in the Qur'an. Disobeying Allah (swt) by looking to solutions from the French, Russians or United Nations is a betrayal to the example of Ibrahim (as) who endured the hardship of a father having to sacrifice his son and persisted in following only the command of Allah (swt). To look for a solution from other than Islam is tantamount to following the Sunnah of Shaytan who turned away from the obedience of Allah (swt).

When Iraq was 'bombed' and ransacked by the Mongols in 1258 C.E. the Khilafah was there to mobilise the forces of the Ummah and eventually retook the land, even the children of the invading Mongols became Muslim after witnessing the beauty of the Islam. Today without the fortress of the Khilafah we remain exposed to attack from all sides. Undoubtedly, the solution to all of these problems lies in the re-establishment of the Khilafah, only under its rule will we have a truly joyous Eid.

Dear Muslims! When our mothers and sisters cry out in Palestine from the pain inflicted upon them by the Jews. When the elderly man cries out in Iraq due to his home and family being bombarded and when the child in Afghanistan has tears of pain and hunger streaming down his face due to the blockade of the Americans, it is us that must respond to this call. Today there is no Khalifah like al-Mu'tasim to rescue the women of the Ummah, there is no Umar bin al Khattab to send food for the hungry, there is no Salah-ud-deen to protect the Islamic lands. Rather today it is you and I who are the guardians of this Ummah and who are responsible to bring back the protection, honour and might to this Ummah by re-establishing the Khilafah, the shade of Allah (swt) on the earth.

Allah (swt) entrusted us to be the witnesses over humanity, *"We have made you the best nation to be witnesses over mankind. And the Messenger as a witness over you" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 143].*

Indeed it is a great responsibility, the entire world and its problems rests upon our shoulders. However, remember together with responsibility there is reward and with reward comes Jannah (Inshallah).

Hasan al Basri narrated that Allah's Messenger (saw) said: "He whom death overtakes while he is engaged in acquiring knowledge with a view to reviving Islam with the help of it, there will be one degree between him and the Prophets in Paradise" [Al-Tirmidhi].

Abdul-Hamid Jassat

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Translation of the Qur'an

It should be perfectly clear that the Qur'an is only authentic in its original language, Arabic. Since perfect translation of the Qur'an is impossible, the term 'Translation of the Meaning of the Qur'an (TMQ)' has been used, as the result is only a crude meaning of the Arabic text.

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Quotation

"It's time for the human race to enter the solar system." President George W Bush.

Anyone who follows the speeches of the new president will quickly realise that the worlds most powerful man, leader of the worlds superpower, has a problem with putting words together. In actual fact when one studies his speeches, they will find them incoherent and grammatically incorrect, with sentences that a child at kindergarten in hometown Texas would find hard to reconcile. To illustrate this, we have included just some snippets of his most recent speeches in order to add another reason on to the ever-growing list of why the world requires a change of superpower.



When asked about his policies on education he said,
"We're going to have the best educated American people in the world."

When asked about the value of teachers he said,
"Quite frankly, teachers are the only profession that teach our children."

So what's Bush's enlightening view on foreign trade?
"It is clear our nation is reliant upon big foreign oil. More and more of our imports come from overseas."

And Bush's view on assistants in the Whitehouse?
"We're concerned about AIDS inside our White House-make no mistake about it."

Or about those bad people abroad that need to be bombed?
"We cannot let terrorists and rogue nations hold this nation hostile or hold our allies hostile."

And what does the head of the US have to say about the environment?
"It isn't pollution that's barming the environment. It's the impurities in our air and water that are doing it."

Or about Democracy?
"A low voter turnout is an indication of fewer people going to the polls."

And it goes on, when asked to comment about the Holocaust he said,
"The Holocaust was an obscene period in our nation's history. I mean in this centu-

Reference



ry's history. But we all lived in this century. I didn't live in this century."

At the beginning of a dinner party speech he mysteriously said,
"Welcome to Mrs. Bush, and my fellow astronauts."

And when asked about his duty as a President,
"I am mindful not only of preserving executive powers for myself, but for predecessors as well."

And when asked about his decision making ability,
"I have made good judgments in the past. I have made good judgments in the future."

You may wonder why would a respectable magazine like this one want to reproduce such pearls of wisdom?

The Messenger (saw) said, "Deceiving years will come where the people would believe the liars and not believe the trustworthy, and the traitor will be trusted and the honest would be distrusted. In those years the Ruwaybidah will speak." He was asked, and what is the Ruwaybidah? He said, "The shallow man who speaks about the public affairs."

Jalaluddin Patel

Reference

"The Hajj are (in) the well-known months. So if anyone intends to perform Hajj (by assuming Ibraam), then he should not have sexual relations (with his wife), nor commit sin, nor dispute unjustly during the Hajj. And whatever good you do, (be sure) Allah knows it. And take a provision (with you) for the journey, but the best of provisions is Taqwa (fear of Allah). So fear Me, O men of understanding!" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 197]

"Say: "Verily, my Salat, my sacrifice, my life and my death, are (all) for Allah, the Lord of the Worlds" [TMQ Al-An'aam: 162].

Allah the Almighty told us of Ibrahim (as)'s affliction with his beloved son and the Hajj and its rites go back to this example of sacrifice. *"And he said after his rescue from the fire: "Verily! I am going to my Lord. He will guide me! My Lord! Grant me (offspring) from the righteous." So We gave him the glad tidings of a forbearing boy. And when he (his son) was old enough to*

walk with him, he said: "O my son! I have seen in a dream that I am slaughtering you (offer you in sacrifice to Allah), so look what do you think!" "O my father! Do that which you are commanded InsbAllah (if Allah wills), you shall find me of the patient. Then when they had both submitted themselves to the Will of Allah and he had laid him prostrate on his forehead (or on the side of his forehead for slaughtering); and We called out to him: "O Ibrabim (as)! You have fulfilled the dream (vision!" Verily! Thus do We reward those who perform good deeds, totally for Allah's sake only. Verily, that indeed was a manifest trial and We ransomed him with a great sacrifice (a ram;) and We left for him (a goodly remembrance) among generations (to come) in later times. "Salamun (peace) be upon Ibrabim (as)!" Thus indeed do We reward the Mubstneen (good doers). Verily, he was one of Our believing slaves" [TMQ As-Saffat: 99-111].

Abu Huraira narrated that Allah's Apostle (saw) was asked, "What is the best deed?" He replied, "To believe in Allah and His Apostle." The questioner then asked, "What is the next (in goodness)? He (saw) replied, "To participate in Jihad in Allah's Cause." The questioner again asked, "What is the next?" He replied, "To perform Hajj 'Mubru'" [Bukhari].

Abu Huraira narrated that the Prophet (saw) said, "Whoever performs Hajj for Allah's pleasure and does not have sexual relations with his wife, and does not do evil or sins then he will return as if he were born anew" [Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 26, Number 596].

It is a time where the believers gather in unison to worship their Lord reciting the Talbiya which the Messenger (saw) recited.

Abdullah bin 'Umar narrated that the Talbiya of Allah's Apostle (saw) was : 'Labbaika Allahumma labbaik, Labbaika la sharika Laka labbaik, Inna-l-hamda wan-ni'mata Laka wal-mulk, La sharika Laka'. "I respond to Your call O Allah, I respond to Your call, and I am obedient to Your orders, You have no partner, I respond to Your call All the praises and blessings are for You, All the sovereignty is for You, And You have no partners with you" [Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 26, Number 621].

It was narrated by 'Abis bin Rabia that 'Umar bin al-Khattab came near the Black stone and kissed it and said "No doubt, I know that you are a stone and can neither benefit anyone nor harm anyone. Had I not seen Allah's Apostle kissing you I would not have kissed you" [Bukhari].

N E W S

from around the world

The Iraqi Conundrum- Why the dissenting voices?

America and her poodle Britain showed their true colours when they gave the green light to air strikes against positions just outside Baghdad. George W. thanked in his own inimitable style those Muslim groups who spent time and effort to place him into power. We were told, the Muslims now had a friend in the Whitehouse who would secure our interests, more fool they.

In the aftermath of the bombing we heard a cacophony of contradictory sentiment from the western nations. Whilst the US and Britain consulted their spin doctors to best convey their justification for the bombardment, other countries launched a vociferous attack, supporting the 'people of Iraq' and calling for an end to the 'inhumane' Sanctions.

French diplomats not known for their emotional outbursts (sic), stated,

"We have frequently made known our incomprehension and unease over the repeated air strikes carried out by US and British aircraft." A second statement said: "These raids... create tensions that damage efforts to reach an agreed solution to the Iraqi problem on the lines proposed by the [UN] Security Council."

Russian President Vladimir Putin said air strikes did nothing to settle the situation around Iraq and urged any action taken against it be sanctioned by the United Nations. "The settlement can and must be political and rely on strict implementation of appropriate resolutions of the U.N. Security Council,"

In Beijing, a foreign ministry spokesman said: "We condemn the air attacks of the United States and Great Britain on Iraq and express our deep regrets to the innocent civilians killed and injured by this. "We call on the United States and Britain to immediately halt military actions in Iraq so as to create a favourable atmosphere for the upcoming dialogue between Iraq and the UN secretary general," he said.

The question therefore arises, why are France, Russia and China voicing their concerns for the Muslims? Surely they have not taken Robin Cooks 'ethical foreign policy' statements to heart. Surely China who executes Muslims who call for Islam, Russia who continually bombs them into an oblivion (as

in Chechnya) and France who upholds the French way of life by not allowing our Muslim sisters to cover in Educational Institutions, cannot be the protectors of the Muslims. Isn't this analogous to allowing Fred and Rosemary West to baby-sit.

The only possible conclusion is the one which fits the reality, namely that these countries are spurned by economic interest. An industry survey by Deutsche Bank late last year found European oil companies lining up for opportunities in Iraq. France's TotalfinaElf, for instance, is negotiating for rights to the huge Majnoon and Bin Umar oil fields. And at the Baghdad international trade fair in November, firms from Germany, France and Spain were pushing their products along with hundreds of other companies from the Arab world and Russia.

Therefore the Kuffar are lining up to secure their share of 'the black gold', they have no regard whatsoever for the lives of the Muslims, their internal policies indicate as such.

Is it not high time for the sincere people of the sons of the Ummah to avenge her honour and dignity which were stamped upon as though insignificant? Is it not time for the Islamic peoples to know that their rulers are agents who find pleasure in humiliation, and that it is time for the peoples to discard them and to clean the country of their disgrace and betrayal? Is it not time for the armies stationed in the camps to destroy the seats of oppression and transgression, and to protect the power of Islam and Muslims from the tyranny of the treacherous rulers and the filth of the criminal Kuffar?

"You will not find any people who believe in Allah and the Last Day loving those who oppose Allah and His Messenger, even though they be their fathers, their sons, their brothers or their relatives." [TMQ Mujaadilah: 22]

Yusuf Patel

Musharraf's Riba Dilemma

General Parvez Musharraf has announced that Riba is haram, but only in domestic transactions. Having taken warmly to the idea of Islamisation, he feels somewhat pale and hesitant to implement the Shariah in its entirety.

Sounding alarmingly confused about Islam, Musharraf assures us that Riba will remain in place on non-domestic

transactions. "All such transactions and investments will be fully protected according to agreed terms," he said to the Fiscal Conference audience.

Not convinced about his own delirium, he has asked a high powered committee comprised of the Federal Ministers for Finance, Religious Affairs, Law & Justice and the Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan to study and examine all details relating to the elimination of Riba. This is yet another committee to add to the already running three committees. It is difficult to understand his confusion, surely he knows Riba is haram?

To add humour to what could little be more laughable, he proposed that they look at the 'models' of Saudi Arabia and Malaysia as examples of efficient and successful economies; Saudi Arabia who paid millions back to America after the Gulf war and is continuing to do so and Malaysia where - well where - George Soros just helps himself to the economy.

The illegality of dealing with usury is clear in the deen, internal or external, all transactions should be free from Riba. Allah (swt) makes a shuddering declaration of war against those who belligerently continue with this disobedience.

"Ob you who believe! Give up what remains from Riba if you are believers. If you do not do it [give up Riba] then take a notice of war from Allah and his Messenger..." [TMQ Al-Bakarah 2:278-9]

It is time we informed Musharraf that unlike his pet dogs, the Shariah can not be domesticated.

Dilpazier Aslam

China. The struggle against Taghoot

A Muslim activist was sentenced to death in China's restive northwest for setting up a group that wants to establish Islamic rule, a court official said Wednesday. Arkhan Abulla was sentenced by the People's Intermediate Court in Korla, a city in the Xinjiang province, said a court official, who would not say when sentencing took place.

Anti-Chinese sentiment has been fed by an influx of Chinese settlers and a belief that migrants have benefited disproportionately from the region's

economic development. This is reminiscent of the Muslims and their expulsion and murder by the Israelis from 1947/48 onwards. China's role in curbing so called Islamic extremism coincides with the Muslim countries, whose government's rule by kufr and seek to protect their kufr by hunting and killing the carriers of the da'wa.

This event is one of a long list of measures taken by the Chinese government, the leaders of the Shanghai Five (Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and China) and Uzbekistan met recently in Dushanbe Tajikistan (September 2000). Hot on the agenda was the rise of Islam. The Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev said, "This will allow us to successfully, effectively fight those cross-border incursions like Islamic extremism, religious extremism and drugs".

News reports as these are more frequent than ever, particularly as the Uighurs (Turkic Muslims) seek to return back to Islamic rule. These sentiments should give inspiration for the rest of the Muslims as the Messenger (saw) said regarding the return of the Khilafah "This matter is like night and day. Allah (swt) will not leave a single home whether made of stone or the skin of an animal, except that He (swt) will make Islam enter it with glory or humiliation. A glory with which Allah will make Islam powerful and humiliation with which He will disgrace kufr". (Ibn Hibban, sahih on the authority of Miqdad ibn al Aswad).

Dawud Abdur Rahman

Bahrain's move to Democracy

On Friday 16th February it was announced by Sheikh Hamad al-Khalifa, the emir of Bahrain, that 98% of voters supported the democratic reforms after the two day referendum which was held in the former British protectorate.

Under such reforms the country would become a constitutional monarchy with an elected lower chamber of parliament and an independent judiciary. The Emir has stated to most people's scepticism that the parliament will have full law making powers, even though these can be vetoed by the upper chamber which consists of the Emir and his family.

Peter Ford the British Ambassador in Bahrain stated that 'the British Government warmly welcomes these developments'. This is hardly surpris-



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ing as Bahrain was governed by Britain from 1913 until 1971 when it gained independence from the direct administration of the British Government. To continue its servitude to the western powers it also signed a defence co-operation agreement in 1991 with the United States allowing port facilities and joint military exercises in the strategic region of the Persian Gulf which accesses important countries such as Saudi Arabia and Iran.

The ironic amalgamation of two erroneous systems such as monarchical rule and democracy to create a third termed a 'constitutional monarchy' is a



farcical and absurd notion. This referendum for democratic reforms is meaningless in reality, as the fact remains that in whatever guise the system in Bahrain shows itself the ultimate power will remain with the Emir Sheikh Hamad al-Khalifa and his ruling family. This allows the west to justify its support of this regime publicly as long as their strategic interests are well catered for.

Furthermore Islam rejects all forms of man made systems of legislation whether it is from a dictatorial monarchy or an elected parliament as only Allah (swt) has the sovereignty in legislative matters.

"So judge among them by what Allah has revealed and follow not their vain desires, diverging away from the truth that has come to you." [TMQ Al-Ma'idah :48]

Faisal Raja

Kashmir- APHC flexes its secular credentials

The All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC), making an apparent bid to maintain the stuttering peace process in Kashmir, are trying "...to seek a permanent and final settlement of dispute of Jammu and Kashmir..." according APHC Chairman Abdul Gani Butt.

