

## 4 Editorial

As every corner of the earth begins to enter the glorious month of Ramadhan, we send upon you our heartfelt greetings. This is the month about which, as narrated by Abu Hurairah that our Noble Prophet (saw) said: "Allah says, 'All the deeds of Adam's sons are for them, except fasting which is for Me, and I will give the reward for it.'"

## Reference 5

## 6 News from around the world

1. Black Hawk Down Pt 2? 2. Russian army is a bigger threat than Chechen fighters. 3. The Pakistani elections, Legitimising Kufr. 4. United States of Islam? 5. Saddam's landslide victory. 6. U.S. claims of Pakistan supplying technology to North Korea. 7. War on two fronts

## Ramadhan Wars 8

Indeed the blessed month of Ramadhan has arrived upon us again, and has been eagerly awaited by the Muslims the world over, its extra spiritual significance is recognised by all. Many Muslims will recall that the Qur'an was revealed in this month, millions will flock to the mosque for Taraweeh Salat and to recite the Qur'an...



## 12 Ramadhan 'Quirks'

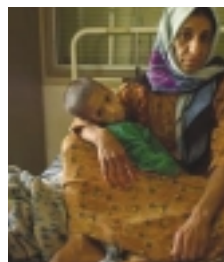
Another year has passed and Ramadhan dawns upon us again. What have we learnt from last Ramadhan, or have we reformed our conduct in anyway from last Ramadhan? There are many 'quirks' exhibited in the Ummah when Ramadhan arrives, this Ramadhan may we be saved from them all...



## Citizenship studies - A Study of Kufr? 14

Parents who send their children to secondary schools will be aware that a new subject was introduced this September into the National Curriculum called Citizenship Studies. This subject will be compulsory for all children aged between 11 and 16 years old. It is important to critically examine this subject from an Islamic viewpoint, as our Muslim children will be exposed to it each day...

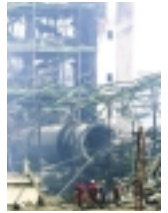
## 16 Colonialism, Iraq and Islam



The following is the transcript of a lecture delivered by Dr Imran Waheed at St. Anne's College, University of Oxford, on Tuesday 29th October 2002. It was part of a panel discussion that also included Professor Christopher Coker, reader in international relations at the London School of Economics and Dr Sanjoy Mahajan, physics lecturer at Cambridge University.

## A Decade of Destruction 19

"Once a war starts, the value system changes and anything you can do to hurt the adversary and cause him problems, you find justification for doing," was the advice Admiral Eugene Carroll found himself giving journalists during a briefing at the US Centre for Defence Information...



## 21 Defense Speech by Member of Hizb ut-Tahrir

The following is the text of a defense speech given by Ya'qub Towsen on 26/6/2002 before the second state security court in Adanah, Turkey regarding the issue of Hizb ut-Tahrir.

## Pakistani Elections - The Continuation of the American Raj 24

On Thursday 10th October, exactly 3 years after the coup of General Musharraf, Pakistan witnessed yet another democratic electoral process unravel, bringing with it its bitter fruits. According to the Reuters news agency 83 parties were competing in these polls, the first in Pakistan for over 5 years. Huge efforts had been undertaken by the government to increase participation, everything from blatant rigging, the coercion of potential voters, lowering of the age for the eligibility to vote and the forced vote of women in some areas...



## 26 Letter & Quotes

## Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatahu,

As every corner of the earth begins to enter the glorious month of Ramadhan, we send upon you our heartfelt greetings. This is the month about which, as narrated by Abu Hurairah that our Noble Prophet (saw) said:

((قال الله - عز وجل - : كل عمل ابن آدم له إلا الصوم فإنه لي وأنا أجزي به)) [رواه البخاري]

**"Allah says, 'All the deeds of Adam's sons are for them, except fasting which is for Me, and I will give the reward for it.'"**

The fasting, as Muhammad (saw) has said

الصيام جنة من النار

**"...is a shield with which the servant protects himself from the Fire."** It is thus a means of attaining Taqwa, since it helps prevent from many sins that one is prone to.

It is a month, where we feel the enhanced feelings of brotherhood as we open our fasts with our families, friends, and neighbours and as we prayer the Taraweeh in congregation. We also remind ourselves of our brethren throughout the world as we remind ourselves of the ayah;

وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتُ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ

*"The Believers - men and women - are friends and protectors of one another."* [TMQ At-Taubah: 44]

Dear Muslims! Since George W. Bush assumed the reins of power in the United States, and especially since last Ramadhan, he has adopted an explicitly hostile stance against the Islamic Ummah. This can be clearly seen in his conduct, both in word and deed, in the policies he has followed with respect to Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Sudan and many other countries. He has had a decisive hand in the rivers of blood in which Muslims of Palestine sink, and in taking Sharon and his devils as the spearhead for his policy.

The year has shown, the clarity of the Crusade that is being led by George W Bush. He has intensified the sanctions against the Muslims of Iraq. He declared an unjust war against the Muslims of Afghanistan that destroyed everything and caused the slaughter of tens of thousands of innocent people. He used strength against the weakest and poorest country of the world using the latest, most advanced weapons of mass destruction. He incited his agent Pervaiz Musharraf, the ruler of Pakistan, to eradicate the Muslim Kashmiri groups as a service to the Hindus of India. He was behind the incitement of the rebels of South Sudan in order to separate the South from the North.

The drums of war are beating harder and harder in Washington - members of the two Houses of Congress passed resolutions giving the President unlimited force, "in order to: Defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq..."

The use of the word "Iraq" in the wording of the resolution is noteworthy. This implies that the war is directed neither against a specific region of Iraq, nor against the corrupted rulers as they claim; but rather the goal is Iraq with all that the word means. This is what is meant as the expert legislative draftsmen would not have failed to use the necessary texts and wording.

In times like this, as the West continues its crusade against Islam, it is necessary for the Ummah to remain focused on the true crime - that of the corrupt Muslim rulers - and the only true solution - the change of these corrupt rulers and their immediate replacement with the Islamic Khilafah Rashidah.

Our Beloved Muslims! The reward of obedience in this month is great, and is multiples greater than in any other time, and it is one of the best times to attain Taqwa and indeed one of the best times to work practically for the return of the Islamic Khilafah.

And it is the best time to rid ourselves of these corrupt rulers with whom we have been tried, who do not fear Allah (swt), and do not have respect for any believer, nor for the honour of the believers. They have no other concern but to submit and capitulate to the will of the Kuffar, and to safeguard their positions, even if this meant the loss of lands and the slaying of innocent people.

Rasoolallah (saw)

ألا لا يمتنع أحدكم رهبة الناس أن يقول بحق إذا رآه أو شهده، فإنه لا يقرب من أجل ولا يبعد من رزق أن يقول بحق أو يذكر بعظيم

**"Let not the fear from people prevent one of you speaking the truth or advising a nobility when he sees or witnesses it. Verily speaking the truth neither brings death closer nor distances sustenance away (rizq)".**

Asif Khan

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

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Allah (swt) says;

شَهْرُ رَمَضَانَ الَّذِي أُنزِلَ فِيهِ الْقُرْآنُ هُدًى لِّلنَّاسِ وَبَيِّنَاتٍ مِّنَ الْهُدَى وَالْفُرْقَانِ فَمَنْ شَهِدَ مِنْكُمُ الشَّهْرَ فَلْيَصُمْهُ

"The month of Ramadhan in which the Qur'an was revealed, a guidance for mankind and clear proofs for the guidance of the Criterion between right and wrong. So whosoever of you sights the crescent for the month of Ramadaan, he must fast that month." [TMQ Al-Baqarah 2:185]

The Prophet (saw) said,

إن في الجنة بابا يقال له: الريان، يدخل منه الصائمون يوم القيامة، لا يدخل منه أحد غيرهم، يقال: أين الصائمون؟ فيقومون، فيدخلون منه، فإذا دخلوا، أغلق، فلم يدخل منه أحد

"There is a gate in Paradise called Ar-Raiyan, and those who observe fasts will enter through it on the Day of Resurrection and none except them will enter through it. It will be said, 'Where are those who used to observe fasts?' They will get up, and none except them will enter through it. After their entry the gate will be closed and nobody will enter through it."

The Prophet (saw) said;

قال: كل عمل ابن آدم له؛ الحسنة بعشر أمثالها، إلا سبعمئة ضعف، قال الله: إلا الصيام، فهو لي، وأنا أجزي به

"The reward of every good deed is multiplied ten up to seven-hundred times, except that of the Fasting; it is usually done in sincerity and will be multiplied by as many times as Allah wills."

Rasoolallah (saw) said,

قال الله عز وجل: كل عمل ابن آدم له، إلا الصوم، فإنه لي، وأنا أجزي به، والصيام جنة، فإذا كان يوم صوم أحدكم فلا يرفث، ولا يصخب، فإن سابه أحد أو قاتله فليقل: إني صائم، إني صائم، والذي نفس محمد بيده خلوف فم الصائم أطيب عند الله من ريح المسك، للصائم فرحتان يفرحهما، إذا أفطر فرح بفطره، وإذا لقي ربه فرح بصومه.

"Allah said, 'All the deeds of Adam's sons (people) are for them, except fasting which is for Me, and I shall give the reward for it.' Fasting is a shield. If one of you is fasting, he should avoid obscenity and quarrelling, and if somebody should fight or quarrel with him, he should say, 'I am fasting.' By Him in Whose Hands my soul is' The unpleasant smell coming out from the mouth of a fasting person is better in the sight of Allah than the smell of musk. There are two pleasures for the fasting person, one at the time of breaking his fast, and the other at the time when he will meet his Lord; then he will be pleased because of his fasting." (Sahih Bukhari)

Abu Huraira related that the Prophet (saw) said:

من صام رمضان إيمانا واحتسابا، غفر له ما تقدم من ذنبه وما تأخر من قام ليلة القدر إيمانا واحتسابا، غفر له ما تقدم من ذنبه

"Whoever established prayers on the night of Qadr out of sincere faith and hoping for a reward from Allah, then all his previous sins will be forgiven; and whoever fasts in the month of Ramadhan out of sincere faith, and hoping for a reward from Allah, then all his previous sins will be forgiven." (Bukhari, Muslim).

The Messenger (saw) said

من فطر صائما كان له مثل أجرهم من غير أن ينقص من أجرهم شيئا

"He who feeds a fasting person will gain the same reward as he will, without decreasing from the fasting person's rewards." (Ahmad).

Muhammad (saw) said

في الجنة غرفة يرى ظاهرها من باطنها، وباطنها من ظاهرها فقال أبو مالك الأشعري: لمن هي يا رسول الله؟ قال: لمن أطاب الكلام، وأطعم الطعام، و بات قائما والناس نيام— صحيح

"In Paradise there are rooms that their inside can be seen from outside and outside can be seen from inside." He

was asked, "For whom are these rooms, O Messenger of Allah?" He said, "They are for he who softens his speech, feeds the people, continues to fast, and prays at night while the people are asleep." (Ahmad).

The Prophet (saw) said:

((إذا جاء شهر رمضان، فتحت أبواب السماء - وفي رواية: - أبواب الجنة، - وفي رواية: - أبواب الرحمة، وغلقت أبواب جهنم، وسلسلت الشياطين))

"When the first night of Ramadhan comes, the devils and demons are chained up, and the gates of Hell are closed and not one gate of it is opened. The gates of Paradise are opened and not one gate of it is closed. And a caller calls out: "O seeker of good, come to Allah; O seeker of evil, desist." Allah will have ransomed some people from the Fire, and that happens every night." (Narrated by al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Maa'jah with a hasan isnaad).

The Prophet (saw) said:

من أدركه شهر رمضان فلم يغفر له فدخل النار فأبعده الله

"Whosoever reaches the month of Ramadhan and does not have his sins forgiven, and so enters the fire, then may Allah distance him." (Saheeh: Ahmad and al-Bayhaqee)

Imam As-Shafee, once said, 'It is beloved to me to see one increasing his acts of generosity during the month of Ramadhan, following the example of Allah's Messenger (saw), and for one's own good. There are many who become over-occupied with fasting and Prayers, forgetting the other benefits of the month of Ramadhan ' (Lataa'if-ul Ma'aarif)

## Black Hawk Down Pt 2?



As the world's attention focuses on the Bush administration's drive for war against Saddam Hussein and his supposed weapons of mass

destruction, the Pentagon is formulating an attack against another so called terrorist state.

Nearly ten years after local militiamen killed 18 US peacekeepers in Somalia, the Bush administration is preparing to do battle once again with the warlords who humiliated the world's most powerful military machine.

Eight hundred US troops have already been sent to Djibouti, in the Horn of Africa, which would allow easy access into the war-wrecked, starvation-plagued country. The US forces include more than 400 elite army Delta Force troopers and US Navy Seals trained in anti-terrorist snatch-and-kill missions.

Launching a military operation against terrorist groups in Somalia is a daunting prospect for America's military planners. Since the overthrow of Somalia's dictator - General Mohammed Siad Barre - in 1991, the nation has descended into near anarchy. The country has been carved up between the Transitional National Government (TNG) and autonomous warlords.

Last week negotiations to end the fighting between rival factions in Somalia began in Kenya. But observers hold out little hope that the peace talks - the 13th of their kind - will yield a positive outcome.

America's main target is the Somali Islamist movement, al-Ittihad al-Islamiyya (Islamic Unity), an international Islamist group intent on the unification of Muslims in Somalia and Ethiopia under the banner of a greater Somalia.

The US claims that al-Ittihad is linked to al-Qaeda, and was implicated along with it in the 1998 bombing of US embassies in East Africa that killed more than 250 people.

The claims that this new conflict in the war torn African state would be a continuation of the war against terror should be seen in the same light as the claims that the war on Iraq is really about Saddam's weapons of mass

destruction. Somalia has vast resources and minerals including petroleum and uranium deposits, it is these facts that have undoubtedly swayed White House officials rather than terror concerns.

**Mohammed Ashifuddin**

## Russian army is a bigger threat than Chechen fighters



Chechen rebels seized 750 hostages from a city theatre in Moscow, demanding an end to Russian brutality and occupation. However, what has dominated the headlines is the heavy handed manner with which the Russian officials dealt with the situation. In a pre-dawn raid, the security forces pumped gas into the theatre and then stormed the building.

Moscow's chief physician, Andrei Seltsovsky confirmed that all but one of the 117 hostages who died were killed by the effects of gas used to subdue their captors. Another physician suggested that many of the victims would have choked on their own vomit as a result of the gas.

The Russian authorities refused to inform physicians of the nature of the gas used. "We were not told what kind of gas was used, so it was difficult for us to administer a remedy," complained a doctor who asked not to be named.

An anaesthesiologist, Yevgeny Yevdokimov said the fatal effects of the unspecified gases were exacerbated by the weakened conditions of the hostages, something which the Russians had apparently overlooked. As a result, nearly 650 of the released hostages were hospitalised and more than 200 of them were in a critical condition.

Perhaps more sickening is the utter contempt with which the Chechens were treated. Moskovsky Komsomolets, a member of the elite Russian Alpha team stated. "The main thing is that we managed to liquidate the kamikaze women," before adding gleefully that the women were unconscious when the Special Forces shot them "point blank - in the temple."

Such barbarism is not alien to Russia which has continuously maintained that it is fighting a "war on terror." Once again the hypocrisy of the capitalist

nations becomes apparent with an obvious inconsistency in their reaction to the use of chemical weapons. America, keen to court Russian support for its imperialist war on Iraq, has remained silent on the issue. Britain is yet to produce its dossier on Russia's use of chemical weapons.

**Faisal Chaudhary**

## The Pakistani elections, Legitimising Kufr.



The recent rigged general election heralded many different responses from within the Pakistani populous. It was the first time a so called "Islamic" party coalition, MMA (Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal) managed to gain more than the usual 5% of the parliamentary seats, by coming 3rd place with 50 seats, after PML-QA and PPP. The "intellectuals" feared that the country was opening more doors for "mullahs" to rule the country with their extremist, intolerant and impractical views, whereas the general public felt happy that the emotive wave of anti-Americanism was duly expressed and represented by the voting.

We find that after these seeming changes that Pakistan has in no way removed herself from America's neo-colonial grip. Firstly, the US has blessed these elections, as summed up by Richard Boucher, a State Department spokesman "Our belief is that Pakistan needs to move towards Democracy. We see that this election as a milestone ... we want Pakistan to keep moving in that direction."

Secondly all US interests have been secured by the Musharraf administration beforehand, as divulged by Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz, "We have (already) assured the World Bank, IMF and Asian Development Bank that there will be no change in Pakistan's economic direction that the new government takes over."

So one can clearly see that in no way have the US interests been compromised, rather the anti-American feelings of the Ummah are being used to

put an Islamic rubber stamp of legitimacy over the Pakistani system of kufr. By these parties allying themselves with the Musharraf government they are in fact accepting and justifying the kufr system that exists and sidelining the issue of revival by incorporating themselves in the infrastructure of an illegitimate state. To do such is mixing Islam with kufr and as such these Islamic figureheads are undertaking a task more dangerous than Musharraf allowing 3 US military bases and 44 FBI bases in Pakistan.

