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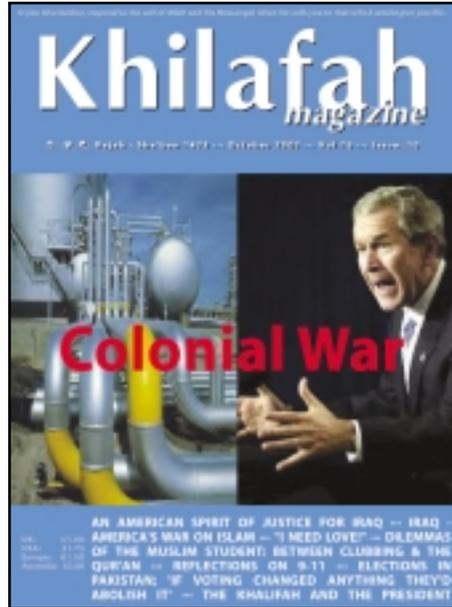
Bush's post 9/11 statements resembled a caricature of the Wild West Lawman out to gain summary justice. The wanted dead or alive declaration reverberated through every speech. "Our grief has turned to anger..."



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The following is the transcript of a talk delivered at the recent conference held in London entitled, 'Beyond September 11th: The Role of Muslims in the West'...



"I Need Love!" 12

Smokey dance floors with dim lights, loud music and a sickly sweet smell of aftershave, perfume, hair gel, sweat and cigarette smoke draw the crowds as university freshers arrive on campus. From Rocky Horror and Toga parties, to "mummies and daddies" night, up to a fortnight of hedonism has been pre-planned by university student unions to ease the new arrivals into student life. For the majority it is why they came to university, for others it has become clichéd and out of date, while others find the parties degrading...

14 Dilemmas of the Muslim student: Between Clubbing & the Qur'an

Muslims at university are faced with many problems, obstacles and challenges. Whether they are in their home cities or have moved, having left home for the first time. They prepare themselves for the problems of coping with the workload, organising their time, accommodation and coursework. Although these problems are real and cannot be overlooked they are just the tip of the iceberg...

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One year from the attacks upon the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, as the world reflects upon the devastation suffered, have the American people, the US administration and its allies around the world learnt anything? With an impending attack upon Iraq one would think not.

Whilst for the rest of the world the perennial cycle of hunger, killing, wars and injustice remain unabated the least that the 9-11 remembrance and reflection should have inspired was a reality check on Western civilisation and culture, its values and its bitter application.

18 Elections in Pakistan; 'If Voting changed anything they'd abolish it'



On October 10th 2002 the people of Pakistan will be voting for a new Prime Minister and National Assembly for the first time since the removal of Nawaz Sharif via military coup in 1999 and the suspension of Pakistan's constitution. The intervening three years have seen Pakistan led by Pervez Musharraf, a Western educated, dog loving, Army General. Musharraf upon taking power promised an end to corruption and sectarian violence and vowed to bring about stability and return to the rule of law in Pakistan.

The Khalifah and the President 20

In the current storm of corporate scandals that have engulfed America, we find the President and the Vice President have had their reputation tarnished due to their close associations with some of the America's corporate giants. This naturally raises the discussion of the role and limitations of the President...

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Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatahu,

The drums of war are beating. The American and British war machine begins its venture to bomb the innocent people of Iraq in a colonial war and replace its corrupt Western inspired regime with a loyal 'Iraqi Hamid Karzai'.

In reality the planned war against Iraq has nothing to do with 'Weapons of Mass Destruction' and has everything to do with oil and dominating the Gulf. Dick Cheney stated in his recent address in reference to Saddam, "He sits on top of 10 per cent of the world's oil reserves. He has enormous wealth being generated by that".

It is not without reason that the US defence establishment and the oil industry are rubbing their hands in glee at another Gulf War and the windfall profits that will inevitably follow. This is not a 'war on terror' but rather a war for America's corporate interests. The overwhelming majority of Muslims in the West are opposed to military action against Iraq, whether authorised by the UN or not, and the 'war on terror', which they see as merely a means to establish and further US and British hegemony over the Muslim world. Even non-Muslims across the Western world have realised the true motives of the warmongering towards Iraq and have registered their dismay at the beating of the drums of war.

America and Britain are Capitalist states. They adopt a colonialist worldview, seek to pillage and strip the world of its resources and make all their policies based upon feeding their interests. The warmongering towards Iraq, the continued subjugation of the Islamic world in the name of 'fighting terror', and the acceptance of Ariel Sharon's policies are all carried out by the Capitalist states in order to dominate over the world and its resources.

Although Muslims want to see the back of Saddam Hussein we do not want thousands of Muslims killed in an attempt to appoint another loyal slave of the West. The solution for Iraq is not separate Iraq into Kurdish, Shia and Sunni states. The solution is not to create a weak federal democratic state as some of the failed Iraqi opposition call for as they vie for power at the table of the world's biggest terrorists, Britain and America.

The Muslims of Iraq and the rest of the Islamic world must take their affairs into their own hands by re-establishing the Islamic Khilafah state, which will implement the Shari'ah of Allah (swt) and ensure justice for its citizens. The Kurds, the Sunni and the Shi'a are one brotherhood that lived in harmony under the Khilafah state in the past.

The Muslims must present the Islamic ideology as

a clear alternative to Western Capitalism and its colonialist worldview. Today no Islamic State exists; rather the Islamic world is littered with rulers who are mere puppets of the Western States. The solution to the tyranny of Saddam Hussein is not to replace him with an Iraqi version of Hamid Karzai who will be yet another stooge of the West.

The real problem in the Muslim world are the regimes for had not the rulers of the Muslim world stood beside America and Britain, or remained neutral, and had their ulema not misguided Muslims, then America and Britain would not be able to pursue such ambitious goals. If Muslims stood together in one line including all of the Gulf countries, Turkey and the Arab countries, then the US and Britain would never find a single place in which to gather their forces to attack Iraq and they would not be able to impose their hegemony.

The obstacle is these depraved rulers - who opened their lands to foreign bases, allowed their waters and airspace to be used and who remain silent while America and Britain beat the drums of war. The entire Muslim Ummah is yearning not only for 'regime change', but for 'ideology change' in the Muslim world - a change that discards the current rulers and the decadent ideology of Capitalism in the dustbin of history and a change that brings one Khalifah ruling over the Muslims with the justice of the Islamic ideology, free from the intervention of colonialist states.

The true solution to the problems the Muslim world face is to re-establish the Islamic Khilafah. This state will sweep aside the corrupt Muslim rulers, implement the enlightened solutions of Islam and stand up to Western hegemony the world over. The responsibility of Muslims in the West is to stand up to Capitalism, exposing the ideology that enslaves the masses to feed the few, and simultaneously working to present Islam as an ideological alternative.

وَقُلْ اَعْمَلُوا فَسَيَرَى اللّٰهُ عَمَلَكُمْ وَرَسُولُهُ

"And say: work (righteousness) soon will Allah observe your work and His Messenger" [TMQ At-Taubah: 105].

Dr Imran Waheed

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A Message from *Hizb ut-Tahrir* Britain Regarding the Impending War on Iraq

♦ The American and British war machine begins its venture to bomb the innocent people of Iraq and replace its corrupt Western inspired regime with a loyal 'Iraqi Hamid Karzai'.

♦ America and Britain are Capitalist states. They adopt a colonialist worldview, seek to pillage and strip the world of its resources and make all their policies based upon feeding corporate interests.

♦ It is not without reason that the US defence establishment and the oil industry are rubbing their hands in glee at another Gulf War and the windfall profits that will inevitably follow. This is not a 'war on terror' but rather a war for America's corporate interests.

♦ The warmongering towards Iraq, the continued subjugation of the Islamic world in the name of 'fighting terror', and the acceptance of Ariel Sharon's policies are all carried out by the Capitalist states in order to dominate over the world and its resources.

♦ It is the greatest act of political naïveté to expect the Western Capitalist states to end their injustice and oppression, for these qualities are inherent in each and every Capitalist state.

♦ The UN, Arab League, OIC and all international organisations are mere tools in the hands of the colonial powers - seeking solutions from these organisations further entrenches colonialism in the world.

♦ Furthermore, the Muslims reject these solutions for they contradict the Islamic ideology. Islam prohibits the acceptance of Western solutions whether this is the lobbying of MPs, seeking assistance from

the colonialists or calling for Capitalism directly.

♦ Muslims must present the Islamic ideology as a clear alternative to Western Capitalism and its colonialist worldview. Today no Islamic state exists; rather the Islamic world is plagued with rulers who are mere puppets of the Western states.

♦ The true solution to the problems the people of the world, Muslims and non-Muslims, face, is to re-establish the Islamic State (Khilafah). This state will sweep aside the corrupt Muslim rulers, implement the enlightened solutions of Islam and stand up to Western hegemony the world over.

♦ The responsibility of Muslims in the West is to stand up to Capitalism, exposing the ideology that enslaves the masses to feed the few, and simultaneously working to present Islam as an ideological alternative.

♦ We call you to study the Islamic alternative.

"The British have gone,...but we still feel colonised. Our President Mubarak goes off to Washington in March every year, like the head of a subsidiary company reporting to corporate headquarters, and it is not only him. Musharraf in Pakistan is exactly the same. They would not admit to being client creatures but they are."

Gamil Mattar, Ex-editor of Wughat Nazar, interviewed by Graham Turner in the Daily Telegraph 03/09/2002

"There is Churchill's assiduous promotion of schemes to cut the costs of imperial defence in India and the Middle East by using aerial bombing, machine gunning and gassing for the control of rebellion, political protest, labour disputes and non-payment of taxes. There is the denial of free food to starving south Asians on the grounds that it would simply hasten a population explosion among India's "feckless poor". There is the extraordinary British justification for bombing Sudanese villages after the First World War: Nuer women were, officials claimed, of less value to their community than cattle or rifles."

Heart of smugness; Maria Misra; 23/07/02 The Guardian

Now "We regret supporting George Bush," said Osama Siblani, president of the Arab American Political Action Committee, which endorsed Bush in 2000."He said it was going to be a compassionate administration," said Siblani, a Republican, who met with Bush three times during the campaign. "We see an absolutely arrogant administration whose lopsided foreign policy is hurting our original homelands, and we have seen nothing but secret information used against our people here."

Washington Post 05/08/2002

"After recalling anecdotes about Churchill, President Saddam asked: "What became of the Britain of Winston Churchill? If Britain were to find a more independent policy - one which took more account of its own interests and less of the interests of others - your country could begin to recover its once-significant status in the Arab world."

'Anglophile' Saddam denies arms charges in interview with MP; The Independent, 12/08/2002

American troops en route to Ivory Coast



American troops have been dispatched to the Ivory Coast on Africa's western border amidst a renewed breakout of violence in the region. A US spokesman stated fewer than 200 troops have been sent to the region in order to watch over the small American population caught in the uprising. The Ivory Coast has been subject to civil unrest after its first ever military coup in 1999, followed by persistent violence between the Muslim north and Christian south.

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld has said that for now Americans in Ivory Coast were not in danger. "At the moment, things are at an acceptable level," he told reporters at a NATO meeting. "At the moment we see no threat to a small element of Americans. It's not a serious problem."