"Furthermore, there are again a few people who seem to confuse the issue and term Kashmir as a religious problem. The Hurriyat considers it as a negative approach. Which means that Kashmir is primarily a political issue," the statement said.

The attempt to secularise the Kashmir problem, is aimed at seeking favour with the western powers, But it is a dire warning for the future of the Muslims of Kashmir. The 'Peace Process' agenda is being set by the leading powers, whether it is the US or UK, or India, rather than resolving the issue according to the *Hukm Shari* (divine law).

And a stark warning for the APHC, that the line that they wish to take, is the line that the miserable PLO, had taken, and the plight of the Muslims of Palestine is a stark reminder.

Allah (swt) informs us that He (swt) is our Wali (protector, friend, guardian), and He (swt) alone will lead the Muslims out of the problems that they are facing, and a severe warning to the believers that seeking protection and help from other than Him (swt) yields a dire consequence.

"Allah is the Protector of those who have faith: from the depths of darkness He leads them forth into light. Of those who disbelieve their protectors are taghoot, from light they will lead them forth into the depths of darkness. They will be the companion of the fire to dwell therein (forever)." [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 257]

Imam Tabari (Vol 5 p416-419) states that at taghoot means Satans, idols, soothsayers and anything else that may be worshiped (or used as a standard) other than Allah. Imam Shawkani (vol 1 p 275-276) states that taghoot is soothsayer, Satan, or whatever leads one into error.

So seeking as awliyah anything other than Allah, is taghoot, which includes the western powers.

Asif Khan

Algerian Massacres Continue

Violence continues to flare in Algeria, scene of the some of the most horrendous atrocities against Muslims since the nationalist regime was about to be toppled following elections in 1991. Over 280 have been slaughtered this year alone often through torture, slashing of throats or burning. The pattern is all too familiar, with those from the poorer regions the usual targets. The western media has been quick to support the official and tainted stories emanating from the Algerian regime that such atrocities are the handiwork of Muslims seeking to overthrow the

government. That the victims are overwhelmingly Muslims from regions that have historically supported the Islamic movement (not the government), that no one has been categorically arrested and proven to be responsible, and that Islam utterly and completely condemns such tactics has caused Muslims (and many non-Muslims) to doubt anything the Algerian regime propagates re the massacres.

Now new evidence is coming to light directly implicating the regime in these horrendous crimes that are designed to break the resolve of the Muslims and ensure that Islamic revival is stamped out. Habib Souaidia a former officer in the Algerian military has written a book in which he exposes the work of Algerian troops in carrying out the massacres, whilst disguised as rebels. "I saw colleagues burn alive a child of 15, soldiers disguised as terrorists massacre civilians, colonels kill mere suspects in cold blood, officers torture Islamists to death," writes Habib. In a similar vein a book entitled "Who Did The Killing At Bentalha?", written by the survivor of a 1997 massacre in Algeria, raised questions about the failure of security forces in the area at the time to prevent the killings, which has been the norm even in cases where the massacres were within earshot of military barracks or police.

Such tactics whilst extremely shocking and profoundly disturbing, should not surprise an Ummah which witnesses the extremes these regimes go to preserve their wealth and power.

"They want to extinguish Allah's guiding light with their utterances: but Allah will not allow (this to pass), for He has willed to spread His light in all its fullness, however hateful this may be to all who deny the truth" [TMQ Tawbah 9:32]

Jamal Harwood

Intoxicated by Democracy

Whilst Bahrain celebrated dipping its feet into the font of democracy (See Above) President Mohammad Khatami gave his seal of approval to the whole process,

"The international community needs democracy and the members of the international community deserve equal rights just like the citizens of a specific country who should be grant-

ed the same rights,"

The example of Lord Irvine, the Lord Chancellor and head of the Judiciary in England, is only the most recent example of the corruption of democratic politics. He solicited financial donations from lawyers who he has the authority to promote as judges. Last month the former Northern Ireland minister Peter Mandelson had to resign over supporting an application for a passport from the wealthy Hinduja brothers, who bankrolled part of the Millennium dome project. The massive, multimillion-pound donations from businessmen to both big political parties in the UK, only further highlight the flaws in the system. In a democracy money buys legislation, and mixing money and politics like this is institutionalised corruption.

Is it any kind of endorsement of this system that Tony Blair, Britain's Prime Minister, is trying to counter voter apathy and cynicism about politics? This electorate is cynical because they know that successive governments, of every democratic Party, have been corrupt, and have served only the interests of the rich capitalists. They rarely pursue popular policies for most citizens except for self-interest, for example when they seek re-election. Sadly, the people know of no alternative.

As Muslims we should be ashamed that the representatives and governments of Muslims, chose to implement or encourage this corruption over the Muslims. This, when they know that democracy contradicts many clear Quranic ayaats, which do not allow a monarch or a Parliament to make laws to judge by, and hence be sovereign.

Imagine how these non-Muslims will feel when they see the beautiful example of the Khilafah system, with its obedience to Allah (SWT) alone, and not to money; its truly independent judiciary, and accountable executive. The Khilafah system leaves the authority in the hands of the Ummah, allowing them to appoint the Khalifah, and to account him if necessary, and is the model we will present to the world in accordance with the saying of Allah (SWT):

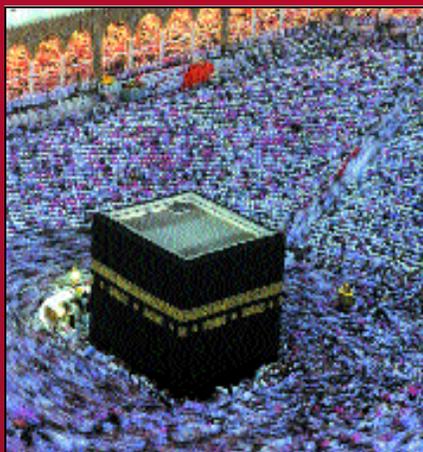
"You are the best Ummah, ever raised for mankind. You enjoy the good, forbid the evil and believe in Allah." [TMQ Al Imran: 110]

Dr Abdul Wabid

Labbayk Allahuma Labbayk

All praise is to Allah (swt), who allowed us to successfully fast the month of Ramadhan Al-Mubarak, and followed it with the blessed months of Al-Hajj, which begin in Shawwal and conclude in Dhul-Hijjah, introducing a new season of goodness and prosperity.

Millions of Muslims have begun to travel in great flocks to the house of Allah (swt), Al-Haram. From every corner of the earth, leaving behind them their families and their beloved ones, their homes and their lands. To the sanctuary of Makkah, surrounded by mountains and valleys, in obedience to the call of the Most Merciful:



"And proclaim to mankind the Hajj (pilgrimage); they will come to you on foot and (mounted) on every kind of camel, lean (due to) journeys through deep and distant (wide) mountain highways" [TMQ Al-Hajj: 27].

And they wear the white garments; symbols that happiness, tranquillity and peace within a Muslim cannot be achieved except through the fulfilment of the order of their Lord (swt), as they call out:

"Labbayk Allahuma Labbayk"

I am here (to obey), oh Allah, I am here (to obey),

"Labbayk Laa Shareeka Laka Labbayk"

I am here (to obey), (and) You have no partner (in the share of Your kingdom), I am here (to obey),

"Inna Al-Hamda wal-Ni'meta Laka, wal-Mulk"

Truly all praise, and all the favour is (only) to You, as is the ownership (of all things),

"Laa Shareeka Lek"

You have no partner (in the share of Your kingdom).

They call out, desiring the vast oceans of good, the great reward and forgiveness for their sins. The beloved Messenger of Allah (saw) promised, "Whosoever (performs) Hajj, and does not have intimate relations with his wife, nor does he (commit any sin), he will return from his sins as the day his mother gave birth to him."

So let us take a moment to examine the meaning of this act of obedience, and ask ourselves a question: What is the meaning of 'Labbayk Allahuma Labbayk'?

It was written by Al-Fayrooz Abadi, in Al-Qamoos Al-Muheet (the leading Arabic dictionary), that the meaning of the word 'Labbayk' is, "I remain obedient to your orders, time after time" and it also means, "I respond to your call, response after response." Hence, we see those performing Hajj in the house of Allah (swt) Al-Haram, as well as the Muslims all over the world, repeating these words of obedience, 'Labbayk Allahuma Labbayk.' Meaning that they are making a pledge to Allah (swt) to remain obedient to all His (swt) orders, time after time, and to respond to all His (swt) calls, response after response.

What a mighty pledge this is, and what a serious oath, carrying such immense reward and great honour, and this brings us to our next question, which is; Is performing Hajj the only order and call by Allah (swt)?

To answer this question, it is necessary to clarify that Allah (swt) has obligated upon us acts of worship, such as Hajj, Salat, fasting, Zakat and Jihad, as well as political actions. Political actions to manage the affairs of the Ummah and protect her, such as ordering the Ma'ruf (the good) and forbidding the Munkar (the evil), as the Qur'an states:

"The Believers, men and women, are protectors one of another: they order the Ma'ruf and forbid the Munkar, and they observe regular prayers..." [TMQ At-Taubah: 71]. And the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "Verily, you must order the Ma'ruf and forbid the Munkar, or Allah will be about to inflict a punishment upon you from Him; then you will pray to Him and He will not answer (your prayers)." Allah (swt) also ordered us to account the rulers, where the Messenger of Allah (saw) said, "Verily, you must clasp (firmly) the hands of the oppressor, and force him upon the truth and confine him to the (implementation of) truth (alone), or Allah will strike your hearts together and curse you as He cursed them." (meaning the Jews and the Christians).

Furthermore, the Messenger of Allah (saw) clarified the honour of the one who performs this action, when he (saw) said, "The master of martyrs is Hamzah, and a man who stood up to an oppressive ruler, and ordered him (to follow the

Ma'ruf) and forbade him (from the Munkar), so he (the oppressive ruler) killed him." What a superior status this is, and a great reward.

Allah (swt) also orders us to work within a political group, where He (swt) commanded in the Qur'an:

"Let there rise out from amongst you (oh, Muslims) a group, that invites to all that is good (Islam), and order the Ma'ruf and forbid the Munkar; and it is they who are the successful" [TMQ Aal-Imraan: 104].

This order, in origin, is an obligation of sufficiency; but the sufficiency has not been met today, as the yet incomplete obligation that is required of the political party, is the re-establishment of the Islamic Khilafah State, which has not been completed yet. Therefore it has become an individual obligation upon every Muslim in the world to begin work immediately, within a political group, to re-establish the Islamic State, to implement all of Islam and to carry the call to the rest of the world through Da'wa and Jihad. To lift humanity out of the darkness into the light.

Allah (swt) has also ordered us to perform Jihad, which is one of the greatest obligations in Islam, for Allah (swt) said in the translation of the Qur'an:

"Jihad is ordained for you (Muslims), though you dislike it. And it may be that you dislike a thing which is good for you, and that you like a thing which is bad for you. Allah knows, and you know not." [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 216]

Jihad is of two types; Jihad Al-Dafi' (defensive), which is to drive out the enemy and remove them from the land of the Muslims. Examples include those lands that the Muslims are being oppressed. The other type of Jihad is Jihad Al-Talab (invitation), which is to spread Islam all over the earth, to lift humanity out of the darkness into the light. We all saw with our very own eyes the Hindu rituals broadcast over all forms of media, while they worshiped the water in the River Ganges, which they believe to be sacred. We saw how the whole world watched the idolatry of the idolaters and the Kufir of the Kafireen with such delight and ease. Remember our past when the Khaleefah dispatched the Muslims to Persia and Rome, and others, to lift those who oppress themselves out of the oppression into the justice of Islam?

All these obligations are calling out to us, and are a summons from Allah (swt); so is there anyone to respond? Why do we not obey, and call out, 'Labbayk Allahuma Labbayk, Labbayk Laa Shareeka Laka Labbayk'?

It is vital that we remember how Allah (swt) described the people that implemented a part of the Ahkam (laws) and ignored the rest; how He (swt) characterised them with Kufir! Allah (swt) take four oaths from Bani Israa'eel, which

Joint Security Control in Palestine

were:

- 1 - To stop killing others
- 2 - To stop expelling their own people from their land
- 3 - To stop assisting one group in sin and transgression against others from amongst their own people
- 4 - To pay for the ransom for their people who have been taken hostage

But they did not abide by any of them, except to pay the ransom for their people who had been taken hostage. So Allah (swt) said in the the translation of Surat Al-Baqarah:

"After this, it is you who kill one another and drive out a party of you from their homes, assisting (their enemies) against them in sin and transgression. And if they come to you as captives, you ransom them, although their expulsion was forbidden to you. Then do you believe in a part of the Book and disbelieve in the rest?" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 85]

If we look carefully, we will find the Qur'an does not say, "Then do you 'implement' a part of the book and 'not implement' the rest." Rather the Qur'an states, "believe (Tu'minin) in a part of the Book and disbelieve (Takfurun) in the rest" and therefore He (swt) described their ignoring the rest of the laws as Kufr (disbelief). This was followed a terrible warning and the severe threat:

"Then what is the recompense of those who do so among you, except disgrace in the life of this world, and on the Day of Resurrection they shall be consigned to the most grievous torment. And Allah is not unaware of what you do" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 85]

Disgrace means degradation and humiliation, and if one were to examine the state of this Ummah of ours today, he would find degradation and humiliation everywhere he turns, whether in Chechnya, the Gulf or anywhere else.

Thus, O you who are performing Hajj in the sacred house of Allah (swt) Al-Haram! O Muslims all over the world! Come to answer the call of Allah (swt) with genuine sincerity, in obedience to His (swt) orders; tear down the thrones of the oppressive rulers with your mighty words and deeds and restore the lands as an Islamic Khilafah State, which follows the guidance of the Prophet (saw). And on that day the Muslims will be pleased with the victory of Allah (swt).

"Oh you who believe, answer the call of Allah and the Messenger, if He calls you to that which gives you life" [TMQ Al-Anfaal: 24].

Labbayk Allahuma Labbayk

Imam Abu Hassan
Sudan

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat has launched a blistering verbal attack on Israel, but said he was still ready to work for peace in the Middle East. Arafat made an outspoken attack on what he termed a "savage and barbaric war" that Israel had waged on the Palestinians. He accused Israel of using prohibited weapons and ammunition.

Arafat spoke at the World Economic Forum in Davos. He shared a platform with Israel's Regional Cooperation Minister and former Prime Minister Shimon Peres. Arafat's comments were a response to Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak's announcement to halt peace-making contacts until after the February 6th elections. This had destroyed the hopes of senior Palestinian officials who had suggested that there could be a summit this week between Barak and Arafat in Stockholm, Sweden.

"Security contacts for calming the situation on the ground, stopping the violence and thwarting terrorism will continue. The Israeli government continues to stand by the peace process on the basis of insistence on Israel's vital interest," Barak's office said in a statement.

Arafat's attack on Israel at Davos was only hot air. Even after the killing of 306 Palestinian Muslims in the recent Israeli aggression, he continues to meet with the Israelis. Furthermore, he has agreed to resume the treacherous security cooperation and patrols to prevent any Muslim from attacking Israel or its occupying force. Arafat does not hear the screams of the mothers crying over their martyred sons, nor is he moved by the bloodshed of the young children.

The resumption of the security cooperation is in line with the agreement signed between Arafat, Netanyahu and the American CIA in 1998 at the Wye Plantation in Maryland. The traitor Arafat, in cooperation with the Jews and the CIA wants to destroy every move the Ummah makes to liberate their land. He wants a Palestinian state to co-exist with a Jewish Israeli state.

The CIA has a long history of involvement with both Israel and the PLO. The

agency's ties with Mossad date as far back as 1951. The relationship with Arafat and the PLO dates back to the early 1970's. The CIA was instrumental in protecting moderate PLO figures, including Yasser Arafat, and helped broker a deal in the early 1980's that enabled the PLO to evacuate Lebanon for Tunis. During that period the PLO also used the CIA as a back channel to negotiate with the Israelis.