وَلَا تَلْبِسُوا الْحَقَّ بِالْبَاطِلِ وَتَكْتُمُوا  
الْحَقَّ وَأَنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ

"And mix not the truth with falsehood, nor conceal the truth while you know (the truth)" [TMQ Al-Bakarah: 42].

**Ayaz Abdur-Rahman**

## United States of Islam?

The former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing unveiled the blueprint for a new constitution for Europe. The European Union will consist of 25 countries in 2004. The new constitution is intended to make major changes to the EU and its global function, and rename it as the United States of Europe. It will have its own foreign policies- not too dissimilar to the USA- it will have a Secretary of State and a high profile President. It aims to protect European interests and propagate its values and ideas.

It is quite obvious, however, that this new move is intended to respond to the sole US global hegemony, so that a 'united' EU can get a bigger share in the global resources, especially the vast resources in the Islamic lands and a greater say in global affairs.

Many Muslim politicians aspire to have unity amongst Muslim countries on the EU model. So as an example, the Gulf central bankers meeting in Riyadh recently, are aiming to launch an Arab single currency between Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain and have asked the EU central bank for assistance to launch the single currency by 2010. This move follows the creation of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf in 1981 between these six countries, which had similar purpose as the EU, i.e. mutual political and economic cooperation.

When the EEC was formed originally in 1958, it was established on the basis of economic and political interests between

six capitalist states. Greater cooperation was to ensue between these states. Nevertheless, one thing that was always conspicuous amongst them was that all of them promote and fight for their own national interests, even at the expense of the others. The recent Franco-German pre-summit bilateral deal in Brussels highlights this point, whereby Britain wanted to force a reform on CAP before the EU expansion, which would have hurt France and Germany, yet by having this deal they have gone against British interest.

The problem with such artificial unity is that it paints over a background of nationalism and benefit and it is short lived. If Muslims have such a 'union' then it is indeed the incorrect unification. Rather what Islam obliges us to have is genuine unity based on the Islamic ideology and not upon benefit, be it for the purpose of economy or regional power.

The Messenger (saw) said:

إنهم أمة واحدة من دون الناس... وإن المؤمنين بعضهم موالى بعضٍ دون الناس... وإن سلم المؤمن واحد، لا يسلم مؤمن مؤمن دون مؤمن في قتال في سبيل الله

**"They are one Ummah to the exclusion of other people...the believers are protectors of each other to the exclusion of other people...the peace of the believers is one...a believer does not make peace with anyone to the exclusion of any believer in fighting in the path of Allah."**

*Wakil Ahmed*

## Saddam's landslide victory

On Thursday 10th October, the Babil newspaper owned by Saddam's eldest son, Uday, carried the headline: "100 Percent is Not Enough! To Express our Love and Loyalty to Saddam Hussein."

It was reported that more than 11 million Iraqis who casted their ballots had voted 'yes' on extending Saddam's term.

"After announcement of the referendum's results, Iraqis have become more confident in the future and more determined to fight for and to build their country," al-Iraq quoted Saddam as saying.

Saddam Hussein certainly celebrates in style. He celebrates no longer by the firing of a bullet in the air using a rifle; rather the Iraqi government announced an amnesty for all Iraqi prisoners as a thank-you to the nation for re-electing

President Saddam Hussein. Those convicted of murder would only be released if the victims' families agreed and those convicted of theft would have to work out a way to repay their victims before being released. Soldiers accused of desertion and those awaiting execution of their death sentences were included.

This referendum result should come as no surprise to the Muslims. This year has also seen President Musharraf of Pakistan secure his presidency for 5 years via a referendum, and surely Saddam Hussein will follow suit if it secures his power.

With the added burden of the US pressure for regime change, Saddam's idea of introducing a referendum to prove just how much the Iraqis want Saddam has backfired. What he failed to see is that a 100% 'yes' vote is not only hard to believe, but also shows to the world how dictatorial Saddam really is.

Clearly, the Muslim rulers have used elections and the idea of democracy to secure their positions. In countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, Pakistan and Bangladesh it is common practice, and during election time there are always accusations of unfair voting process.

This lucid corruption is apparent to all that view these elections, yet they are either approved or condemned by other governments that seek their personal gains, with the latest Pakistani and Bangladeshi elections being appropriate examples. The most interesting point is that those who rule over the Muslims feel the need to stage such exhibitions. This is because they know and the Muslim Ummah knows where the true support of the people lies.

*Ruji Rahman*

## US claims of Pakistan supplying technology to North Korea

North Korea's admission that it has been building nuclear weapons against the 1994 Agreed Framework under which it promised to halt its nuclear efforts, has dramatically changed the threat posed by George Bush's "axis of evil". After spending most of the summer lambasting Saddam Hussein for building weapons of mass destruction, North Korea's revelations open the US up to accusations of treating Iraq with double standards.

President Bush described the reports of North Korea's nuclear threat as "troubling, sobering" news - but said it

should be dealt with by diplomatic means. His spokesman said: "We seek a peaceful solution." Could the reason be in any way linked to the fact that North Korea is closely supported by regional powers including China, who have no wish to get involved in a new military confrontation with Pyongyang and so it is not in America's best interest to create another Korean war? Besides, North Korea surely has many long range missiles that the US fears will cross the Pacific, as the US has equally taken defensive measures by investing heavily in the 'Starwars' missile defence programme.

North Korea has spent billions of dollars building up an arsenal of nuclear weapons, long-range ballistic missiles, chemical and biological weapons. Not only has Pyongyang been building up its own weapons to challenge the 42,000 US troops based in South Korea, it has been selling them to the highest bidder. North Korea's long-range ballistic missiles have been exported to Iraq, Pakistan, Iran and Syria over the past 20 years.

American intelligence officials have concluded that Pakistan, a vital ally since last year's terrorist attacks, was a major supplier of critical equipment for North Korea's newly revealed nuclear weapons program. It is suspected that the equipment, which may include gas centrifuges used to create weapons-grade uranium, appears to have been part of a barter deal beginning in the late 1990s in which North Korea supplied Pakistan with missiles it could use to counter India's nuclear arsenal.

So what has the US in store for Pakistan as punishment? Surely her agent Musharraf will not let them down, and as long as he doesn't there will be no harsh measures taken. "Good relations between the US and Pakistan is vital" for securing American interests in Asia, by the containment of nations such as North Korea and China.

*Ruksana Rahman*

## War on two fronts



Fingers pointed once again to the Al-Qaeda network as the bomb attacks in Bali were reported to have killed up to 180 people, mainly Australians and around 30 Britons. The target of the

attacks was the Sari night-club in a tourist resort that was popular among mainly Australian back packers. US President Bush and British Prime Minister Blair, as well as Indonesian and Australian officials announced their condemnation of the attacks, vowing to bring to justice those responsible and urging the Indonesian government to crack down on radical Islamic groups.

The Indonesian authorities arrested a group of eight people believed to be the prime suspects and "intensively questioned" them. Also wanted for questioning is the bed-ridden, aged cleric, Abu Baker Baasyir who is thought to be the leader of Jemaah Islamiyah, with links to Al-Qaeda.

The remorse of the Indonesian Prime Minister, Megawati Sukarnoputri, led her to propose for a new anti-terrorism law, which immediately won support. The new law places increased powers to the security forces and also "allows the death penalty to be handed down in terrorist cases". The justice minister said the government would establish a special anti-terrorism unit, consisting of officials from the ministers of defence, justice, politics and security, in addition to the army and police. The new laws will ensure that any opposition or exposure by the people towards the tyrannical rule will be crushed.

The war on terrorism is not limited to radical organisations, but extends to the removal and replacement of entire regimes, as is the case with Iraq. Hence the new debate that has emerged is whether the US should fight war on the two fronts that are rogue states as well as terrorist cells.

The war on terrorism continues to gain momentum and with it nations are snowballed under increasing American pressures. As the first victim in this new history of 'terrorism' the US has managed to gain a lead role and is able to call the shots. Valid and believable evidence is still lacking regarding the identity of those behind the September 11th attacks, even though the world seems to have forgotten and jumped on the American propaganda ride. Again action will be taken in Indonesia without evidence and as always it will conform to the wishes of the US. Wherever future explosions will occur it seems that the US will retain the right to point its finger at whosoever it likes and force action to remove these obstacles from its path.

*Saamiah Salam*

# RAMADHAN WARS

شَهْرُ رَمَضَانَ الَّذِي أُنزِلَ فِيهِ الْقُرْآنُ هُدًى لِّلنَّاسِ وَبَيِّنَاتٍ مِّنَ الْهُدَى وَالْفُرْقَانِ

"The month of Ramadhan in which was revealed the Qur'an, a guidance for mankind and clear proofs for the guidance and the criterion" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 185].

Indeed the blessed month of Ramadhan has arrived upon us again, and has been eagerly awaited by the Muslims the world over, its extra spiritual significance is recognised by all. Many Muslims will recall that the Qur'an was revealed in this month, millions will flock to the mosque for Taraweeh Salat and to recite the Qur'an.

It is a month that contains a night that is better than a thousand months. Allah (swt) said

إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَاهُ فِي لَيْلَةِ الْقَدْرِ \* وَمَا أَدْرَاكَ مَا لَيْلَةُ الْقَدْرِ \* لَيْلَةُ الْقَدْرِ خَيْرٌ مِّنْ أَلْفِ شَهْرٍ

"Verily! We have sent it down in the night of Al-Qadr. And what will make you know what the night of Al-Qadr is. The night of Al-Qadr is better than a thousand months" [TMQ Al-Qadr: 1-3].

A night upon which Allah (swt) made the reward of he who spends that night in prayer and total devotion to Allah (swt), forgiveness for all his past sins.

Imam Bukhari narrated on the authority of Abu Hurairah that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said

من قام ليلة القدر إيماناً واحتساباً غُفِرَ له ما تقدَّم من ذنبه

"He who spends the night of Al-Qadr praying in total devotion, his past sins will be forgiven".

A night in which the believers should sincerely repent to Allah (swt) by reciting the Prophetic du'a, conveyed to us by the Mother of the Believers, Umm al-Mumineen Aaisha (ra):

اللهم إنك عفو تحب العفو فاعف عني

"Allahumma innaka 'afuwan karimun tuhibbul 'afuwa fa-'af'anni"

"O Allah! Thou art, indeed, the Most Forgiving, the Most Merciful, and to forgive is most pleasing to Thee; so, forgive me my sins" [Musnad Imam Ahmad, Tirmidhi and Ibn Majah].

Ramadhan is the month in which the Umrah is equivalent to a single Hajj (in reward). The Messenger of Allah (saw) said to a woman from the Ansar,

اعتصري في رمضان ، فإن عمرة في رمضان تعدل حجة

"If it is Ramadhan, make Umrah for indeed it is equivalent to Hajj" [Nisai].

The month of Ramadhan is a month of patience, Jihad and victory. Victory was granted in the Battle of Badr and the opening of Makkah. The Muslims were victorious throughout the sands of history.

Many Muslims will remember these historical successes for Islam in the world, where the spread of Islam occurred through the expansion of the Islamic Khilafah. All this happened long ago in the past, yet centuries later this thought still lingers in the minds of the believers and increases their sense of pride for Islam.

Indeed Islam is the only true Deen, and it was through its implementation under the Khilafah that the carriers of Islam, the Muslims, held the leading position as the best nation. Yet the position of the Muslims in the world today is far from that; furthermore there is not a single Muslim country implementing the Islamic Khilafah system so it is unsurprising that the Muslims are last in the world order, and that even many Muslims carry a deformed view of Islam where it only concerns personal ibadaat. The only parts of Islam that are accepted in the world order are those that fit the secular ideology of Capitalism.

This article shows that in Ramadhan the Muslims not only fasted, but also spread the message of Islam across the world. Allah (swt) ordered the Muslims to liberate the world from man-made oppression whether it be of the old Kufr Empires like that of the Romans or of the new Kufr Empire like that of America. Many of the Muslims' attempts to do this in the past coincided with this blessed month. Allah (swt) says in Surah Al-Baqarah:

وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَاكُمْ أُمَّةً وَسَطًا لِتَكُونُوا شُهَدَاءَ عَلَى النَّاسِ وَيَكُونَ الرَّسُولُ عَلَيْكُمْ شَهِيدًا

"Thus We have made you a Wasat (just) nation, that you be witnesses over mankind" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 143]

## Fasting and Fighting

Today subjects like Jihad have no part in the secular world order. Yet, in the life of the Muslims it plays one of the most significant roles since it was the means by which the Muslims spread Islam. It is narrated in Al-Tirmidhi on the authority of Muadh bin Jabal, that Muhammad (saw) said,

عن معاذ بن جبل رضي الله عنه، قال: كنا مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في غزوة تبوك، فقال: ((إن شئت أنبأتكم برأس الأمر وعموده وذروة سنامه)) قلت: أجل يا رسول الله، قال: ((أما رأس الأمر فالإسلام، وأما عموده فالصلاة، وأما ذروة سنامه فالجهاد))

"Shall I not tell you of the peak of the matter, its pillar, and its topmost part?" I said: "Yes, O Messenger of Allah." He said: "The peak of the matter is Islam; the pillar is prayer; and its topmost part is jihad."

And He (swt) said in Surah Al-Baqarah

كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْقِتَالُ وَهُوَ كُرْهٌ لَّكُمْ

"Fighting is prescribed for you, though you dislike it" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 216]

It was only through this Jihad that the Muslims reaped victories in conquests the world over. And significantly, it was in the month of Ramadhan when many of them occurred.

Some of the significant political and military events, which occurred during the holy month, include:

Balat Al-Shohada Battle; 1st Ramadhan 114 Hijri

Opening of Al-Magreb Al-Awsat; 2nd Ramadhan 82 Hijri

First Legion the Prophet (saw) made for Hamzah; 4th Ramadhan 1 Hijri

Opening of Amouriah; 6th Ramadhan 222 Hijri  
Killing of Daher, King of Sind; 7th Ramadhan 89 Hijri

Noor El Deen Zinki defeats the Christians taking back the city of Harem; 9th Ramadhan 559 Hijri

Opening of Antakia; 14th Ramadhan 666 Hijri

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# The month of Ramadhan is a month of patience, Jihad and victory. Victory was granted in the Battle of Badr and the opening of Makkah. The Muslims were victorious throughout the sands of history.

Badr - The first battle for Muslims; 17th Ramadhan 2 Hijri

Opening of Makkah; 20th Ramadhan 8 Hijri

Ain Jaloot Battle; 24th Ramadhan 658 Hijri

Opening of Andalusia; 28th Ramadhan 92 Hijri

Clearly Allah (swt) has blessed the believers with many victories in the past in the blessed month of Ramadhan. The battles in Ramadhan began most famously at Badr where the Prophet (saw) led the believers to victory. The Muslims demonstrated heroism, setting their souls on the points of their lances and preferring martyrdom to living. As is known by all, an ill equipped and low in numbers Muslim army fought the Army of Quraish who were three times larger in number and more heavily armed. Allah (swt) granted the Muslims a mighty victory for Islam.

In the Battle of the Ditch, where the Quraish formed an alliance of tribes to bolster their strength and numbers to cut-off Madinah, the Muslims had to train during Ramadhan, and the battle itself occurred in the following month, Shawwal, where the Muslims were once again victorious.

The conquest of Makkah, where the Prophet Muhammad (saw) fought against the infidels, also took place in Ramadhan, 624 CE. Ibn Al Qayyim described the conquest of Makkah as the greatest one by which Allah (swt) honoured His (swt) Deen, Messenger, soldiers and honest party. The Muslims led by Muhammad (saw) over-ran Makkah bloodlessly by marching into it with their ten thousand strong army. The leaders of Quraish submitted to the Muslims almost immediately and no real fighting occurred.

The battle of Tabuk, also took place in the month of Ramadhan. In this battle the soldiers of Islam, under the leadership of the Messenger of Allah (saw), established in Tabuk a training and fighting camp during the month of fasting, so as to show the strength of the Muslims in the clash with the Byzantine army. Here the Muslims also gained the victory over the Byzantines without fighting.

Other Ramadhan battles occurred after the life of the Prophet (saw), led to the liberation of many lands and islands including Rhodes (53 Hijri), coast of Spain (91 Hijri), southern France (103 Hijri), the liberation of Al-Quds (584 Hijri) and

the battle of Ain Jaloot (650 Hijri).

## The Expansion of Islam into Europe

During Al Walid's reign as Khalifah (Al-Walid 705-715 CE/86- 96 AH) the Khilafah conquered lands to the East in South and Central Asia and to the West in North Africa, The Mediterranean Islands, Spain and France. Many of the battles in the West took place in Ramadhan.