What Rumsfeld has failed to mention, but of which there is no doubt, is that America's only "serious problem" is pursuing its regional interests. The Associated Press states "Nearly 200 American troops, three C-130 cargo planes and one other plane, and equipment" have been deployed to protect an estimated 100 US citizens at the International Christian Academy. This mismanagement of resources seems less startling if we consider the Ivory Coast is rich in diamonds, a major cocoa exporter and the third largest economy south of the Sahara.

The US has consistently proven its willingness to invade and exploit new areas using any excuse. Although the US involvement with the Ivory Coast is officially "unspecified" it is clear America practices no policy except achieving her enduring interests. They are the interests of pursuing material wealth and power. These interests are no different to the ones that have taken thousands of lives throughout the world, collapsed economies and eroded peoples and nations. And who has suffered this more painfully than the Ummah of Muhammad (saw)?

Atif Chaudhary

What's a Russian to do?



While Baghdad owes Moscow \$7bn (£5bn) and Russian firms are regularly signing million dollar contracts to rebuild Iraq's

infrastructure, the Kremlin fears such profitable ventures may disappear along with Saddam Hussein's regime. On the other hand, Moscow appears to have softened its position regarding vetoing UN resolutions for an attack, after Chechen rebels reportedly abandoned the mountainous region of the Pankisi gorge, on the border between Georgia and the Russian province of Chechnya.

Russian president, Vladimir Putin, used the anniversary of the September 11 attacks to threaten an invasion of Georgia to flush out the terrorists. The Kremlin threat - designed to align Russia's battle against Chechen 'terrorists' with Washington's onslaught against Iraq - prompted criticism from the Bush administration which demanded respect for Georgia's sovereignty. Intensive diplomacy by the US, which is believed to have put pressure on Georgia's President Eduard Shevardnadze, appears to have paid off. The Russian defence minister said in Madrid that Moscow was now satisfied that Chechen "rebels and terrorists" had left the mountainous region of the Pankisi gorge. Mr Ivanov said on the 23 September: "Rebels and international terrorists staying in Georgia maintain contacts with the country's authorities. The bands retreated from the Pankisi gorge in compliance with an understanding." He added with a touch of sarcasm: "It was as easy as that".

Russia's apparent change of heart clears the way for a new Security Council resolution, one which will enable the United States to get on with the job at hand, i.e. control of the oil fields Saddam Hussein sits on. Power politics is played in such ways; the US must give Russia what she wants, and Russia will give the US what she wants. Now that Russia can enjoy a free hand at the expense of the Muslims in Chechnya, Russian compliance with a US backed UN resolution allows the US a free hand with the Muslims of Iraq.

So what is a Russian to do? It's not like

Russian roulette. There's no chance involved with a bullet; just simple deals to be made, as long as a compromise can be reached, 'you scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours.'

Dawud Abdur Rahman

Britain's sale of Beryllium to Iran



The words of Blair's dossier may incite fear in some; however amidst Britain's claimed fear of Saddam's possession of uranium, the Department of Trade and Industry allowed a quantity of the metal beryllium (a key component for the manufacture of nuclear weapons) to be sold to the Tehran regime despite a ban on the sale of arms to the country, a regime that is alleged to be trying to develop its own atomic bomb. This is despite Britain having had an arms embargo on the sale of weapons to Iran since 1993 and also being a signatory of the international protocol which bans the sale of beryllium to named countries including Iran.

Britain's provision of nuclear weapon components does not stop with Iran. With the recent flare up with India regarding Kashmir, Pakistan has apparently become a customer to Britain with possible purchasing of beryllium. Jack Straw was noted to have been the first Foreign Secretary to visit Iran for 25 years, to secure coalition for the war on terror. It appears that Britain's recent move to sell beryllium to Iran (despite Bush's categorisation of Iran as one of the 'axis of evil') was a sweet gesture to win over more allies over America in the region.

The hypocrisy is undoubtedly clear: at a time where Blair is in support of attacking Iraq and expanding her colonial power, possessing nuclear weapons components is an act of terrorism as in the case of Iraq and if beneficial to her an act of defence as in the case of Pakistan. Clearly Blair's dossier is merely a hypocritical justification of Britain's motives in Iraq, since she was willing to sell metal beryllium to Iran. Indeed such hypocrisy is inevitable for nations established upon man-made laws whereby material

benefit is the sole criteria in foreign policy.

يَخَادِعُونَ اللَّهَ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَمَا يَخْدَعُونَ إِلَّا أَنفُسَهُمْ وَمَا يَشْعُرُونَ
فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ مَرَضٌ فَزَادَهُمُ اللَّهُ مَرَضًا وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ بِمَا كَانُوا يَكْذِبُونَ

"They (think to) deceive Allah and those who believe, while they only deceive themselves, and perceive (it) not. In their hearts is a disease (of doubt and hypocrisy) and Allah has increased their disease. A painful torment is theirs because they used to tell lies" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 9-10].

Ruji Rahman

'Reclaiming Britishness'



The Home Secretary David Blunkett raised many eyebrows after writing in an essay for a new book entitled 'Reclaiming Britishness', that Asian families

should speak English in their own homes. He based this on a survey that found that 30% of Asian British households did not speak English in their homes. The Home Secretary hopes this statement will enable the 'ethnic minority' communities to see the importance of "participating in wider modern culture".

This type of language is now more common to David Blunkett since 9/11, which has seen a more open and overt attack upon the Muslims and their identity. He has already put forward immigration and integration policies aimed at ethnic minorities and asylum seekers. His flagship Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Bill includes the Britishness test for new citizens and citizenship classes that have yet to pass their final parliamentary stages.

Latest Home Office figures show 9,630 asylum seekers were removed from the UK in 2001-2002. Blunkett's verbal attack matches what his heart conceals. In his statement regarding asylum

seekers he remarked:

"If these people are dynamic and well-qualified, and I don't dispute that they are, they should get back home and recreate their countries that we freed from tyranny, whether it be Kosovo or now Afghanistan ... We are freeing countries of different religions and cultural backgrounds and making it possible for them to get back home and rebuild their countries ... I have no sympathy whatsoever with young people in their 20s who do not get back home and rebuild their country and their families."

The true agenda behind these remarks of Blunkett is to integrate the Muslims to accept Western norms and values in lieu of Islamic norms and values. Such new policies are not for the betterment of society but rather directed at drawing the Muslims further away from their Deen. In light of such an attack, Muslims should not lose their sense of identity but maintain their continued adherence to Islam and its values, even though it may displease the Kuffar.

وَلَنْ تَرْضَىٰ عَنْكَ الْيَهُودُ وَلَا النَّصَارَىٰ
حَتَّىٰ تَتَّبِعَ مِلَّتَهُمْ

"And never will the Jews and Christians be pleased with you (believers) until you follow their way of life" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 120].

Saamiah Salam

India and Pakistan heading towards a limited war.



The recent attack on the Swaminarayan temple has significantly heightened tensions between Pakistan and India. The attack on a temple belonging to India's wealthiest Hindu sect occurred in the powder keg state of Gujarat. The Indians were quick to blame Pakistan for being behind the attack with the Indian Defence Minister George Fernandes saying, "We have found that the modus operandi used by the terrorists during the attack on the temple was similar to the strike on Parliament," an attack which India blamed on Pakistan and led to both sides coming very close to war.

The Indian Deputy Prime Minister Lal-

Krishna Advani went one step further and blamed the Pakistani President directly, citing the recent speech by President Pervaiz Musharraf to the UN General Assembly in which he referred to Gujarat. "This indicates they had planned this for sometime," he said.

Significantly this is the first time the Indian authorities have accused Pakistan of supporting terrorism in Gujarat. This has followed hard on the heels of the tension over the ongoing Kashmir elections. In his speech to the UN General Assembly the Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee alleged that Pakistan was "sending terrorists into Kashmir to disturb the state elections". Pakistan has described Indian accusations as ridiculous. President Pervaiz Musharraf suggested that RAW may have been behind the recent killing of Christians in Karachi and that the elections were a sham.

America for its part wants a small independent Kashmiri state, which it could easily dominate. It realises that the greatest opposition to its plan is the Muslims of Kashmir and Pakistan who wish to unite. Thus America hopes that the escalation of tension orchestrated by their agents leads to a limited war, which would end in a stalemate thus frustrating the Muslims of the region and convincing them that they were in a no win situation. This would also strengthen the positions of their agents Vajpayee and Musharraf, as both would be seen to be tough and resolute before they compromise over Kashmir. Thus would proceed the implementation of the American plan and the further consolidation of America's hegemony over the Muslim World.

Dr Irfan Waheed

US declines to veto



Recently the United Nations Security Council demanded an end to Israel's military operations around Ramallah and its withdrawal from Palestinian towns - a call Israel appears set to ignore. The Security Council passed the resolution just after an earlier incursion into Gaza City had resulted in nine Muslim deaths. This UN resolution was welcomed by

the Palestinian leadership as a "step in the right direction".

The resolution, brokered by European states, called for Israel to "immediately cease measures in and around Ramallah, including the destruction of Palestinian civilian and security infrastructure", the "expeditious withdrawal of Israeli occupying forces" from Palestinian cities toward positions held prior to September 2000 and the "complete cessation of all acts of violence, including all acts of terror, provocation, incitement and destruction".

The resolution was passed by 14 votes to zero, with the United States, Israel's main ally, uncharacteristically abstaining instead of using its veto, as is usually the case. A spokesman claimed that the US abstention was a "clear criticism of Israel".

Arab states have long raised what they regard as double standards in the Security Council's dealings. Israel, they argue, is allowed to flout successive UN resolutions while other nations like Iraq are being held to account for their non-compliance. This latest extension of the olive branch in the form of the US abstention clearly highlights US attempts to appease the Arab world.

Such an act from the US may appear as a change in stance in the Bush administration's attitude towards the situation in occupied Palestine. However this apparent act of camaraderie should not be taken at face value. With the US's sight set firmly on the vast oil reserves of Iraq, President Bush has been doing all he can to bolster Arab support for a potential strike against Saddam Hussein.

This move by the US should clearly show the true nature of the relationship the US shares with Israel - one of self interest, hence when interests clash, the two parties will follow.

Mohammed Ashifuddin

Israel's water



In 1964 when Syria required water diverted from the Bannias River, Israel refused and denied Syria the water by employing the use of "a few tank shells", in the words of Dan Zaslavsky, the former head of Israel's Water Commission. Recently Turkey has negotiated terms in which they are going to supply water to Israel, whilst admitting needing water themselves and unable to meet demands within their own country.

Now the occupiers of Palestine, once again, have refused to divert water to Lebanon who has claimed need of it to quench the thirst of parched villages. The subject of the dispute is the border river of the Hasbani, which provides 10 % of Israel's water supply. Defence Minister Ben Eliezer said diverting it would be "a violation of every agreement we have signed in the past ... Israel cannot tolerate the diversion of its waters of the Hasbani. I trust America to stop it." The Foreign Minister said he would raise the issue with Colin Powell.

Perhaps this does not measure up to the depths of depravity that the Jordanian water crisis went to, where the Jordanian government agreed to supply its citizens with the sewage of the Israelis while Israel secured fresh clean water for their own consumption. The rulers cups continue to overflow with their treachery - they vie with each other in failing to protect our resources and handing them over to the enemies of the Muslims.