The role of the CIA was formalised and expanded during the peace negotiations at the Wye Plantation. Since then the CIA has monitored Arafat's security efforts, overseen Israeli and Palestinian troop deployment, verified reductions in the size of the Palestinian police force, and kept track of Palestinian efforts to arrest the mujahideen fighting Israeli troops.

The CIA's role in the Middle East involves training the Palestinian Preventive Security Services force, various Israeli intelligence departments (Mossad, Shin Bet, Aman), as well as monitoring interrogations and sharing intelligence on Islamic groups.

Allah (swt) makes it clear in the following verse that those who believe in Him and the Last Day would not consider befriending those who oppose Allah (swt) and His Messenger:

"You will not find a people who believe in Allah and the Last Day loving those who oppose Allah and His Messenger, even though they be their fathers or their sons, or their brethren or their clan" [TMQ Al-Mujadalah: 22].

Not only does Allah (swt) forbid us from taking the disbelievers for allies, but He (swt) also warns us in the Qur'an of the disastrous consequences of obeying them:

"O you who believe! If you obey those who disbelieve they will make you turn back on your heels, and you turn back as losers" [TMQ Al-Imran: 149].

Nazmul Hoque

The Bombing of Iraq



The bombing of Iraq on Friday 16th February resulting in the death of two people and injuring scores more demonstrates the west's real intent, ambition and ideology.

It all started with the gulf war, in the aftermath of which Iraq was left severely devastated. Thousands dead, medical shortages, food and water supply breakdowns, devastation in transportation and communications. This was the state Iraq was left in after the USA and Britain sent sortie after sortie by day and by night during the Gulf War. It was reported by the end of the war, Iraq had been crippled to such an extent that it would have taken decades to return the society to the state it was in before the Gulf war.

But for the western forces, spurred on by the scent of oil and the desire for regional domination, pulverising Iraq during the Gulf war was not enough. Soon after the end of the war, the American imposed 'no-fly' zones and trade sanctions on Iraq were to devastate the Muslims of Iraq to an unimaginable extent.

These sanctions have resulted in 4500 children dying every month, a double in infant mortality, a 90% reduction in imported drugs and over 1 Million Muslims dead.

The daily flights and daily bombings to 'secure' the no-fly zones have resulted in numerous deaths over the ten years. From time to time an attack is given coverage in the news, but the countless sorties that have resulted in the deaths and casualties of our Iraqi brothers and sisters, have on the whole gone unreported leaving a false impression of peace in the region.

The Western Hypocrisy

The flights over Iraq have always been placed in the context of protecting Iraqi citizens against the tyranny of Saddam Hussein. The Shi'ite, or 'marsh' Arabs, in the south of Iraq are protected by the no-fly zone extending below the 33rd parallel, and the Kurdish population by the no-fly zone north of the 36th parallel, or so it is said. Any flights by Iraqi forces over these regions are attacked for in the name of protecting these

populations.

But if it were really for the protection of these populations, then the Americans and British should extend their bombing campaign to include the south of Turkey and attack Turkish installations. For if indeed the Kurds that are to be protected from aggression and tyranny, then this should apply also to the Turkish troops which regularly fire into Kurdish populated regions to the south of Turkey and to the north of Iraq. The Turkish army is well known for attacking the Kurds and their respective separatist movements, and in the past ten years has been responsible for many bombings in Kurd territory.

If it were really the southern Shi'ite marsh Arabs they desire to protect, then they should likewise attack Saudi Arabia for its treatment of the Shi'ite with equal measure.

The truth is, these no-fly zones were never designed to protect populations, but rather to divide and destroy Iraq altogether. And whereas Saddam Hussein is the supposed target, the people who suffer are the millions of Muslim children, women and elders who have become caught up in the western attempt to control this region and extend its colonial ambitions to their territory. George Bush Senior came and went, so did Bill Clinton, and so did Margaret Thatcher and John Major, yet Saddam still remains. He clearly hasn't suffered from the attacks on Iraq over the past ten years. The people of Iraq most definitely have.

Relationship with the Kuffar

The recent history of Iraq, the western attitude towards it and the recent sanctions on Afghanistan, which will almost inevitably escalate the human catastrophe it already faces due to famine, should serve as examples regarding the nature of our relationship with the Kuffar. It is clear that their ambitions in life, their basis of relationship and their attitudes towards

Islam and the Muslims are shaped by their viewpoint in life. Its ideology of Capitalism is the basis of their trade, foreign policy and politics.

Capitalism makes actions only for the sake of benefit, and this attitude is reflected in the attitude of America and Britain. If we provide a benefit, then we are allies, but temporary ones as the benefit always changes. If we present an obstacle to their benefit, then we can expect the harshest and most severe treatment and attitude with no care for suffering, death or principles. This then is the treatment the Ummah should expect from the Kafireen, and is the treatment we have received.

It is a lesson we should not have had to learn, as Allah (swt) has already given us forewarning. This attitude is clearly and explicitly quoted in the Qur'an in Surah al-Imran, and Allah is most truthful:

"O ye who believe, take not into your intimacy those outside of your ranks: they will not fail but to corrupt you. They only desire for you to suffer: Rank hatred has been uttered from their mouths, what their hearts conceal is far worse" [TMQ Al-Imran: 118].

Imam Qurtubi commentated on this ayah by saying, "Allah stressed and emphasised powerfully, with an admonition, that it is not allowed to extend your hands for help or to incline to the disbelievers." It is known also that the Sahaba and Tabi'een would recite this ayah to prevent their brothers in Islam consulting with the Kuffar for their opinions, or to hand over to them authority over their affairs.

The ayah and its commentary depict clearly the nature of our relationship with the Kuffar. In particular, taking advice, help or protection from them is completely prohibited and thus we should take nothing from them in the form of friendship. The Qur'an states in this ayah *'They desire to harm you severely'*, indicating their real intent which is to harm, kill and destroy the Muslims, our deen and our land.

Have we not seen this in the case of Iraq? During the Gulf war Muslims were sent to fight alongside the American and British troops against the Muslims of Iraq, thinking this would increase their friendship with the Kuffar and reap benefits for the Muslims. But did the Kuffar not pound the Muslims of Iraq day and night, even after the Gulf war, and did they not destroy and devastate the Muslims of Iraq by killing their mothers and their fathers? Did they not kill their sons and their daughters by refusing them medical aid, and by spreading the disease of the biological weapons, tipped with uranium to cause deformities in babies and death through poison? They dealt with the Muslims with harshness and severity. The troops that fought in this war alongside the Kafireen included those from Pakistan. Did the Kuffar not impose sanctions on Pakistan and destroy its economy through their usurious loans? The words of Allah (swt) are the most truthful of words, the Kuffar desire that we are destroyed. Calling upon the Kuffar is a call in disobedience of Allah (swt), and a call to our destruction.

It has also narrated that Abu Musa al-Ashari (ra) narrated that Umar (ra) said, "Do not take the people of the book as advisers nor approach them in your affairs because Allah (swt) cursed them and humiliated them because of the hatred and rage they have against your deen".

Our enemies, enemy, is not our friend

The issue of Iraq has and will result in criticism from Kuffar, mainly members of Parliament and their supporters. Are these

then our allies from amongst the Kuffar? It is important to realise that they too are Kuffar and are party to a parliamentary system which contradicts Islam and in which many decisions concerning Islam and the Muslims have been taken in



the past, one such being the destruction of the Khilafah. Their disagreement is in the framework of the western ideology, Capitalism, and their disagreement is concerning styles and means and not over ideology. Thus they disagree over how to take the oil, gold, gas and the rest of the wealth of the Ummah from the Muslims, but not whether they should be taken in the first place. They will disagree over how to introduce democracy, secularism, freedom into the Muslim countries, but will be in complete agreement over the fact that it should be introduced.

Ibn Masood (ra) said, "Do not trust anyone other than your brothers in Islam."

So the fact that China, France and Russia attacked the action does not make them the friends of Islam and the Muslims. China has been killing thousands of Muslims and bulldozing Mosques for years in its Muslim populated Xing Xuan province. Russia has been responsible for the slaughter of Muslims in Chechnya, and France has caused the massacre of Muslims in Algeria through its support of the government and its mercenaries, who are responsible for the massacres across the country, as we now know. The Chinese, Russian and French condemnation of the Iraqi bombing and sanctions, are for their own Political and Economic interest. On the issue of friendship with the Kuffar, Anas ibn Malik (ra) narrated that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said, "Do not illuminate your atmosphere with the fire of the Kuffar."

Conclusion

The land which taught Imam al-Ghazali in the Nidhamiyah University of Baghdad, which bore sons like Imam al-A'zam, Numan bin Thabit bin Zuhayr bin Marzuban (Abu Hanifa), whose capital was the seat of the great Khalifs like Harun al-Rashid, lies today in ruin. It is destroyed by two enemies of Islam, America and Britain, fighting each other over the spoils of Iraq, while at the same time lying to the Ummah that they wish to protect us from Saddam Hussein. How is it that their protection involves the death of over 1 Million Muslims? What a state we are in, that the Kuffar play and fight over our lands while our brothers, sisters and children are killed in their battle like worthless pawns.

It is only through the return of the Khilafah, that the affairs of the Ummah will be once again in their hands and the wealth and resources will be utilised according to the Shari'ah. Our wars will then be those for the defence of Muslims and for the propagation of Islam, not for the killing of the Muslims and the propagation of Capitalism, Ba'athism or any other man-made 'ism'.

"Let not the believers take the disbelievers as Auliya (supporters, helpers, protectors) instead of the believers, and whoever does that will never be helped by Allah in any way, except if you indeed fear a danger from them. And Allah warns you against himself (His Punishment), and to Allah is the final return" [TMQ Al-Imran: 28].

Mohammad Akmal

CAPITALISM NO FREE LUNCHESES

Roland Dumas, Albert Fujimori, Felix Estrada and Peter Mandelson are the most recent Western politicians to have been caught in the sleaze game. The extent of big business and its influence on the Western political system is becoming increasingly transparent. It is becoming more and more difficult to dismiss these individuals as merely a few 'rotten apples,' rather, it seems the entire barrel is rotten.

The inextricable link between corruption and democracy is more than obvious. Consider the fugitive businessman Albert Sirven who was recently arrested in the Philippines. Sirven claimed that he could name at least one hundred key people who were involved in corruption. This would include most of the political elite of the Mitterrand era. Meanwhile, in Peru, the seizure of more than two thousand secretly obtained videotapes reveals the extent of the power of President Fujimori's secret state. In Germany, the former Chancellor Helmut Kohl has been implicated in various fundraising scandals. The same is true in the UK, where recent revelations concerning New Labour and Peter Mandelson's association with the Hinduja brothers follow on from the previous Ecclestone and Robinson affairs. As a result, most people now believe that the current government is almost as sleazy as the previous incumbents (Neil Hamilton, Jonathan Aitken and cash for questions et al). In the United States, ex-President Bill Clinton is under attack for having pardoned the fugitive billionaire Marc Rich and his own brother. The fact that associates of Rich were financial contributors to the Democratic Party has not gone unnoticed. His successor George W. Bush has appointed a cabinet, which in terms of wealth and multi millionaires, will go down in history as the wealthiest cabinet ever assembled. Due to the fact that almost four billion dollars was spent on the 2000 campaign, it would by no means be outlandish to presume that payback needs to start very soon. The news that

wealthy contributors to the Republican party are now being touted for plum ambassadorial posts abroad, is already a sign that payback has commenced.

The examples above are not just revelations of minor political figures. This involves world leaders; Presidents, Chancellors and Prime Ministers. Why are senior politicians attracted to sleaze? A recent quotation may throw light on this.

According to treasury minister Vincenzo Visco, "There is an attitude among Italians not to trust the ruling class ... and they are right." Too often, he added, "our politicians, trade unions and entrepreneurs are unable to understand what is going on, or they are so indifferent to the general interest that they destroy everything. Or they are so involved in making money for themselves (by stealing), that they don't care about the economy." This government minister was not referring to Russia or Nigeria but a major European country with a prominent position within the European Union, NATO and the G8.

We should not expect that politicians would be immune to the Capitalist values that permeate their own societies. Since the Renaissance and the formal adoption of secularism, the concepts of materialism and personal freedom have become dominant. Success and failure are judged according to these standards. Why then, should we not surmise that in order to further their own personal benefit and maintain power, they will implement corrupt means for their own gain once in power? Their goal, after all, as with everyone who holds the Capitalist mentality, is to achieve the most personal wealth they can amass in the least amount of time. Because they are also motivated by personal freedom, they have no qualms about engaging in questionable materialistic pursuits, so long as they are not caught.

What makes politicians so attractive to big business interests is the politician's ability to pass legislation on behalf of the company's specific interests. Consequently, the growth of business lobbyists, especially in the US, has replaced any pretence that big business is not the dominant influence in the heart of the Democratic system.

The alternative to the Democratic system is the Khilafah system (The Islamic political system). The Khilafah ensures that values in society are not sim-

ply restricted to materialistic values. The Islamic belief is both a spiritual and political one. It looks after the affairs of all people by means of the divine texts. Unlike Capitalism, which seeks to motivate everyone through personal benefit, the Khilafah will promote humanitarian and ethical values in the whole society, as well as the relationship with the Creator.

In addition, within the Khilafah system, sovereignty belongs to the Allah (swt) alone. He (swt) has revealed a unique and detailed political structure. This was a system that had been implemented successfully for over fourteen centuries. Consequently, politicians within the Islamic system are not allowed to pass legislation. Their responsibility is ensuring proper execution of policy, not the making of it. In addition, within the Islamic system, authority belongs to the people and not to big businesses. Therefore, unlike the Democratic system, the people could remove a politician from the moment he deviates from the agreed legislative path. They do not have to wade through years of bureaucracy as we see today. The Islamic mechanism, the Mahakkamat Muthallam, is enshrined within the political system. This is a court capable of removing any leader who has clearly violated any aspect of Islamic legislation. Compare this to the farce of the US senate in 1999 composed of partisan Democrat and Republican senators passing a verdict on whether a Democratic President should be impeached. Or, compare it to a biased republican US Supreme Court who effectively gave the 2000 election to Bush by overturning a biased Democratic Florida State Supreme Court.

It is because of this, that when we hear of our thinkers, academics and influentials in the Muslim lands calling for Democracy, we feel such dismay. In Pakistan, Chief Executive Pervais Musharraf has been arguing for nearly sixteen months for the implementation of a 'true' Democracy rather than the 'sham' version that the Pakistani people are witness to. Presumably the 'true' democracy Musharraf is referring to, is the type that is being practised in the West. In the light of the above examples, is this what we really want?

Allah (swt) says, "*Verily, the hypocrites seek to deceive Allah, but it is He who deceives them.*" [TMQ An-Nisa:142]

Sajjad Khan

The Ruling System in Islam: The Khilafah

The Khilafah is the general leadership over all the Muslims, in the whole world, to implement the laws of Islamic Shari'ah, and to convey the Islamic message to the whole world. It is also known as the Imama, Imama and Khilafah are the same; it is the shape in which the divine laws of Shari'ah have come to determine the framework of the Islamic State. Many Sahih Ahadith have been narrated with the use of the two words,

conveying the same meaning, and never have the two words differed in their meaning in any Shari'ah text i.e. the Qur'an and Sunnah, the only legal texts. However the two words are not actually binding and we need not adhere to either of them but we have to abide by their meaning and what they refer to.

Appointing a Khalifah is the duty of all the Muslims all over the world; performing such a duty is just like performing any other duty which Allah I has decreed on Muslims - It is a clear cut

issue where Muslims have no choice in it, nor can they be complacent about it; failure to work towards establishing the Khalifah is one of the gravest sins that Allah I will punish severely.