Expansion to the West was initiated by Al Walid's appointee Musa ibn Nusayr, who worked as governor of Qayrawan in what is now Tunisia. He had established control right up to the bounds of Morocco; he also sent naval expeditions against the Greek islands in the Mediterranean and captured the islands of Majorca, Minorca and Sardinia.

It was Walid's reign that witnessed the naval supremacy of the Muslims on the Mediterranean. It enabled them to advance into Spain and France. It was divided into different squadrons stationed in Syria, Tunis, Alexandria and the Nile.

The Spanish conquests lasted three years starting in spring 92 Hijri (711 CE). Consequently the fighting continued through the Ramadhan months of those years.

Musa ibn Nusayr sent Tariq bin Ziyad to conquer Spain; an army of around 7000 men was led by Tariq who crossed the straits and took possession of the fortress on the Rock that came to be known as Jabal al Tariq or Gibraltar. Then he advanced into Algeciras in Southern Spain.

On hearing of the Muslim landing in the south, Spain's Gothic King Roderick marched to meet him. He collected an army of 100,000 troops to meet Tariq who had with him reinforcements of 12,000 troops. A fierce battle ensued at Medina-Sidonia on the banks of the river Guadalete in 92 Hijri (711 CE). Roderick drowned in the river whilst crossing it. Winning the battle Tariq went deeper into Spain taking Ecija and other parts of the region. Tariq divided his army into four parts and despatched each section into four different directions. One force captured Malaga, the other took Grenada, the third besieged Cordoba and the last went for Toledo. In March 712 CE (Jumada 93 AH) Tariq conquered Toledo.

In Ramadhan 93 AH (June 712 CE) Musa also invaded Spain, landing with a large force at Tarifa

and heading for Seville, capturing it as well as Carmona.

Together with Tariq, Musa captured Saragossa, Tarragona and Barcelona before finally taking Gerona in the Pyrenees on the French frontier.

The Muslims also fought in France. The Muslim invasion into France began in 721 CE by Anbasah bin Sahim al Kalbi who conquered Carcassone, Nimes, Narbonne and several other places in southern France. Anbasah bin Sahim al Kalbi, who was a governor in Spain, made friendship with the native inhabitants, and is said to have "strengthened the Saracenic position in France". But after his death in 726 CE the administration of Spain and France fell into disarray.

The conquests deeper into France were continued by Abdur Rahman, who even captured Bordeaux, Lyon, Sens and finally Tours. But it was at Tours where a reversal of fortune began for the Muslims. In Ramadhan 732 CE the Islamic army was defeated by the Frankish army led by Charles Martel. The causes for the Muslims defeat here though could be linked to glaring internal problems including emerging rivalries between Berber and Arab factions and the immense booty they were carrying from earlier successes in southern France, which limited their manoeuvrability. Abdur Rahman was apparently aware of this but desisted from ordering them to reduce the amount they carried for fear of mutiny and the winter conditions. The Muslims retreated back to Spain without being chased and continued their rule there for 700 years.

## The Liberation of Al-Quds by Salahuddin

During the month of Ramadhan 584 AH (1187 CE) a great Muslim victory was won over the Crusaders under the leadership of Salahuddin [Saladin] Al-Ayyubi. At the time his advisors had counselled him to rest from the Jihad during the month of fasting, but Salahuddin insisted on continuing the Jihad during Ramadhan.

The Khilafah at the time was beset with problems. The state which is supposed to run the Wilayat (provinces) was not in full control of the regions, so much so that the provinces were semi-autonomous to the point of being states within a state. The Wali (governors) acted independently from the Khalifah. They only sent him the Zakah, Jizya and homage in the Khutba. The Khilafah was not united as Islam demands. The crusaders

took advantage of this weakness and occupied the Muslim land.

In 1169 Salahuddin set about uniting the state. After he had established his army in Egypt he proceeded to unite the various smaller Arab states that had become semi-independent states. In particular he annexed these states surrounding Palestine. Salahuddin considered it first necessary to unite Muslims before he could challenge the Christian kingdoms in the holy lands.

Salahuddin, out of the simplicity of character and directness of vision, saw clearly that the weakness of the Muslim body politic, which had permitted the survival of the crusading states, was the result of political demoralisation. His goal was to restore and revive the political fabric of Islam as a single unified nation, not under his own rule. Rather, as a selfless servant, he aimed at returning the rule of the Shari'ah although he had the opportunity to usurp the power. This is evidenced by the event of Kurdistan. When the Khalifah requested this land to be transferred to his rule, Salahuddin immediately complied despite the anger and scorn of the Ameer of his army. He simply replied, "The Khalifah is the ruler of mankind and the repository of true faith. If he were to join us here, I should give him all these lands. So what of the land of Shahrazur?"

In 1187 the Christian King of Karak, who was called Arnat, attacked an innocent group of pilgrims travelling to make the Hajj. The attackers, showing no mercy, plundered, tortured the men and dishonoured the women. Whilst killing the pilgrims Arnat said: "Go tell Muhammad and ask him if he can save you." This event brought to an end a period of temporary peace that had ensued between Salahuddin and the Christians who were occupying Palestine. Salahuddin who had always longed to free Al-Quds (Jerusalem) and Al-Aqsa Mosque was now presented with the opportunity to face the Christians.

When the news of this event reached Salahuddin he hid his anger and sent a polite message to King Arnat. In the letter he asked him to respect the peace agreement, to free all the prisoners and to return whatever he had stolen. The King however refused Salahuddin's request. This left Salahuddin with no choice but to confront the King. After preparing his army in Damascus, in March 1187, Salahuddin proceeded to Karak. After taking Karak, Salahuddin decided to move north towards Tabarieh to assess the reaction of the Christian armies.

The Christian army grouped at Nazarate under the leadership of the King of Jerusalem. The battle commenced in May 1187 and ended in complete defeat for the Christians. The Christian army, now

strengthened with reinforcements - including Richard the Lionheart - were bent on seeking revenge. It appeared as if the whole Christian army grouped at Safarid. Salahuddin, however, was always one step ahead of them. He decided to avoid Safarid and attack Tabarieh first. Salahuddin's plan was to force the Christians to leave their positions in Safarid so that they would be tired and exhausted by the difficult journey. In July 1187 Salahuddin destroyed Tabarieh.

Forced into leaving their positions, Salahuddin's plan worked perfectly. The Christians wore bulky armour and heavy weapons; the intense heat and lack of water, combined with the difficult terrain, weakened and exhausted the Christian soldiers. And what was awaiting them? Well-prepared Muslim fighters willing to die for the sake of Allah (swt).

On the 4th July 1187 the Christians paid their highest price to date. The Muslim army had surrounded the Christians and when the heat was unbearable and the fighting at its peak, Salahuddin gave orders to set fire to the grass and shrubs surrounding the enemy. Their suffering complete, Salahuddin inflicted on them a resounding defeat.

After this defeat the Christians amassed a strength of 50,000 fighters to do battle at Hitteen. The Christians led by the Kings of Jerusalem, Karak and Tripoli were again defeated badly. Many of their princes and knights were taken as prisoners. It was Allah's (swt) will that Salahuddin should meet face to face with King Arnat of Karak, the butcher of innocent pilgrims. Before killing him with his own hands Salahuddin told him he was killing him for defaming the honour and dignity of the Prophet (saw) and for the murder of innocent Muslims.

From Hitteen Salahuddin opened the Castle at Tabarieh. He then moved on to Akka and on a Friday he opened it peacefully. After performing the first Friday prayer he left the city to his son Al-Abdal. Salahuddin then proceeded north to Sida and Beirut. All this occurred in one month.

At the outset Salahuddin's goal had been the liberation of Al-Quds, the eradication of the Christian Kingdom and the uniting of the Muslim Ummah under his Islamic leadership. With Jerusalem his target he moved to Askalan. This enabled him to cut off Jerusalem from the Mediterranean Sea and by so doing, isolated Jerusalem. He accomplished this on the 5th September 1187. Before moving on Jerusalem he arranged with the well-known Egyptian sailor, Hussain Uddeen El Hajeb, to move the Egyptian navy close to Palestine so as to prevent the Christian navy from approaching the coastline.

On the 19th September 1187 Salahuddin

approached Jerusalem and proceeded to lay siege to the city. He bombarded the city with fire and projectiles until the Christians surrendered. The Muslim army led by Salahuddin entered the city peacefully on Friday the 2nd October 1187. He replaced the cross with the Islamic flag and took down the large cross from the Dome of the Rock and all traces of Christian symbolism were removed from Al Aqsa Mosque.

Salahuddin expressed in the most practical way the kindness and mercy of Islam, when at the peak of his victory and power he gave freedom for all inhabitants of Jerusalem to leave the city unharmed. When the Crusaders conquered Jerusalem in 1099 the streets of the city flowed with the blood of 70,000 slaughtered Muslims. After Jerusalem, Salahuddin opened negotiations with the Christians to leave the Islamic lands. The last stronghold of the Christians, Akka, was removed by the hand of Salahuddin's successor Zahir Babers.

The successive crusades were all failures, despite the high level of effort the Europeans expended. Such was the Europeans involvement in these catastrophes that they risked the lives of their finest. In the Sixth Crusade even the King of France, Louis IX, got caught up in the humiliation when he was taken as a prisoner of war in 647 AH (1249 CE). This was yet another battle fought in Ramadhan.

### **The Battle of Ain Jaloot**

The Battle of Ain Jaloot in 658 Hijri (1260 CE) against the Tartar invasion is considered as another great victory for the Muslims.

Towards the end of 656 Hijri the Tartars launched one of their largest assaults on the land of the Islamic Khilafah, resulting in the seizure of the Khilafah capital, Baghdad, the killing of the Khalifah Mu'atasim Billah, and the occupation of three quarters of Islamic land. Heading towards Egypt and Morocco, the last stronghold of the Muslims, the Tartars sent a threatening letter to the Ameer of Egypt, Mahmoud Saifudeen Qutuz, which included the following statement, "We have demolished the land, orphaned the children, tortured the people and slain them, made their honoured despised and their leader a captive. Do you think that you can escape from us? After a while you will know what's coming to you..." Due to the Muslims weakness and low morale, it was thought that such a threat would suffice in breaking any resistance from the Muslims. However, Qutuz had a different reply. He killed the Tartar delegation and left their corpses hanging in his capital, lifting his soldiers and people's spirit on the one hand, and putting down his enemy's and that of their spies and loyalists on the other.



This raised the spirit of the Muslims and simultaneously shocked the Tartars for they realised they were facing a leader unlike those they had previously encountered.

Qutuz rallied the Muslims to prepare for the inevitable battle that would occur. Under his leadership, Muslims were rallied upon Iman, unity and the necessary weapons of steel to confront the enemy. He sought the help of Governors and Scholars alike to unify, stand for the defense of Islam and focus the efforts of the Muslims towards the liberation of the Islamic lands

Then it was time to engage the enemy on the battlefield at Ain Jaloot on Friday 25th Ramadhan 658. Qutuz led the Muslims into the battle, which initially swayed towards the Tartars. Observing this, Qutuz climbed on a rock, throwing his helmet away, shouting "Wa Islamah. Wa Islamah", urging the army to keep firm and fight Allah's (swt) enemies. The frustrated leaders of the army looked towards that voice to see their leader's flushed face, hitting angrily with his sword and engaging the enemy. Qutuz's courage stunned his leaders who promptly followed his footsteps, lifting the morality of the Muslim army. Soon, the battle shifted in favour of the Muslims, until the Tartar army was shattered and fled from the battle. Victory was for Islam and the Muslims. As for the Tartars, when they realised their incursion and dominance in the Islamic East was fading and that Muslims regained their power, they escaped towards their homeland, which eased Qutuz's efforts to liberate all of Shaam (modern day Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, etc.) in a few weeks.

Such a decisive victory for the Muslims under a sincere leadership at a time when they were so weak and overpowered by the enemy draws many comparisons with the situation of the Muslims today.

### Achieving the Victory

The reality of Islam shows that Ramadhan is a month of fasting and Jihad. This was illustrated by the example of the Prophet (saw) and the example of the pious Muslims who lived after him.

Recent history shows that the Muslims are ready to fight as fighting took place over Ramadhan in many wars in recent times. Fighting continued over Ramadhan in the 1948 Israeli War. Fighting continued between Muslims through nine Ramadhans during the Yemeni Civil War from 1962 to 1970. On the 10th of the month of Ramadhan in 1973, the Egyptians crossed the Suez Canal. During Lebanon's civil war from 1975 to 1990, fighting took place over the course of seventeen Ramadhans. Ramadhan cease-fires during the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s often did not hold. In 1981 and again in 1987, Iran rejected Iraqi offers for a Ramadhan ceasefire. And quite



recently fighting continued during the war in Afghanistan.

But despite the fighting the results the Muslims had in the past with the Khilafah are opposite to the results we see today. Instead of victories for Islam, today the victory is always for the cause of Kufr. The fundamental cause as to why the Muslims never succeed is because they lack the organisation and singular leadership of a Khalifah. Salahuddin realised this, and fought for unity before he achieved his legendary victories.

Imam Muslim reported that the Prophet (saw) said:

إِنَّمَا الْإِمَامُ جُنَّةٌ يُقَاتِلُ مِنْ وَرَائِهِ وَيَتَّقِي بِهِ

**"Behold, the Imam is but a shield from behind whom the people fight and by whom they protect themselves."**

The lessons from our history clearly show that without the Khilafah the Muslims are doomed. The losses we see today are as a direct result of no protection for the Muslims by a sincere state. The losses seen during the time of the Khilafah such as when Al-Quds was captured by the Crusaders or the repelling of the Muslims from France were due to weaknesses in the structure and function of the Khilafah. By remedying this aspect the Muslims were able to resolve their problems and recapture their territories. After all it was the infrastructure of the state i.e. the Khilafah that enabled Salahuddin to rally the Ummah to free the Muslim lands. Where is this structure to free the Muslim lands today? Where is this structure today to liberate Palestine, Chechnya or Kashmir? Where is the Khilafah to liberate the Middle East and Central Asia from the coalition forces? The illegitimate Muslim rulers today will only continue to fail the Muslims, for the only wars the current rulers engage in are those that their Western masters tell them to engage in. So even the fighting in Palestine and border skirmishes in Kashmir are controlled by the West. Consequently

without the Khilafah there will be no liberation of Muslim land.

He (swt) said:

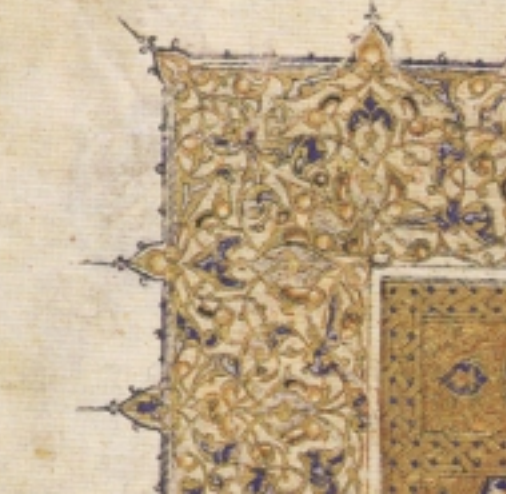
يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مَا لَكُمْ إِذَا قِيلَ لَكُمْ انْفِرُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ اتَّقَلْتُمْ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ أَرْضَيْتُمْ بِالْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا مِنَ الْآخِرَةِ فَمَا مَتَاعُ الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا فِي الْآخِرَةِ إِلَّا قَلِيلٌ

*"O you who believe! What is the matter with you, that when you are asked to march forth in the Cause of Allah (jihad) you cling heavily to the earth? Are you pleased with the life of this world rather than the hereafter? But little is the enjoyment of the life of this world as compared with the Hereafter"* [TMQ At-Taubah: 38].

إِنَّا لَنَنْصُرُ رُسُلَنَا وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَيَوْمَ يَقُومُ الْأَشْهَادُ

*"Verily, We will indeed make victorious Our Messengers and those who believe, in this world's life and on the Day when the witnesses will stand forth (Day of Judgment)"* [TMQ Ghafir: 51].

Asim Khan



# R A M A D H A N 'QUIRKS'

**A**nother year has passed and Ramadhan dawns upon us again. What have we learnt from last Ramadhan, or have we reformed our conduct in anyway from last Ramadhan? There are many 'quirks' exhibited in the Ummah when Ramadhan arrives, this Ramadhan may be saved from them all...