Indeed it is to be expected by those who do not hold the interests of their Ummah nor Islam. The Muslims need to now redouble their efforts in removing these puppet regimes and replacing them with a government that holds the interests of its people at its centre. Only then will the Ummah quench her thirst for the Islam that she is yearning for.

Yaqub Abdur-Rahman



AN AMERICAN SPIRIT OF JUSTICE FOR IRAQ

Bush's post 9/11 statements resembled a caricature of the Wild West Lawman out to gain summary justice. The wanted dead or alive declaration reverberated through every speech. "Our grief has turned to anger and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done."

The 'War on Terrorism' was vaunted as a war without boundaries against numerous enemies. Cheney even went as far as to declare, "it may not end in our lifetimes".

We all know this war on Islam and Muslims masquerades itself as a 'war on terrorism', yet America time and again couches its intentions with claims of altruism or the establishment of justice. It claimed it acted to liberate the poor Afghani people from the brutality of the Taliban, and seeks to launch a war on Iraq to protect the security not only of America but also Iraq's neighbours. Regime change in Iraq has been spun to paint a picture that hides the true reality of this intervention. The US and British claim that they seek to topple a dictator to save a people from the brutality of a regime which has Weapons of Mass Destruction and has in the past used biological weapons against its own people.

Bush's National Security Advisor recently gave an interview to the Financial Times, which proved a good indicator for the thinking within the Bush White House. When prompted about Iraqi reconstruction following an air pummelling she commented,

"...The United States would want to be thought of as liberators. And I'm sure that anyone who joined us, Britain or France or any of the other great democracies who might, would want us to be thought of as liberators."

She continued by explaining how the credentials of the administration were beyond reproach, they had liberated the people of Afghanistan and wanted to do the same in Iraq.

It is important to highlight the *raison d'être* for the actions of the Capitalist nations - from the outset altruism isn't the primary or the secondary aim and invariably exists either as part of the public relations war or as a means to maintain a permanent presence on the ground to look after 'business' interests.

Is seeking to implement a 'just settlement' an apt description of US foreign policy, we need only delve into the recent past to shatter such a misguided illusion.

Afghanistan

America claimed at the time and ever since that it removed the Taliban to 'free its people' from the clutches of 'rampant despots', but this could not be further from the truth.

Reports following America's invasion clarify the fact that US motives were far from humanitarian or benevolent. Indeed numerous reports suggest that due to Afghanistan's importance as a conduit for a new oil route from the Caspian Sea, a pretext

was being looked for and one was inevitably found - the rest being history.

The book 'Bin Laden, la verite interdite' (Bin Laden, the forbidden truth), that was released recently, said that at a meeting between US officials and Taliban representatives, the latter were told: "Either you accept our offer of a carpet of gold, or we bury you under a carpet of bombs."

The book also describes the frequent meetings which took place under the 6 plus 2 forum of Central Asian countries, including Russia and the US - they claim that on some occasions Taliban officials were present.

Niaz Naik, former Pakistani minister for foreign affairs interviewed both on French television and also by the BBC, emphasised that the bone of contention during a 6 plus 2 meeting in a Berlin hotel in mid-July 2001 was "the formation of a government of national unity." He was very clear in the options that the Taliban were presented with, "if the Taliban had accepted this coalition, they would have immediately received international economic aid. And the pipelines from Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan would have come."

The meeting was attended by senior Americans, Russians, Iranians and Pakistanis. On the American side was Tom Simons, a former US ambassador to Pakistan, Karl Inderfurth, a former Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian affairs, and Lee Coldren, who headed the office of Pakistan, Afghan and Bangladesh affairs in the State Department until 1997.

Naik also claimed that Tom Simons issued a stern ultimatum that impressed upon him the significance of this meeting and the end of the negotiations route. Naik quotes Simons as having said, "in case the Taliban does not behave and in case Pakistan also doesn't help us to influence the Taliban, then the United States would be left with no option but to take an overt action against Afghanistan." Naik claims to have been taken aback by these overt threats, "I told the Pakistani government, who informed the Taliban via our foreign office and the Taliban ambassador here."

The Taliban were invited to this meeting, but refused to send a representative. In a cagey statement to the Guardian newspaper on September 22 2001, Mr Coldren confirmed the broad outline of the American position at the Berlin meeting, "I think there was some discussion of the fact that the United States was so disgusted with the Taliban that they might be considering some military action." The three former US diplomats "based our discussion on hearsay from US officials", he said. "It was not an agenda item at the meeting but was mentioned just in passing".

This stands against the rhetoric eschewed from the Bush Administration's media machine that the liberation was motivated by a desire to 'democratise' and 'liberate' the Afghans.

"The United States has for decades sought to play a more permanent role in Gulf regional security. While the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the immediate justification, the need for a substantial American force presence in the Gulf transcends the issue of the regime of Saddam Hussein."

The US had always planned to invade Afghanistan and has since declared that its stay will be permanent to protect its pipeline...sorry, to fight Al-Qaeda and terrorism!

Iraq

As for America's declaration that it seeks to enact 'regime change' in Iraq firstly as a pre-emptive measure to protect US security and the safety of the world, and secondly in order to remove an 'evil' man who oppresses his people, this is none other than window dressing for her real motives.

America's aims in Iraq are for two main reasons, neither of which involves altruism.

- (1) To divide Iraq in order to easily dominate it.
- (2) To control the second largest oil production in the world.

America's aim to divide Iraq follows the existing blueprint of the no-fly zones in the north and south of the country. Carving it up would make Iraq more manageable and controllable; this would entail a Kurdish state in the north, a Shi'ite state in the south and a Sunni state in the centre. The division of Iraq on nationalist/sectarian lines are a mere pretext, and its call for autonomous regions behind these labels allow for America to declare liberation openly but ensure colonisation through the back door.

Bulent Ecevit, current Turkish Prime Minister said on February 8 1998 whilst Turkish Deputy Prime Minister: "The United States wants to divide Iraq in order to establish the state of Kurdistan which will be under her control."

The British Minister of State, Lord Gilbert also said on February 13, 1998: "The possibility of dividing Iraq in case of a military strike targeted against him cannot be disregarded."

Also Abdul Haleem Khaddam, the Syrian vice-president, indicated this when he said in statements broadcasted by the Syrian News Agency on the 22nd January 1998: "Iraq is facing two dangerous issues: the first, that targets the unity of the Iraqi soil and the unity of the state. And regardless of our relationship with Iraq whether good or bad we cannot but resist any attempts against the unity of Iraq, the unity of its soil, its national unity, and the unity of the state". He referred to "The existence of plans and actions to dismantle Iraq in the past, which still exists today. The second issue is concerning the suffering of the

Iraqi people".

American foreign policy vis-à-vis Iraq is crude, the oil type to be more precise. Such a policy is driven by the corporations that Bush owes his position to, and due to the fact that Iraq possesses the second largest quantity of oil, an opportunity to fatten their flagging balance sheets has been presented to them.

The Bush administrations pre 9/11 plans for Afghanistan were conceived months before the invasion, and in a similar way the blueprint to strike Iraq was written before George Bush became President.

The document leaked to the Sunday Herald newspaper entitled Rebuilding America's Defences: Strategies, Forces and Resources for a New Century, was written in September 2000 by the think-tank Project for the New American Century (PNAC). It was drawn up for key figures in George W Bush's Presidential election campaign. A telling statement reads:

"The United States has for decades sought to play a more permanent role in Gulf regional security. While the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the immediate justification, the need for a substantial American force presence in the Gulf transcends the issue of the regime of Saddam Hussein."

The problem was diagnosed to be wider than Saddam; rather this could be used in order to provide a justification for a continued and expanded role in the Persian Gulf.

Weapons of Mass Distraction

The Bush administration has over-egged the 'weapons of mass destruction' line; at the forefront of this charge has been arch Chicken Hawk Donald Rumsfeld, as he was asked whether the US helped Iraq acquire biological weapons during the Iran-Iraq war he replied "Certainly not to my knowledge."

If anyone knew the extent to which the US aided Iraq in acquiring its biological stocks, that person would be Rumsfeld, as he was Reagan's Middle-East envoy dispatched to Baghdad in 1983 in order to reinstate diplomatic relations.

His initial mission was launched in December 1983 in which he hand delivered a cordial letter to Baghdad. This was followed by a trip in March

1984 to meet the then Iraqi foreign minister Tariq Aziz. On March 24th during his visit UPI quoted the United Nations as having said, "Mustard gas laced with a nerve agent has been used on Iranian soldiers in the 43-month Persian Gulf War between Iran and Iraq, a team of UN experts has concluded..."

IRNA, the Iranian News Agency had reported the use of chemical weapons by Iraq on the southern battlefield that resulted in the injury of 600 Iranian soldiers. A UN report concluded "Chemical weapons in the form of aerial bombs have been used in the areas inspected in Iran by the specialists. The types of chemical agents used were bis-(2-chlorethyl)-sulfide, also known as mustard gas, and ethyl N, N-dimethylphosphoroamidocyanidate, a nerve agent known as Tabun."

Even though this was widely reported at the time, Rumsfeld's defence could plead ignorance to these reports, if it wasn't for the fact that the US State Department had issued a statement March 5th saying "available evidence indicates that Iraq has used lethal chemical weapons." Further to this the US Ambassador to the UN, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick was quoted by The New York Times as saying, "We think that the use of chemical weapons is a very serious matter. We've made that clear in general and particular."

One of Rumsfeld's noted pearls of wisdom is "Man and the turtle are very much alike. Neither makes any progress without sticking his neck out."

On this occasion Rumsfeld did not stick his neck out, yet progress in US foreign policy terms was achieved. This is because Rumsfeld despite the evidence failed to comment on the evidence; unlike his sabre rattling from the rostrum at press briefings he was quiet on the subject of the use of biological and chemical weapons.

The New York Times soon after on March 29 1984 said, "American diplomats pronounce themselves satisfied with relations between Iraq and the United States and suggest that normal diplomatic ties have been restored in all but name."

Soon afterwards the 'evil' regime of Saddam Hussein was allowed to buy military equipment.

According to a Los Angeles Times article (February 13, 1991):

"First on Hussein's shopping list was helicopters - he bought 60 Hughes helicopters and trainers with little notice. However, a second order of 10 twin-engine Bell "Huey" helicopters, like those used to carry combat troops in Vietnam, prompted congressional opposition in August, 1983... Nonetheless, the sale was approved."

In 1984, according to the LA Times, the State Department "pushed through the sale of 45 Bell 214ST helicopters to Iraq. The helicopters, worth some \$200 million, were originally designed for non-military purposes. The New York Times later reported that Saddam "transferred many, if not all [of these helicopters] to his military."

In 1988, Saddam's forces attacked Kurdish civilians with poisonous gas from Iraqi helicopters and planes. US intelligence sources told the LA Times in 1991, that they "believe that the American-built helicopters were among those dropping the deadly bombs."

Following the reports of repression the US Senate called for wide ranging sanctions but the George Bush Senior administration killed the proposal in its embryonic stages.

Instead George Bush Senior signed National Security Directive 26 on Oct. 2 1989. Initially classified "Secret" but recently declassified, it said: "Normal relations between the United States and Iraq would serve our longer-term interests and promote stability in both the Gulf and the Middle East. The United States government should propose economic and political incentives for Iraq to moderate its behaviour and to increase our influence with Iraq."