Evidence about the obligation of appointing a Khalifah, which is binding on all Muslims, is found in the Sunnah and Ijma'a of the Sahabah. As for the Sunnah, it has been narrated that Nafi said: "Umar told me: 'I heard the Messenger of Allah r say: 'Whoever takes off his hand from obedience to Allah, Allah will meet him on the Resurrection day without having any proof for him, and whoever dies while there were no allegiance on his neck, his death would be that of the days of ignorance.'"

The Politics of Terrorism

Terrorism is defined by the Terrorism Research Centre as, "the systematic use of physical violence against non-combatants but with an audience greater than the immediate victims in mind, to create a general climate of fear in a target population in order to affect some kind of political and or social change." The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines terrorism as, "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property, to intimidate or coerce a government, the population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives." In basic terms, terrorism is the act of inflicting terror upon people in the process of achieving personal or political objectives. America, the worlds leading country, claims to be a victim of terrorism enmeshed in a desperate struggle to protect its civilians.

Madeleine Albright, former Secretary of State for the US, stated that, "terrorists should understand that America will use every available diplomatic, judicial, economic and, when necessary, military tool, to protect our people. We will not be intimidated by terror and we will not shrink from our responsibilities."

America claims to be concerned with establishing peace in the world arena. It claims to hate bloodshed and violence. It claims to be the protector of 'Human Rights.' This sentiment is apparent in the following quotes from Madeleine Albright:

"We Americans want stability and peace. We want to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. We want a healthy, growing world economy with open markets and fair rules of trade. We want help in responding to global threats. And we want to increase respect for human rights and democracy."

"...With less than a week to go for this Administration...we are still engaged in diplomacy to encourage peace in the Middle East. We are consulting with many of our allies and partners represented here to consolidate the astonishing gains we have made in the Balkans. We are working to prevent the spread of advanced weapons so that this century is less bloody than the last one."

However, if one was to undertake even a brief study of America's history, it would be clear that America is guilty of inflicting terror upon millions of people regardless of their ability to protect themselves and regardless of any concern for their human rights and well being. Let us raise a few examples to expose the claim of America, that she is a defender of human rights, as one that contradicts the reality.

In 1945, America sanctioned the use of the first atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In Vietnam the civilians were subjected to a torrent of

American Air Sorties containing 'Napalm' and 'Agent Orange' that scoured their landscape and claimed thousands of lives as America quite literally carpet bombed the Vietnamese. The war was justified on the basis of protecting South Vietnam from the threat of radical Communists. In 1986 President Regan sanctioned the bombing of Libya, despite the fact that it was a direct contradiction of its own United Nations (UN) laws. It was justified on ideological grounds. Regan claimed that his actions were "contributing to an international environment of peace, freedom and progress within which our democracy and other free nations can flourish." Similarly, President Bush justified the use of force in killing innocents in Iraq during the early 1990's when he unashamedly claimed, "our jobs, our way of life, our own freedom and the freedom of friendly countries around the world would suffer if the greatest oil reserves (i.e. Saudi Arabia), fell into the hands of Saddam."

The unrestrained use of air power on mainly Iraqi civilian targets buried any myth that America is struggling to prevent the infliction of terror on people. Norman Schwarzkopf is infamous for his words, "I want every Iraqi soldier bleeding from every orifice." His subordinates duly obliged by unleashing 110,000 Air Sorties and dropping 88,000 tons of explosives on defenceless people. This was followed by a decade of continuous bombing and cruel sanctions that has resulted in the death of over a million people. The whole Iraqi population has felt the suffering and hardship.

Reality proves that the greatest terrorist in the world is America. She is not against the use of force nor is she against inflicting terror upon innocent people. America acts to protect her interests. So when America brandishes actions as acts of terrorism and the ones who conducted those acts as terrorists, in reality she is not opposed to the infliction of terror, rather she is opposed to acts that threaten America's interests. Numerous examples can be brought to substantiate this.

The Muslims who use force to liberate the land of Palestine are deemed terrorists. Zionists, such as former Israeli PM's Yitzak Shamir and Manachiam Begin, who undertook the bombing of the King David Hotel and the execution of two British soldiers, however, are deemed freedom fighters that liberated Palestine for the Jews and indirectly aided American interests in the region. With regards to the recent violence in Palestine, America has refused to condemn the excessive force of the Israelis but brandished the actions of Muslim groups as acts of terrorism. When the Afghanis fought against the Russians, they were considered as freedom fighters, but Afghanistan is now considered a terrorist state. America initially described the blowing up of an FBI building in Oklahoma as a terrorist act, but when it became clear that the ones behind the act were American militias, they changed their terminology from 'terrorist act' to 'criminal act.' America describes every movement or act opposing her interest as being a terrorist one.

In 1997 the American Senate passed an act of legislation to fight terrorism. This law enables America to arrest, abduct and inflict the punishment that she deems adequate on any movement or person who acts against her interests, regardless of their

location.

This enables America to pursue and strike anyone she describes as terrorists i.e. anyone who opposes her interests. Whether it is an individual, organisation, party or state, America uses this justification to impose economic sanctions or military strikes as she has done in Libya, Afghanistan and Iraq.

The politics of terrorism is obviously a strategy adopted by America to gain a stranglehold on the world and to fight against anybody who tries to rebel against her policy.

As Muslims, the only power that can potentially move against America's interests, we will be a constant target. America will continue to brandish Muslims who call for Islam as terrorists and use the terrorism law to increase her influence and keep them under her control. This is why today you will rarely find an Islamic movement that calls for the return of Islam that is not described by America as a terrorist organisation. This is because America is well aware that once the Khilafah State is re-established, it will not allow America to achieve her interests in the Muslim lands. The state will challenge America politically, ideologically and militarily. To protect, maintain and propagate the Islamic way of life, the Khilafah will consistently move to challenge America and her so called world order.

This slur campaign against Islam is not a new style, our beloved Prophet Muhammad (saw) faced a similar situation when the tyrants of Makkah relentlessly pursued a campaign of slander against him (saw) and Islam. The Qur'an responded to the slander: *"And of mankind is he who purchases idle talk to mislead men from the path of Allah"* [TMQ Luqman: 6].

It is imperative that we become aware of this reality. America and the West pursue a bitter attack against Islam, as a means of maintaining dominance. Under no circumstances would they allow Islam to threaten the status quo.

America is biased in its descriptions of Islam as a terrorist ideology, and of the Muslims as terrorists. It is contradictory to reality; furthermore, it contradicts what Allah (swt) wishes from Islam. The Qur'an explains:

"And we have sent you O Mubammad not but as a mercy for mankind" [TMQ Ta-Ha: 107].

The noble Qur'an also explains that:

"We have sent down to you the book (The Qur'an) as an exposition of everything, a guidance, a mercy and glad tidings for those who have submitted themselves to Allah" [TMQ An-Nahl: 89].

It is easy for the West to dismiss Muslims as terrorists to further their own agenda. It is one of the most simplistic means of dismissal; however, through the tremendous amounts of propaganda, the concept of Muslims as terrorists has begun to penetrate the thoughts of society. One only has to look at history, however, to see whom the real terrorists are.

Asif Dawood

Looking after the Islamic Ummah



Introduction

The prophet Muhammad (saw) said, "He who wakes up in the morning and does not think of the affairs of the Muslims is not one of us" [Muslim]. A Muslim must, therefore, be concerned about the situation of other Muslims. This is an obligation (fard) as much as prayer is an obligation. This hadith compels us to search for information about the situation of our brothers and sisters all over the world. What are their problems? Are they been solved? Who is solving these problems? Are the solutions taken from Islam?

A few weeks ago, we received some news regarding one of the many problems facing our Ummah. In a refugee camp in Herat, Afghanistan, 110 Muslims, mainly women and children, died in one night. Over the next few nights, the death toll rose to over 500 Muslims. Did bombs or bullets kill them? No, they were killed by the cold as temperatures dropped to - 25°C. According to the UN office in Afghanistan, "lack of proper shelter, blankets and fuel ... contributed to the high date rate in the camps." The explanation continues, "the shelter shortage is so severe that there are still some 5,000 families sharing 1,700 one-family tents." Some of the people in the camp only had plastic sheets to protect them from the cold. How is it that in the 21st century, Muslims are killed in such large numbers by the cold? Is there a shortage of tents and blankets in the whole of the Islamic world? Why is it that Muslims make up a large proportion of the worlds refugees? Why does poverty engulf Muslims in Bangladesh, Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Pakistan, Egypt and many other places with some of the more fortu-

nate ones surviving on a diet of rice and salt, despite the abundance of natural resources and fertile land? These problems are not new, they remain unsolved despite government promises.

Some people point their finger to Islam, claiming that it is incapable of solving the Ummah's multitude of problems. Before I seek to refute this accusation, let us look at the current attempts to tackle these problems.

Solving problems as a 'nation state'

In an interview with the UN's Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN) from the 8th November 2000 the Taliban Ambassador to Pakistan Abdul Salam Zaeef was asked about what role he felt "the international community has in Afghanistan?" Zaeef answered: "The international community can help the people of Afghanistan, and they have already rendered assistance as such. This includes the USA, the European countries and Islamic countries. We are thankful for all assistance rendered by China, the United Arab Emirates, America, France, Saudi and all other countries. And we hope that this aid and assistance shall continue in view of the scope and extensive suffering of the Afghan people."

Like the rest of us, our brother recognises the suffering of the Muslims in Afghanistan. However, what struck me is that he refers to the other Muslim countries as countries that have an option to help the Muslims of Afghanistan should they feel the need to. When faced by the current drought and extreme weather conditions, instead of the government of Afghanistan asking the neighbouring Muslim regimes such as Iran and Pakistan to unite with it and form one

Khilafah state and to pull together resources to tackle these problems, the government has chosen instead to ask for help from the international community and other Muslim governments recognising them as separate legitimate governments. This is a nationalistic approach to solving our problems, hence rendering it an Afghan problem not a problem affecting Muslims for which other Muslim countries are obliged to provide help and to unify together into one state. This is despite the Qur'an explaining:

"The Believers are but a single Brotherhood" [TMQ Al-Hujurat: 10].

Likewise, when flooding occurs in Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina, or whoever the ruler happens to be, requests help from the international community and other Muslim countries. The response of the Muslim countries is accepted as optional, and it is expected that they need to look after the needs of 'their people' in 'their country' first. She therefore paints the problems as a Bangladeshi problem, not a problem affecting Muslims for which other Muslim countries are obliged to help.

This nationalistic approach serves to divide Muslims and is forbidden by Allah (swt). It also means that the problems remain unsolved, as individual 'nation states' do not possess the capability to deal with these disasters on their own. The current regimes must maintain the nationalism left behind by their colonialist masters, because to do otherwise would be to acknowledge that the Ummah is indeed one Ummah, which needs one ruler to solve her problems by the Shariah of Allah (swt).

Wasting the Ummah's wealth

Rather than using the resources of the Ummah to look after her, our wealth is squandered and given to our enemies. Just before news of the deaths in Herat, news came of the world's largest carpet woven in Iran by 500 weavers for the Sultan Qaboos Grand Mosque in Oman. This carpet weighs 22 tons and is valued at over \$5.3 million. The UN Co-ordinator for Afghanistan, Eric de Mul, said he had issued an appeal for \$3.5 million to house and clothe the refugees at Herat, but only \$200,000 had been pledged. So whilst Muslims die from cold, this so-called ruler spends the wealth of the Muslims to build the world's largest carpet. Sultan Qaboos like the other Muslim rulers, treat the central banks of the Muslim countries like their own personal bank accounts, stealing from it for their many pet projects and luxuries rather than using the wealth to look after the Muslims. May Allah (swt) protect us from the punishment that may be granted to such thieving rulers.

Inviting the UN to solve our problems

Another way in which we are currently encouraged to solve our problems is by calling in the UN. In regions of Afghanistan, the UN agencies are solely responsible for providing food to the people on a daily basis. The government is more or less redundant. The same occurred in Bosnia, Kosovo, Somalia and in many other areas. Whilst many may applaud the UN's effort, greater scrutiny is called for. Why do the governments in the Muslim lands give our money as financial contributions to the UN? Is it so that the UN agencies can then decide how to use it to provide for the Muslims? Were these not the same UN agencies who imported pork to feed Muslims and allowed Western pharmaceutical companies to dump tonnes of expired or soon to expire drugs in camps in Bosnia and Kosovo? Were these not the same agencies that allowed Western family planning charities into the camps to preach their ideas of sexual liberalisation urging Muslims to emulate the decadent Western culture and trying to corrupt the pure Islamic concepts about the role of the woman and man? Some of these agencies even go as far as to encourage people to reject Islam, claiming that Islam has not helped them in their hour of need, but the Capitalist West has. May Allah (swt) protect this Ummah. This picture is repeated in Bangladesh where the UN agencies and NGO's effectively run the majority of the welfare programs in a large part of the country by trying out every conceivable program on the people of Bangladesh. This is the case whether it be the backing of prostitutes in their campaign to get prostitution legalised or the promotion of riba and a redefining of the role of husband and wife under the guise of 'women's liberation.'

Resorting to the UN is a way for the rulers to shirk their responsibility in looking after the Ummah. This results in Muslims being left to the mercy of an organisation, which on the surface

provides some relief but never solves our problems; instead, closer examination proves that it causes tremendous harm. It also distances Muslims from looking to the Khilafah State as the only instrument by which to look after the affairs of Muslims.

It is the existing regimes created after the destruction of the Khilafah in 1924 that have divided our Ummah. These regimes have proven themselves unable to solve our problems with the Western Capitalist systems, which they implement over this Islamic Ummah.

So the accusation that Islam is incapable of solving today's problems is false, as none of these regimes implement Islam. The correct accusation would be that the UN and the current systems in place are unable to solve these issues.

How Islam solves our problems

Before discussing how Islam practically looks after people's affairs, it is necessary to lay a very important premise. Every Muslim must believe that Islam is a complete way of life. It contains solutions for all the problems that the individual or society face, or will face in the future. This is part of the Aqeedah (belief) of every Muslim. This is because the glorious Qur'an explains:

"Today I have completed your Deen for you, encompassed my blessings upon you, and have accepted Islam to you as a Deen" [TMQ Al-Ma'idah: 3].

To deny that Islam has answers for every human problem would be to accuse Allah (swt) of being incompetent. May Allah (swt) protect us from such Kufr thoughts.

Having believed that Islam is indeed capable of solving all problems, and the answers are provided in the Qur'an and Sunnah, the question to ask is: how are these answers applied in reality?

The responsibility to implement the solutions taken from the Qur'an and Sunnah is in the following order:

(I) The Individual

When a Muslim faces a problem, the person responsible for solving that problem is that individual. Allah (swt) blessed us with a mind, limbs, and numerous talents. Most people are, therefore, able to earn a living in order to provide for themselves and their family. Abu Huraira narrated that the Prophet (saw) said:

"By Him in Whose Hand is my life, it is better for anyone of you to take a rope and cut the wood (from the forest) and carry it over his back and sell it (as a means of earning his living) rather than to ask a person for something and that person may give him or not" [Bukhari].

In Islam we do not have the concept of a healthy, able-bodied individual who lives on

handouts or government benefits and does not bother to work in order to support himself or his family. However, some individuals are unable to care for themselves because they are disabled, or their business has just collapsed and they lost everything or some other unforeseen disaster occurred. Who then looks after such persons?



(II) The Family

The one who is unable to look after himself must be looked after by his or her family; so, for example, a husband must provide for his wife and children. A disabled person or elderly relative must be cared for by their family rather than being sent away to a hospital or old people's home as has become common in the Western societies. Due to the effect of the Western culture in the Muslim lands, in particular the concept of individualism, some Muslims do not pay enough attention to their family and their welfare, but become concerned only about themselves. This is not an attitude from Islam, and there is great reward from Allah (swt) in looking after ones relatives.