Every year before Ramadhan arrives, we see Muslims vow to be good pious Muslims, and pledge to reform and better themselves. This in itself is commendable, and should be encouraged, for the merits of Ramadhan are many and the rewards are immense, as found in many ayat and many more ahadith [see reference section]. Yet across a broad spectrum of the Muslim Ummah, Ramadhan has become a month whereby Allah (swt) is to be worshiped, and His (swt) Shari'ah is to be obeyed. But after Ramadhan some have the perception that Muslims can do what they like as Ramadhan is viewed as the 'holy month', and the others are not. Why? Because Ramadhan is the month we fast, and fasting is an abstention from all sinful acts. This in essence means that we will vow to obey Allah (swt) during Ramadhan but for the rest of the year we can indulge in whatever we so desire, making the practising of Islam less than a part-time duty. Of course the Muslim must obey Allah (swt) all year round, every day of the week, and we try harder in Ramadhan and inshallah do more, but this concept has become parodied where some unfortunately try only in Ramadhan and not at all during other times.

During this blessed month, with individuals to governments in the Muslim lands, a concerted effort is made to forbid Munkar (evil) apparent in society. Here is a selection of choice examples:

The Independent newspaper reported, "Nigeria bowed to pressure from its powerful Muslim community yesterday by announcing the postponement of its Miss World contest. President Olusegun Obasanjo's wife, Stella, said the contest had been postponed by a week until 7 December to avoid the Muslim fasting period of Ramadan. Nigerian Muslims have attacked the contest as "a parade of nudity" and it is unclear whether the

government's decision will make any difference to planned protests by Muslims". Here is a puzzle, are we to perform two rakah of nafilah Salat because the pageant is to be held after Ramadhan?

Not to mention the Ramadhan quiz shows that are aired in countries such as Egypt and Jordan that win you a sum of money for Qur'an recitation. In Britain, the BBC goes out of its way to host a series of TV programmes for Muslims resident in Britain. We can look forward to a host of 'personalities' presented to us as the best examples of Islam, being as they are integrated into the West with a bit of give and take.

## Attitudes

One attitude observed during Ramadhan is the trend amongst some of the Muslim youth to keep going to parties and raves, but only after Iftar. When the advocates of this trend are at school, college or university, they restrain themselves from the usual bouts of free mixing and banter. But after Iftar it is time to party all night till the break of Suhur. And when Ramadhan finishes, Eid is one long day of celebration with hired cars causing chaos on the streets, parties well into the night with your flavour of Rasmalai and a few major car crashes and fatalities. Pakistani and Bangladeshi flags are worn proudly around head, shoulders and flown from cars.

Our sisters, under great pressure to parade themselves as objects of beauty by the Western perception and expectation of the woman, refrain from wearing make up during Ramadhan, which can sometimes be a great sacrifice for those concerned. And others go further in covering their awrah with Khimaar and Jilbaab, hence observing the Islamic dress code. May it be that this month those who were willing to make this change have the strength through Taqwa to turn it into a permanent one.

Most Islamic societies in universities hold many events, which are well attended by 'practising' and 'non-practising' Muslims. Attendance for congregational Taraweeh Prayers and Qiyam ul

Layls are also high. This is natural as the reverence instinct is agitated during Ramadhan. The problem arises where the believer performs actions beloved to Allah (swt) purely because of this agitation, since he or she may not do so when the instinct is not agitated i.e. after Ramadhan. The key is to base actions on sound concepts about our purpose in life, what is right and wrong, and by which criteria we act and judge. If after discussion and deliberation one can arrive to the correct conclusions in these matters, then you will have the believer who will always be fearful of Allah (swt), and righteous in his or her actions whether alone, in good company or bad, whether times are easy or hard and whether it is Ramadhan or it is one of the other months where Allah (swt) equally commands our strictest obedience.

## Prayers

During prayers at the mosque, we have all seen some from the Muslim youth arrive adorned in all their finest gold bracelets, gold chains and big fat sovereign rings, jagged hairstyles, swaying side to side intently listening to the Imams recite the verses of the Qur'an during Taraweeh prayers. Some Muslims are remarkably steadfast in attending Taraweeh prayers at their local mosque, and sacrifice their time and energy to travel far to listen to leading Imams from Egypt or Saudi Arabia, but unfortunately miss the Fajr, Dhuhr, Asr and Maghrib prayers. Some Muslims may pray for the whole month of Ramadhan all their prayers, but after Ramadhan, their consistency in prayer slowly diminishes. None can have failed but notice how Taraweeh prayers are packed in the last ten days, as the Muslims attempt to seek out Laylatul-Qadr. That in itself is commendable but there is a warped misconception here. Those who find themselves paying special attention to the Taraweeh and Tahajjud prayers in the last ten days while missing the fard Salat should understand that Islam raised the obligatory actions to the highest stature. Thus the Muslim who observed every fast and prayed all his fard Salat and yet did not attend one Taraweeh or wake even one night for Tahajjud has been an obedient servant, whereas the one who prayed every Taraweeh and

missed Salat from his daily prayers has committed grave sins during Ramadhan.

### The Fast

Then there are the misconceptions of fasting itself. There is the middle-aged man, who thinks he need not fast because he has work to do in order to provide for their families that they may fast and have grand Iftars. Also there are the elders who congratulate the youth for fasting for twenty-seven of thirty days, congratulating them on their effort. After all that is around 90%. Every fast kept is of the most noble actions but only in keeping all is the believer true to his duty.

Then there is the classic humanitarian reason for fasting; those Muslims who fast because they need to feel what the hungry of the World feel, and this is the lesson they learn. Thus for these people the winter fasts are not true fasts as they end too soon, and to find the true spirit of Ramadhan one must fast during the summer when the days are longer and hotter so thirst is also added to one's pain.

Allah (swt) says in the Qur'an:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الصِّيَامُ كَمَا كُتِبَ عَلَى  
الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَّقُونَ

"O you who believe! Fasting is prescribed for you as it was prescribed to those before you, that you may learn piety and righteousness" [TMQ Al-Baqarah: 183].

We have all seen those parents who prevent their children from fasting even though they have reached the age of accountability, because they fear hardship on their children. Perhaps the fast will make it difficult for them to study so in their love for their children they help them into sin. At university many students will not fast when the time of their exams is upon them for fear of their results suffering. One wonders what they believe is the purpose of their existence when a Muslim student forgoes the command of Allah (swt) in order to be able to study with a full stomach.

### Spirit of Ramadhan

Ramadhan is a month where Muslims around the globe fast for the sake of Allah (swt), and in this time Muslims feel the common bond that exists between them and other Muslims from afar more keenly. The unity that Islam provides manifests itself in an amazing fashion during Ramadhan; we

share food at Iftar, pray side by side for hours during Taraweeh in full Masajid, give salaams and embrace to complete strangers at the time of Eid. This tenderness and goodness comes from the purity of Islam but equally the quirks that arise come from erroneous concepts and convictions we hold regarding our Deen. Ramadhan is begun on different days; Eid too is celebrated on different days in different countries, and on occasions even within the same one!

In reading this, Muslims probably know of odd situations themselves that occur in their community. We must not deride or make mockery Muslims who sincerely make an effort to reform their characters and personalities during Ramadhan, and to use the month as a spring board for exemplary Islamic behaviour for the whole year, as is the case with all the Muslims Inshallah. Rather the purpose of highlighting the Ramadhan 'quirks' is to become aware of them, avoid them, and correct the underlying concepts that give rise to them in ourselves and others. For actions based on desire; the departmentalising of Shari'ah; or even selective participation in the Shari'ah all rear their heads during the month of Ramadhan.

Let us take a closer look at the examples cited. How can some Muslims, who have prayed and fasted for the whole month, then decide that what they need is a break from all the 'religious stuff', and have an Asian party, to see the month out (somewhat reminiscent of Millennium or New Years celebrations)? Our sisters who feel the spirituality flowing in Ramadhan, what happens to them that they do not feel so during other months when they abandon the adornment of Khimaar and Jilbaab from Eid onwards? Does the sense of accountability to Allah (swt) not come to mind when our brothers and sisters openly free-mix during the Eid-ul-Fitr celebrations? Why do the mosques become filled full of the obedient servants of Allah (swt) during the Salat-ul-Taraweeh and Isha prayer whilst for the remainder of the year the Masajid are left vacant.

The reality of taking what one wishes Islam, and leaving that which is difficult means that ultimately one is contented with part-time/departmentalised Islam.

### Part-time Islam

The consequences of the Muslims adopting a part-time attitude towards Islam have been mentioned. The Jumu'a Muslim, the Ramadhan Muslim, the Eid Muslim, etc. are terms ascribed to us, and by

us. Living amongst the Kuffar, their traits and interpretations of religion have entered into the Muslims, hence sometimes we interpret Islam the way the Kuffar interpret religion. The worship of God for the Christians takes place on Sunday, we have Friday. They celebrate Christmas, we have Eid. The problem with this view is that Islam is comprehensive in nature, therefore not confined to commands and prohibitions for a particular day or month, or a particular location or time. As Allah (swt), the Creator (swt) of man says:

وَمَا كَانَ لِمُؤْمِنٍ وَلَا لِمُؤْمِنَةٍ إِذَا قَضَى اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَمْرًا أَنْ  
يَكُونَ لَهُمُ الْخِيَرَةُ مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ وَمَنْ يَعْصِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَقَدْ  
صَلَّاهُ صَلَاةً مُّبِينًا

"It is not for a believer, man or woman, when Allah and His Messenger have decreed a matter that they should have any option in their decision. And whoever disobeys Allah and His Messenger, he has indeed strayed into a plain error" [TMQ Al-Ahzab: 36].

Furthermore, a Muslim is one who evaluates his actions based upon the Halal and Haram and not on benefit and harm. Our accountability to Allah (swt) for all our deeds should ensure that we undertake all our Islamic obligations all year around and not just in Ramadhan.

فَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا يَرَهُ\* وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ شَرًّا  
يَرَهُ

"Every atoms weight of good you do shall be seen and every atoms weight of bad you do shall be seen" [TMQ Az-Zalzalah: 7-8].

### Dawud Rahman



# CITIZENSHIP STUDIES - A Study of Kufr?

Parents who send their children to secondary schools will be aware that a new subject was introduced this September into the National Curriculum called Citizenship Studies. This subject will be compulsory for all children aged between 11 and 16 years old. It is important to critically examine this subject from an Islamic viewpoint, as our Muslim children will be exposed to it each day.

This subject may sound seemingly innocent, but its title belies its true aims, which is to integrate our Muslim children completely and comfortably into British society. They will be exposed to a whole series of thoughts, ideas and values that emanate from the Capitalist ideology. Topics they will study include diversity, democracy, the voting in British elections, human rights, the role of the United Nations, and how the Western economy functions. This subject is going to result in diluting and weakening Muslims understanding and adherence to Islam, so that they abandon their Islamic upbringing, values and identity and replace it with secular values, personalities and outlook.

## Learning about the 'meaning of life'

Citizenship Studies according to the syllabus intends to promote "pupils spiritual, moral and cultural development". Under "spiritual" development, children will be taught the meaning and purpose of life. We seek refuge in Allah (swt)! Our Muslim children are going to learn the purpose of their lives from the Kuffar - a way of life which is based on secularism, i.e. separating religion from life's affairs, so that the Creator (swt) plays only a personal role in one's life, leaving the human being to determine the remaining systems of life.

This Capitalist viewpoint sharply contrasts to the Muslim's outlook of life, which is based on the Islamic Aqeedah and defines for the Muslim their

purpose in this life. Allah (swt) says:

وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ

*"And I have not created the human or the jinn except to worship Me (Alone)" [TMQ Adh-Dharyat: 56].*

In this ayah, Allah (swt) clearly states that human beings were created to worship Allah (swt) and submit themselves to His (swt) laws and rules in every area of life.

## Dividing the Muslims

One of the first topics your children will study will be diversity and the need for tolerance and mutual respect for different religious, national, regional and ethnic identities. Through this, nationalism will be promoted, which means that Asian, black and the Arab identities will be encouraged and celebrated, rather than the Islamic identity, which is unified by the Islamic Aqeedah. As Muslims, we know that division on the basis of nationalism is clearly forbidden. It is narrated by Abu Dawud that the Prophet (saw) said, "He is not one of us who calls for 'asabiyah (nationalism), or who fights for asabiyah or who dies for asabiyah." This means that the Muslims, whether they are of Asian, African or European origin should unify on the basis of their Islamic belief. In this topic, Islam will be presented merely as a 'religion', which deals only with 'spiritual' and personal matters, similar to Christianity and Judaism. They will not learn how Islam is a complete and comprehensive ideology, rather than a mere 'religion', that will provide them with solutions to every aspect of life, be it personal, social, economic or political.

## Democracy

One of the founding fathers of Citizenship Studies, Bernard Crick, states, "Citizenship is more than a statutory subject. If taught well and

tailored to local needs, its skills and values will enhance democratic life for us all, both rights and responsibilities beginning in school and radiating out." In other words, it means that Muslims should discard their Islamic concepts, values and the criterion of Halal and Haram and instead adopt the Western way of life..

Muslim children will be taught how 'Democracy' comes from a Greek term 'Demos Cratus', which means "people sovereignty" and how the Greeks were the first nation who attempted to apply democracy in Athens. However, will your children be taught the truth about democracy? That its system of voting only included Greek male citizens and excluded women, slaves, immigrants and non-Greeks who constituted the majority of the population. Will they be told that the real power to make decisions belonged to the ruling elite of the Athenian state, who later rejected it as impractical and unworkable?

They will be told how the West adopts democracy and how Britain has a democratic tradition. However, they will not be informed of the true nature of this corrupt tradition, where in reality, only a few people make the decisions and determine the laws and rules everyone else is expected to live by. If those few decision-makers decide to make alcohol or homosexuality legal (as they currently have), there is nothing anyone can do to about it. If tomorrow, they decide to legalise drugs, euthanasia or bomb Iraq, again the majority of people will have little or no power to stop them. Therefore, it is clear that democracy is nothing more than a fallacy, which our Muslim children are going to be taught and expected to adopt.

As Muslims, we know that we cannot rule in any way we please, but it must be according to what Allah (swt) has revealed. For example, people cannot decide by majority to make interest (Riba) lawful or prohibit jihad. Sovereignty belongs to Allah (swt) alone. Allah (swt) says,

إِنَّ الْحُكْمَ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ

"The Rule is solely for Allah" [TMQ Yusuf: 40]

This clearly establishes that Allah (swt) is the sole legislator not the human being and therefore it is not allowed for our children or us as Muslims to accept democracy, as it is Kufr and we must teach our children to reject and intellectually refute and challenge those who propagate it.

### Voting in British elections

Betty Boothroyd (former speaker of the House of Commons) claims, "Citizenship education will enhance understanding of and participation in democratic, legal and other civic processes." Muslim children will be encouraged to play an active part in the British electoral system and to vote in elections in the future. This is not surprising, considering the fact that only 59% of the UK population voted in the last general election, which means three out of four people, did not vote for the present government. This shows how frustrated and disillusioned the British public are with their own democratic system.

Only Allah (swt) has the right to determine the laws not the human being, due to their inherent weakness. Our children should be clear that they are not allowed from Islam to participate in elections that work within a democratic framework, as it would mean that they would be accepting the foundation, ideals and a governmental structure that clearly contradicts Islam. As Allah (swt) reminds us,

فَلَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّى يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ لَا يَجِدُوا فِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَرَجًا مِمَّا قَضَيْتَ وَيَسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا

"But no, by your Rabb, they can have no (real) faith until they make you judge in all disputes between them and find in their souls no resistance against your decisions, but accept them with the fullest submission" [TMQ An- Nisa: 65]

It is evident from this verse that sovereignty belongs to Allah (swt) alone.

Your children need be made aware that Islam, in principle, permits elections that aim to gain the consent of the Ummah or the representation of the Muslims as a whole in selecting the Majlis of the Ummah (in the legitimate Islamic Khilafah). Also elections, as a style to elect a Khalifah, the leader of the Muslims, is allowed.

Hence, it is vital for us as Muslim parents to explain to our children the true nature of democracy and how it contradicts Islam.

### A Free Society?

Under Citizenship Studies, your children will also be taught about their 'freedoms'; namely freedom of belief, freedom of speech, freedom of ownership and personal freedom. In relation to freedom of belief, they will be taught that they can believe in what they want, be it God, Krishna or nothing at all. However, as Muslims we know we are not free in the matters of belief. Prophet Muhammad (saw) said,

من بدل دينه فاقتلوه

"Whosoever changes his deen, kill him."

Therefore, there is no such concept as freedom of belief in Islam. Also, they will study freedom of opinion, i.e. that they can express any opinion they wish. Again, this contravenes Islam, as the Muslim is not free to have an opinion, other than that based on Islam. Allah (swt) says,

وَمَا كَانَ لِمُؤْمِنٍ وَلَا لِمُؤْمِنَةٍ إِذَا قَضَى اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَمْرًا أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُمُ الْخِيَرَةُ مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ

"It is not for a believer, male or female, when Allah and His Messenger have decreed a matter that they should have any say (option) in their decision" [TMQ Al-Ahzab: 36]

Furthermore, they will learn that they have freedom of ownership; that they are free to own anything by any means. In other words if your son or daughter wants to buy a nightclub or a pub, they can irrespective of whether or not it is allowed from Islam. As Muslims, we are not free to own what we want, in the manner we want; rather we are restricted by the laws of Allah (swt) and the Shari'ah. It is unlikely they will learn about the destructive effects of freedom of ownership both in Britain and the rest of the Western world, which has led to ever increasing levels of crime and economic exploitation throughout the world. It has led to a situation where the masses are enslaved to feed the few.