The Grand Chessboard

The US manipulates world events not out of a sense of establishing justice ensuring liberation or manufacturing change for the better, these descriptions are nothing more than cheap slogans to justify intervention for material gain.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) member and former Carter National Security Advisor recently wrote in a candid book,

"In the long run, global politics are bound to become increasingly uncongenial to the concentration of hegemonic power in the hands of a single state. Hence, America is not only the first, as well as the only, truly global superpower, but it is also likely to be the very last... moreover, as America becomes an increasingly multi-cultural society, it may find it more difficult to fashion a consensus on foreign policy issues, except in the circumstance of a truly massive and widely perceived direct external threat."

America has to build the basis for armed action upon the pretence of external threats, of bogeymen and fanatical terrorists hell bent on destruction and world domination. The upcoming propaganda campaign seeks to establish the Casus Belli (a Latin term meaning an event that is used to justify a war) for military intervention.

With regards to the charge of possessing weapons of mass destruction, historian Howard Zinn, author of A People's History of the United States, wrote,

"He could only say this to a population deprived of history. The United States has supplied Turkey, Israel, and Indonesia with such weapons, and they have used them against civilian populations. But the nation most guilty is our own. No nation in the world possesses greater weapons of mass destruction than we do, and none has used them more often, or with greater loss of civilian life. In Hiroshima hundreds of thousands died, in Korea and South Vietnam millions died as a result of our use of such weapons."

If one were to strip US foreign policy of the chocolate coating as represented by the sweet talk of liberation and justice, one would conclude the essence being closer to the words of George Kennan, the Director of Policy Planning at the US State Department after the Second World:

"To maintain this position of disparity (US economic-military supremacy)...we will have to dispense with all sentimentality and day-dreaming.... We should cease to talk about vague and...unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of the living standard and democratization. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts...The less we are then hampered by idealistic slogans, the better."

Conclusion

The real source of the problems for the Muslims is not US foreign policy, criticizing it for being colonialist is akin to reproaching a dog for barking. What should be a source for anger and action for the Muslims is the poor excuse for rulers over the Muslim countries.

When the time comes they will stand by America's side by failing to support Iraq, they will not stand in the face of America to prevent her from her hostile stance towards Iraq and her evil imposition of the sanctions on Iraq. They allow her to set up military bases in their countries to strike Iraq or other Islamic countries. Even though America could not hope to fight against Iraq or any other Islamic country if the rulers of the Muslims did not allow her to land her troops in their countries and did not participate with her in fighting their

brothers, and did not pay the expenses of this war and these armies. If they stood firmly in front of her they would have prevented her dominance over the Muslim countries and they would not have allowed her to monopolise any part of Muslim wealth.

Those rulers have placed the Ummah in a huge prison, and they governed her like the police by force, and they have alienated her from the facts. They have used the visual, audible and written media means as tools to mislead her, fabricate the facts, and polish the ugly image of the rulers, to the extent that they made her lose her will, silenced her voice, and paralysed her, so that they can continue in governing her, and in providing their services to the Kufr states which they are subordinate to. Hence these rulers are enemies to their Ummah and to their countries, and it is not allowed for the Muslims to keep silent towards them, and they must work to change them. It is not enough, for the Muslims to remain silent and to accept being kept out of the way. It is time for the Muslims to reject this submission to the dominance of these rulers, and the dominance of the Kufr states, because they are capable to do so if they are determined to have their own will, and to answer the order of their Lord (swt).

The Islamic countries are the best countries, full with funds, men and wealth. All that is needed is to be resolved about the issue, to unite our word, and rely on our Lord (swt), then we will change these rulers and appoint a ruler giving him allegiance to hear and obey according to the Book of Allah (swt) and the Sunnah of His Messenger (saw) so as to rule over us with the word of Allah (swt) and to gather these entities in one state, which is the Khilafah state, and to finish the American dominance and the dominance of other Kufr states over any Islamic country, and to throw out all their armies from all the Islamic countries, and to carry out Islam as a message of guidance and light for all the world.

وَقُلْ اَعْمَلُوا فَسَيَرَى اللّٰهُ عَمَلَكُمْ وَرَسُولُهُ

"And say: work (righteousness) soon will Allah observe your work and His Messenger" [TMQ At-Taubah: 105].

Yusuf Patel

IRAQ - AMERICA'S WAR ON ISLAM



The following is the transcript of a talk delivered at the recent conference held in London entitled, 'Beyond September 11th: The Role of Muslims in the West'.

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا يُنفِقُونَ أَمْوَالَهُمْ
لِيَصُدُّوا عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَسَيُنْفِقُونَهَا
ثُمَّ تَكُونُ عَلَيْهِمْ حَسْرَةً ثُمَّ يُغْلَبُونَ
وَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا إِلَىٰ جَهَنَّمَ يُحْشَرُونَ

"Verily those who disbelieve spend their wealth to hinder (men) from the way of Allah and so they will continue to spend it, but in the end will become an anguish for them. They will be overcome and those disbelievers will be gathered in Hell" [TMQ Al-Anfal: 36].

This verse from the Qur'an puts into context America's war against Islam under the cover of the 'war against terror'.

With America beating the drums of war regarding Iraq and wanting to build an opinion for an invasion, it is of vital importance that the Muslims of the world are aware of the reality of America's intentions and what our response should be.

Despite George Bush's elaborate attempt to justify an invasion of Iraq in his recent speech at the UN, it should be clear that America and the Western Capitalist nations undertake actions only to further their material interests.

Bush attempted to hide his real intentions under issues such as Iraq's so called weapons of mass destruction and the possibility of Iraq acquiring nuclear weapons. The entire world knows that America's interest in Iraq is due to the vast oil resources, known to be one of the world's largest.

When America and Britain invaded Iraq in the last Gulf War their goal definitely was not the liberation of Kuwait; rather it was a struggle over the petrol interests and spreading their influence. As one of the American Senators said, "We came to correct the mistake of the Lord." Referring to the fact that Allah (swt) placed vast oil resources in the Gulf instead of the West.

Senator Bob Dole spelt this out when he said at the time of the last Gulf War: "We are not going to war to bring back the Amir of Kuwait because that does not deserve a single American life."

The foreign policy of America, Britain and the Capitalist states has nothing to do with saving the people of Iraq from the tyranny of Saddam Hussein or safeguarding the rights of the people, it is purely based on colonisation, which is the economic, political, military and cultural subjugation of people.

America and Britain don't care for the Muslims of Iraq. 200,000 people were killed in 1991 during the "Desert Storm" campaign headed by the US against Iraq. Since then, sanctions have been responsible for at least one million deaths, including those of children and babies - a direct and tangible result of American foreign policy in the Middle East. When asked about the number of people who have died in Iraq since 1991, Colin Powell could only reply arrogantly, "It's really not a number I am terribly interested in."

This pirate-like US attitude was alluded to by Brigadier General William Looney who said in The Washington Post, "They know we own their country. We own their airspace... We dictate the way they live and talk. And that's what's great about America right now. It's a good thing, especially when there's a lot of oil out there we need."

It is clear that the objective of war against Iraq by America is to replace the Iraqi regime with an Iraqi version of Hamid Karzai, someone who will be a stooge for America allowing it to control the oil resources as well as allowing the US to dominate the region. It is clear that America wants to weaken Iraq, as it knows that any strong nation in the Muslim world could be a threat for it in the future and can be used as base for an Islamic Khilafah state.

The Muslims of Iraq and the world realise that Saddam Hussein is a tyrannical dictator like all the other rulers of the Muslim world, including the self appointed ruler of Pakistan and America's newfound friend, General Pervaiz Musharraf, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, Mubarak of Egypt, Bashar of Syria and all the other rulers. I personally experienced the oppression of Saddam when I was imprisoned because of the Islamic Da'wa by his regime; I witnessed how he treats the Muslims.

The Muslims of the world should not remain silent while America prepares to attack Iraq, rather they should work to remove the tyrannical rulers imposed upon her by force who stand by watching while the Muslims are butchered in front of their eyes, they keep silent regarding the violation of the Israeli State to all UN resolutions, and its ownership of all weapons of mass destruction whether nuclear,

biological or chemical. They also remain silent over the ownership by the superpowers of massive amounts of all types of weapons of mass destruction. They do not stand in the face of America to prevent her from her hostile stance against Iraq; rather they enable her to set up military bases for her armies in our countries.

The Muslims of Iraq and the rest of the Islamic world must take their affairs into their own hands by re-establishing the Islamic Khilafah state, which will implement the Shari'ah of Allah (swt) and ensure justice for its citizens like we had for over a thousand years. The Kurds, the Sunni, the Shi'ite are one brotherhood that lived in harmony under the Khilafah. So the solution is not achieved by having a Kurdish state or a state for the Shi'ite in the south or the Sunni state in the middle. The solution is not to call for democracy like the failed Iraqi opposition who seek assistance from the biggest terrorist states, America and Britain.

We have to remove the false borders put there by the colonisers and to unify Iraq, Turkey, Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia and all others under one leader and one army to stand firm against the enemies of Islam like America, Britain and Israel.

Justice cannot be achieved by removing a tyrant like Saddam and replacing him with an American stooge loyal to the West. Therefore Muslims should not call upon the Western nations and its organs like the UN to resolve their affairs as it is nothing more than an entity based upon the corrupt values of Capitalism. Rather they must make all efforts to further intensify the intellectual and political struggle to liberate themselves from the shackles of colonialism by re-establishing the Khilafah state.

The Muslims of the West must remember that they are part of this global Ummah; the Muslims of Iraq are their brothers and sisters as are the Muslims in the rest of the world. They should never forget this fact and exhaust all efforts to aid the work for this Ummah's liberation.

وَقُلْ اَعْمَلُوا فَسَيَرَى اللَّهُ عَمَلَكُمْ وَرَسُولُهُ

"And say: work (righteousness) soon will Allah observe your work and His Messenger" [TMQ At-Taubah: 105].

Dr. Abu Muhammad



"I Need Love!"

Smokey dance floors with dim lights, loud music and a sickly sweet smell of aftershave, perfume, hair gel, sweat and cigarette smoke draw the crowds as university freshers arrive on campus. From Rocky Horror and Toga parties, to "mummies and daddies" night, up to a fortnight of hedonism has been pre-planned by university student unions to ease the new arrivals into student life. For the majority it is why they came to university, for others it has become clichéd and out of date, while others find the parties degrading. However, one thing is certain; the alcohol will be flowing and the teen arrivals will be flirting, exhibiting themselves to their new colleagues.

The experiment

University has become a human experiment. A generation of children is brought up with the idea that life is about having a good time and that they should be free to live it any way that they want to. After they all go through puberty and begin obsessing about the opposite sex, the most intelligent of them are taken away from their families and all of their friends and placed in a totally new and unfamiliar environment with some money and a lot of spare time. They are accommodated with each other in densely populated youth hostels called "halls" where their only semi-private space is their bedroom. Before having time to unpack they are bombarded with an itinerary of parties and social events and physically dragged to them. The lights are dimmed, pop songs are played, people dance and everyone becomes paralytically drunk night after night until the experiment yields results.

If Hollywood is to be believed, the way relationships occur is as follows. Two people meet by chance. They like each other based mainly on appearances. A quick sequence of events leads them to sleep with each other. Then they may or may not have a long relationship based on the success of the previous steps. Since this procedure is seen to have logistical problems in day-to-day life, alcohol and parties are used to catalyse the reaction in order to reach the final result as fast as possible.