However some families are unable to care for their sick, poor, disabled or old relatives. They might just be managing to make ends meet themselves, and lack financial resources, or the relatives needs could be overwhelming and beyond the capability of the family members, such as freeing one's relatives from the armed occupation of the Kuffar or the provision of drinking water to a city of millions of people. Who then looks after such people?

(III) The Islamic Khilafah State

In Islam, the welfare of the one who is unable to look after himself or his family, becomes the responsibility of the Khaleefah. Imam Bukhari narrated from Abdullah bin 'Umar: I heard Allah's Apostle say:

"Everyone of you is a guardian, and responsible for what is in his custody. The ruler is a guardian of his subjects and responsible for them; a husband is a guardian of his family and is responsible for it; a lady is a guardian of her husband's house and is responsible for it, and a servant is a guardian of his master's property and is responsible for it."

The Khaleefah is the person vested with the authority to use the resources at the disposal of the State in order to look after the Muslims. The Prophet Muhammad (saw), as head of state, was responsible for the maintenance of the poor people (Ahlul Suffah) who were housed and fed in the Masjid in Madina. He (saw), as head of state, was also responsible for the safety of the Muslims. When a Muslim woman was dishonoured and a Muslim man was killed in the market of the Jewish tribe of Qaynuqa, Muhammad (saw) called upon the resources of the Islamic State

and mounted an army to confront the Banu Qaynuka. This is how He (saw) illustrated the Sunnah of looking after the Ummah's affairs unlike today's rulers who's Sunnah is to forbid the armies from stopping those who are oppressing Muslims everywhere.

The many Khulafa who ruled after Muhammad (saw) understood this responsibility and so did the Ummah who accounted them to ensure that they fulfilled their task of looking after the Ummah.

During 640 A.D., Arabia suffered from serious drought. There were no rains and no cultivation. A serious famine resulted, and the people were very distressed. Citizens from the interior flocked to the cities. There was hardly any grain in the market. Ghee, butter and meats also disappeared. Feeding the people was becoming increasingly difficult.

Umar Ibn Al-Khattab (ra) rose to the occasion to fulfil his duty as the Khaleefah. He wrote to the provincial governors (Walis) ordering them to send food grains to Arabia. Camel loads of food grains and other necessities came from Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, which were then all part of the Khilafah State. It was Umar's (ra) responsibility to distribute these necessities. Meals were cooked at the State level and all persons from the interior of the desert who took refuge in Madina were fed daily at State expense. According to one account, as many as 40,000 people were fed every day. During the famine, Umar (ra) refused to eat meat, ghee or butter during the period of famine, because he wanted to feel what they felt. Umar's (ra) stomach would rumble, but he said, "O stomach you may rumble as much as you like, but as long as the famine persists I cannot allow you anything dainty." At night he would move about from street to street to see for himself that all had been fed. Whenever any case of hardship came to his notice he would rush to provide aid immediately. He would, in most cases, carry the goods on his own back. After making his rounds, Umar (ra) would pray to Allah (swt) till the late hours of the night. He would then wake up in the early hours of the morning, and pray again before going to the mosque to lead the Fajr prayer. Addressing the congregation Umar would say:

"I cannot say whether this calamity is because of the lapses of the Khaleefah or the sins of the people. Whosoever is to be blamed let us repent, and pray to Allah for relieving us of this misery."

A man called Bilal bin Haris from the tribe of Mazni had a dream in which he saw the Prophet Muhammad (saw). The Holy Prophet (saw) told him, "Go and give Umar my message. He is firm in the way of religion. He should further press religion into service for the aversion of this distress." Bilal bin Haris called on Umar and delivered the message. Umar could not exactly com-

prehend the message. He felt that perhaps the Holy Prophet (saw) was referring to some lapse on his part. The thought made him shudder with the fear of Allah (swt). Umar (ra) went to the mosque and asked the people whether they had noticed any deficiency in him. They said that they had not. On hearing of the dream, one of the Sahaba then said:

"Amirul Muminin there is nothing against you in this message. The Holy Prophet (saw) prescribed the prayer of Istisqa for praying to Allah for being relieved of any calamity. The message of the Holy Prophet is that you offer special Istisqa prayers."

Umar (ra) fixed a day for the offering of Istisqa prayers throughout the Khilafah. On the appointed day, all the Muslims in Madina assembled on a plain to offer the Istisqa prayers. In the khutbah, Umar (ra) said:

"We have erred. Let us repent and ask of forgiveness from Allah (swt). O Allah Thee alone do we worship and from Thee alone do we ask help. O Allah forgive us for our sins. Have mercy on us, and be pleased with us."

It is related that a few days later, clouds appeared in the sky and there were heavy rains. This is how the Khaleefah was able to call upon the resources of the whole State in order to deal with famine in one part.

Other Khulafa'a after the Sahaba (ra) also looked after the Ummah's affairs. Khaleefah Muatasim sent an army to teach the Roman Empire a lesson when they dishonoured a Muslim woman living in their domain just as the Prophet Muhammad (saw) had done previously. Even in the dying days of the Khilafah, the Khaleefah Sultan Abdul Hamid built the famous Hijaz railway to link the different parts of the Ottoman Khilafah, especially Syria and Hijaz. This facilitated the pilgrimage to Makkah. He also expanded the telegraph lines to enable communication between different parts of the Khilafah. Such monumental endeavours in looking after the people can only be undertaken by a state as Allah (swt) has commanded.

What these examples clearly show is:

1) The Muslims and their Khulafa understood that the Khaleefah is the one obliged to look after the affairs of the Muslim Ummah. This is clarified by a hadith narrated by Abu Huraira, "The ruler is a guardian of his subjects and responsible for them."

2) It is the Ummah's duty to account the Khulafa to ensure that they solved all problems by Islam.

These two points must be understood and conveyed to every Muslim so that we yearn to establish, advise and account the Khaleefah. It must also be understood that this job is the

Khaleefah's alone. No other individual or group can undertake the looking after of the Ummah, as they do not have the resources; moreover, it is forbidden (haram) for them to seek to undertake the Khaleefah's responsibilities.

In the absence of the Khaleefah

The Khaleefah is the instrument that Allah (swt) charges with the application and enforcement of the Islamic solutions in life. The Khaleefah can use taxes collected from the Ushr, Kharaj or Jizya as he sees fit within the boundaries set by the Shari'ah. He must ensure that there are judges in every town and village, so that Islam can settle all people's disputes. He can allocate resources from one area to another in times of acute disasters such as earthquakes and floods. He is responsible for hiring and firing those who aid him in solving people's problems by Islam, whether these are the delegated and executive assistants (Mu'aawens), the Amils, or others. In short, the buck stops with the Khaleefah, and Allah (swt) will account him for his discharging of this duty. He will be rewarded if he was true to his contract with the Ummah. This Islamic Khilafah system is absent today. Instead, we are in the clutches of vultures that abuse us and invite others to eat of our flesh so that we have become the oppressed, the uneducated, the one whose lands are occupied, the displaced, the hungry, the destitute and the abused. May Allah (swt) have mercy on our Ummah.

In our situation where the Khilafah is absent, we must work to re-establish it. We need a Khaleefah to apply the Islamic solutions to all of the problems befalling this Ummah. In turn, we must account the Khaleefah to make sure he stays on the straight path. Whilst engaged in this work, we should help our brothers and sisters who are suffering as much as we can with clothing, food or financial help because the Prophet Muhammad (saw) said:

"A Muslim is a brother of another Muslim. He does not do wrong to him and does not let others do wrong to him. Whosoever will take care of the need of his brother, Allah will take care of his needs. Whoever will remove the hardship of a Muslim, Allah will remove his hardships on the Day of Resurrection. Whoever will cover a Muslim, Allah will give him a cover on the Day of Resurrection" [Bukhari].

We must clarify, however, that this does not amount to solving the problems facing this Ummah. The correct solution is not short or long term, rather, the comprehensive application of the Islamic solution. We can only achieve this through the Khilafah, for whose return we must work for tirelessly.

Taji Mustafa

President's, Prime Minister's and Khaleefah's

Introduction

For the last two decades the world has witnessed the resurgence of Islam. Islam has burst onto the world stage as a force, which is shaping the minds of millions of people throughout the world. The call for the re-establishment of the Khilafah is on the lips of all those who are in the midst of the da'wa.

The Influence of Capitalist Thought

But some of those individuals and groups, undertaking the work for Islam are calling for it with general thoughts, which are not crystallised. This is due to a number of reasons, but one of the main reasons is the impact of the propaganda of the Capitalist ideology. The fruits of this propaganda can be seen throughout the world today. Concepts such as democracy, freedom, free markets and secularism have become ideals for some of the Muslims, so much so they began to adopt these concepts from their corrupted creed. For example Sheikh Qaradawi, in his book "Fiqh al-dawlah fi al-Islam" states:

"the real meaning of democracy is that the people must choose their ruler by themselves...In fact, the connotations of democracy are in harmony with the essence of Islam..." (pg.198 Eng edition)

We shall return to this at a later stage.

They lacked the clarity to show Islam as a complete system for life, state and society. They used to call for a return to Islam in an open and general manner without them having a clear vision in their minds as to what the systems of Islam were or the manner in which they were going to restore the ruling by Islam. As a result of this, the general call for an Islamic state was made, which could take any shape and form. They took the linguistic meaning of ruling (al-Hukm), which is Judgement (al-Qada), and the ruler (al-Hakim) as the executor of the judgments. Due to this vague understanding of Islam,

and the affect of the Capitalist thought these people began to reconcile between Capitalism and Islam, by claiming that Islam focuses on some basic ideas and goals which must be maintained in the society, such as justice, honour, social justice, and sanctity of human life. These were the objectives that needed to be met regardless of the system of government adopted, whether it be a presidential system, a republic or a Parliamentary system.

This train of thought began in the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century, by the likes of Jamal ud din Afgani, by Muhammad Abdu, by Khairudeen At Tunisi, and from the Indian Subcontinent people such as Syed Ahmed Khan, and thinkers such as Muhammad Iqbal. So for these people, Shurah, which is the consultation between the Khaleefah and the people, became Parliament, the bay'a'h process to select to the Khaleefah became known as democracy, the permission given to the Dhimmi to practise their own beliefs in private became known as freedom, and the Khaleefah became a president, or prime minister within a republican system.

For example Dr Israar Ahmed states in a paper "Constitutional and Legislative Framework of Khilafah"

"In the sixth lecture of Reconstruction, entitled 'The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam,' Iqbal has made the following observation:

The republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam." (p. 125)

Concerning the issue of Ijtihad, Iqbal has said:

The growth of republican spirit and the gradual formation of legislative assemblies in Muslim lands constitute a great step in advance. The transfer of the power of Ijtihad from individual representatives of schools

to a Muslim legislative assembly which, in view of the growth of opposing sects, is the only possible form Ijma (consensus) can take in modern times, will secure contributions to legal discussion from laymen who happen to possess a keen insight into affairs. (p. 138)

We have given these two quotes because we fully agree with both of these observations."

It can be seen that for Iqbal and Dr Israar Ahmed, there is no difference between Khilafah and the republican system of government, or the Mujtahid when he performs Ijtihad and when a general assembly legislates from the mind! This is the effect on our intellectuals when they lack clarity in the Islamic concepts and become infatuated with the western concepts.

Shari'ah, the basis for the Judgement for the Islamic Ruling system

The focus of this article is to show the distinct difference and contradiction between the kufr ruling systems of Capitalism, and the Islamic ruling system, the Khilafah ruling system.

It should be made clear that any ruling system that is brought forward needs to be based upon the Shari'ah texts. This is because Allah (swt) has condemned decisively those who do not base their opinion upon them. He (swt) says

"Have you not turned your vision to those who declare that they believe in the revelations that have come to you and to those before you? Their real wish is to resort together for judgement in their disputes to the Taghoot (non-Islam) though they were ordered to reject it. But Satan's wish is to lead them astray far away (from the Right)" [TMQ An-Nisa: 60].

So this action, of referring to Taghoot (judgement other than from Islam), is not the right path for believers, Allah (swt) again says:

"If anyone contends with the Messenger even after guidance has been plainly conveyed to him, and follows a path other than that becoming to men of Faith, We shall leave him in the path he has chosen, and land him in bell - What an evil refuge" [TMQ An-Nisa: 115].

Any legislation, which has not been approved in Islam by any text of Shari'ah, must be rejected, as narrated in the hadith narrated by Ayesha (ra): She (ra) reported that the Prophet (saw) said: "Whoever performs an action not ordered by us it is

rejected" [Bukhari & Muslim].

To conclude, Imaam ash-Shaatibee, in al-I'tisaam (Volume 1 p.111) said, "Verily those who try to make their innovations acceptable, they cling to their idea that the Shari'ah is constantly evolving. So they always manage to have their own personal way to explain away Allah's (swt) statement, 'Today I have perfected for you your Deen...' [TMQ Al-Maidah: 3]."

The Contradiction of the Republican System (Presidential & Parliamentary) with the Islamic Ruling System (Al-Khilafah)

a) Contradiction exists from the basis of the systems.

The republican system is based on democracy, where sovereignty is given to the people. Thus, the people have the right of ruling and legislation, and they reserve the right to appoint the ruler and remove him. They reserve the right to lay down a constitution and enact laws and to abolish, alter or modify both the constitution and the laws.

The people usually practice this authority through delegation, by electing MP's who will represent them in the parliament and practices authority on their behalf. This sovereignty is the supreme authority above which there is no authority, which means the one who exercises and controls the will. Joseph Frankel - a western politician said: 'sovereignty means the supreme authority which does not acknowledge any authority to be above it'.

The word 'parliament' derives from the French word 'parler', to speak or talk, and from the middle-ages king's summoned representative advisers to their palace at Westminster to discuss the affairs of state.

The modern day democratic system was founded in England and France, from where it was exported to the rest of the world.

The pillars of modern day democracy were established during the French Revolution in 1789. However, the parliamentary systems were founded in England a century before that. Ideologically, the principle of the sovereignty to the people - which is the basis of democratic school of thought - had developed decades before the French Revolution. This appeared in the writings of John Locke, Montesquieu and Jean Jacques Rousseau, who founded the theory of the social contract, which is the basis of the theory of the sovereignty to the people. This was as a reaction and a war against the theory of divine delegation, which had been wide-

spread in Europe for about ten centuries. Such theory decided that the kings ruled by choice and delegation from God. As a consequence, the Kings used to possess an absolute authority, supported in this by the clergy (Roman Catholic Church).

Indeed the European peoples suffered severely from the absolute rule. Accordingly, sovereignty for the people was the best way to change the status quo and find their way out of the supreme reign of the kings and the church that ruled by the "delegation of God" - as they claimed. Therefore, democracy was originally founded to rebel against the authority of God, and grant the entire authority to Man to make his own way of life and laws without any restrictions.

The transition from the theory of delegation of God to that of the sovereignty to the people was not a peaceful one. Rather, it happened by means of one of the bloodiest revolutions in the world, and that was the French Revolution in 1789, which had as its motto, 'hang the last King by the intestines of the last priest'.

The French Revolution ended up with some highly important outcomes. Indeed there was born, for the first time in the history of Christian Europe, a non-religious republican state. Its philosophy was based on ruling in the name of the people instead of God on the principal freedom of belief instead of Catholicism, on individualism instead of being restricted by the religious conduct, and on man-made rule instead of the decisions of the church.

The theory of the sovereignty to the people and its right to lay down its laws appeared, in the principles of the French Revolution and its ruling system, the republican system.