The final type of freedom they will study is personal freedom; that every person has a right to a private life and s/he can do whatever they want. People are free to enjoy drugs, alcohol or have illicit relationships before marriage. The effect of having a so-called 'free' society is that it becomes no better than a jungle. Recent figures have shown that half of all teenagers have committed a crime by the age of fifteen. A quarter of fourteen and fifteen year olds have shoplifted and more than one in four fifteen year olds have used cannabis. Sadly, our Muslim youth are being affected by the corrupt ideas of freedom. More and more Muslim youngsters are joining gangs, taking drugs and having relationships with the opposite sex before

marriage. Undoubtedly, these statistics will increase as Muslim children will be inculcated from an early age with these corrupt and erroneous concepts.

### What human rights?

Another topic Muslim children will be studying under Citizenship Studies is that of 'human rights.' This term is widely used in the West and it is important that our children have the correct Islamic perspective on this. They will learn about how the West champions the cause of human rights throughout the world and how Britain and America incorporate human rights into their foreign policies and have a supposedly 'ethical' foreign policy. It is unlikely your children will learn about the true reality of the record of Britain and the USA on 'human rights'. Will they learn how over the last fifty years, America has used chemical and biological weapons against armies and civilians. For example, in Iraq, the effects of the last Gulf War are showing their devastating results, where babies are being born horrendously deformed, due to the effects of depleted uranium used by the United States and the Allied forces, including Britain. Where are the 'human rights' of one million babies who have died and are still dying as a result of sanctions imposed by the West? The fallacy of human rights can be further illustrated by the fact that America supports and sells weapons to terrorist states like Israel, who use them to shoot and kill innocent Muslim civilians. America's hypocrisy is further shown by the fact that it has refused to endorse the newly created International Criminal Court (ICC), unless its soldiers are exempt from the ICC's jurisdiction over war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. America, clearly believes it is above the law. These examples clearly highlight how 'human rights' are shaped by a nation's national interest and is nothing more than a convenient slogan used by Capitalist nations to interfere in the affairs of other nations. It is unlikely Muslim children will be taught about Islam's foreign policy, which is based on conveying the Islamic message to the world and prohibits the indiscriminate killing of civilians.

### Role of the United Nations

Another area Muslim children will study is the role of the United Nations (UN). They will learn about the goals of the UN, which supposedly are to promote world peace, security and reduce conflict throughout the world. However, if this institution is examined further, it becomes clear that these lofty goals have and will never be reached. Since its creation in 1945, the UN has acted as nothing more than a mere tool to enable the United States and other Capitalist countries to achieve their interests throughout the world. It has turned a blind eye when it comes to Israel ignoring

UN resolutions that require its forces to withdraw to pre-1967 borders, but has endorsed America's campaign to bomb Afghanistan. It is the same UN that during the Balkan Wars forced Muslims to abide by the arms embargo and prevented them from defending themselves. More recently, America's control of the UN was displayed, when the United States gave the UN an ultimatum, that if the UN did not pass a resolution allowing the use of force against Iraq, both America and Britain were prepared to "go it alone" and launch a pre-emptive attack on Iraq. These few examples demonstrate that the UN is nothing more than an institutionalised slave carrying out its master's (the US) orders, and has since its establishment done nothing more than enable America to continue its policy of politically, economically, culturally and militarily colonising the Muslim world.

### How the Western economy functions

Citizenship will also teach how the Capitalist economy functions. Will your children learn about how the capitalist economy is driven by self-interest and benefit and how the Capitalist economic system has created a situation where a few nations control the wealth and financial markets of the world and exploit the rest of the world for their resources? It is reported that 20% of the population in the developed countries consume 80% of the world's resources. It is improbable that your children will be given the facts of how there is enough food to feed the entire world three times over, yet a child dies from poverty every three seconds. However, Islam views the economy in a totally different way. It views humanity from the perspective of needs and differentiates between basic needs, such as food, shelter and clothing and luxurious needs people desire. Islam would allow people to acquire their luxurious needs, but at the same time prevent economic exploitation and corrupt practices, such as hoarding and monopolies that exist in the West today.

### Conclusion

Therefore, we can see Citizenship Studies is nothing more than a euphemism for integration. Its aim is to dilute Muslim children's understanding of Islam and build their adherence to secular thoughts, values and systems that are contrary to Islam.

Some Muslim parents believe that the problems of secular education can be solved by sending their children to Islamic schools or to the local mosque. However, increasingly, 'Islamic' schools are adopting the National Curriculum in order to obtain government funding and they will also be required to teach Citizenship Studies in a similar fashion to State schools. Also, sending Muslim children to the mosque for two hours a day will sadly not be enough to counteract the influences of a secular education system. In addition, the

Western media, society and the Capitalist ideology all play a significant role in secularising our children further.

Our role as Muslim parents is clarified by Allah (swt) in the following ayah. He (swt) says,

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا قُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ وَأَهْلِيكُمْ نَارًا وَقُودُهَا النَّاسُ وَالْحِجَارَةُ

"O you who believe! Protect yourselves and your families from the fire of hell." [TMQ At-Tahrim: 6]

The Messenger Muhammad (saw) said

إِنَّمَا الْإِمَامُ جَنَّةٌ يُقَاتِلُ مِنْ وِرَائِهِ وَيَتَّقِي بِهِ

"Verily the Imam is a shield behind which you fight and protect yourselves." [Bukhari]

This protection can only come in the form of a state established on the Islamic Aqeedah. This State will protect us, our children and the Muslim Ummah from the continual onslaught of secular concepts, values and influences from the West. The Islamic State (Khilafah) will offer an education system that will aim to develop the Islamic personality in its thoughts and behaviour, thereby safeguarding the Islamic society. Such an education system will result in building a distinct Ummah intellectually who will carry Islam to all mankind, so it can lead the world, as it previously did for many centuries and Inshallah will do so again. Allah (swt) reminds us,

هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ

"He it is Who has sent His Messenger with the Guidance and Deen of Truth, to make it victorious over all (other) Deens even though the Mushrikeen (polytheists, idolaters and disbelievers in the Oneness of Allah and in his Messenger) hate it." [TMQ At-Taubah: 33]

### Tueybaha Salah-ud-Din



## COLONIALISM, IRAQ AND ISLAM

The following is the transcript of a lecture delivered by Dr Imran Waheed at St. Anne's College, University of Oxford, on Tuesday 29th October 2002. It was part of a panel discussion that also included Professor Christopher Coker, reader in international relations at the London School of Economics and Dr Sanjoy Mahajan, physics lecturer at Cambridge University.

In my address today I want to examine the views of Islam and Muslims towards the impending military action on Iraq. There are two distinct parts of my presentation today. Firstly, there is the view of Muslims and Islam towards the motives behind the impending action on Iraq. Secondly, there is the view of Islam towards the role of the mind in international relations.

### A Colonial War

What are the real motives behind the impending war on Iraq? The view of Muslims and indeed anyone who desires to stand up against tyranny is that this is a colonialist war for strategic, economic and political interests. The Renaissance in Europe heralded an intellectual revolution culminating with industrialisation and the beginning of a new world order. It was in the face of aristocratic tyranny and theocratic dogma that Western thinkers established the philosophical foundations of Western Civilisation, and despite their intellectual differences, they all shared an occidental worldview of social organisation, which was the separation of Church and State. However its philosophical pioneers only replaced tyranny and intellectual backwardness with another form of ideological oppression. Indeed it is ironic that the very doctrine from which the principles of freedom and liberal democracy evolved is also the same source from which colonialism arose. In reality colonialism flows through the arteries of Western civilisation; if Capitalism is its soul then colonialism is its heartbeat.

While Blair's dossier on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMD) was certainly a cure for insomnia, it was long on propaganda and short on facts. We should discuss some of the claims made to justify war on Iraq.

The first claim made about Iraq is that it is in

material breach of numerous UN resolutions. The problem with going down this path is that other countries notably India and Israel have also put the proverbial V sign up to UN resolutions, yet there is no sense that Tel Aviv or New Delhi are being warmed up for an imminent attack. The concept of double standards gives too much credence to Western leaders as it assumes they have standards in the first place, they simply don't. Conformity with international law only occurs when it coincides with national interests. That is why the USA is so willing to bypass the UN if it sees it as an obstacle in securing American interests.

In true imperial tradition, Tony Blair's foreign policy adviser Robert Cooper said, "The challenge to the post-modern world is to get used to the idea of double standards. When dealing with more old-fashioned kinds of states we need to revert to the rougher methods of an earlier era - force, pre-emptive attack, deception. Among ourselves, we keep the law but when we are operating in the jungle, we must also use the laws of the jungle...What is needed then is a new kind of imperialism, one acceptable to a world of human rights and cosmopolitan values"

The second claim made about Iraq is that Iraq should be attacked because it has WMD. Well taking that logic a lot of countries have WMD including the countries that want to do the attacking. So obviously this cannot be the real reason. The USA is the only country to have used nuclear weapons in history, when it unleashed its weapons on civilian populations in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, at a time when Japan was already on the brink of surrender.

The former British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, actively encouraged the use of mustard gas and sanctioned British pilots mowing down Iraqi women and children as they fled from their homes for not having paid their taxes. Britain and America claim religiously that they are interested in simply disarming Iraq yet this is contradicted by the words of a top US Senate foreign policy aide who said in May of this year "The White House's biggest fear is that UN weapons inspectors will be allowed to go in" (Time Magazine 13 May 2002).

The third claim is that Saddam is a monster, a real brutal dictator, a nasty piece of work who terrorises his own people and therefore needs to be removed. The retort to the argument that it was the West who armed and befriended Saddam in the 80's is met with disdain - that was then and this is now. There wouldn't be a problem with this argument if the West just came out and said that dealing with nasty and brutal dictators really did depend on one's political interests rather than this farce of pretending in some way that they have empathy and sympathy with the people who live under these dictators.

The real litmus test on whether the West conforms to this doctrine of an ethical foreign policy is to look at the West's current allies in the 'War on Terror'. The butcher of Tashkent, Karimov, routinely imprisons and tortures Muslims in Uzbekistan who seek

Islamic political change. Recently 26 members of Hizb ut-Tahrir have gone on trial in Egypt charged with working to bring Islamic political change there - Mubarak's Egypt is the second largest recipient of US aid. Historically, Suharto of Indonesia killed 500,000 people while the USA looked on.

The real 'axis of evil', Defence Secretary Rumsfeld, Vice President Cheney and Deputy defence Secretary Wolfowitz, have even suggested a pre-emption doctrine. They believe in the absolute superiority of the United States and the fact that multilateral and international institutions such as the UN actually are constraints on the US acting in her national interests. Consequently they believe a pre-emptive attack on Iraq is not just justified but imperative. No wonder that even European diplomats believe that the lunatics have now taken over the asylum. Under similar circumstances a Syrian and Egyptian attack on Israel would equally be justified. Israel has WMD, has invaded its neighbours, violates international law and conventions, oppresses its own people and is led by a brutal leader who has been implicated in war crimes.

### The Real Motives

So what are the real interests that the West wants to avoid talking about? No one can truly believe that Capitalist states are altruistic or charitable in their foreign policies. George Bush does not wake in the morning asking himself "To whom can I be charitable to today?" Telling a Capitalist state to be charitable or altruistic is tantamount to telling a dog to stop barking or asking a Tory minister to remain chaste. It is the height of political naiveté. There is no such thing as 'gentle colonialism' and neither can Capitalist states be reformed to be altruistic in their foreign policy outlook.

Many have mentioned oil, and this is obviously a key rationale. The Bush Cabinet including Bush himself have extensive personal interests or had personal interests in the Oil sector. The oil and gas industry more or less owns Washington these days and has pumped about \$50m to political candidates since the 2000 election. But more than that, America views oil not simply just as a commodity but also as a strategic necessity due to the effect oil and its price has on trade and commerce. The US has been seeking numerous ways to diversify its oil supplies away from its reliance on Saudi Arabia and has been wooing other countries such as Nigeria and Russia in this context. The control of Iraqi oil would therefore not only fill a strategic gap but would act as an alternative to an erratic and volatile Saudi regime. The US National Security Council stated in 1953, "United States policy is to keep the sources of oil in the Middle East in American hands".

But this is simply not about oil, the last Gulf war was a successful marketing campaign for US defence contractors and the defence and construction industries are rubbing their hands in glee at the prospect of another Gulf War. 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 Hussain.

Whether you believe me or you believe the official line is important, ask yourself these key questions. Would the West and especially America go to war with Iraq if Iraq did not sit on so much of the world's oil reserves? Would they be attacking Iraq if there were no material gain for the defence establishment who have massive influence in Washington? Would there be an attack if Iraq were not in such a strategic region or location? If your answer to any of these questions is that they would do it anyway regardless of these extraneous aspects, then presumably you are also the type of person who still believes that John Major was a happily married man.

The view of Muslims is that the West having imposed a puppet in Afghanistan now want to impose an Iraqi Hamid Karzai - a loyal agent who will secure Western corporate interests in the region. This has been confirmed in numerous statements of Western politicians and strategists.

Michael O'Hanlon from the Brookings Institute told the House Armed Services Committee in October 2002, "The region that Iraq inhabits is so critical to U.S. interests that we cannot just go in, remove Saddam, and leave the clean-up to others... Iraq, unlike Afghanistan, is located in the heartland of Arabia, a region whose stability is a critical U.S. interest". US Brigadier General William Looney made no hesitation in pointing out, "They know we own their country...we dictate the way they live and talk. And that's the great thing about America right now. It's a good thing, especially when there's a lot of oil out there we need".

### The Role of the Mind in International Relations

After having discussed what I believe to be the real motives, the second part of my presentation concerns why such problems occur on the international arena. Muslims believe that these problems are related to the role of the mind in Capitalism - while Capitalism and all man-made ideologies allow man to legislate from his own mind, Islam limits the role of the mind to understanding the legislation of the Creator (swt) and implementing it.

Problems at the individual, national and global level occur when man is given free rein to decide what is right and wrong, since people are motivated by greed and personal interests. So the rulers of America, who believe in the Capitalist ideology, seek to increase the material interests that the USA controls - this is the cornerstone of its foreign policy. That is why human rights and international law are merely jackets that the USA wears when it suits it and removes when it doesn't. Adam Smith, the 'Father of Capitalism', in his work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, states: "Civil authority, so far as it is instituted for the security of property, is in reality instituted for the defense of the rich against the poor or of those who have some property against those who have none at all."

The reality of people is that they are unable to agree upon what the problems are let alone what the solutions ought to be - any man made system of life will be full of disparity and contradictions and will be affected by the environment in which man lives. Muslims believe that man cannot be left to his own devices to establish a value system - such a human inspired value system has led to colonial wars the world over, the enslaving of entire countries under the IMF and World Bank and so on and so forth.

Rather Muslims believe that there must be a value system that is from the Creator (swt), who is external to man, and not influenced by greed and personal interests. The crux of the matter comes down to this - can man determine what is right and wrong, lawful and prohibited? Capitalism maintains that man can, and Islam maintains that he can't. Rationally, man's mind is incapable of determining what is right and wrong.

All of us can agree that alcohol quenches thirst and this is obvious from reality, but will all of us agree as to whether it should be lawful or prohibited. So not everyone drinks alcohol. Alcohol contains nothing intrinsic within it that allows man to determine whether its consumption is good or bad.

Similarly we can all agree that reality suggests that there are many nations with many different mineral resources - however is there anything intrinsic within the reality that tells man how to distribute these resources? We can see that there is oil. But does that tell us to whom it belongs? Does the reality tell us how to trade with one another? Does the reality tell us what should be legal or illegal in economic affairs? Does the reality tell us what conditions should govern contracts?

If presented with a certain scenario; e.g. a patient asks a doctor "Do I have cancer" and the doctor replies "No" even though it is clear from his investigations that the patient does; any of us can see that the doctor lied. However from looking at this can we say that lying is good or bad? Some would say the patient should have their autonomy preserved and be told the diagnosis; others would say that telling the patient constitutes a bigger harm; so is lying good or bad? To lie under oath in a court of law is that good or bad? To lie to enemy soldiers when they ask you where your comrades are hiding, is this good or bad? Is lying to protect one's national interests and national security good or bad?

The fundamental point is that by just studying the reality it is impossible to deduce whether actions are good or bad. It is impossible to organise a system correctly even if you have the mind of a genius; since

the reality tells you nothing about what is legal or what is illegal; what is good and what is bad; what is praised and what is shunned.

