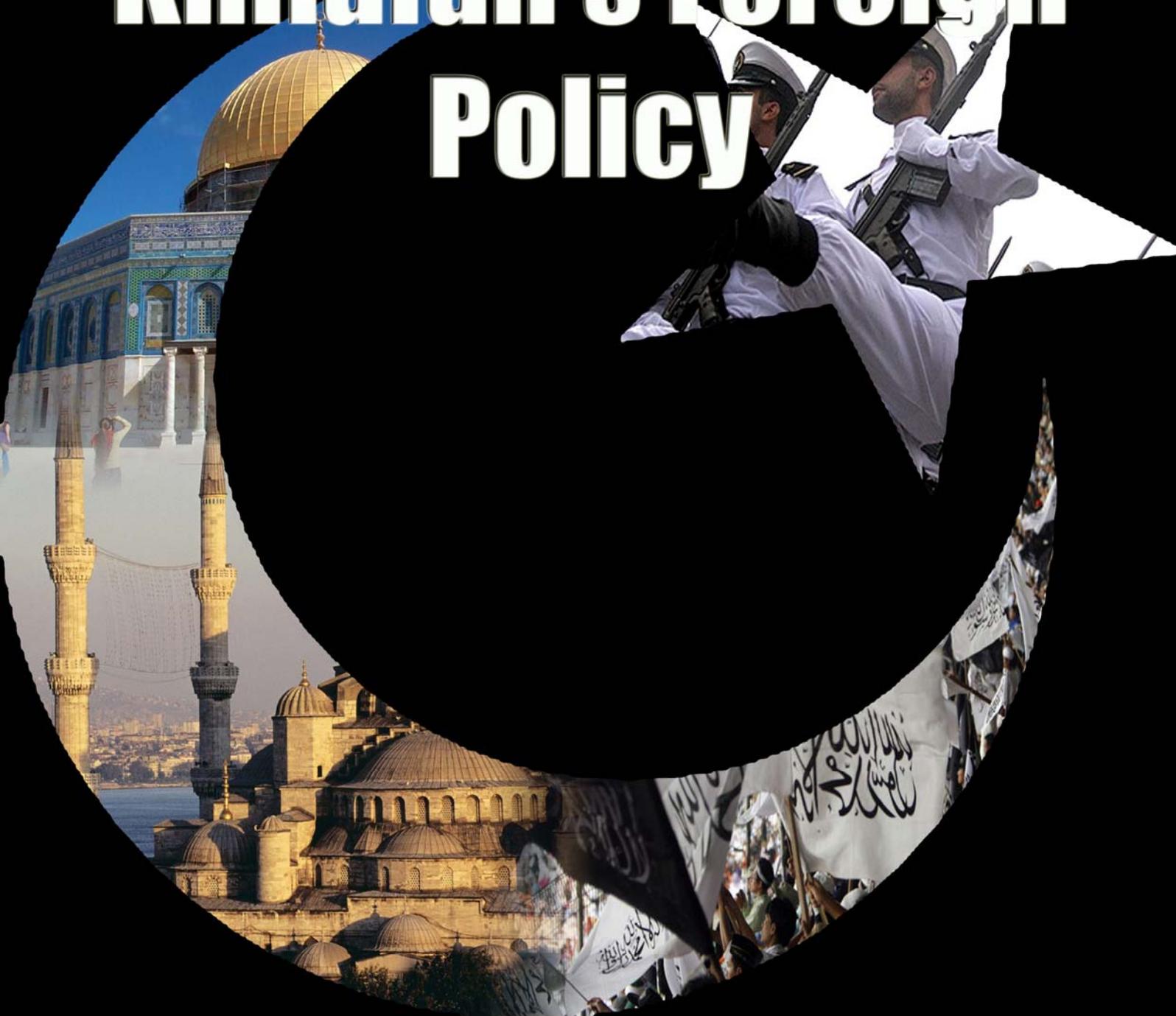


# Constructing the Khilafah's Foreign Policy



**Adnan Khan**  
**Khilafah.com**

يُرِيدُونَ أَن يُطْفِئُوا نُورَ اللَّهِ بِأَفْوَاهِهِمْ وَيَأْبَى اللَّهُ إِلَّا أَن يُتِمَّ  
نُورَهُ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْكَافِرُونَ هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ  
الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ

*“They seek to extinguish the light of Allah with their mouths; but Allah refuses but to perfect His light, though the disbelievers may resent it. It is he who sent His Messenger with guidance and the truth, in order that it may prevail over all other ways of life, even though the polytheists may detest it.” (At-Tawba – 32-33)*

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## Introduction

A nation's foreign policy is one of the most significant factors that determine a nation's shape and architecture. A nation with a foreign policy whose objective is to trade, only results in an economy that is consumer oriented. As the country itself does not have a military capability, it leaves the economy open to interference by military powers. Countries such as Norway, Sweden, Morocco and the UAE have such a foreign policy. Given most wars are fought over resources and trade, such a policy will never lead to political or economic independence for a nation. President Woodrow Wilson once said: *"Is there any man, is there any woman, let me say any child here that does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry?"*<sup>1</sup>

In today's world where nations have become so interconnected it is impossible to function in isolation of other nations. The Khilafah state does not function in isolation to the rest of the world, this was clearly the case at the time of the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم as well as the history of the Islamic state under the Khilafah. Engaging with other states is a necessary and integral part of state policy for which Islam has clearly defined principles and objectives which the Islamic state adopts and implements to ensure that the call to Islam is not stagnant or restricted to the boundaries of the Khilafah state but rather a conscience effort is made to convey the Islamic call to the rest of the world.

International relations - the structure of the relations between the states of the world are central to any nation and its status in the world. Relations between all nations are built upon some basic policies, such policies can be built upon ideological principles whereby both domestic and foreign policies are constructed upon the aims of an ideology. Or in some cases a nation may not have a fixed policy so it is pragmatic using its geographical location, history or religion as a basis to build relations with other states in the world.

Competition between the world's powers is something that has existed from the beginning of time and will continue until the day of judgement. In ancient times Egypt under the pharaohs was the super power and Mesopotamia competed with it. The Roman Empire became the superpower and the Persian Empire competed with it. The Khilafah then defeated the remnants of the Persian and Byzantine empires and was the world's superpower until the 18<sup>th</sup> century facing challenges from the Mongols and the crusaders during this time. France and England then competed with the Uthmani Khilafah for nearly three centuries until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. On the eve of WW1 Germany shifted the global balance of power, whilst France and Britain competed with it. After WW1 Britain emerged as the world's power and France competed with it. Germany once again challenged Britain as the world's superpower and only WW2 stopped German hegemony. The US emerged the world's superpower after WW2 and was challenged by the Soviet Union for five decades until its collapse in 1990.

Since the Islamic Ummah is entrusted with carrying the Islamic message to the world, it is indispensable for Ummah to stay in touch with world affairs. The Ummah needs to understand and comprehend the global circumstances, understand its problems, be aware of the motives of different states and nations and pursue the political actions that take place in the world. Therefore, it is essential for all Muslims to understand the reality of the situation of the Islamic world in light of

understanding the global international situation. This is vital so policies can be developed to convey Islam to the world.

Any newly emergent nation will need to ascertain who the global powers are, their histories and their policies, based upon this a newly emergent Khilafah can develop policies in order to achieve its objectives in the global political landscape.

The aim of this booklet is to understand the global situation, the nations that have the most influence in the world and the political plans and styles that the world's powers have adopted. This book will attempt to look at how Islam deals with foreign relations and how it can act as a basis for the future Khilafah in order to deal with the different political realities. As the international situation at any given time is in a state of flux, the current global situation will be used as a basis to develop some guidelines, which could then be used to construct foreign policy positions. As there are many overlapping issues that need to be taken account when constructing a nation's foreign policy, this report has stopped short of presenting foreign policy positions and will restrict itself to presenting a set of guidelines. A series of guidelines to build the Khilafah's foreign policy as well as suggestions on areas for focus will be explored as developing any foreign policy requires an analysis of multiple issues which is beyond the remit of this booklet. As such guidelines are time specific, such positions are the opinion of the author and are liable for change when the international situation changes.

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Adnan Khan

## Islam and International relations

*Siyasah* – politics, in Islam is taking care of the affairs of a nation, both internally and externally. This is conducted by the state and the people. The state conducts this practically through governance whilst a nation's citizens take the state to task. Taking care of the affairs of the Ummah, internally and externally, by the state is discharged through the implementation of the ideology internally; and this represents the domestic policy.

Taking care of the affairs of the Ummah externally, by the state, consists of her relations with other states, peoples and nations, and propagating the ideology to the world; and this represents the foreign policy. A nation's foreign policy is fundamental for safeguarding the entity of a state and its people.