Everyone knows the result of this experiment. Many of the freshers expect the result of this experiment, being willing volunteers in it. For many freshers this

is the first time they have lived away from their parents. It is the first time they have had their own accommodation. It is the first time they have had the opportunity to disperse their oats and everyone wants to do it - so it's not difficult.

The results

It is astounding that the same people potentially responsible for intellectual advancement are, in their personal lives, amongst the most primitive of all human beings. Secular society has created immense insecurity in many young women, who define their success according to their ability to attract men. Thus, they decorate themselves with dresses of light materials, make up and appropriate hairstyles to make themselves available to approaches. Boys embellish themselves in similar terms and go fishing - using themselves as the bait and the attractive girl as the prize.

There are three different types of relationship that are sought after by both the boys and the girls. The first is simply physical. It may last one night or several nights or be ongoing over several years with no personal commitment. The next is a pseudo-relationship where each person commits to the other in sincerity, but the defining feature of their relationship is physical which lasts for a few months and is ended by some sort of infidelity. The final sort is a real relationship where both people truly commit to each other, believe that they love the other and build a strong personal bond to each other aside from the physical. These relationships are often characterised by strong emotions, "creeping", mistrust leading to possessiveness and jealousy, culminating either in marriage or a painful break up.

Most male students veer to the side of the first two types while many female students look for the third, but this is by no means the rule. The only rule is that the vast majority of students are looking for one of these three.

"He say, she say"

Every year, arrival at university is going to lead to misery, pain, the spread of disease and immense promiscuity. Many female students will be raped, probably whilst heavily under the effects of alcohol

by a male student she met at a party. Recent home office statistics put the probability for each female university student to be raped in each academic year at 2%; that's 1 in 50! The culprit will probably have been drunk and excited by the nature of the fresher's parties. They would probably have mutually decided to go to one of their rooms in halls. Such a high statistic is not surprising. It will probably never be reported, the victim feeling guilty and responsible for what happened and seriously affected by it.

Many will also suffer from emotional torment. They may sleep with someone after a drunken party, thinking that it would lead to a serious relationship and finding the next day that person is off with someone else. Students arriving at university already in long-term relationships with people from their hometown will begin to cheat, causing emotional distress for both in the relationship. There will probably be hundreds of unwanted pregnancies up and down the country, requiring either the "morning after pill" or surgical abortion. The spread of genital warts, gonorrhoea, syphilis and HIV will accelerate, colonising a new young generation.

If the physical and direct personal aspects are not enough to worry about, reputations will be under attack. Rumours will fly; gossip and backbiting will be rife amongst the student body. Everyone wants to know what everyone else is doing, whom he or she slept with, whom he or she cheated on and how he or she did it. Stories will stir up distrust and even hatred between individuals, sparking off arguments and fights.

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَرْمُونَ الْمُحْصَنَاتِ الْغَافِلَاتِ
الْمُؤْمِنَاتِ لَعُنُوا فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ وَلَهُمْ
عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ

"Those who slander chaste believing women carelessly are cursed in this life and in the Hereafter: for them is a grievous Penalty" [TMQ An-Nur: 23].

Fortunately, student unions have all encompassing solutions to all of these problems...namely free contraceptives and student helpline telephone numbers. In reality, it is the student union members who revelled in the activities of previous years so



much, that they wanted to provide it to all of the new students arriving on campus and so they are the last people that can be relied upon to deal with these problems.

The Problem of Trust

It is banded around in reality and on chat shows that relationships are about trust. If two people can't trust each other, how can they go on together? It's fashionable to talk about it but few students can truly trust the person they are with. Almost everyone has cheated on a boyfriend or girlfriend at some point in their lives. Men know that other men will be trying to seduce their girlfriends and the women know that their men like looking at other women who in turn are trying to seduce them. So where does the trust come from. It's like putting a child in a sweetshop, telling him not to eat any sweets and leaving him there for a week with a pile of carrots.

The simple fact of the matter is that men and women get together in such an environment because of some benefit that they can get from the other. It may be image, sex, money or good conversation but it's always some benefit that is fulfilled by the other. So what happens to that relationship when an outsider comes along who can give something extra, or the same thing but better? It's natural for any individual to go for the bigger benefit. Sentimental reasons may hold that person back at first but it is likely to be for a very short time. Further to this, if a man or woman can get away with it without the other half finding out, it is simple business sense to maximise the benefits by mining several sources. The only thing that inhibits individuals from doing that is the fear of losing something that could not be replaced - but if they think they can get away with it, these inhibitions melt away.

How can true "trust" exist in such relationships? It is romantic fiction. It is true that trust is vital in relationships, but it cannot exist between two secular, capitalist ideologues that base their decisions on maximising benefit. This is why the divorce rate in the UK is now well over 50% of all new marriages and is still climbing. You cannot trust a secular capitalist!

الرَّانِي لَا يَنْكِحُ إِلَّا زَانِيَةً أَوْ مُشْرِكَةً وَالرَّانِيَةَ
لَا يَنْكِحُهَا إِلَّا زَانٍ أَوْ مُشْرِكٌ وَحَرَمَ ذَلِكَ
عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

"Let no man guilty of adultery or fornication marry any but a woman similarly guilty or an Unbeliever, nor let any but such a man or an Unbeliever marry such a woman: to the Believers such a thing is

forbidden" [TMQ An-Nur: 3].

What do Muslims do?

Any relationship between two people is based on the thoughts that they carry. Those who carry secularism and capitalism believe in following the maximum benefit and so it is natural that the anarchy described above arises. In Islam, the objective of life is the pleasure of Allah (swt) and the attainment of Jannah. This is achieved by believing in the core beliefs of Islam, sticking to what has been obliged and avoiding what has been forbidden. As long as the Muslim does this, he or she is tranquil and content.

The relationship between man and woman in Islam is marriage. It is held amongst the youth in the West that marriage should be reserved for the late 20's or 30's, that the teens and early 20's should be reserved for the aforementioned debauchery. This is a stupid misconception. The only difference between two people having an extra-marital relationship (if they are serious about each other) and having a marital relationship is that when they get married they pledge to show each other a degree of respect and dignity and afford each other certain rights. It's natural for men and women to want to get together, but Islam filters this through marriage. Thus neither of them can abuse the other in a one-night stand or a purely physical relationship without any guarantee that the next day it wouldn't be over. While they are married, the Creator (swt) demands that they provide the other with certain rights. These include that they should be faithful, truthful, kind and supportive. Because these things are done for the sake of the Creator (swt), and pleasing Him (swt) is the objective of life, one can easily trust that if the other is conscious of his or her accountability before Allah (swt), he or she will fulfil such rites.

Those who say that they are too young to get married are effectively saying "I am too young to treat a woman (or man) fairly, justly and kindly." They are effectively professing their lack of determination to commit, to be faithful, fair or just. Some may argue that both people in the relationship just want to have a bit of fun and are not ready to commit, so what's wrong with that? The reality of that is that people get seriously hurt, abused and exploited. Freedom backfires again.

Islamically, when a relationship begins the man and woman should respect each other and treat each other well. In Islam, men and women do not socialise freely as this is the first step in the path of fornication. Muslims don't drink alcohol, they don't gossip or backbite, they don't sleep around, go to nightclubs or pubs. Hence, the situations in which unwanted pregnancies are obtained, STDs are spread

and young girls are raped and abused are avoided.

Thus, men have loyal, supportive, kind wives who are trustworthy irreplaceable companions. Likewise women have strong, kind, devoted husbands who dedicate themselves to their wives' comfort and happiness. And on top of that, they love each other.

This is the way the Creator (swt) organises relationships between men and women, in perfect harmony with the rest of the universe. It is not the author of this article who has decided that a relationship of this form is perfect, rather it is the One, the All-Knowing, all-Seeing, Lord, Master and Sustainer of the universe who decided that this is the way that men and women should relate. May His (swt) guidance protect us all from the misery of secular ideologies.

أَفَمَنْ أَسَّسَ بُنْيَانَهُ عَلَىٰ تَقْوَىٰ مِنَ اللَّهِ
وَرِضْوَانٍ خَيْرٌ أَمْ مَنْ أَسَّسَ بُنْيَانَهُ عَلَىٰ
شَفَا جُرُفٍ هَارٍ فَانَهَارٍ بِهِ فِي نَارِ
جَهَنَّمَ وَاللَّهُ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الظَّالِمِينَ*
لَا يَزَالُ بُنْيَانُهُمُ الَّذِي بَنَوْا رِيبَةً فِي
قُلُوبِهِمْ إِلَّا أَنْ تَقَطَّعَ قُلُوبُهُمْ وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ
حَكِيمٌ

"Which then is best? He that lays his foundation on piety to Allah and His good pleasure? Or he that lays his foundation on an undermined sand-cliff ready to crumble to pieces? And it does crumble to pieces with him into the fire of Hell. And Allah guides not people that do wrong. The foundation of those who so build is never free from suspicion and shakiness in their hearts until their hearts are cut to pieces. And Allah is All-Knowing Wise" [TMQ at-Taubah: 109-110].

Hani Jamal Uddin

DILEMMAS OF THE MUSLIM STUDENT: Between Clubbing & the Qur'an

Muslims at university are faced with many problems, obstacles and challenges. Whether they are in their home cities or have moved, having left home for the first time. They prepare themselves for the problems of coping with the workload, organising their time, accommodation and coursework. Although these problems are real and cannot be overlooked they are just the tip of the iceberg.

Ironically in the first week at university the first problems they face will not be organising their time or coping with the workload. In the first weeks they're likely to be invited to a party by their department, their colleagues will invite them to go clubbing and the Student Union will invite everyone to a pub-crawl. At the fresher's fair every society will try and sign them up including the clubbing society with their promises of cheap beer and discounts at the clubs and the Asian society who will be promoting their "bhangra do's" and parties.

This leaves Muslims with a real dilemma: should we go with the flow and compromise our identity or stick to our principles and risk being called "anti-social". So how do Muslim students face this dilemma?

Differing responses

Some people will accept everything from the Kufri society wholeheartedly and totally forget Islam. So they may not pray all year and when non-Muslims attack Islam they may even agree. This is seen as extreme; more commonly people choose to take the 'middle ground'. So they enjoy the pubs

and clubs but still pray on a Friday, they would indulge in drugs but would never touch a ham sandwich.

As term progresses, more and more Muslims forget Islam until this becomes normality. This is the natural consequence of taking the common ground. Surely the one who drinks but does not get drunk is compromising Islam.

Accepting compromise is the basic reason behind the identity crisis within Muslims at university. Compromise is what leads people to 'relax' some parts of Islam that don't seem to fit in to their new lifestyle. This is why many Muslims limit Islam to something they do every Friday or when they return home for the holidays.

Many see nothing wrong with the ideas of "live life to the max" or "you only live once", dreaming that after student life they will settle down and then think about Islam. Others may fully engage in their study, greeting fellow Muslims with complimentary Assalamu Alaikum, but leave Islam on the shelf.

Muslims may even lose their emotion for Islam, becoming numb to the problems the Muslims are facing around the world, justifying to themselves that it doesn't directly affect them or that they are only problems for the people of that nationality.

An Invitation to Think

As Muslims, we are always in danger of falling into the traps of society, of abandoning our beliefs or relegating Islam to "spiritual issues" alone. In

fact we must question ourselves and ensure that we understand our life. We are taught not to question the basic yet most fundamental questions in life; "Why am I Muslim?", "What is my purpose in life?", "Is there anything after death?"