And here is the fundamental error committed by the Capitalist thinkers, economists and philosophers who have gained notoriety during the last few centuries. They were confused minds that muddled up these issues; they were not content with describing economic or scientific phenomena but crossed the limit and began to define the legal and the illegal, the praised and the shunned. The mistake of Adam Smith was not necessarily his love of the free market, but his love of his own whims and desires and his faith in his ability to define for man a system of life, even though the reality precluded such a possibility.

#### Islam: Alternative Ideology

Muslims believe that the Islamic ideology provides the only real alternative to the Capitalist dominated world we live in today. Islam is based on the rational proof of the existence of Allah (swt), the need for Messengers (as), and the Qur'an being from Allah (swt). Islam is the ideology with the firm basis, proved by the reality of man's view of the universe; it answers man's fundamental questions as to where he came from, where he is going, and the relationship of life with what preceded it and what is to follow it. Islam provides both solutions that address the spiritual and political voids in society. Islam came with detailed rules in the sphere of politics, social life, economics and foreign policy; rules concerning contracts, company structure, the standard for money, the origin of ownership, private and public property, the rule of land, the rules of commodities, the source of revenue, and so on and so forth.

Not only that but Islam existed not only in the minds of individuals but as a state, the Islamic Khilafah, for over 1000 years when it was the flower of the globe and the rising sun amongst nations. It is important to bear in mind that none of the countries in the Islamic world implement Islam; the implementation of Islam is a comprehensive matter; aspects under the guise of Islamic banking or punishments may be designed to fool the people; but the assiduous observer will study their nature and their contradiction to the Islamic ideology.

Although the term 'regime change' is the flavour of the day, Muslims do not seek only 'regime change' but ideology change whereby Islam is the ideology of state and society. In contrast to the colonialist approach to foreign policy, Islam seeks simply to spread its ideas and system so that the injustices of human inspired legislation is removed. The Islamic

Khilafah never launched a war to secure jobs for its citizens, to gain contracts for its companies or to line the pockets of the ruling class with riches. The Khilafah never looked to people as conqueror and conquered or winners and losers, but rather as citizens. In contrast, the hatred of Western imperialism amongst those who lived and live under the shackles of the colonialists exists to this day. When it was said "The sun never sets on the British Empire" the natives would reply "That's because God does not trust them in the dark".

#### Conclusion

People in most parts of the world, Muslim and non-Muslim, see Western states not as beacons of freedom and opportunity, but as beacons of greed and self-interest; economic and military bullies that undermine the cultures of other nations; pirate nations at land and sea that become richer at the expense of everyone else. Western thinkers who sought to remove tyranny failed miserably as they replaced the tyranny of feudalism with an even more pernicious system of human organisation, unleashing a disaster unparalleled in human history. This ideological disaster called Capitalism has corroded people's lives for centuries and its waves have drowned the people of Iraq and the world with hardships. Muslims should be free to determine their own political destiny, rather than having to live under the shackles of colonialist states and puppet rulers. The entire Muslim world 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

وَلَا يَجْرِمَنَّكُمْ شَنَاٰنُ قَوْمٍ عَلٰٓى اَلَّا تَعْدِلُوْا اِعْدِلُوْا هُوَ اَقْرَبُ  
لِلتَّقْوٰى وَاتَّقُوا اللّٰهَ اِنَّ اللّٰهَ خَبِيْرٌۢ بِمَا تَعْمَلُوْنَ

colonialist states.

*"And let not the hatred of others to you make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice. Be just, that is next to piety; and fear Allah, for Allah is acquainted with all you do."* [TMQ Al-Ma'idah: 8]

*Dr Imran Waheed*



# A DECADE OF DESTRUCTION

"Once a war starts, the value system changes and anything you can do to hurt the adversary and cause him problems, you find justification for doing," was the advice Admiral Eugene Carroll found himself giving journalists during a briefing at the US Centre for Defence Information. With such a fickle 'value system' it should come as no surprise that the inhumane policies pursued by America and her allies since 1991 in Iraq show no sign of abating. Instead, the colonialist powers are once again busy grooming the public opinion, preparing it for another assault. In one of her first interviews as US National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice reiterated her callous view on Iraq, declaring that "The sanctions regime needs to be reinforced and strengthened...I think it's very clear we have a big job to do in trying to re-energise the sanctions."

At the behest of America, the United Nations imposed economic sanctions on Iraq (August 6, 1990), with the declared purpose of compelling the Iraqi forces to leave Kuwait. Following the Gulf War, these sanctions were renewed and have remained in place ever since. Sporadically, they have been repackaged and rehashed to create the synthetic impression that they are being relaxed. Sometimes presented as 'Oil-for-Food', and later as 'Smart Sanctions', little can disguise the ugly face of this great crime. Although less bloody than physical aggression, sanctions have, nonetheless, proved themselves to be just as deadly as any weapon of mass destruction.

During this decade of destruction, sanctions have stifled Iraq's private sector, stunted the economy and suffocated her people - in full view of the international community. Yet, as America now readies herself for war it is poignantly ironic that on 11th March 2002 Bush declared, "men with no respect for life must never be allowed to control the ultimate instruments of death." Below is a brief overview of how sanctions have indiscriminately destroyed the entire cross section of life in Iraq.

## Economy

- ◆ Iraq "has experienced a shift from relative affluence to massive poverty." [March 1999 U.N. Report]
- ◆ Iraq's GDP fell by 2/3 in 1991, owing to an 85% decline in oil production and the devastation of the industrial and services sectors of the economy. Per capita income fell from \$3,416 U.S.

dollars in 1984 to less than \$1,036 in 1998. Other sources estimate a per capita decrease as low as \$450 US dollars in 1995. [IMF and March 1999 UN Report]

- ◆ Pre-sanction debts total \$120 billion - This figure constitutes 380% of Iraq's GDP. [World Bank, "World Development Indicators", 1996/1997]

## Food and nutrition

- ◆ In July of 1995, average shop prices of essential commodities stood at 850 times the July 1990 levels. [March 1999 UN Report]
- ◆ "Alarming food shortages are causing irreparable damage to an entire generation of Iraqi children." [September 1995 UN Report]

- ◆ One-fourth of Iraqi children under the age of five are malnourished. [March 1999 U.N. Report]
- ◆ The dietary energy supply fell from 3.120 to 1.093 kilocalories per capita/per day by 1994-95. As many as 70% of Iraqi women are suffering from anemia. [March 1999 UN Report]

## Health

- ◆ Government drug warehouses and pharmacies have few stocks of medicines and medical supplies. The consequences of this situation are causing a near-breakdown of the health care system. [February 1997 World Health Organization]
- ◆ "Infant mortality rates in Iraq today are among the highest in the world." [March 1999 UN Report]
- ◆ The sanctions have contributed to the death of over one million Iraqis, half of them children. More than 200 people die each day in Iraq. 5,000 to 6,000 die each month. [UNICEF & Denis Halliday]
- ◆ There are 4,500 "excess deaths" of children under the age of 5 every month that can be primarily attributed to sanctions. [1996 UNICEF]

## Water and sanitation

- ◆ Access to potable water, relative to 1990 levels, is only 50% in urban areas and 33% in



rural areas. The overall deterioration in the quality and quantity of drinking water has contributed to the rapid spread of infectious disease. Raw sewage often flows into streets and homes. [World Food Program]

## Electrical power

- ◆ In 1990, Iraq had 126 power station units capable of generating 8,903 Mw of power. Today, the capacity is about 3,500 Mw [March 1999 UN Report]

## Education

- ◆ School enrollment for all ages (6-23) has declined to 53%. Some schools with a planned capacity of 700 pupils actually have 4,500 enrolled in them. [March 1999 UN Report]
- ◆ Substantive progress in reducing adult and female illiteracy has ceased and regressed to mid-1980 levels. The rising number of street children and children who work can be explained, in part, as a result of increasing rates of school drop-outs and repetition, as more families are forced to rely on children to secure household incomes. [UNESCO]

## Depleted Uranium

Depleted uranium (DU) is the highly toxic and radioactive byproduct of uranium. The long-term effects of internalised depleted uranium are not fully known, but the US Army has admitted that "if DU enters the body, it has the potential to generate significant medical consequences."

Le Monde Diplomatique, published an interview in 1995 which it had conducted with William M. Arkin, president of the Washington-based Institute of Science and International Security. He estimated that the number of 30mm rounds containing three hundred grams of depleted uranium fired by A-10 aircraft amounted to 940,000, while the number of 120mm shells containing 1 kg of depleted uranium fired by tanks amounted to 4,000. The total amount of uranium dropped on Iraq during 1991 is therefore thought to be somewhere around three hundred tons.

Professor Siegwart-Horst Guenther, director of the Albert Schweitzer Institute, conducted extensive studies in Iraq on the effect of DU on Iraqi population in 1998. His conclusions showed that contact with DU ammunition produced highly damaging results, most notably:

- ◆ A significant increase in foetal and childhood infections caused by severe immunodeficiency.
- ◆ Leukemia, elliptic anemia and malignant neoplasms.
- ◆ Congenital deformities caused by genetic defects.

The World Health Organisation suspects that the sharp post-war increase in childhood cancers and kidney disease are due, primarily, to the use of radioactive shells. Some Baghdad hospitals have reported a 100% increase in the number of women under 30 suffering from breast cancer, whilst evidence from the southern regions of Iraq shows a four-fold increase in the number of children suffering from leukaemia.

Dr. Huda Ammash, environmental biologist at Baghdad University, estimates that "the prolonged effect of ionisation caused by the enormous energy emission and light energy from the massive bombing is, over a period of more than ten years, equal to one hundred Chernobyl's."

### The Phony War

Following Iraq's defeat in the Gulf War, America has implemented a series of clandestine projects to work alongside her strategy of pursuing the sanctions regime.

In January 1991 the CIA began aiming propaganda at the Kurds calling on them to "force Saddam Hussein the dictator to step aside." Inspired by promises of assistance their subsequent uprising ended with disastrous results. Despite patrolling the no-fly zones at the time, US forces were mere spectators as the Iraqi National Guard used helicopter gunships to suppress the rebels.

America's preoccupation with weapons inspectors, rightly, gave rise to some suspicion. In January 1999, Kofi Annan suggested that America might have been using UN weapons inspectors to spy on the Iraqi regime. Later the Clinton administration was to admit to the monitoring of coded radio communications by Saddam's security forces, using equipment installed by UN arms inspectors. His admission vindicated Baghdad's claims that the supposed inspectors were in fact spies.

His administration then passed the Iraq Liberation Act. Its purpose was "to seek to remove the regime headed by Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq and to promote the emergence of a democratic government." The president then gave selected Iraqi opposition leaders financial assistance to the sum of \$97 million.

However, by 1995 sanctions had begun to draw widespread criticism appearing jaded and ineffective. In an attempt to appease these concerns the UN passed resolution 986, the so-called 'Oil-for-Food' programme. Even a cursory examination of this proposal exposes it as nothing more than a repackaging of the same old policies. By September

1998, Dennis Halliday resigned in protest over the inadequacy of the scheme, which he said did not even meet the minimum requirement for a healthy diet. His predecessor, Hans von Sponeck, was to follow in his footsteps by February 2000, objecting to the impact of sanctions on the civilian population.

Conveniently when some additional sanctions were relaxed in 1998, Vice President Cheney was the CEO of Halliburton - one of the largest US oil conglomerates. Perhaps even more convenient was the awarding of a contract to this company to rebuild some of the damaged oil fields in Iraq for the man whom Cheney now regards as 'the world's worst leader.'

The colonialist powers have used a number of devious styles and means by which to control and contain Iraq. These have ranged from inspiring a Kurdish revolt, to the covert funding of Iraqi opposition leaders to the barbaric use of depleted uranium.

Allah (swt) reminds us

وَإِذَا قِيلَ لَهُمْ لَا تُفْسِدُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ قَالُوا إِنَّمَا نَحْنُ مُصْلِحُونَ\* أَلَا إِنَّهُمْ هُمُ الْمُفْسِدُونَ وَلَكِنْ لَا يَشْعُرُونَ

*"And when it is said to them 'cause not mischief on the earth,' they say, 'nay verily we are the peacemakers. Verily they are the mischief makers, but they perceive it not'" [TMQ Al Baqarah: 11-12].*

### Selective Amnesia - What America would like us all to forget

Busy stressing Saddam's inherent flaws as a leader there are some key issues that the Bush administration in Washington would rather we forgot. With the spin machines at Capitol Hill and Downing Street going into overdrive trying to convince us that Saddam is a 'menace that must be dealt with' it is intriguing to note some key events over the last twenty years or so concerning the US - Iraqi relationship.

In December 1983 President Ronald Reagan despatched a special envoy to Iraq. This envoy's mission was to negotiate the reopening of the US embassy in Baghdad in order to secure better trade with Saddam at a time when he was already using gas against Iran. Even more telling, is the fact that this envoy was led by none other than Donald Rumsfeld. It is quickly forgotten how Rumsfeld was once guest of honour at Saddam's Presidential palace where he enjoyed comfortable evenings in the company of Tariq Aziz et al.

The Bush administration would also rather that we overlook how in 1988, as Saddam destroyed the Muslims of Halabja with gas, President Bush Senior provided him with \$500m in US government subsidies to buy American farm products. The following year, after Saddam's genocide was complete, President Bush Senior duly rewarded him with a doubled subsidy of \$1bn. This was accompanied by germ seed for anthrax, helicopters, and the notorious "dual-use" material that could be

used for chemical and biological weapons.

### Conclusion

Despite international outrage at the continued use of sanctions and the intrinsic double standard of her foreign policy, America and her allies remain unapologetic. There has been no return to normality in Iraq since 1991 and the people continue to suffer in silence. Yet Saddam, the despot, and his cronies continue to enjoy lavish riches and all the creature comforts of life. Unaffected even slightly by the shackles of sanctions, his ruthless regime has continued to rule Iraq with tyranny, in full view of the international community.

Whilst thousands continue to die, America is busy, ironically, making her moral case for war. Despite the vast majority of people opposing any attack on Baghdad it would seem that Washington is intent on waging war. In an attempt to appease public opinion and build an international coalition, Bush has referred the issue to the UN warning that a failure to do as he demands will only result in unilateral action - a move that has rendered the UN all but redundant.

While his administration is keen to stress its desire to 'liberate' the Iraqi people, it is curious to note how this supposed moral consciousness fails to address America's crooked allies in the 'war on terrorism.' It would appear that the excesses of Karimov's regime and the draconian measures of Mubarak's government have escaped Bush's attention. This same moral consciousness has consistently overlooked the plight of the Iraqi people for the last ten years. Rather America's desire to attack Iraq now, forms an integral part of her grand designs for the region and will further increase her dominance over the Middle East.

It should be clear that the rulers of Iraq are like all the other rulers of the Islamic world, motivated only by the fear of loss of power and authority. They are guided by principles of self-interest and personal gain and not by sincerity. However, the political destiny of Iraq and her affairs must lie in the hands of the Islamic Ummah and not in the hands of the Kuffar. Islam has prohibited Muslims from referring to Kufri authority to look after their affairs.

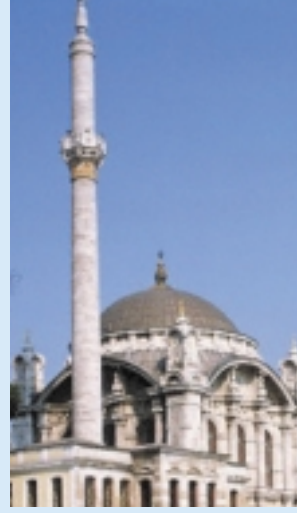
Allah (swt) says

وَلَنْ يَجْعَلَ اللَّهُ لِلْكَافِرِينَ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ سَبِيلًا

*"And never will Allah grant to the unbelievers a way over the believers" [TMQ An-Nisa: 141]*

It is clear that Iraq has suffered a decade of destruction, with her people being used as mere pawns in America's grand colonialist visions. Sadly, while the absence of the Khilafah continues we can only expect more destruction and devastation.

*Shiraz Maher*



The following is the text of a defense speech given by Ya'qub Towsen on 26/6/2002 before the second state security court in Adanah, Turkey regarding the issue of Hizb ut-Tahrir.

### *Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Raheem*

All praise be to Allah (swt), the Lord of the Worlds, and peace and blessings be upon our chosen master Muhammad (saw) and his family, his companions and those who followed him until the Day of Judgement, and on the one who believes in his heart that nothing can harm him except what Allah (swt) has decreed. I am proud to be a member of the correct Islamic political party that works to establish the righteous Khilafah state: Hizb ut-Tahrir.

### Members of the court:

Before I explain to you why I have been brought here I wish to now say to you a few words from the bottom of my heart: I swear by Allah (swt) in whose hands is my soul, which I bear as an amanah (trust), if I had the number of lives as the number of hairs on my body and I came to this world with this number of lives then each and every time I would have been a member working in Hizb ut-Tahrir, following the Messenger (saw) in the intellectual and political struggle to establish the righteous Khilafah state, which is the Shar'i method of resuming the Islamic way of life.