In contrast, the Islamic ruling system is based on the Islamic Aqeedah and on the shari'ah laws. The sovereignty is to the shar'a of Allah (swt) and not to people (Ummah). So the Ummah has no right to legislate nor does the Khaleefah. The sole legislator is Allah (swt), and the Khaleefah has the right only to adopt rulings for the constitution and cannons that are derived from the Book of Allah (swt) and the Sunnah of His Messenger (saw). Also the Ummah has no right to remove the Khaleefah unless he violates the shari'ah.

Although in Islam, voting is one of the mubah (permissible) means to nominate, and select the Khaleefah, some claim that because the republican democratic system also has this feature, the two systems are the same. This logical deduction is false, because

the premise's used are false. The democratic system directly emanates from the basis of secularism, which makes the people sovereign, but as we have discussed, within the Islamic ruling system, it is the Shar'a that is solely sovereign. This type of fallacious logic is equivalent to saying that lamb is halal to eat, and has got four legs, therefore pork is allowed to eat as the pig has four legs too! Even if we perform zhaba on the pig, it will remain haram, it does not become halal. Similarly, even if we say Islamic Republic, and we have a mutaqi (pious man) as the ruler, because the very foundations of the republican system disagrees with Islam, it is forbidden for us to use it, although both systems have elements of voting.

b) Contradiction exists also in the 'Right of Removal'.

In the republican system, in both of its shapes, the presidential and parliamentary, the president is accountable to his people and it's representatives. The people and their representatives have the right to remove him since the sovereignty in the republican system belongs to the people.

This is contrary to the Imara of the believers. The Ameer of the believers, even if he is responsible before the Ummah and her representatives and is accountable to the Ummah and her representatives, the Ummah has no right to remove him, and thus her representatives have no right to remove him either.

According to Abdullah ibn Umar (ra), the Prophet (saw) once said: "The ruler is a shadow of Allah on earth; it is him, with whom the oppressed servants of God take shelter. Thus, when he is just, he would deserve Allah's reward (on the Day of Judgment) and the subjects should be thankful for it; While if he is unjust, he shall bear the burden (of injustice, on the Day of Judgment) and (in such a case) the subjects should bear steadfastly" (Mishkaat al-Masaabeeh, Kitaab al-Imaraah wa al-Qadhaa).

He is removed only if he violates the Shar'a in a way that his removal becomes obligatory, and only the Mahkamat ul-Mazalim (Court of Unjust Acts) is the one that decides this.

c) Contradiction exists in the devolvement of powers.

In the Presidential form of the Republican system, the president of the republic holds the mandatory powers of the head of state. He does not have in his cabinet a prime min-

Following the Mainstream 'Government' Islam

ister, but secretaries of state, as can be seen in the United States. In the parliamentary form, the president has a prime minister, and the mandatory ruling powers are in the hands of the ministerial cabinet not the president of the republic, as in Ireland and Germany. The result of this is that the executive powers are devolved amongst the ministers of state.

In the Khilafah system there are no ministers, nor a council of ministers working with the Khaleefah as it is in the democratic system, where ministers have special portfolios and mandatory powers of their own. Instead the Khaleefah has assistants whom he appoints to assist him in assuming the functions of the Khilafah and discharging its duties. They are delegates and executive assistants. The Khaleefah heads them in his capacity as the head of state and not a prime minister, nor as a head of an executive body. The Khaleefah has no council of ministers working with him, since he has all the mandatory powers and the assistants only help him in executing his mandatory powers.

d) Contradiction present in the 'Term Time' of the ruler.

In the republican system, whether it is presidential or parliamentary, the term of the presidency is fixed and cannot be exceeded, whereas the Khilafah system does not determine the Khaleefah's term of office, it is rather determined by his implementation of Shar'a. So long as the Khaleefah is implementing the rules of Islam, that are derived from the Book of Allah, and the Sunnah of His Messenger, he remains a Khaleefah, regardless of how long his Khilafah term lasts. If the Khaleefah violated the Shar'a, and deviated from implementing the rules of Islam, his term in office would be terminated even if it were one month or one day; and he must be removed.

Conclusion

We conclude, therefore, that there is a great difference between the Khilafah system and the republican system and between the Khaleefah and the president of a republic. It is, therefore, forbidden to claim that the Islamic system is a republican system, or to say the Islamic Republic, for there exists a great contradiction between the two bases on which the two systems are founded, in addition to the difference between them in the shape and details.

Asif Khan

"O you who believe fear Allah as he should be feared and die not in a state other than Islam. And hold fast to the rope of Allah and be not divided" [TMQ Ale Imran 102-3].

The signs of the revival of Muslim Ummah are apparent. We have witnessed her yearning for Islam and its rule across Central Asia, the Middle East, Pakistan and her hatred towards her rulers has clearly severed the tie between them and the Ummah, and the call for the Khilafah has become, without a doubt, the highest call in the Islamic world.

The Ummah is at a pivotal point in her history. A point from which when we look back on it, we would see an Ummah in humiliation, decay, disunity, degraded by the rule of Kufr, and suffering from the occupation of the first Qibla of the Muslims in al-Quds (Palestine).

However, life has returned to this Ummah. The sincere da'wa carriers working for the re-establishment of Islam through the Khilafah that will restore the ruling by the book of Allah (swt) and the Sunnah of his Messenger (saw) have made the da'wa of Islam the highest call. Thus, when the writers of history look back upon the Muslim Ummah they will Inshallah see this point that we have reached as the pivotal moment in which the radical turn around took place and allowed for the restoration of the Khilafah, the reunification of the Islamic lands and the removal of the Kufr entities from the Muslim land Inshallah.

In this critical period it is natural to expect the Kuffar to attempt to divert the Muslims from the inherent political right that Allah (swt) granted them i.e. leadership of the world in this dunya.

These attempts at diverting the Muslim Ummah have, however, taken on forms of removing key Islamic concepts from us. The Orientalists attacked the Sunnah of Muhammad (saw) by saying that it is not pre-

served, but they failed. For, not only did the Muslims know and believe that the Sunnah of Muhammad (saw) was preserved, but they practised it in their lives.

They attacked and they continue to attack Jihad, but the very spirit of the Muslim Ummah is one of Jihad against the Kuffar to remove Kufr; therefore, its failure was expected. In fact, recently we have found the Muslim people demanding that their leaders release the armies in Jihad.

The Kuffar attacked the concept of the Khilafah saying all the Khulafah were corrupt, and Islam did not define the ruling system as the Khilafah. They even extracted Fatwas from the agents amongst the so-called Ulema, such as Ali Abdur Raziq of al-Azhar who stated the Khilafah was just a historical phenomenon. The Muslim Ummah rejected this remembering the words of the Messenger of Allah (saw), "the affairs of the Children of Israel (Yaquob [as]) were looked after by the Prophets, each Prophet was succeeded by another but there will be no more Prophets after me but there will be Khulafah and they will number many" [Agreed upon].

Today, we see the Kuffar attempting to confuse the Muslims by redefining the nature of Islam and creating a 'mainstream' Islam that is championed as almost the orthodox Islamic position. Anyone who is not in this 'mainstream' would be sidelined and classified as extremist. This mainstream Islam would be allowed to be propagated, sanctioned by the rulers in the Islamic world and is even recognised by the Kuffar and the governments of the West. Such a mainstream Islam even decided the days of Ramadhan and Eid before the sighting of the Moon or the ending of Shaban or Ramadhan.

Such a mainstream Islam supposedly states the 'balanced position' that isn't too extreme. So certain 'scholars' are put forward as the

'official' interpreters of the Qur'an and Sunnah; those who legalise dealing in interest if it is only a small amount even though Allah (swt) has clearly prohibited dealing in Riba in the Qur'an (Refer to Khilafah Magazine Volume 11 Issue 1).

The same people who are put forward to represent the 'majority' view, also allow the Muslims to integrate into the societies and systems of the Kuffar and taking part in the political process which makes man sovereign even though the Qur'an mentions, "*Verily the Rule is for none but Allah, you have been ordered to worship none but him*" [TMQ Yusuf: 40]. This fringe element that is supported by the governments in the Muslim world, and utilised by governments in the Western world, are then advocated to the Muslim masses as the position of Islamic orthodoxy!

Such so-called Ulema, Islamic institutions, or council leaders, of the Ummah who actually conflict with the basics of Islam have attempted to change the nature of Islam from the deen that Allah (swt) revealed to Muhammad (saw) to regulate mankind's relationship with his Rabb and with himself in terms of food, clothing and morals. This same deen regulates also his relationship with the rest of creation in terms of its economic, social, foreign policies as manifested in the Khilafah. They have tried to subvert this deen into a different deen that can comfortably coexist with the Kuffar systems of the West!

An attempt is then made to sideline those who carry the da'wa to restore the whole of the deen of Islam and who are from the masses of the Muslim Ummah, as being fringe elements. This is the reality of the call of following the so-called majority or mainstream view.

However certain arguments from the Kitab and the Sunnah are then used to justify this vague concept of following the majority or the mainstay of Islam. It should be clear that these arguments are attempts at justifying a concept that is alien to Islam and are, in fact, one which the Kuffar are pleased with and not Allah (swt).

"Never will the Jews and the Christians be pleased with you until you follow their mil-lab (way), for verily the guidance is but the guidance of Allah (alone)" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 120].

In this verse Allah (swt) makes it clear that guidance is but the guidance of Allah (swt) alone. The wording *Inna* is used for emphasis and here Allah (swt) is stressing that guidance can only be from the revelation that Allah (swt) has given and not from the Kuffar.

Let us examine some of the arguments that are brought forward by protagonists of this view

- i) Obedience to the Ulil Amr (people of authority)
- ii) Not creating disunity
- iii) Following the Majority as the Jama'ah (Collective) of the Muslims

Obedience to the Ulil Amr

An argument is brought forward that Allah (swt), in the Qur'an, has obliged us with the obedience to the Ulil Amr, the people of authority, in accordance with the following verse:

"O you who believe! Obey Allah and Obey the Messenger and those in authority amongst you and if you dispute in a matter refer it to Allah and His Messenger" [TMQ An-Nisa: 49].

The argument follows that the Ulema are those who are in authority in matters of the Deen and in understanding the Qur'an and the Sunnah. In this regard, they are the inheritors of the Prophets. Hence, the acceptance of their view is mandatory upon the Muslims. So today, these Councils of Fatwa and official Muftis, are the people who we are obliged to obey; thus, we should accept peace with the Israelis who are killing the Muslims and also accept American troops on Islamic land from which they bomb the people of Iraq.

This is obviously flawed, as clearly these examples should illustrate that these Fatwas contradict Islam in things that every Muslim knows.

If we accept this misguided reasoning, for the sake of argument, then as for the claim that these people are the people in authority over the Ummah, who is it that gave them such positions? Who stated that they are the Ulema of this Ummah? Who appointed such councils and state Muftis to the exclusion of others? Do we obey them in disobedience to Allah (swt) and His Messenger (saw)? Is it not clear that such institutions and Muftis are the product of the Kuffar regimes in the Islamic World and Kuffar systems of the West?

So even according to their flawed logic, we can see the manifest error.

Allah revealed the verse, "*O you who believe! Obey Allah and Obey the Messenger and those in authority amongst you and if you dispute in a matter refer it to Allah and His Messenger"* [TMQ An-Nisa: 49].

It has been narrated by al Bukhari, that Ubadah ibn Samit (ra) said that: "We pledged

(bayah) ourselves in complete obedience to the Messenger of Allah, in weal and in woe and that we would not dispute the Amr (authority) with its people and stand for the Truth at all times wherever we are and that in Allah's way we would fear the censor of none."

The Prophet (saw) stated in a hadith "If the pledge (Bayah) is given to two Khaleefahs then kill the latter" [Muslim]. Hence, it should be clear from this that the meaning of the Ulil Amr is the Imarah, i.e. the leadership and the political leaders, so it would cover all of the people who are Amirs in an Islamic authority but not extend to the Ulema.

As for the claim that Ibn Abbas (ra) gave the interpretation of Ulil Amr as Ulema then there is no sound sanad (line of transmission) from him regarding this. Ibn Jarir at Tabari in his Jami al Bayan reconciles this by saying that the rulers in the early times were Mujtahideen i.e. from the Ulema.

Clearly, the meaning of the ayah is connected with the existence of the political leadership thereby making it obligatory to have the political leadership and the Khilafah, not mere obedience to a set of scholars.

On top of this, the Muslims are obliged to reject anything that these so-called Ulema order them with, once the contradiction with Islam is exposed.

"They (the Jews and Christians) took their Rabbi's and Monks as their lords besides Allah and they were commanded to worship none but one god. There is no lord except he, exalted is he from the partners they associate with him" [TMQ At-Tauba: 31].

Adi ibn Hatim at-tai said upon hearing this "Oh Messenger Of Allah, they (the Jews and Christians) did not worship them did they?" To which Muhammed (saw) replied, "Indeed they did. They (the rabbis and monks) had made legal what was illegal and they made illegal what was legal and others followed them in it. By doing so they worshiped who they followed." [Musnad of Imam Ahmed, Tirmidhi, Ibn Jarir, Tafsir at Tabari vol 10 p.114]

Here Allah (swt) and his messenger inform us that to follow people who change what has been legislated by Allah the Supreme is akin to worshipping them i.e. to commit Shirk. Hence the Ummah must reject these Ulema when they are put forth by the west in order to distort Islam.

Not creating disunity

As for the argument that we should follow such people so as not to create disunity, this



would require us to look into their understanding of disunity. The argument goes as follows: the mainstream of the Ulema decide to enter the Kufir system or start Ramadhan in Jordan on a particular day. If we cause dissent then this would lead to disunity since some of the Muslims of Jordan now start fasting on different days or some enter the political process seeking something beneficial for the Muslims and others criticise them. These are seen as bad outcomes because dissent and disunity has taken place.

But Allah (swt) has ordered us: *"And Hold fast to the Rope of Allah and be not divided"* [TMQ Ale-Imran: 103].

If pre-setting the date of Ramadhan is haram, then regardless of the result of partial unity, this is still haram! Who said this partial unity is actual unity? Unity is unity of the Muslim Ummah as a whole not one part of it breaking itself away from the rest of the Ummah by violating Shariah!

The Jews and Christians used to be divided. Allah (swt) prohibited us from being divided like them:

"And be not as those who divided and differed among themselves after the clear proof has come to them" [TMQ Ale-Imran: 105].

"And We had given Musa the Book and followed him by Messengers. And We gave Isa the son of Maryam the clear signs and supported him with Roobul Qudus (Jibra'eel). Is it that when ever a Messenger came to you with a matter that you do not like, you turned with arrogance, calling some liars and killing others?" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 87].

"And We gave Isa the son of Maryam the Clear signs. But they disagreed, some of them believed and some disbelieved" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 253].

They also disagreed on their Book,

"The people of the Book did not disagree until they received the knowledge" [TMQ Ale-Imran: 19].

They disagreed over hell fire and its punishment,

"And they said : we will not be punished by hell but for few days. Say did you take a covenant from Allah which He will not break or you claim things about Allah that you have no knowledge of ?" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 80].

They divided amongst themselves calling each other Kuffar:

"And the Jews claimed that the Christians are on nothing, and the Christians claimed that the Jews are on nothing, while reciting the Book. Those who have no certain knowledge said as they did. Allah will be the Judge between them on the Day of Judgment in that which they disagreed on" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 113].

Upon studying the areas in which they disagreed, one finds that they disagreed in the fundamentals of their deen. They disagreed on their Prophets, the Day of Judgment [TMQ al-Ana'am: 29], the Angels being Messengers, the Unity of Allah (swt), resurrection, heaven and hell, and so on and so forth. This is disagreement on the foundations of their belief. Since Allah (swt) and His Messenger (saw) ordered us not to divide as the people of the book did, then we are to avoid that area which their disagreement occurred in. This means that disagreement on the fundamentals of the deen is condemned.