These questions, although basic, may be sidelined or ignored by us and often remain confused in our minds. Some of us may be dumbstruck with the question of, "Why are you Muslim?" Others may answer, "Because my parents are", yet if posed with the same question about their choice of bank account or degree course they would reply with an elaborate answer.

Some of us when posed with this question may say, "Islam is the truth" but when questioned further as to how to prove the truth of Islam they would give a vague reply.

We need to realise that Islam is the definite truth. Islam is not a belief like those of other religions and creeds, which resort to notions like, "I can feel Jesus in my heart that's why I'm Christian", or "Man is free to do as he pleases because he is good in nature". Rather we know for sure that Allah (swt) exists and that the Qur'an is the word of Allah (swt). The proof of Allah's (swt) existence is found in our surroundings, which leads to the fact that everything in the universe could not have resulted out of nothing as some may have us believe. Allah (swt) has emphasised this in many places in the Qur'an.

He (swt) says:

إِنَّ فِي خَلْقِ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ
وَإِخْتِلَافِ اللَّيْلِ وَالنَّهَارِ لآيَاتٍ
لِّأُولِي الْأَبْصَارِ

"Verily, in the creation of heavens and earth, and in the difference between night and day are signs for those who have minds" [TMQ Ale-Imran: 190]

We should acquire the knowledge of our belief and our identity so that we have no doubts and can easily refute any of the erroneous arguments that the society bombards us with.

Sticking to Islam

As Muslims having firm belief in Allah (swt) and certainty in the fact that the Qur'an is guidance from Him, we can build our lives according to Islam and must shun the notions of freedom and "live life to the max" that create a society where rape is common on university campuses and where crime has become a norm which students attempt to protect their property from.

Applying Islam selectively in our lives is tantamount to burning the pages of the Qur'an. We should realise that restricting Islam to the mosque or merely Halal food is compromising our position both in this life and in the hereafter. We are accountable for all our actions and upon this basis Allah (swt) will assign to us Jannah (paradise) or Jahannam (hellfire).

الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا بَعْضَ الْكُتُبِ وَكَفَرُوا بِبَعْضِهَا جَزَاءٌ مِّنْ يَفْعَلُ
ذَلِكَ مِنْكُمْ إِلَّا حِزْبًا فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَيَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ يُرَدُّونَ إِلَى
أشدَّ الْعَذَابِ ۗ ٨٥

"So do you believe in some part of the Book and disbelieve in some. The penalty awaiting those who do this is nothing but humiliation in this life and the severest of punishment on the Day of Judgment" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 85].

Allah (swt) has warned us about partaking in the evil gatherings that take place in nightclubs, raves, "bhanga do's" and the like. Allah (swt) says;

وَتَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْبِرِّ وَالتَّقْوَىٰ وَلَا تَعَاوَنُوا
عَلَى الْإِثْمِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ

"Cooperate in righteousness and piety, and don't cooperate in sin and transgression" [TMQ Al-Ma'idah: 2].

A Muslim must take care to stay away from environments that are dominated by boyfriend-girl-

friend relationships and pre-marital sex. The Prophet (saw) has encouraged us to control our lust and our speech.

Sahl ibn Sa'd (ra) narrated that the Prophet (saw) said,

من يضمن لي ما بين لحييه وما
بين رجليه أضمن له الجنة

"Whoever can guarantee what is between his two jaw-bones and what is between his two legs, I guarantee Paradise for him" [Sahih Bukhari].

If we are tempted by intoxicants such as alcohol or drugs whether in large or small quantities, we should take heed of the words of Muhammad (saw) who said:

كل مسكر حرام ، وما أسكر منه
الفرق فملاء الكف منه حرام

"All intoxicants are unlawful, of whatever thing a large quantity intoxicates; even a small quantity is prohibited" [An-Nawawi].

Abu Hurairah narrated that the Prophet (saw) said,

لا يزني الزاني حين يزني وهو مؤمن ،
ولا يشرب الخمر حين يشرب وهو
مؤمن ، ولا يسرق حين يسرق وهو
مؤمن

"No fornicator commits fornication in the state of being a believer so long as he is busy in committing it. No thief commits theft in the state of being a believer so long as he commits this. No drunkard drinks in the state of being a believer so long as he is busy in drinking" [Agreed upon].

This advice is not aimed at attacking Muslims who don't follow Islam; rather it is an advice that is aimed at provoking thought in all of us to enable us to follow the truth.

The Prophet (saw) said,

المؤمن مرآة أخيه ، إذا رأى فيه
عيباً أصلحه

"Each of you is the mirror of his brother, so if he sees any fault in him he should wipe it away from him" [Tirmidhi].

think about their belief and their way of life. The most definite thing in life is death, it would be irrational for us to ignore the inevitable and attempt to escape thinking about it as so many of the non-Muslims do.

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said,

الكيس من دان لنفسه وعمل لما
بعد الموت والعاجز من أتبع نفسه
هواها وتمنى على الله الأماني

"The clever one is he who disciplined himself and worked for what is after death, and the feeble one is he who followed his desires, then made (vain) prayers to Allah."

If any of us haven't started to think about Islam seriously, now is as good a time as any. Those of us that are practicing Islam should ensure that we do not become complacent and should do our utmost to develop our Islamic personality and guide those around us.

It is important that whilst at university we keep an Islamic atmosphere amongst Muslim students, we should also support the Islamic activities taking place such as talks, seminars and debates. This atmosphere will help us to remain strong amidst the tide of Kufr at university.

Allah (swt) says,

قُلْ لَّا يَسْتَوِي الْخَبِيثُ وَالطَّيِّبُ وَلَوْ
أَعْجَبَكَ كَثْرَةُ الْخَبِيثِ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ
يَا أُولِي الْأَبْصَارِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ

"The good and the evil are not alike even if the evil looks like the good and is followed by the majority. So fear Allah, O you that understand; that (so) you may prosper" [TMQ Al-Ma'idah: 100].

Abdul-Hamid Jassat

REFLECTIONS ON 9-11

One year from the attacks upon the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, as the world reflects upon the devastation suffered, have the American people, the US administration and its allies around the world learnt anything? With an impending attack upon Iraq one would think not.

Whilst for the rest of the world the perennial cycle of hunger, killing, wars and injustice remain unabated the least that the 9-11 remembrance and reflection should have inspired was a reality check on Western civilisation and culture, its values and its bitter application.

An Attack on Civilisation?

In the immediate aftermath of the 9-11 attacks we witnessed a barrage of statements that best tried to encapsulate the motives for the attacks.

George W. Bush said: "Freedom itself was attacked this morning and I assure you freedom will be defended."

Tony Blair weighed in by saying: "This is not a battle between the United States and terrorism, but between the free and democratic world and terrorism". His Foreign Secretary Jack Straw added that the events were "an attack on civilisation."

In doing so they opened a hidden battlefield on the so-called war on terrorism; the battlefield of ideas, values and culture.

There is an almost unnoticed arrogance in claiming that the events of 9-11 were an attack on civilisation. Not from the perspective of condoning the death of innocent civilians but from the standpoint that their deaths represent an attack on a universal culture with ideals and values that all people should identify with as a default. Western civilisation and its culture of freedom, materialism, pluralism and democracy is an anathema to many throughout the world. Does that make them backward, wrong or dare we say, terrorists? No, it is simply the realisation that humanity has throughout the ages been shaped by different ideals, cultures, traditions and ideologies. Try as one might to paint a picture of universal values the world has always been a much more complex place. All cultures and civilisations would undeniably abhor innocents being killed but that is far away from the argument that we all hold dear the culture of freedom, democracy and pluralism as sacrosanct. That has an undeniable Western liberal stamp etched upon it. However in what has become a common occurrence we are presented with a plethora of false choices of which this is one: "You are either with the

terrorist or you are with us." If one does not back the Western ideal of what civilisation is, automatically the assumption leads to him or her being cast the advocate of terrorism.

Which begs the question, what kind civilisation is being threatened? If the attacks on the twin towers were indeed an attack on Western values, one surely needs to probe the inner dimensions of this civilisation and the value system of which it is a construct. Let us examine the divine trinity of Capitalist values, namely freedom, democracy and free market ideals.

Is it the same freedom that has made The United States "the most violent and self-destructive nation on earth," according to a US congressional report. A Senate Judiciary Committee report from the 1990s depicted Americans killing, raping and robbing one another at a furious rate, surpassing every other country that keeps crime statistics. When viewed from the international perspective, they are truly embarrassing. The report noted that the murder rate in the United States was more than twice that of Northern Ireland, which is torn by civil war; four times that of Italy; nine times England's and eleven times Japan's. The rape rate in the United States was eight times higher than in France, fifteen times higher than in England, twenty three times higher than in Italy and twenty six times higher than in Japan, according to the report. Robbery rates followed much the same pattern: six times higher than in England, seven times higher than in Italy and nearly one hundred and fifty times higher than in Japan.

What of the democracy that America holds as a cherished ideal and an unquestionable standard for the basis of government throughout the world. The apologists for the existing social and political order in America explain away every deficiency in the political system as strength. They would have us believe that the millions who are non-voters (an estimated 50-60% of population) are content with

present social conditions and that a system engulfed by high-powered lobbyists is nothing to worry about because they perform an information function vital to representative government. The apologists have argued that a two party system at the behest of Corporate America is truly representative of the people and that the exclusion of third parties is really for the best because too many parties (that is, more than two) would fractionalise and destabilise their political system. Democratic government is incongruous with equity and justice in governance and is consistently violated by a Capitalist social order. American democracy is just an arch example of this.

The free market ideals, which form the very bedrock of Corporate America, have shown corruption and nepotism on an unprecedented scale. Whereas one may sneer at the cultures of the East and Sub Continent and cite corruption pervading every day life, US Capitalism has revealed corruption that far pales any of this into insignificance. Witness the multibillion dollar audit frauds such as the \$3.8 billion gaping hole in WorldCom's accounts, Rank Xerox fraudulently overstating its profits by \$1.4 billion over 5 years, Merck the giant pharmaceutical company illicitly overstating its revenues and its costs by some \$14 billion over 3 years and the sorry collapse of the Energy giant Enron.

What value is the last decade's economic boom in the US when average real wages in the United States are at or below the wage rate of 1973 or when one in six children in the United States lives in poverty. More than 40 million people in the United States have no health insurance coverage at all. Indeed inequality in the US is such that since the mid-1970s, the most fortunate one per cent of households has doubled their share of the national wealth. They now hold more wealth than the bottom 95 per cent of the population.

This is the stark reality of the civilisation that was under attack, according to George W Bush. It is built

on the values of freedom, democracy, free markets et al. These are the values, which US Secretary of State Donald Rumsfeld is unashamedly willing to go to war for and impose upon the rest of humanity. Indeed in the aftermath of the 9-11 attacks he said:

"The people who committed these acts are clearly determined to try to force the United States of America and our values to withdraw from the world. Or to respond by curtailing our freedoms... And we have no intention of doing so."

The Phoney War on Terrorism

It was the famous American author Mark Twain who said, "Statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscience-soothing falsities, and will diligently study them, and refuse to examine any refutations of them; and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just, and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception."