If you put the sun in my right hand and the moon on my left I will not leave Hizb ut-Tahrir. Either this Islamic Da'wah that I look after by the help of Allah (swt) achieves the establishment of the righteous Khilafah Rashidah or this saalifah (neck) is severed.

I swear that I will be a faithful guardian of Islam, adopting what this Hizb ut-Tahrir has adopted of Islamic thoughts even if it goes against my own opinion. I will also work with all the power I have for resuming the Islamic way of life by establishing the righteous Khilafah state. Allah (swt) is a Witness to what I have said.

It is difficult to understand that I will have to take stand in this humiliating position before those who share the same Iman from the sons of this Islamic Ummah, those who are the judges and members of this court. This is because I am being tried for the

charge of belonging to Hizb ut-Tahrir. How can I deny that I am a member of Hizb ut-Tahrir while I am proud of this because Hizb ut-Tahrir adheres to the Islamic ideology? It does not compromise and flatter the rulers and government officials. It is a political party which works to please Allah (swt) and fights anything that angers Allah (swt). Hizb ut-Tahrir undertakes that in compliance with the saying of Allah (swt):

﴿وَمَا كَانَ لِمُؤْمِنٍ وَلَا مِؤْمِنَةٍ إِذَا قَضَى اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَمْرًا أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُمُ الْخِيَرَةُ مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ﴾

*"It is not for a believer, man or woman, when Allah and His Messenger have decreed a matter that they should have any option in their decision."* [TMQ Al-Ahzab: 36]

And His (swt) saying:

﴿فَلَا تَطْعَمُ الْمَكْذِبِينَ ❀ وَذُوا لَوْ تَذَهَبُوا فَيَذَرُوكُمْ﴾

*"So obey not the deniers. They wish that you should compromise with them, so they (too) would compromise with you."* [TMQ Al-Qalam: 8-9]

After deep study Hizb ut-Tahrir has come to the conclusion that this severe decline of the Islamic Ummah these days is a result of the Kufr systems that the agents of the Kafir colonialist states have imported from countries like America and Britain, systems such as democracy, republicanism and secularism. After studying the reality and the method of the Messenger (saw) in Makkah and in Madinah after the establishment of the state and a detailed study of the time of the Khulafah Rashideen and the Tabi'een who came after. And after studying the time of the Umayyads, Abbasids, Mamluks, Ottomans until the Khilafah was destroyed on the 3rd March 1924. After studying all of this it adopted the necessary Shari'ah rules to proceed on its path in establishing the Khilafah state. It also adopted the Shari'ah sources: the Qur'an, Sunnah and what they guide to in terms of the Ijma' of the Sahabah and Qiyas and it began to work on this basis. The work of Hizb ut-Tahrir is within the limits of the

intellectual and political struggle to establish the righteous Khilafah state to resume the Islamic way of life in the state and society and in order to change Dar al-Kufr into Dar al-Islam and carry the Islamic Message to the world.

I became acquainted with the thoughts of Hizb ut-Tahrir and I scrutinised them. After this I decided to carry its call. At that point I discarded from my mind all non-Islamic thoughts that I had taken from the cartoon state of the Turkish republic via the environment, society, media and education system. I praise Allah (swt) that He guided me to Islam and purified me from the Kufr thoughts.

Was it not Islam that transformed 'Umar bin al-Khattab (ra) whose heart had hardened so much due to the thoughts of jahilliyah that he killed his daughter by his own two hands? Islam changed him until it made his compassion extend from human beings to even animals when he said "If an animal were to trip and fall I fear Allah will account me for it." Why Islam? It is because Islam is a Deen that has an effect on people. If we open our hearts to it, it will change us like it changed 'Umar (ra). I am a Muslim who has been affected by Islam as 'Umar (ra) was affected; it radically changed my life and made Islam my personality, a personality which only thinks of Islam and the Islamic Ummah. It made me struggle and it prepared me to sacrifice my life. My only aim is to save the Islamic Ummah and save humanity as a whole. This is the work of Hizb ut-Tahrir.

### Members of court:

Hizb ut-Tahrir is a political party. It has been established based on the saying of Allah (swt):

﴿وَلَتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ﴾

*"Let there arise out of you a group of people inviting to all that is good (Islam), enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. And it is they who are successful."* [TMQ Ale-Imran: 104].

This noble ayah contains a command from Allah Ta'ala that there should be at least a single group from amongst the Muslims. It defined the work of this group as being: first, the Da'wah to Islam and second, enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. There are many Shari'ah texts that emphasise the obligation of those two tasks.

One of the ayahs that encourage the Da'wah to Islam is the saying of Allah (swt):

﴿ومن أحسن قولاً ممن دعا إلى الله وعمل صالحاً وقال إنني من المسلمين﴾

"And who is better in speech than he who invites (men) to Allah, and does righteous deeds, and says: I am one of the Muslims." [TMQ Fussilat: 33]

And the ayahs relating to enjoining the good and forbidding the evil:

﴿والمؤمنون والمؤمنات بعضهم أولياء بعض يأمرون بالمعروف وينهون عن المنكر﴾

"The believers, men and women, are Awliya (helpers, supporters, friends, protectors) of one another, they enjoin the good and forbid the evil." [TMQ At-Taubah: 71]

And His (swt) saying:

﴿ولتكن منكم أمة يدعون إلى الخير ويأمرون بالمعروف وينهون عن المنكر وأولئك هم المفلحون﴾

"Let there arise out of you a group of people inviting to all that is good (Islam), enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. And it is they who are successful." [TMQ Ale-Imran: 104]

As for the Ahadith, he (saw) said:

﴿والذي نفسي بيده لتأمرن بالمعروف وتنهون عن المنكر أو ليوشكن الله أن يرسل عليكم عقاباً ثم لتدعنه فلا يستجيب لكم﴾

"By Allah! You must enjoin the good and forbid the evil or Allah will be about to send upon you a punishment. Then you will make Du'a to Him and He will not answer."

As for the fact that this is a political party - inviting the rulers to Islam is the most important part of inviting to Islam and enjoining the rulers to do good and forbidding the evil is the most important part of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. These are political actions and they are the best Jihad. It has been narrated that the Messenger (saw) said:

«أعظم الجهاد كلمة حق عند سلطان جائر». وقال: «من رأى حاكماً جائراً مستحلاً لحرم الله ناكثاً لعهد الله عاملاً بعباد الله بالإثم والعدوان ولم يغير عليه بقول أو بفعل كان على الله أن يدخله مدخله»

"The best Jihad is the word of truth spoken before a tyrant ruler." And he (saw) said: "The one who sees a tyrant ruler who violates the prohibitions of Allah, breaks the promise to Allah, deals with the servants of Allah with sin and transgression and does not work to change this by word or deed then it is a right upon Allah to admit him into his entrance [i.e. the Fire]."

It is clear that Hizb ut-Tahrir does not merely undertake work that is permissible or recommended but rather it undertakes a Shar'i obligation that is an individual obligation on every Muslim. Just as Salah and fasting are obligations so to work with the correct Islamic political party is also fard. For this reason what Hizb ut-Tahrir is working for, which is the establishment of the Righteous Khilafah, is fard on all Muslims. It is fard on you O members of the court! Anyone who neglects this fard will be accounted by Allah (swt) severely on the Day of Judgement. The ayahs and Ahadith have proven the obligation of this rule.

He (swt) says:

﴿وأن احكم بينهم بما أنزل الله ولا تتبع أهواءهم واحذرهم أن يفتنوك عن بعض ما أنزل الله إليك﴾

"Judge between them by that which Allah has revealed and follow not their desires and beware of them lest they seduce you from some part of that which Allah has revealed to you." [TMQ Al-Ma'idah: 49]

And he (saw) said:

«من خلع يدا من طاعة الله لقي الله يوم القيامة لا حجة له ومن مات وليس في عنقه بيعة مات ميتة جاهلية». ويقول: «الإمام حجة يتقى به ويُقاتل من ورائه»

"The one who takes off his hand from obedience he will meet Allah with no proof for himself and the one who dies without a pledge on his neck dies the death of Jahilliyah." And he (saw) said: "The Imam is a shield behind whom the Muslims seek protection and fight."

As well, the application of many rules (Ahkam) such as the economic system, education, ruling, internal policy, foreign policy, finance, punishments, social system, Jizyah, societal transactions (mu'amalaat); these rules cannot be applied without the righteous Khilafah state and that is why it is called the crown of all obligations

(Taj al-Furood).

Dear members of the court:

As for the claim that Hizb ut-Tahrir is a terrorist group. This is a lie against the Hizb. It is an unfounded and baseless lie. Anyone who knows Hizb ut-Tahrir such as America, England, other European states, and their agents such as the rulers of Turkey, Iraq, Indonesia, Malaysia, Jordan, Lebanon, Uzbekistan, Central Asian states, also Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, etc. know of a certainty that Hizb ut-Tahrir does not undertake any action by which they can label it as a terrorist organisation. Rather those who undertake this, the Hizb draws their attention to the Shari'ah rule. Also, does not the absence of a single evidence in your hands or the hands of any state in the world indicate clearly that Hizb ut-Tahrir is not a terrorist organisation? Hizb ut-Tahrir has defined its work based on the Shari'ah rule that obliges the intellectual and political struggle and has strongly opposed acts of violence. This is not due to fear of engaging in violence but because the Messenger (saw) in Makkah and before the establishment of the state in Madinah did not undertake this type of action. Hizb ut-Tahrir follows the path of the Messenger (saw) inch by inch and does not deviate from it even a hairbreadth. Had the Messenger (saw) used violence before the establishment of the state then Hizb ut-Tahrir would have done that without hesitation. We would have undertaken what is necessary but this is not the order of Allah (swt).

Also there is a well-known hadith found in the books of Seerah on the authority of 'Abd ur-Rahman bin 'Awf that the Ansar came to the Messenger of Allah (saw) after the second bay'ah of al-'Aqabah and said "If you order us we will fall upon the people of Mina with our swords." So the Messenger (saw) answered, "We have not been ordered to do that." This is because Allah (swt) ordered his Messenger (saw) to be steadfast as the Messengers used to be steadfast before him:

﴿لقد كذبت رُسُلٌ من قبلك فصبروا على ما كذبوا وأوذوا.....﴾

"Verily, (many) Messengers were denied before you (O Muhammad [saw]), but they were patient on their denial and they were hurt..." [TMQ Al-An'am: 34]

Allah (swt) ordered us to adhere to the method of the Messenger (saw) when He (swt) said:

﴿لقد كان لكم في رسول الله أسوة حسنة لمن كان يرجو الله واليوم الآخر وذكر الله كثيراً﴾

"Indeed in the Messenger of Allah you have a good example to follow for him who hopes in (the

*Meeting with Allah and the Last Day and remembers Allah much.*" [TMQ Al-Ahzab: 21]

We should be steadfast as he (saw) was steadfast no matter how much we are afflicted by the oppression of those agent Fasiq rulers. Our reward is with Allah (swt). He (swt) says:

﴿الَّذِينَ اسْتَجَابُوا لََّ وَالرَّسُولَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا أَصَابَهُمُ الْقَرْحُ لِلَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا مِنْهُمْ وَاتَّقُوا أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾

*"Those who answered (the Call of) Allah and the Messenger (Muhammad [saw]) after being wounded; for those of them who did good deeds and feared Allah, there is a great reward."* [TMQ Ale-Imran: 172]

As for the tyrant rulers Allah (swt) is not unaware of them; He (swt) says:

﴿وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ اللّٰهَ غَافِلًا عَمَّا يَعْمَلُ الظَّالِمُونَ إِنَّمَا يُؤَخَّرُهُمْ لِيَوْمَ تَشْخَصُ فِيهِ الْبَاصِرُ﴾

*"Consider not that Allah is unaware of that which the Zalimoon (wrong-doers) do, but He gives them respite up to a Day when the eyes will stare in horror."* [TMQ Ibrahim: 42]

And He (swt) says:

﴿وَلَا يَحْسِبَنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا أَنَّمَا غَلَبَتْهُمُ الْأَفْعَالُ أَنَّمَا كَانُوا هُمْ خَيْرًا لَّأَنفُسِهِمْ إِنَّمَا نَمْلِكُهُمْ لِيَزِدَّادُوا إِنَّمَا وَهُمْ عَذَابٌ مُّهِينٌ﴾

*"And let not the disbelievers think that Our postponing of their punishment is good for them. We postpone the punishment only so that they may increase in sinfulness. And for them is a disgracing torment."* [TMQ Ale-Imran: 178]

Members of the court:

Do you not see from the many examples in which we live that the ruling system of the Turkish Republic is a system of Taghut that gives sovereignty to man and refuses to go to the Shari'ah of Allah (swt) for judgment? What has the Turkish Republic offered to the Islamic Ummah ever since it was established? What has she been able to do? Is she not a state which has lost its independence from the economic, political, education and judicial aspect and plus many other aspects as well? She has handed over her say to the IMF and the European states. Is she not the state that executes the orders of her masters like the Americans and the Europeans and bends down to them as slaves? Does she not celebrate every time she gets a loan from the IMF and considers this a path towards economic stability even though the reality is that the economy is descending into the abyss? With the knowledge that she receives

the orders with every loan! Is she not the state that usurps the wealth of the Islamic Ummah and gives it to the capitalists and Jewish businessmen under the pretext of privatisation?

Those in charge of the regime, the Capitalists, the rich businessmen, the ministers who are supposed to be leading the country live a luxurious life plundering billions. The people of responsibility are also stealing the money of the Ummah by plundering the banks. If this is the situation then is not the state the reason why there are tens of millions of people out of work and university students hanging around aimlessly without work and the labourers work for a trifling wage? Is it not the state that turned the people poor and needy for a piece of bread, standing in queues to buy bread that is cheaper by only a few pence? Is not the state responsible for making the rich richer and the poor poorer? It is the state that throws the Muslims in prison under the pretext of fighting backwardness and oppresses them. It is the state that places the burden of national debt on our children even while they are in the bellies of their mothers. It is the state that has created a generation of Satan worshippers, fire worshippers, horse worshippers, idol worshippers, thieves, drunkards, fornicators, embezzlers and comen! Is not the state that is responsible when people perish at hospital gates because they have been thrown out because they are poor? It is the state that is responsible for placing the Ummah in such a despicable situation in every sphere.

Indeed, the oppression taking on our brothers in Palestine makes the blood boil because the Muslims are one Ummah and like one body. If one part of the body hurts then the rest of the body cries out in fever and sleeplessness. Nearly the whole world rejects the Yahud because of their actions but the Prime Minister of Turkey comes out and says: "The Yahud are old friends and we are attached to them with warm relations." And he sent letters of friendship to the Yahud who are the worst enemies of Muslims! Even though he saw with his own eyes and acknowledged what the Yahud are doing to the Muslims of Palestine is ethnic cleansing.

Is it not enough to see the bitter reality and life filled with humiliation which has been caused by the Turkish republic due to its adoption of secularism and capitalism, the Taghuts of our age and the decaying Kufr systems? After this how much more humiliation can there be?

The Islamic Ummah has not experienced such humiliation and misfortune than what she is going through today. What is required from you and us as Muslims is that we take off the chains of humiliation from our necks and throw them away far from our lives in a radical manner. And we place upon our heads the crown of dignity that is

the application of the Islamic way of life in the state and society though the establishment of the righteous Khilafah state which is coming soon insha Allah. I swear by Allah (swt) that there is no solution for the Islamic Ummah except this.

This Hizb ut-Tahrir works in order to establish the rule of the righteous Khilafah state until the Islamic Ummah regains her honour and dignity and until she resumes carrying the message of guidance and light to the rest of mankind.

Members of court:

Why am I being tried? Is it because I am a member of an Islamic party, Hizb ut-Tahrir?

Indeed, it is not me that is being tried but you are putting Islam on trial. If the people trying this Deen did not profess Iman and were Kuffar then I would not have been surprised. But it is unfortunate the matter has been like this.

What is obligatory on you as Muslims is to remove Islam that you believe in from accusation and place it as a crown upon your heads. And carry the Da'wah of Islam and work with Hizb ut-Tahrir and release me. This action is for your own good; doing the opposite will be an affliction for you. And know that Allah (swt) knows and sees everything that you do.

O Allah! Let Your Hizb, Hizb ut-Tahrir, establish the righteous Khilafah in the quickest time. And make us workers (for Khilafah) in obedience to You and make us the leaders in Your Path. And accept us amongst your pious servants.