To explain further, the Tafsir of the ayah *"And hold tight to the rope of Allah and divide not"* [TMQ Ale-Imran: 103] will be presented. Allah (swt) orders the Muslims to hold tight and not let go of the rope of Allah (swt) so as not to divide. Regarding *"the rope of Allah"* Ibn Masood, Ali bin Abi Talib, and Abu Saied Al-Khudri said it is the Qur'an. Others said it is the deen of Allah (swt). Others like Ibnul Mubaarak and Ibn Masood said it is the Jama'ah. The meaning of Al-Jama'ah will be explained later on Inshallah.

Imam Shawkhani in his tafsir Fath ul Qadeer said it is known from Islam by necessity (maloom minad Deen bid dharoorah) that it is haram to have borders in the Islamic lands and the unity of the Ummah is a fard.

"And divide not." At-Tabari said "and do not disperse away from the deen of Allah (swt) and His (swt) covenant which he took from you in His (swt) Book: that you should be together in obeying Him (swt) and His Messenger (saw)."

Ibn Katheer said, "He ordered them to stay in the Jama'ah and not to divide." Al-Qurtubi said "Do not divide as the Jews and the Christians in their deen...and it could mean do not separate based on your desires and interests..."

Therefore, the disagreement that Muslims are not to have is in the fundamentals of their deen, not in its branches.

The texts that condemn the disagreement order the Muslims not to disagree like the people of the Book who disagreed in the fundamentals as shown. The Sunnah of the Messenger (saw) permitted disagreements in the branches or Furoo'.

The disagreement that existed among the Sahabah was in the furoo', not in the Usool. None condemned such disagreements. The followers of the companions (Tabi'een), the generation that followed them, accepted the disagreement in the Furoo' (branches).

What about the state Muftis who give Fatwas saying that to have federal governments or Kingdoms is fine? What of those who say: let us not create dissent by highlighting the lack of unity and the munkar of the borders our rulers guard maintaining the disunity of the Muslims in the name of "unity"? These people are asking the Ummah to accept changes to the fundamentals of the deen (like the Jews and Christians) in the name of unity! This is the opposite of what these great mufasssireen (may Allah be pleased with them) spoke of.

Following the Majority as the Jama'ah (Collective) of the Muslims

As for the concept of majority this has no foundation in Islam. This is a misinterpretation. If we look to the example of the Ulema in the past we can see this clearly; if it existed then Abu Hanifah would not have obliged killing a Muslim if he killed a kafir. Imam Malik would not have recommended prayer with his hands by their sides. Imam Shafi'i would not have accepted the testimony of the individual witness in legal cases. Imam Ahmed ibn Hanbal would have accepted the view of the mainstream Mutazilah in his time that the Qur'an was created by Allah (swt). Imam Baqilani would not have accepted a Khaleefah from outside the Quraish! All of which were not majority opinions but rather the strongest opinion according to their ijtilah. They understood the saying of Ibn Masud that, "The Jama'ah is the Haq even if it is only one person".

From this, it can be seen clearly that the haq is what should be followed not the liberal minds of the modernists, who work to subvert Islam, even if it appears that they have the overwhelming presence due to their funding and false positions in this organisation or another. We pray to Allah (swt) that the mirage disappears soon; that day the true believers will rejoice and those who subvert Islam will gain their just accountability for the work they did in the service of the kuffar and her agents. An surely Allah (swt) establishes His Affair,

"And Allah will surely establish His Affair but the majority of mankind know not" [TMQ Yusuf: 21].

Rashad Ali

[Part 1]



Sirdan Abdur Rab Nisbter signs the document creating the Muslim republic of Pakistan.

As the inevitable re-establishment of the Khilafah draws closer, the Muslim Ummah is deepening her understanding and widening her horizons with regard to the Islamic culture and its systems. Her level of understanding grows daily, as she tirelessly struggles to come to the correct awareness of the opinion of her Creator with regard to the matter of government. Indeed Allah (swt) blessed this Ummah with the desire to seek knowledge and gain the highest levels of understanding when He (swt) revealed his first words:

"Read, in the name of your Lord who Created"
[TMQ Al-Alaq: 1].

What is a constitution?

The most apparent and visible representation of the system of rule is the constitution of a state; for, it is the constitution that lays down the basic laws for every government, defines the relationships between the ruler and the ruled and assigns their respective rights and duties. The Muslim countries of the world are no strangers to this idea. Each one of them is proud to put forward its 'Islamic' constitution. Various clauses relating to the sovereignty of Allah (swt) and the Sunnah of Muhammad (saw) are inserted in order to establish the Islamic nature of their state. Despite these assertions, however, the apparent implementation of Islam has not lead to a positive change in the situation of this Ummah. In fact, many of these states proclaiming Islamic constitutions readily implement man made laws and follow their precedents.

In order to highlight the innate contradictions present within the constitutions of the Muslim countries and display how the present circumstances of these states are a reflection of their constitutions, this article will focus on the constitution of Pakistan. It will seek to highlight the fact that despite the initial Islamic clauses, the main body of the Pakistani constitution contradicts its Islamic basis and serves to directly undermine the pillars upon which the Islamic ruling system, the Khilafah, was built. It will also present alternatives to the constitutional articles under discussion.

Necessary Changes to the Pakistani Constitution

Development of the Pakistani Constitution

The political movement initiating the establishment of Pakistan did not have a constitution. Surprisingly, for a State claiming an ideological foundation, after the establishment of Pakistan, the Government of India Act of 1935 was declared Pakistan's constitutional base. Upon this basis, amendments would be made to the original act in order to meet demands and requirements. This was regarded as an interim measure until a constitution could be adopted.

It was in March 1949 that the legislative assembly began its construction of the Pakistani constitution. Various formulas and reports were put forward for discussion, but all failed. This continued throughout the early 50's until 23rd March 1956, when a constitution was finally passed and the Islamic Republic was declared. That is, nine years after it had originally been established.

However, this state of affairs did not last long, with General Muhammad Ayub Khan declaring Martial Law on 27th October 1958. His period of power continued until June 1962, when General Yahya Khan took over. It was after the tragedy of the 1971 division of Pakistan that a revised constitution was once again formally adopted on 14th August 1973. Since then, numerous amendments and changes have been made in order to accommodate various dictators, both military and democratically elected, and to appease public opinion. All in all, it is a developmental history that can be characterised by uncertainty, instability and East-West rivalry. With this in mind, the final outcome is not entirely unexpected.

Casting the Dye for Contradiction

The constitutional authors performed a great feat in writing a document so Islamic in appearance, yet so deceptive in its aims. If one were to examine its Islamic credentials, they would be impressive indeed. Taking 'The Objectives Resolution' as an example, it states:

"Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe

belongs to Allah Almighty alone and the authority which he has delegated to the State of Pakistan, through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust."

In the Preamble to the constitution it states:

"Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah."

These are noble words indeed. They convey the desires and wishes of the millions who sacrificed all for the establishment of such a state. It was a state that was intended to be the shining light of Islam and the vanguard of the Deen. But in one of the most astounding contradictions, possibly little bettered in legal history, this huge edifice is wiped away in a single stroke. Under Enforcement of Shariah Act, 1991: Article 3, Supremacy of Shariah states:

"The Shariah that is to say the Injunctions of Islam as laid in the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah, shall be the supreme law of Pakistan. Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, the judgement of any Court or any other law for the time being in force, the present political system, including the Majlis ash-shura (Parliament) and Provincial Assemblies and the existing system of Government, shall not be challenged in any Court, including Supreme Court, the Federal Shariat Court or any authority or tribunal."

So despite the Islamic system of rule, law and sovereignty being held as being the highest, in actual fact, the political system was to remain the same. The system of government was to be left unchanged, and the democratic parliamentary structure could not be challenged in any court, even the Shariat Court. This is the foundation of the derailment of the 'Islamic' State of Pakistan. It provided the public with a façade of legitimacy; yet, at the same time it denied its own applicability. From here on, the precedence has been set, the dye has been cast, and the entire approach to

undermining the rule of Allah (swt) began.

In order to examine the details of this exercise, four topics have been chosen to illustrate the issue. However, keep in mind that this is a reflection of the constitution as a whole, and the undermining of the Shari'ah is in many areas.

The focus will be on:

- The Ruling System
- Islamisation of Laws
- Accountability
- Economy and Taxation

The Ruling System: Defining 'La ilaaha illallah'

Article 1 of the constitution discusses the republic and its territories by stating that, "Pakistan shall be a Federal Republic to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, hereinafter referred to as Pakistan."

So the state is defined as being a Federal Republic. That is, a state where the supreme power is held by the public or their representatives. In other words, it is a democratic state. It is a state in which there is decentralisation of rule, with the provinces having a degree of autonomy. Thus, what is actually being stated is that the constitutional authors wholeheartedly took the Western non-Islamic system of rule. It is a system that upholds the people's responsibility to make, change and remove laws and where central unity was diluted. They then implemented this as a ruling system over those who sacrificed all for the rule of 'La ilaaha illallah.'

In order to properly discuss the issue, we must seek the meaning of what the rule of 'La ilaaha illallah' really is. This is easily clarified within the Islamic texts.

Muhammad (saw) said in a hadith narrated in Sahih al-Bukhari, on the authority of Abu Huraira:

"There will be no Prophet after me, but there will be Khulafah, and they will be many.' The Sahaba asked: 'What do you order us about them?' He (saw) said: 'Fulfil allegiance (baya'ah) to them one after one...'"

The ruling system in Islam is the Khilafah. It is the system mentioned in the ayat of the Qur'an, numerous hadith of the Messenger (saw) and the example of the noble Companions (ra). It is a system where the laws are derived from the texts of the Qur'an and Sunnah, rather than the wishes of a majority. The system has a unitary nature rather than being a federation. All mandatory ruling powers are vested in the Khaleefah, who has a contract with the Ummah to rule according to the Qur'an and Sunnah. The Khaleefah has an unlimited period of rule as long as he fulfils his contract; he cannot be removed from office otherwise. His authority engulfs the whole of the State, no matter its size. He is responsible for appointing the Walis, army commanders, officials and judges. The Khilafah ruling system is, in fact, a unique system.

Establishment of the Khilafah to the Sahaba (ra)

was a matter of priority. This was over the obligation of accounting the negators of Zakat, over dealing with the followers of the false prophet Musailama the Liar, over sending the army of Jihad and over the burial of Rasoolallah (saw) himself. Its priority was of the utmost importance. It was as critical an issue then as it is today.

Islamisation of Laws - The Tragic Alternative

The process of implementing the complete body of Islamic laws did not start from day one in Pakistan. The fact that a British legislated act was used, as its basis for government is testament to this. Rather, what occurred was a process of Islamisation of laws. Its folly can be understood by realising that what was supposed to be implemented by default was Islamic law. However, the individuals assigned the task were the Members of the National Assembly (the equivalent of MPs). These individuals did not have a background in Islamic Jurisprudence, let alone expertise on the principles in Usul, hadith or Tafseer. It was those very members, who were unqualified to extract Islamic law, who were given the responsibility of devising the law. Subsequently, the laws would then be checked for their 'Islamicness.' This was indeed a very curious arrangement. In some instances, it led to the passing of laws that were completely against Islam. But, of course, this was the actual intention of the constitution. The Religious Affairs Minister of Pakistan, Mahmood Ghazi, explained, "The government is actively considering to review more than 5,500 existing laws to make these in consonance with Islamic traditions and values."

In fact, today, no legal body such as this exists at all to undertake such a task independently. Rather, the initiation of the evaluation is left to the individual. The constitution states:

"Under Federal Shariat Court: Powers, Jurisdiction and Function. The Court may, on the petition of a citizen of Pakistan or the Federation or a Provincial Government, examine and decide whether or not any law or provision of law is repugnant to the Injunctions of Islam, as laid down in the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet."

This effectively leaves the involvement of the Shari'ah to the domain of public opinion, and not a responsibility on the shoulders of the Members of the National Assembly.

The only exception to this rule is the Council of Islamic Ideology. However, this institution is only an advisory body with little practical power. The council has the duty of examining laws and their conformance to Islam. The most they can do, however, is make recommendations. The legislative assembly then decides upon these recommendations. The intention of the government to actually correct the law can also be realised by examining the following clause related to the Islamisation process.

According to Islamic Provisions, Article 23, the functions of the Islamic Council are such that:

"The Islamic Council shall submit its final report within seven years of its appointment, and shall submit an annual interim report. The report, whether interim or final, shall be laid for discussion before both Houses and each Provincial Assembly within six months of its receipt and Majlis ash-shura (Parliament) and the Assembly, after considering the report, shall enact laws in respect thereof within a period of two years of the final report."

The body responsible for checking the suitability of laws was awarded a period of seven years to complete its task. Six months were set aside to debate the decision by individuals unqualified to do so, and then a further two years to enact the final decision. The total period allotted was nine and a half years! The reality, in fact, was far worse than this. Instead of over nine years, decades have passed. The only result was that something as clearly forbidden as Riba (interest) is still permitted, and indeed the law of Allah (swt) is being compromised.

According to their implementation of the Pakistani constitution, the Shariat Court is not the most powerful court in the land, and the law of Allah (swt) is not the highest. The Amendment of Constitution: Article 239 - Constitution Amendment Bill, makes it clear to whom the authority is given:

"For the removal of doubt, it is hereby declared that there is no limitation whatever on the power of the Majlis ash-shura (Parliament) to amend any of the provisions of the Constitution."

What Islamisation of laws actually means is the acceptance of non-Islamic laws alongside Islamic laws. This is clearly forbidden in Islam. The glorious Qur'an explains:

"Rule between them by that which Allah (swt) has revealed to you, and follow not their vain desires, and beware that they may turn you away from a part of what Allah (swt) revealed to you" [TMQ Al-Maida: 49].

The consequences of rebelling against this commandment are dire indeed. The Qur'an states:

"Then do you believe in part of the book and reject the rest? Then what is the reward of those who do so among you, except disgrace in the life of this world, and on the Day of Judgement they shall be consigned to the most grievous torment" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 85].

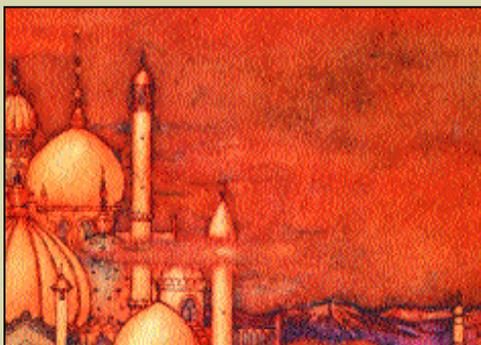
The Ummah cannot accept disgrace in this life and pray to be protected from the grievous torments of the afterlife. The Khilafah will indeed implement all the laws of Islam from day one, whether these are to do with ruling, social affairs or the economy. This, in fact, is one of the identifying characteristics of the Khilafah State.

[Part two will be next month, Insha Allah]

Hassan Mujtaba

Muhammad

Targeting of Nusra for the attainment of Statehood



A neglected yet critical period of the life of Muhammad (saw) is his effort to attain Nusra (support). This support was physical support, to allow Islam to be established in the land. It was a support to protect the da'wa and take authority and power. This targeting of authority and power was not for its own sake, but rather for the sake of Islam; to make it dominant.

The books of Seerah show that Muhammad (saw) attempted this activity for almost five years prior to finally attaining the Islamic State in Madinah. His dialogue and struggle with tribes shows that it was the only way to establish authority for Islam and the last delicate steps before an Islamic State could be realised.

Quraysh

The Messenger of Allah (saw) had on many occasions sought the support from Quraysh. His da'wa had started in Makkah and its end goal was the establishment of an Islamic authority in Makkah. This was something that the Quraysh were aware of. In the last days before his death, the Quraysh approached

Abu Talib with a view towards reaching a negotiated settlement as a result of the pressure from the da'wa activities of the Muslims. A delegation of 25 key personalities from the leadership of Quraysh, including Abu Jahl bin Hisham, Abu Sufyan bin Harb and Utbah ibn Rabia came with great hopes of reaching a compromise.