The major aspect of 9-11, which many in the US and the West could not fathom, was the common hatred that expressed for US policies, commonly known as 'Anti-Americanism'. George Bush said:

"How do I respond when I see that in some Islamic countries there is vitriolic hatred for America? I'll tell you how I respond: I'm amazed. I'm amazed that there is such misunderstanding of what our country is about, that people would hate us. I am, I am -- like most Americans, I just can't believe it. Because I know how good we are, and we've got to do a better job of making our case. We've got to do a better job of explaining to the people in the Middle East, for example, that we don't fight a war against Islam or Muslims. We don't hold any religion accountable. We're fighting evil. And these murderers have hijacked a great religion in order to justify their evil deeds. And we cannot let it stand."

So blinkered is the US in its unilateral take on the world that it fails to appreciate the resentment America inspires worldwide for its policies internationally. One year on from the slaughter of the innocents in New York, the war on terrorism is in full flow and knives are being sharpened for an impending assault upon Iraq. Whilst no one will condone attacks on the innocent civilians of New York, the cries of innocent Iraqis should resonate in the ears of the US administration with the words "What crime did we commit?"

Iraq is the new target in range on the war on terrorism when the previous target has not even been dealt with comprehensively. Can one be so sure of the bellicose statements of the war prosecutors and their tub-thumping cheerleaders in the media when to date the US government has not even secured one conviction for supposed terrorist crimes? Hundreds of alleged Al-Qaeda prisoners lie in shackles in the Communist Gulag styled Camp X-Ray. They have been held in detention for months without trial in contravention of the Geneva accords and all human rights protocols. No evidence has been produced and the charges would not even stand firm in a normal

court of law.

The next stage of this war is now being waged under the pretext of Iraq building weapons of mass destruction. Given their track record to date one can only assume this is to mask America's nefarious designs to strengthen its grip on the Persian Gulf. According to reliable intelligence sources, the Central Intelligence Agency has made clear that there is "no credible evidence" justifying an attack in Iraq. On February 5 last, the New York Times reported: "The Central Intelligence Agency has no evidence that Iraq has engaged in terrorist operations against the United States in nearly a decade, and the agency is also convinced that President Saddam Hussein has not provided chemical or biological weapons to al-Qaeda."

The evidence of Scott Ritter is even more damning. As senior United Nations weapons inspector in Iraq for seven years, he is uniquely placed to assess how much of a danger the Iraqi regime represents. On July 23, he said: "There is no case for war. I say that, not as a pacifist, or someone who is afraid of war. I've been to war with the US Marine Corps. Moreover, I'm a card-carrying Republican, who voted for George W. Bush for President. More important, I believe in truth. The UN weapons inspectors enjoyed tremendous success in Iraq. By the end of our job, we ascertained a 90-95 per cent level of disarmament. Not because we took at face value what the Iraqis said. We went to Europe and scoured the countries that sold technology to Iraq until we found the company that had an invoice signed by an Iraqi official. We crosschecked every piece of equipment with serial numbers. That's why I can say that Iraq was 90-95 per cent disarmed. We confirmed that 96 per cent of Iraq's 98 missiles were destroyed."

Where Donald Rumsfeld and Western leaders make this war one of values and ideals, for the millions of Muslims in the Islamic world is not the aim of making the US withdraw from the Middle East a valid one? If advocates of alternative value based systems reject America's values of freedom, pluralism and democracy are they to be tarnished with the same venom that the US supposedly just reserves for Al-Qaeda. The reality check for Rumsfeld and the America is that there is a world beyond their shores and with values and beliefs of their own - values that are not compatible with democracy and Western concepts of freedom and materialism.

The Corporate stench that clouds the real motives

Whereas the prosecutors of the war on terrorism would have us believe that their aims are noble, namely to uphold democracy, international law and security, their deeds belie their stated intentions. This war is shamelessly being prosecuted in the interests of specific sections of Corporate America, which former President Dwight Eisenhower labelled as the 'military-industrial complex'.

There is a symbiotic relationship between government and big business, which is defining the course of the war on terrorism. No government in history

has had as close a relationship with Corporate America as the current Bush administration.

Vice President Dick Cheney is a prime example of this. Cheney's old firm Halliburton has been a major beneficiary of the expansion of US military operations around the world in the aftermath of September 11. Over the past several months, the Halliburton subsidiary Kellogg, Brown & Root (KBR) has been involved in a \$16 million project to construct cells at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba for alleged Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters captured in Afghanistan. In Uzbekistan, KBR has a contract to run camps at the Khanabad air base, which has been used extensively in the Central Asian war. Within Afghanistan, the company has been hired to provide services at the Force Provider military camp. These are only the most significant of Halliburton's recent operations, and they are only the first of what will likely be many contracts landed by the company in connection with the militarist policies of the American government. According to a Pentagon press release, Halliburton has secured a 10-year contract designated as "cost-plus-award-fee, indefinite-delivery/indefinite-quantity service." This means the company has an unlimited contract that guarantees reimbursements on stated costs in addition to a percentage award-a sure source of profit and hundreds of million of dollars in potential revenue. The history of Halliburton reflects the deepening of ties between the American government, business - especially the oil industry - and the military. It is a prime example of the "military-industrial complex," and it is Cheney who, perhaps more than any other individual, personifies this relationship.

It is reported that today as much as 10% of the emergency US army operations overseas are contracted out to private companies run by former government and military officials. These private companies operate with no public oversight despite the fact that these contractors work just behind the battle lines. The companies are allowed to make up to nine per cent in profit out of these war support efforts and experience so far has shown that the companies are not above skimming more profits off the top if they can.

In perhaps the most potent example of the gravy train, on September 18, one week after the World Trade disaster, Lockheed Martin, the country's leading manufacturer of conventional weaponry, nuclear delivery systems, and national missile defense, took a full page ad in the New York Times echoing President John F Kennedy's famous call to "pay any price...to assure the survival and the success of liberty." The ad offered an unusually public display of what is typically the invisible hand and muscle of the arms industry guiding American sentiment and government.

By unmasking this hidden reality behind the war on terrorism it is apparent as to how the US administration is making a mockery of the death of its own citizens by reaping financial rewards. Whereas ground zero should inspire reflection upon the terror America has unleashed throughout the ages and a bitter analysis of its policy worldwide, it has proved to be a springboard for wealth manufacturing of an

unprecedented level. What has produced this outcome is the political culture of Capitalism. The exploitation, colonialism and imperialism of the US are merely a macro-extension of the principles of utilitarianism, individualism and self-benefit.

A Blueprint for a New World Order

The reality of the war on terror and the New World order that the US seeks to construct is that it is based on the same flawed concepts that undermine Western societies at large. The culture of greed, materialism and irresponsible freedom bordering on anarchy cannot be a basis for a world order.

When the basis for conduct amongst nations is built on the Palmerstonian adage of perpetual interests, any World Order is bound for instability. Whereas we have moved on from a world of power blocs seen in the days of the cold war, the New World Order is even more unstable if we are to assume there has been a triumph of liberal values.

The Islamic viewpoint towards conduct between nations is based upon the notion that mankind needs to be liberated from the shackles of man's tyranny and be united in servitude to their Creator (swt). In Islam, values, beliefs and ideals are not constantly fluctuating according to corporate interests.

An Islamic viewpoint on a New World Order would not be based upon democracy, freedom and free markets but upon the application of Shar'ah rules. Throughout the ages and documented in its texts, Islam has a substantial contribution to make on key issues related to the sphere of International relations

- Conduct of War and Diplomacy
- International Law, Treaties, Customs and Traditions
- Dialogue between Nations
- Concepts of Peace, Human Rights and Terrorism
- Role of Supranational Bodies; UN, International Court of Justice, WTO, World Bank and IMF.

It needs this generation of Muslims to study it, revive it and implement it.

Ahmer Feroze

Elections in Pakistan; 'If Voting changed anything they'd abolish it'

On October 10th 2002 the people of Pakistan will be voting for a new Prime Minister and National Assembly for the first time since the removal of Nawaz Sharif via military coup in 1999 and the suspension of Pakistan's constitution. The intervening three years have seen Pakistan led by Pervaiz Musharraf, a Western educated, dog loving, Army General. Musharraf upon taking power promised an end to corruption and sectarian violence and vowed to bring about stability and return to the rule of law in Pakistan.

Commenting on the upcoming elections Musharraf said: "The whole people of Pakistan want changes of faces, they are fed up with politicians, they are fed up with all of them. So let's have new faces, new leadership emerging in Pakistan and better politics, better democracy."

Whilst it seems contradictory that a military coup can be orchestrated in order to bring about 'democracy', let us review this period to see what Musharraf has achieved and show that the elections are no more than a charade to further establish Musharraf and foreign interests at the heart of Pakistan.

Musharraf's ever-changing titles throughout his tenure have been paralleled by his attempts to ingratiate himself in power. Upon taking power he called himself Chief Executive as opposed to being a mere 'General'. A strange title to have since, 'Chief Executive' is normally associated with multinational companies or large business conglomerates. Unless, of course, Musharraf was forewarning the nation of the subsequent corporate takeover of Pakistan by US Multinationals and businesses!

Previous Prime Minister's of Pakistan have been restrained in office by the President and Joint Chiefs of Staff. In the early part of his rule, Musharraf's answer to this dilemma was to simply hold as many roles as possible such that no one could question his authority. He held the post of Chairman, Joint Chief of Staff, Chief of Army Staff as well as Minister of Defense. The changing

of titles continued in June 2001 when Musharraf became President of the nation to reflect his authority and give legitimacy to his military dictatorship. Even this was handled with incredible incompetence. The Indian Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, actually telephoned Musharraf to congratulate him on his Presidency one and a half hours before it was officially announced in Islamabad and whilst the sitting President, Rafiq Tarar, was still in post.

In a further attempt to cement his grip on power, Musharraf held a phony referendum on extending his stay in office for a further five years thereby going back on an earlier promise to hand over the reigns of power after three years. The April 30th 2002 referendum, by all accounts, was a rigged affair to rival anything else we may have seen in other parts of the Muslim World.

In order to engineer the 'right' result extraordinary measures were put in place: large numbers of vehicles were commandeered in the cities to forcibly transport people to polling booths, forty thousand government officials were put on standby so that they could vote if needed and school teachers were told to remain at school after lessons to vote. However, eyewitness accounts across the cities of Pakistan spoke of near empty polling booths and streets empty of people. Where voting did occur reports emerged of individuals casting up to 500 votes each. In the end the rigged referendum secured Musharraf a 98% mandate.

The purpose of Musharraf's ever increasing grip on power has not been without purpose. The policies enacted under his government give the reasons as to why an authoritarian military dictator has been needed to essentially implement American directives. Musharraf's 'unstinted co-operation' to America's 'War on Terror' has resulted in American troops on Pakistan soil, effective air bases by which America can gather intelligence and monitor Muslims, 44 offices of the FBI and a pro-Indian government on her Eastern flank.

On the economic front, the selling of Pakistan's



natural assets under the pretext of privatisation has continued in the electricity, water and coal industries. Moves are afoot to build a \$2 billion gas pipeline through Pakistan to the energy impoverished India. Domestically, Musharraf's newfound powers have resulted in an iron-fisted policy of clamping down on Islamic political parties under the guise of preventing sectarianism and instability. Whilst the red carpet treatment is laid on for visiting foreign dignitaries, officials and foreign missionary schools the Jihadi groups have been hounded, had their assets frozen and confiscated, and individuals have been arrested for doing their Islamic duty in accounting the ruler.