*Ya'qub Townsen*

# PAKISTANI ELECTIONS - The Continuation of the American Raj

## Musharraf's False Claims

On Thursday 10th October, exactly 3 years after the coup of General Musharraf, Pakistan witnessed yet another democratic electoral process unravel, bringing with it its bitter fruits. According to the Reuters news agency 83 parties were competing in these polls, the first in Pakistan for over 5 years. Huge efforts had been undertaken by the government to increase participation, everything from blatant rigging, the coercion of potential voters, lowering of the age for the eligibility to vote and the forced vote of women in some areas. Despite this the turnout was limited to 15% of the total voting population, displaying the apathy of the Ummah, complete lack of trust in the system, and hatred of the ruler.

The backdrop of the election and Pervez Musharraf's motto and justification for his abrupt termination of Nawaz Sharif's government had rested upon three key pivotal points:

- ◆ Eliminating the endemic corruption infesting Pakistan, through dismissing and sidelining the ex-Prime Minister's that had looted and plundered the country, namely Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto.
- ◆ Dismissing 'sham democracy' and heralding the new era of the true democratic Pakistan
- ◆ Stabilising and developing Pakistan's economy and political stature.

Well what's new you might ask? Each and every prime minister, every president or military dictator Pakistan has ever had has also laid a divine claim to these slogans. But Musharraf decided to supersede all previous leaders of Pakistan, in his endeavour to please his colonialist masters, America. The rebuttal and refutation of Musharraf, his policies and his outright compliance and servitude to the Americans has been well documented and demonstrated.

One is only required to reflect upon:

- ◆ Pakistan's complete surrender of internal and external security.
- ◆ The subjugation of the economy and political affairs.
- ◆ The secularisation of the education policy and social affairs.
- ◆ The surrender of her nuclear arsenal.
- ◆ The U-turn on policy towards Kashmir,

Afghanistan and India.

All of the above are unstinting and categorical factors which point to Musharraf's legacy of betrayal and servitude, which have today won him the accolade, approval, and praise in the official US ranks and administrations.

Nevertheless, Musharraf in his vain endeavour to deceive the Muslims promised the rationally impossible - he claimed that he had brought an end to the 'sham democracy' in Pakistan - and would ensure that it is replaced with 'the real (true) democracy'. And so the events of 10th October 2001 were set to be the realisation of this promise, a promise that he had made ever since his seizure of the reigns of power.

It is therefore incumbent to examine and expose this latest attempt to deceive this Ummah:

- ◆ What is the 'real and true democracy' he so wishes for Pakistan and its Muslim people?
- ◆ What are the real objectives of this electoral phase?
- ◆ What will change for Pakistan & its people?

Rasool-Allah (saw) stated "The Muslim is not bitten from the same hole twice". This hadith is a description of the believers and we must seek to hearken to this description.

Today, this Ummah once again finds herself placed in a critical conjunction. The subjugation of the Islamic world continues in the name of 'fighting terror', the heads of Kuffar, Britain and America, are mobilising their forces for a deadly attack on Iraq and Sharon is continuing his brutality on the Muslims of Palestine, unabated. This is surely a time when extreme bravery and true leadership are required from those who claim to lead the Muslim Ummah. Instead, we see that this Islamic Ummah continues to be enslaved, misled, and made a subservient slave to the instructions and the wishes of the Kuffar- giving up the interests of the Muslims for the Kuffar, at the hands of stooges like Musharraf.

It is therefore essential that we look at things in their true reality; we must be sincere and not emotionally biased. We should not be interested in argumentation for its sake. Rasool-Allah (saw) said,

من طلب العلم ليجاري به العلماء أو ليماري به السفهاء  
ويصرف به وجوه الناس إليه أدخله الله النار

"Anyone who seeks Knowledge to argue with fools, to challenge with scholars, or draw people's attention to himself, will take a place in hell."

Rather, we must be concerned for the affairs of the Islamic Ummah, The Prophet (saw) said:

«مثل المؤمنين في توادهم وتراحمهم مثل الجسد الواحد  
إذا اشتكى منع عضو تداعى له سائر الجسد بالحمل  
والسهر».

"The similitude of the believers in their love and compassion for one another is like that of one body, when one part hurts then the rest of the body calls out to it with fever and sleeplessness".

## The Mirage of Democracy - What Democracy???

### Musharraf's Rise

In an interview on 19th August 2002, General Musharraf commented, "The whole people of Pakistan want a change 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." These same slogans were reiterated during a live address to the nation, on the eve of the elections on 9th October 2002.

So, does Musharraf really believe in democracy? This is the man who was known as General Musharraf, and who (contrary to democracy) initiated a coup becoming the dictator Musharraf, and then awarded himself the title of President.

### President

In April of this year however, he further decided to extend his term through a comical referendum. The failure of the referendum clearly demonstrated the hatred of the Ummah for Musharraf and his actions. Even Musharraf himself was forced to concede that his officials had rigged the referendum. All of this from the very same man who claimed that he 'would get rid of corruption' and took pride in introducing the National Accountability Bureau!

### Constitutional Amendments

He later changed the constitution to grant himself the power to dismiss any future elected parliament. He further institutionalised the army's role in running the country through a supra-parliamentary National Security Council. The NSC, headed by Musharraf himself has begun to make key decisions in all strategic areas including: Pakistan's relationship with India, Pakistan's nuclear programme and Pakistan's foreign policy. Under Amendment Article 270 the constitution states "The 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." The Dawn reported, "General Pervez Musharraf has said that major political and economic reforms undertaken by his government will be fully protected by new legislation".

So according to Musharraf, this is his definition of true democracy, to usurp all of the power for himself as the President, have the right of removing any PM or government, control Pakistan's foreign policy, nuclear

programme and role in the region. Thus, being completely unaccountable to anyone, and rendering the already nominal PM and newly elected government completely impotent!

## Elections

The actions of Musharraf are clear evidence that he is a mere puppet, responding to the strings being pulled by the American administration. His masters forced him to apologise for the 'sham referendum' and boast that the forthcoming elections would be absolutely free and fair, with the false promise of implementing 'true and real' democracy, and not the sham democracy that the Sharif and Bhutto legacies had inflicted upon Pakistan.

The lies of this traitor seem to have no bounds. Many commentators questioned the integrity of the electoral process - one week prior to the elections the Guardian printed that there was "overwhelming evidence that the elections had been rigged". It is widely known that a combination of the carrot and stick were being used to attract politicians with local followings to abandon their parties and join PML (QA), often backed with the threat of corruption charges if they did not cooperate. Thus, a blatant coercion of voters to support pro-Musharraf candidates, and the building up of the pro-Musharraf group, namely the PML-QA and its leader Mian Azhar, dubbed by the Press, as the "King's Party".

The fiasco of the undemocratic restrictions on the election campaign further demonstrated Musharraf's lack of belief in true democracy, sham democracy or democracy per se. Rather the agenda was clearly something else - to engineer the outcome of a pre-planned government, that could be manipulated by the US, through Musharraf and his cronies.

## True Faces of Democracy - Corruption And Inevitable Failure

Democracy in Pakistan has always been a failure. But leading opinion-makers continue to call for democracy on the basis that previous regimes were never truly democratic. But the reality is that the central failure of all previous democratic regimes was that they remained dominated by the vested interests of the 'privileged' and the 'powerful' such as the ruling families, the state officials, the generals, the feudalists and industrialists, and the external powers.

What General Musharraf and others fail to accept is that 'real democracy' is a false illusion that has never, and will never exist. Practical democracy will always be 'sham democracy', dominated by vested interests. Instead of 'rule of the people, by the people, for the people' democracy creates 'rule of the people, by the elite, for the elite'. This is the true reality of democracy. And this is the case in all democracies in the world. As an example, a record \$3 billion is officially stated to have been spent in the last US Presidential elections alone, most of it from US corporate entities who expect favours from government in return for their investment.

## Democracy is Kufr

Most importantly, democracy will never lead this Ummah to revival or success, because it is Kufr and clashes with the Aqeedah of Islam. Democracy is the sovereignty and worship of man, who is entrusted with

dictating and determining the legislation of a nation, forcing people to enact these laws. It is an undeniable fact that man is weak and incapable of determining the solution for the problems of mankind. One only has to look to the havoc and destruction of the Western societies, which are a living testimony to this.

## Democracy A Convenient Tool

So the true agenda behind the elections was clearly a far cry from the claims of Musharraf - the real motive was to legitimise the power and authority of Musharraf and his masters, through the utilisation of the guise of democracy and elections. Musharraf concocted that the PML(QA) would lead a weak coalition government which would not challenge his ultimate authority as president.

Islam demands that we use our intellect when it comes to politics i.e. looking after the affairs of this Ummah. It is evident that words and concepts such as democracy, human rights, etc. have no meaning for the US, UK or to their stooges such as Musharraf, but are only a means of gaining vested interests. On the world arena it is clearly evident that the US supports and abets tyrannical dictatorial regimes such as those of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Uzbekistan, the Gulf states and so on and so forth. But, on the other hand she uses the very same call for democracy, to suit her interests, as in the cases being levied against Afghanistan, and now Iraq.

These are some examples of the countless flaws of democracy and serve to demonstrate that the electoral process in Pakistan was nothing but a means to search for a new face to ensure the continuity of American imperialism and its ruthless policies. It has become widespread knowledge that the stooges throughout the Muslim world, desire no betterment in the affairs of this Ummah, and the elections of Pakistan have only served to further damage the nation.

## Rule of the American Raj - Past & Present

There is no doubt that the newly elected 'comedy act' of a parliament will serve only as a rubber stamp for Musharraf's pro-American policies. The hegemony of foreign governments and institutions, who desire to implement the Capitalist way of life, rape Pakistan of her resources, and cripple her military might, will thus be further cemented. On the 4th October, the BBC reported that the Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz, said, "We have (already) assured the World Bank, IMF and Asian Development Bank that there will be no change in Pakistan's economic direction after the new government takes over." In fact absurdity knows no bounds within the realms of democracy, as Shaukat Aziz further announced, that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank even demanded that the present ministerial team continue after the elections.

On 25th September, the Interior Minister, Moinuddin Haider, met with those American officials that are currently entrusted with the task of reviewing all of Musharraf's ordinances concerning law and order, before they are introduced. As for Pakistan's military, on 27th September the Secretary of Defence, Hamid Nawaz Khan, concluded three days of talks with American officials, which were aimed at focusing



Pakistan on engaging America's enemies in the tribal areas. And in the realms of education, UNESCO and the World Bank continue to promote Western values through loan conditions and ordinances directed by their education task force.

## Removing the shackles of American Imperialism

In conclusion, this electoral process in Pakistan is set to produce a government not to dissimilar to that of Karzai in Afghanistan or that being projected for Iraq. Leaders that are mere pawns in the hands of the West, in place solely to benefit their colonialist masters. It has become clear that true direction and liberation from the backwardness of today and the subservience to the colonialist regimes does not arise from the flawed slogans of democracy. It has become paramount to liberate our Islamic countries in the spheres of politics, intellect, military, economy and all other systems, from the evil clutches and control of the colonialist occupiers. We must look to the direction that Islam gives to the Islamic Ummah.

It has been reported in as-Sirah of Ibnu Ishaq that the Sahabah agreed to the election of the Khalifah as the most important duty following the death of the Messenger (saw), so important in fact that they gave it more precedence than the matter of the burial of our beloved Prophet (saw). Abu Bakr (ra) addressed the Sahabah, with the following:

"It is forbidden for Muslims to have two Ameer for this would cause differences in their affairs and concepts, their unity would be divided and disputes would break out amongst them. The Sunnah would then be abandoned, the bida'a (innovations) would spread and Fitnah would grow, and that is in no one's interests".

The Sahabah (ra) agreed to this and selected Abu Bakr (ra) as their first Khalifah. If one compares the appointment of Abu Bakr (ra), his address to the believers, his concern for their affairs and his leadership, with the traitors of today, the gulf is enormous. It is this Islamic political system of Khilafah that Islam prescribed for the Muslims. The most exalted system of law, the Shari'ah that is designed by the Creator (swt) of man, who knows man better than he knows himself. The Islamic Shari'ah is a fixed law emanating from the divine sources, the Qur'an and the Sunnah, which are free from control by any man, regardless of his stature. Islam dictates the role of the Khalifah, his election, his limitations, his accountability to the people and his restriction to the Shari'ah of Islam, and the conditions of his removal. Islam also defines the role of the military and the army in Islam. The role of the army is not to govern the Khilafah state, but to protect the frontiers of the Islamic lands, take Islam to

# Letter Quotes

the new lands and protect the honour of the Muslim blood.

Islam has unconditionally rejected both democracy and dictatorship. In both, the law emanates from the minds of men and is liable to manipulation by vested interests. Allah is Al-Hakim and has restricted legislation to Himself (swt) alone. Allah says,

إِنِ الْحُكْمُ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ

"The rule is for none but Allah" [TMQ Al-An'am: 57]

وَمَا كَانَ لِمُؤْمِنٍ وَلَا لِمُؤْمِنَةٍ إِذَا قَضَى اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَمْرًا أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُمُ الْخِيَرَةُ مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ وَمَنْ يَعْصِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَقَدْ ضَلَّ صِلًا مَبِينًا

"It is not fitting for a Believer, man or woman, when a matter has been decided by Allah and His Messenger to have any option about their decision: if any one disobeys Allah and His Messenger, he is indeed on a clearly wrong Path." [TMQ Al-Ahzab: 36]

Both democracy and dictatorship are Kufr systems and will never deliver us from the shackles of imperialism. The sincere and aware person would not think about changing a few faces but would realise that the system of democracy and its twin, dictatorship, need to be removed. Allah (swt) provides us with a system that is immune from the weaknesses of man-made legislation. Only the Khilafah system provides a just law and policies in favour of the Ummah, which cannot be tampered by assemblies or governments under the influence of foreign interests.

Nadeem Ajaib Khan & Shaban Ul-Haq

To Dr. Imran Waheed

The comments attributed to you in yesterdays Birmingham Mail are typical of the biased attitude of Muslims. Despite having the worst attack ever upon its country, America has shown great magnanimity and generosity to the rest of humanity. After the events of 11th September 01, whatever action they take to stop the development of mass weapons by that evil man Saddam Hussein, will be welcomed by most of the free world. This of course is because anyone with common sense will realise that the release of such weapons by that madman will envelop the whole world in a global confrontation.

The world looked on with some apprehension recently when events on the Indian/Pakistan border seemed to be developing into a nuclear confrontation. Thankfully that did not happen, but if such a nuclear event had taken place, the Hindu nation would have felt justified, because of the 800 years of suffering they experienced at the hands of Muslims. The events in India during 1948 are an indication of the hatred felt by the Hindus because of the centuries for subjugation at the hands of Muslims.

For you to warn the Prime Minister of this country that an attack upon Iraq will be an attack upon the 3 million Muslims in this country is offensive to any Englishman. However, I would welcome your reaction to such an event. This is because the forthcoming confrontation with Muslims in this country is not very far away. The seething hatred that is now felt for your kind, who, with their greed and corruption, have helped to change the fabric of a very honourable and law abiding society, has instilled in our hearts a desire to revert to what we were. This is something we are prepared to fight and die for.

It would be of interest to analyse your psyche. As a man who enjoys and has benefited from this democratic society, but is obviously swayed by your Muslim teachings and Sharia law, I think your mind must be in a state of juxtaposition. I would think that your time in this country, or even on earth, is now very limited. Take yourself back to your grandfather's country. The professional skills you have acquired here would be better used correcting the stupidity that has formed your attitudes.

Yours,

True Brit

## Elections & the War on Iraq

The first time that Iraq was identified as part of the axis of evil was in January, and then you really didn't hear anything else about it, until the corporate crimewave was dominating the newspapers, on the front pages everyday, and television, and they had to change the subject. With Cheney's energy behind it, they have ginned up a war on Iraq, so that it has sucked all the air out of the media, and war trumps everything, and so it has trumped all these other issues.

File on Four, 08/10/2002 BBC RADIO 4

## US Unilateralism

"For Arab and Islamic public opinion, Washington will have become judge and jury, and this factor will in turn contribute to a sense of frustration and humility (sic) which will lead inevitably to further instability and inexorably to future tensions (in the Middle East and South Asia, indeed as far away as the South Pacific)."

French Strategist Gerard Chaliand, 30-09-2002, The Dawn.

## Arab disunity

"If it comes down to war, we are not going to allow our strategic friendship with the United States to be jeopardized,"

Jordan's foreign minister, Marwan Muasher, told an audience at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington U.S. allies in Mideast look ready to go along Jane Perlez The New York Times, Wednesday, October 9, 2002

## Bilingual England

My grandchildren are bilingual. It has not arrested their development. The fact that their two main languages are English and Danish and not English and Punjabi doesn't make the least bit of difference". All the evidence shows that "familiarity and fluency in two languages increases the propensity to other talents", he says, before making the economic argument for immigration. "People should look at the demography of the developed economies of the EU," he says, pointing out that a declining birth rate in Europe makes immigrants vital to future wealth creation.

Neil Kinnock interviewed in The Independent, 30/09/2002

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