Abu Talib summoned the Messenger (saw) "Here are the most celebrated of your people. They have proposed a meeting to submit a policy of mutual concessions and peaceful co-existence." His (saw) reply was straightforward "It is one word that will give you (i.e. Quraysh) supremacy over Arabs and non-Arabs." Abu Jahl becoming intrigued and replied, "What is this word? I swear by your father that we will grant you not one but ten such words," He (saw) replied "Say; La illaha illallah." At which the Quraysh clapped their hands in ridicule and left.

Utbah ibn Rabia, one of the key leaders of Quraysh (father of Hind and father in law to Abu Sufyan) returned to his people with no illusions about the significance of the Messenger's (saw) call. He addressed his peo-

ple saying, "I heard words of great significance...O people take heed of my words - leave this man. If the Arabs (i.e. those other than Quraysh) finish him, then you will be spared of trouble. But if he succeeds and defeats the others his dominion will be yours and his power will be yours and you will be the most fortunate of people."

The objective of the mission of the Messenger of Allah (saw) had become clear to all; this call to La illaha illaha was one of attaining authority and power for the deen of Islam. This was the basis upon which the Quraysh would have dominated the other Arabs and non-Arabs. This was understood clearly by his enemies at that point, the leaders of Quraysh.

Bani Thaqif

Despite years of da'wa by the Party of Muhammad (saw), the political climate in Makkah remained hostile. As the discussion above shows, the leaders of Quraysh were obstinate and unwilling to accept the Prophet's (saw) call and it seemed that da'wa had hit a brick wall. The situation deteriorated further in what has become known as the year of grief, the tenth year of the Message. First, his (saw) uncle Abu Talib passed away and within three days, Khadijah (ra), the wife of the Messenger (saw) died. With the death of Abu Talib went the protection offered to the Prophet (saw) in a harsh political climate.

The Prophet continued his activities and expanded his call beyond the vicinity of Makkah and the authority of Quraysh. Muhammad (saw) undertook a long journey to the town of Taif to meet Banu Thaqif, seventy miles east of Makkah. He (saw) went to a group of men who were the nobles and chiefs of this tribe. He invited them to the deen of Islam and urged them to defend his cause against his own people from Quraysh. However their response was disdainful. One of their leaders said, "If God has sent you I will tear off the covering of the Ka'abah." Another said "Could God find no one but you to send?" and a third said "By God, I shall never say a single word to you, for if you are a Messenger from God as you say, you are too important for me to reply to you, and if you are lying against God, it is not right for me to speak to you!" They even sent out their louts to chase him (saw). A mob was set loose upon him (saw), pelting him (saw) with stones that made him (saw) bleed to such an extent that his (saw) feet stuck to his (saw) sandals.

The Prophet (saw) was not deterred by the rejection in Taif. He re-entered Makkah under the protection of Al Mutim ibn Adi. He even went to Abu Jahl and boldly said "... O Abi Jahl a great blow of fate will come upon you so that you laugh little and weep much, and

as for you, Mala' (council) of Quraysh, by Allah, not long will pass before you will enter unwillingly into that which you dislike." It is clear that He (saw) was determined to establish the Islamic authority with or without Qurayshi compliance.

The cousin of the Prophet, Ali (ra) narrates "When Allah commanded His Messenger (saw) to present himself to the Arab tribes, he went out to Mina accompanied by myself and Abu Bakr (ra) where we came to a gathering of Arab tribes."

The activity of seeking support (Nusrah) from tribes was clearly based on wahi (revelation) as shown by Ali's (ra) statement. The Messenger (saw) would offer himself to tribes during the Hajj season, and he would even offer himself to key men from certain tribes saying "Is there any man who can take me to his people because Quraysh are preventing me from spreading the message of my Lord." Amr bin Tufail al-Dausi was one such man.

Bani Shayban bin Thalabah

The Messenger of Allah (saw) was taken to Bani Shayban bin Thalabah. Abu Bakr (ra) who accompanied him on these discussions and was aware of the lineage of tribes recommended them to the Prophet (saw) for their suitability saying, "May my parents be sacrificed for you, none besides them are more honourable than this tribe." The dialogue between Abu Bakr (ra) and one of their leaders, Mafruq is most revealing. Abu Bakr (ra) asked Mafruq, "What is your number?" Mafruq replied, "We are one thousand in number and one thousand is no little figure." Abu Bakr (ra) continued "What about the Mana (power/defence) amongst you?" Mafruq answered, "We always struggle, for every nation is bound to struggle." Abu Bakr (ra) further enquired "What about the result of the battles between you and your enemies?" Mafruq responded, "When we fight we are in one of our furies and the battle is enraged.... We prefer our horses to our children and we prefer weapons to milking animals. So far as the victory is confirmed it is from Allah."

Hearing this exchange and their suitability to offer him support, the Prophet (saw) immediately invited the tribe to Islam "I call you to witness that there is no God but Allah, that I am His Messenger, and that you shelter me and protect me until I discharge the duty placed upon me by Allah."

Mafruq asked the question, "what do you preach my brother", to which the Messenger (saw) recited verses from Surah al Anam. Mafruq enquired, "Tell me something more about your preaching, O my Qurayshi brother! By Allah this speech is not of any who inhabits the earth. If it were theirs we would

recognise them."

The Messenger recited, "*Allah commands justice and the doing of good. And giving help to kith and kin. Allah forbids evil deeds, Munkar and rebellious actions. He admonishes you so that you may take heed.*" [TMQ 16:90]

The discussion expanded to include Hani ibn Qabisah who was their religious leader and Muthana bin Haritha, their commander of war. However the ensuing discussion showed that despite their many qualities they were unsuitable to offer support. Muthana explained to the Messenger of Allah (saw) "We have a treaty with Kisra (Emperor of Persia) due to which we are staying here (i.e. their land between the valleys of Yamamah and Samawah). According to the treaty we are not authorised to raise any new movement or give asylum to any such person who initiates a new movement. It is possible that your mission might be disliked by the Emperor...If you need our help (and shelter) in Arabia, we are ready for that."

The Prophet rejected their offer as he was looking for unconditional support. "I think you do not show any reservation in replying to me.....Only that person supports Allah's deen, who is protected from all sides." Clasp the hand of Abu Bakr (ra), the Messenger of Allah (saw) arose and left the assembly.

The rejection of Bani Sheeban bin Thalabah reveals that the Prophet was not seeking refuge from attack only, for this tribe were willing to offer him sanctuary from Quraysh. It was to seek support from peoples who were capable of offering protection from all sides. This is also indicative of how he had a global vision and designs on dominance over all other deens, with ambitions even on the great Persian Empire of the time.

Bani Amr bin Sa'asa

Bani Amr bin Sa'asa was approached to accept the Deen and give protection to Islam. One of their men, Bayharah bin Firaz said "By Allah if I could take this young man from Quraysh I could eat up all the Arabs." He asked the Messenger (saw), "Do you think if we follow you and God gives you victory over your opponents we shall have the command after you?" The Prophet (saw) replied "Command belongs with Allah who places it where he wills." Bayharah replied, "Are we to expose our throats to the Arabs in your defence and when you are victorious the command will go to someone else! We do not need your deen!" With this they rejected to support the Prophet (saw) and turned their backs on him.

Bayharah's reply is most revealing for it shows that the Prophet's (saw) approach

was not merely to bring the tribe to Islam, but to get them to give physical protection to him (saw) and his (saw) deen. They understood clearly that this call was a challenge to the whole of the Arabian way of life but wanted political authority to pass to them after the death of the Messenger (saw).

Bani Bakr bin Wail

The Prophet (saw) conducted further dialogue with Bakr bin Wail. He asked them "How many are there from you? How is your Mana (defence)?" They replied that they had no power and could offer no protection as they resided next to the Persians and were not allowed to enter any negotiations, which could undermine that.

Bani Hanifah

Ka'ab ibn Malik reported that the Prophet (saw) went to Bani Hanifah to offer them Islam and seek support. However he narrates that their reaction was the worst of all tribes.

Bani Kinda

Ibn Shihab al Zuhri narrates that the Messenger of Allah (saw) went to the tents of Kinda where there was a Shaykh called Mulayh. He (saw) invited him to come to Allah (swt) and offered himself to them but they declined.

Bani Kalb

Ibn Abdullah ibn Hussayn narrates that the Prophet (saw) went to the tents of Kinda where he met a clan called Bani Abdullah whom he invited with the same message. "O Bani Abdullah, Allah has given your father a noble name." However like others before them they too rejected the Message and refused to give him (saw) support.

The quest to gain support continued. The historians of Seerah have documented this in far greater detail. Some sources state that the Prophet approached as many as forty tribes, with the same objective and conditions as have been detailed above. Some of these tribes are Bani Fazarah, Bani Sulaym, Bani Abd ibn Hawazin, Bani Ghassan, Bani Murrah, Bani Abs, Bani Harith and Bani Udrah.

However victory was to come from another area and another group of peoples.

[Extract taken from a new book entitled "From Darkness into Light - An account of the struggle of the Messenger of Allah (saw) to make Islam dominant"]

The book is to be released in April of this year insha'Allah - all enquiries should be addressed to: publications@khilafah.com.

We have reported this article in the non Islamic press to highlight the the progress of the da'wa in Central Asia

Kyrgyz Crackdown on Islamic Religious Groups to Continue in 2001

By *Alisher Khamidov*

BISHKEK, Feb 6, 2001 – (Times of Central Asia) As President Askar Akayev establishes the administrative groundwork for his third term, a government crackdown in Kyrgyzstan is continuing.

Specifically, authorities are targeting activists of the Hizb ut-Tahrir movement, charging that the group is supporting Islamic insurgent activity in the region. Some members of the group, however, say they have no affiliation with the insurgents.

Most recently, authorities in the Osh region arrested three Hizb ut-Tahrir activists for distributing leaflets that call for the establishment of an Islamic state, according to local press reports January 3. Officials contend that the leaflets incite violence. The Islamic group is most active in southern Kyrgyzstan, which has a significant ethnic Uzbek population.

Concurrent with a crackdown against unsanctioned religious activity, officials have targeted human rights activists. In perhaps the most prominent instance of official harassment, Ramazan Dyrlydaev, the chairman of Kyrgyz Committee for Human Rights fled the country last summer after officials issued a warrant for his arrest. He found asylum in Austria.

In November 2000, law enforcement officials of the town of Kara-Su arrested Ravshan Gapirov, the chairman of "Pravosudic," a Kara-Su town based human rights organization, which had offered legal representation to some alleged religious activists from Hizb-ut-Tahrir and other groups. Officials allege Gapirov had been involved in extortion. Gapirov has denied the charge.

"Kyrgyz officials seem to copy their Uzbek counterparts in being very intolerant and extremely nervous about religious groups, which they believe have connection with the insurgency in Batken," said Saipjan Makhamadjanov, a journalist in Osh, Kyrgyzstan's southern capital. "In addition to making this topic a taboo issue for the local media by

harshly censoring them, and by creating a negative image of religious rebels naming them terrorists, officials crack down on everybody who shows sympathy with these people."

Political opponents of the government are also being harassed. In the highest profile case, the political council of the opposition Ar-Namys Party on January 3 urged its leader Felix Kulov to leave the country to avoid government persecution. Kulov, widely considered to be President Akayev's main political rival, was acquitted in August of corruption charges. However, a Bishkek Military Court sentenced Kulov to seven-year imprisonment.

A primary source of the broad crackdown is rooted in the insurgent activity of the past two summers in the Batken region of Kyrgyzstan, as well as in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Guerrilla attacks have raised concern about growing regional instability. The insurgents reportedly belong to the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, which is fighting to oust Uzbek President Islam Karimov's government. Uzbek and Kyrgyz officials say Islamic fighters have received training and logistical support from the Taliban, which controls up to 95 percent of Afghanistan's territory.

Some members of Hizb ut-Tahrir, which advocates the revival of an Islamic caliphate, deny that they seek the violent overthrow of established governments in Central Asia.

"We, in Hizb ut-Tahrir, do not support armed resistance and aggression against governments" said Kozimjon, 17 year old Hizb-ut-Tahrir member who was earlier accused of distributing leaflets containing the group's propaganda. "We believe in peaceful transformation to an Islamic state though the persuasion of people. We want to make the idea of rule of Shariat Islamic law attractive among all layers of community. Under no circumstances do we apply the threat or use force to bring people to truth."

Several Osh based journalists reported that their newspapers received letters from the representatives from "Hizb ut-Tahrir." These letters sought to explain the mission, goals and objectives of the group, and asked for understanding. Reportedly, upon finding that out, the Kyrgyz security services immediately invited the editors of these mass media outlets for private discussions. A number of journalists fear that the outcome of this is that the security services will launch a new round of arrests, and that local mass media outlets will be

were proving a match for them. The extent of Islamic rule, however, was formidable. In the early twelfth century, men regarded the world as consisting of three parts, Asia, Africa and Europe. The largest of these, Asia, was thought to be almost entirely Muslim, and so was much of Africa, while not the whole of Europe was Christian. In this way it was supposed that nearly two-thirds of the world was Muslim. For any Christian who had come in contact with Muslims, too, their unshakable sense of superiority must have been disturbing. In general the feelings of western Europeans against Islam were not unlike those of an underprivileged class in a great state."

compelled to support the campaign.



Meanwhile, Akayev announced the members of Prime Minister Kurmanbek Bakiev's cabinet from December 30 through January 2. Among the key appointments, Nikolai Tanaev, a Russian, was named first deputy prime minister, replacing Boris Silaev, who resigned in November, and former National Security Minister Tashtemir Aitabaev assumed the post of interior minister. Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Muratbek Imanaliev, Defense Minister Esen Topoev, Agriculture Minister Aleksandr Kostyuk and Health Minister Tilek Meimanaliev retained their posts. Also, General Bolot Djanuzakov will head the reorganized National Security Service.

Some local analysts in Osh say that both Kyrgyz and Uzbek authorities want to quickly eradicate unsanctioned Islamic activity before the crackdown comes under wider international scrutiny. Some foreign governments, including the United States, have branded the IMU as a terrorist organization, thus tacitly supporting regional military action against the Islamic fighters. But according to local analysts, Kyrgyz and Uzbek authorities remain concerned that if the insurgency drags on, the international community may begin to promote the notion of a negotiated settlement. Karimov's government, in particular, is steadfastly opposed to engaging the insurgents in peace talks.

Conversely, some local experts in the Ferghana Valley say that such negotiations are a likely aim of IMU leaders, adding that the IMU is hoping to gain power via the "Tajik peace talks scenario." The settlement that ended the 1992-97 Tajik civil war provided for the sharing of power between President Imomali Rakhmonov's government and the United Tajik Opposition, which is dominated by Islamic opposition leaders.



Please address your letters and questions to the Editorial Team, at the address given on page 4 of the magazine.



Just as many Muslims today have a feeling of inferiority when they are confronted by the West, the history shows that the role was entirely reversed when the Europeans looked at the Muslims. Montgomery Watt narrated;

"The feeling of inferiority with which Western Europe confronted Islamic civilisation had various facets. Islamic technology was superior to European at many points and more luxuries were available to wealthy Muslims; but this was probably a minor factor. Militarily the Saracens had been feared in the past, but now the Norman knights

Events Diary

LONDON

Saturdays after dhuhr
(Brothers in main hall)
(Sisters upstairs)
(Sundays after dhuhr in Arabic)
Central Regents Park Masjid
146 Park Road, London

There are many other events taking place around UK, Europe, Australia and America. Please contact circles@khilafah.com for details.