Nor will future generations be exempt from the Americanisation of Pakistan. The US government has pledged \$100m to the government to reform the education curricula to further enshrine secularism, Western ideas and values and prevent Islam in its true sense being taught.

Musharraf seeks to consolidate his power further by conveniently passing a law that prohibits anyone running for office who has already served two terms, thus ruling out Pakistan's last two Prime Ministers. Other directives have been issued stipulating that only university graduates may stand as candidates thereby preventing 99% of the population from contesting elections.

One should not be under the impression that Musharraf's strong-arm tactics and draconian laws have led to an increased support for Pakistan's other established secular political parties. On the contrary, the other parties have fared no better as the Ummah has realised that they were unable to solve any of the problems of the country when in office and were also closely aligned with American interests albeit in a more subtle form. The people vividly remember the corruption and cronyism that existed in previous governments and the millions of rupees that were wasted or siphoned off to family, friends and hangers-on.

Last month, Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party held a widely advertised gathering in Trafalgar Square, London. A sparse crowd of a

few hundred turned up. Benazir had the audacity to ask this rhetorical question:

"Pakistan ke Pesa Kaha Ghayah hai?" [Where has Pakistan's money gone?]

To which one man in the crowd shouted back:

"Hum Aap se Poochtehai, Pakistan ke Pesa Kaha Ghayah hai?" [We want to ask you, where has Pakistan's money gone?]

It is obvious that the increasing authoritarian and dictatorial rule of Musharraf and his entourage is necessary due to the opposition that exists within the people to not only the government's policies but to its adherence to broader US foreign policy goals. The people of Pakistan sacrificed in the name of establishing an Islamic State that would look after the affairs of the Muslims. This has not occurred throughout 54 years of 'democracy' or 'dictatorship'.

The USA and Western powers continue to support Musharraf so long as he slavishly follows the American agenda in the South Asian region and in the secularisation process within the country. Whilst they seek to overthrow dictators in other parts of the world through regime change, Musharraf is one dictator who America supports for the support he gives them. Milton Bearden, the former CIA chief Pakistan, said on 2 November 1999, "General Musharraf may represent a last good chance to bring the powerful force of US values to bear on the course Pakistan will choose for the new millennium."

And George Bush has more recently heaped praise upon Musharraf with the words, "He's still tight with us on the war on terror and that's what I appreciate"

The elections in Pakistan this month will not really change anything. Musharraf has firmly established himself and his pro-American policies such that no future assembly or body can remove them or him.

Under Amendment Article 270 AA it states "President's Orders, ordinances, Chief Executive's Orders... and all other laws... shall not be called into question in any court on any ground whatsoever."

Under Musharraf's changes to the Constitution, a National Security Council will be set up after the elections. The Head of the Council will have the authority to dismiss the Prime Minister, Cabinet and unilaterally dissolve parliament. The Head of the Council? Pervaiz Musharraf of course!

Therefore, the October 10th elections in Pakistan will be sham elections played out for the international community to further give respectability to Musharraf's dictatorship and to try to convince people that Musharraf is not an American stooge implementing US aims. Indeed, if the elections in Pakistan were to mean anything and produce any real change they would have been abolished to prevent any such change from occurring.

Zubair Hussaini

The Khalifah and the President

In the current storm of corporate scandals that have engulfed America, we find the President and the Vice President have had their reputation tarnished due to their close associations with some of the America's corporate giants. This naturally raises the discussion of the role and limitations of the President. The Khalifah is portrayed in the West as a dictator who has no restriction to his powers and can act as he wishes, in contrast to the Presidency which is seen as a post that has clearly defined mandatory powers producing a just and accountable leadership.

This article examines this claim more closely outlining the mandatory powers of the President of the United States compared with that of the Khalifah in the Islamic system.

The powers of the President are divided into five responsibilities:

Chief Executor

The President of the United States is the chief executor. He enforces the Constitution and the laws passed by Congress. To help enforce laws, he may issue executive orders. He appoints all government officials, including Cabinet officers, Supreme Court Justices, and others. However, his executive orders may be declared unconstitutional in the courts and the Senate must approve all of his appointments.

Chief Legislator

The President of the United States is also the chief legislator. He can recall Congress into a special session. He may veto the bills passed by Congress, and use his influence on his colleagues in Congress to get a bill passed or proposed. Again, all of his actions are limited by other branches of government: Congressmen do not have to pass any laws during the special session, Congress can override the President's veto by a two-thirds majority, and no one in Congress must succumb to the President's pressure.

Judicial Powers

In terms of judicial powers, the President of the United States may grant pardons to most individuals and he has indirect control of the courts, as he appoints all of the federal judges. The judicial powers of the President are limited in that all of his appointments must be approved by the Senate, the federal judges that he appoints receive lifetime tenure and thus do not react to Presidential influences, and his power to grant pardons does not extend to cases of impeachment.

Chief Ambassador

The President is the chief ambassador - he determines the foreign policy of the nation, he directs diplomatic talks and negotiates treaties, and he appoints other ambassadors and diplomats. As with all other appointments, these must be cleared by Congress. The Senate must ratify any treaties with foreign nations before they become effective, and Presidential foreign policies may be examined and criticised by House and Senate Committees.

Commander in Chief

The President is the Commander in Chief of the armed forces, thereby maintaining civilian control over the military. He appoints the top military commanders, gives them military advice and has the power to discharge officers. He may also order the armed forces into action in case of disturbances within the United States and foreign countries. However, the President cannot commit US troops to international conflicts for more than 90 days without a formal declaration of war, a power reserved for Congress.

The textbook definition above emanates from the US constitution and should contain 'checks and balances' within it so that the President is prevented from concentrating too much power within himself or any one of the agencies which he heads.



However in theory, the constitution limits the actual executive power of the President in his entire role; e.g. he is Commander in Chief but only Congress can declare war. He makes government appointments but only with Senate approval. He recommends to Congress such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient but is offered no means to ensure his proposals are accepted. He can veto legislation but Congress can in turn override his objections. In theory, Congress holds real power. In reality however, there is shared power between Congress and the President. When Congress seem opposed to a President's decision, he should try and persuade them but in recent years, the powers of the President's 'Executive Office' (unelected Presidential advisors) have tended to act out the President's wishes while undermining the legitimate governmental institutions under the sway of their own agendas and threat of Congress. Examples of the Executive Office acting without accountability and ending up undermining the entire government include Richard Nixon's own advisors undermining the government in the Watergate scandal and the 1980s Iran Contra affair.

The abuses of power arise out of the deficiency of a system where executive power is shared between two or more entities (in this case the President and the Congress) -deadlock is almost certain to occur. In these cases inevitably the President will resort to unconstitutional methods to get his way. In 1991 Bush Senior declared war without Congressional authority.

As it is known, America is an ideological country and its foreign policy is dictated by institutions within the American administration that have their own agendas; regardless of who is President. With more able presidents such as Bush Senior and Clinton acting as chief ambassadors, American foreign policy looks uniform whether espoused by the President's office or the various foreign affairs administrations. In these cases when the President and various heads of departments differed, the sensible proposal of the



President, if in line with governmental precedent, would be accepted.

However, with the current situation we have seen unresolved difference with regards to policy over the Israel-Arab problem and to a lesser extent, Iraq. We have recently seen Bush remove the right for Congress to access intelligence reports directly linked to the 'war on terrorism' and have witnessed his office rejecting Iraq's invitation to Congress to inspect its alleged 'weapons factories' on Congress's behalf. As has been already stated, unilateral military action can only be declared by Congress (we will leave out further complications vis-à-vis UN declarations for now) - not the President himself, although it won't be the first time to happen if Bush Junior does go ahead alone.

We can conclude that the Presidential powers as defined in the US constitution were designed to be comprehensive but also limiting so that all power is not concentrated on the President. However, distribution of executive power inevitably leads to administrative deadlock - consequently we can see the frequent scenario of abuses of power by the president in times of action.

The Khilafah system has as head of state the Khalifah who holds all executive power within the state. Sheikh Taqiuddin Nabhani outlines his powers as understood from the detailed evidences in the book *Nidham al-Hukm* (The Ruling System in Islam):

The Mandatory Powers of the Khalifah

The Khalifah is the state. He possesses all of the mandatory powers of the state, and they are:

A - It is he who makes the divine rules (ahkam Shari'ah) binding, once he adopted them; they would then become laws that have to be obeyed and their violation would not be allowed.

B - He is responsible for the domestic and foreign

policies of the state. He is the supreme commander in chief of all the armed forces and he has full powers to declare war, conclude peace treaties, truces and all other treaties.

C - He has the power to accept (foreign) ambassadors and to refuse them, as well as the powers to appoint Muslim ambassadors and to remove them.

D - It is the Khalifah who appoints and removes the assistants and Walis. They are all responsible before him and before the council of the Ummah.

E - It is he who appoints and removes the supreme judge (Qadhil-Qudhat), as well as district administrators, army commanders, chiefs of staff, and the commanders in chief. They are all answerable to him and not to the Council of the Ummah

F - It is he who adopts the divine rules, in the light of which the State's budget is drafted, and he decides the details of the budget and the allotted funds required for each department, whether concerning revenues or expenses.

The outline above demonstrates that real power is not distributed, hence there cannot arise any conflicts of opinion in executive decisions. Ambassadors are the Khalifah's representatives enacting his wishes. State departments follow the Ijtihad and rational decisions of the Khalifah alone and do not have their own agendas and do not follow the policy of a previous Khalifah.

The appointment of Wazirs (advisors) is mubah only and the designated Wazirs do not have independent political wills. Therefore, the embarrassing fiasco that we see in the American system, where the Secretary of State calls for the rebuilding of the Palestinian authority while Bush calls for a new leader, would not occur.

The democratic republican system is a result of a shallow compromise between the needs of political freedom and democracy and the need for a central executive authority. Both are incompatible ideas from the outset and abuses are

inevitable in this system.

The Islamic system places all executive power in the hands of the Khalifah and there cannot be any chance of an individual or an institution with the same powers who can challenge the Khalifah, and consequently the stability of the state is maintained.

Checks and balances are necessary for a President who rules by Kufr and whose own criteria is benefit, but the Khalifah of the Muslims will inshallah rule with Taqwa and Iman without need for subterfuge.

Notwithstanding this however, the Khalifah is held accountable by the Court of Unjust Acts and Islamic political parties. This accountability mechanism will, inshallah, be covered in next month's edition of *Khilafah Magazine*.

Ferdousur Rehman and Sajid Siddiqui

email

The following email was received from one of our concerned readers in Australia and echoes the sentiments of many non-Muslims who live in the Western world and feel the consequences of the spiritual and political voids that plague Western societies.

I pray Australia doesn't follow the Yanky murderers into a war with Iraq; it seems as though the poodle Blair and the lapdog Howard will do what the master commands. I am Christian but I don't like the moral values of Western life; I think Muslim is a better way of life. I am 60 but I have a daughter who is 7 years old - I want her to grow up with a clean mind, not one polluted with Yanky violence, sex and corruption. Would you email me and give me advice.

My best Wishes to you

*Colin Victor Pratt
September 26 2002*

Please address your letters and questions to the Editorial Team, either by email or post at the following addresses:

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