The basis of the Islamic foreign policy consists of taking the message of Islam to every people and every nation. For Allah سبحانه وتعالى says:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ

***"O Messenger! Proclaim (the Message) which has been sent to you from your Lord. And if you do not, then you have not conveyed his Message."*** (Al-Ma'idah, 5:67)

As foreign policy is a State's relationship with other states, this relationship entails looking after the foreign affairs of the *Ummah*. The Islamic State's foreign policy is based on a fixed concept that does not change. This is the propagation of Islam and the conveyance of the Message to every nation and every society. This is the very basis of the Islamic State's foreign policy. The basis never changes and never differs or varies no matter who rules the State. This basis has always been maintained and it has been carried out at all times, from the time when the Messenger of Allah صلى الله عليه وسلم settled in Madinah to the last day of the 'Uthmani Khilafah.

The Messenger of Allah صلى الله عليه وسلم set up the policy of the Islamic State on the basis of spreading Islam since the very first day he صلى الله عليه وسلم arrived in Madinah. He صلى الله عليه وسلم signed treaties in order to concentrate on extending the Message in the Hijaz. He صلى الله عليه وسلم signed the treaty of al-Hudaybiyah with the Quraysh in order to spread the Message in the Arabian Peninsula. He صلى الله عليه وسلم sent envoys to the countries outside the Arabian Peninsula with the aim of establishing relations based on the spreading of Islam, by inviting other nations to embrace it. In the time of the *Khulafa'* they also established relations with states and people beyond the Islamic lands on the basis of spreading Islam, and they too continued to carry the Message of Islam to the world. All the Muslim rulers who came to power competed in the spreading of Islam. The Umayyads took the banner of Islam to Northern Africa and Spain, whilst the Abbasids took Islam to Afghanistan, Al Hind and the Far East. The Uthmani Khilafah then took Islam to most of Europe. .

The basis of international relations in Islam has always been a set concept and can never be changed; this has been the case from when the Islamic state was established and up until it was abolished in 1924.

Based upon this the Khilafah state is obliged by Islam to develop political plans and styles to achieve the aims of taking Islam to the world.

### **Foreign Policy Development**

Islam has established the blueprint for the Khilafah to conduct its relations with the states of the world. This on its own gives a newly emergent Khilafah the basis from which to develop its foreign policy. All specific and detailed policies, political plans and styles and means are to be designed to meet the aims Islam has laid down.

On developing a detailed foreign policy and the blueprint for constructing relations with the states of the world there are two issues that the Khilafah's policy makers need to comprehend:

1. The world today is dominated by Capitalism, with the collapse of the USSR in 1990 and with it Communism, Capitalism remains the only system of governance which the world's powers have constructed their foreign policies upon. With this in mind the Khilafah's policy makers need to understand the reality of Capitalism and what it means to adopt it as a basis for foreign policy.
2. The global situation at any given time is determined by the structure of the relations by the world's powers. Most of the international incidents in the world take place between the world's powers due to the changing of such relations between the world's powers. The Khilafah's policy makers need to comprehend the international global balance of power, and then the nations that form the league table of nations and upon this understanding a coherent foreign policy should be developed.

### **Capitalism**

Capitalism emerged on the global scene after an intense and lengthy struggle. European philosophers, writers and intellectuals made considerable efforts for comprehensive change in European ideas with the aim of uniting Europeans under secular liberal democratic thought i.e. Capitalism. Many movements were established and played a great part in the emergence of new opinions about life. Some of the most significant events that occurred were the change of the political and legislative systems to the nation state. The spectre of a despotic monarchy gradually disappeared to be replaced by republican systems based on representative rule and national sovereignty. This had the effect of triggering the awakening of Europe from its slumber. The industrial revolution was then the centre of the European scene.

Since the adoption of Capitalism by Europe, this ideology has been propagated globally; Capitalism is the separation of religion from life affairs. Though there are numerous and different states that adopt capitalism, all of them work to propagate their capitalist intellectual leadership in the world, and to make their viewpoint about life dominate over the world.

The method designated by Capitalism and which Capitalist nations have continued to follow to propagate it around the world is colonialism i.e. imposing the political, military, cultural and economic authority over the conquered peoples for the sake of their exploitation. This method of colonialism has remained constant although the level of sophistication differs between Capitalist states. The foreign policy's of the capitalist states is constant and this is why Capitalist states have competed with each other throughout history. Thus, Britain is like America, France, Italy and all the other capitalist states.

## **International Situation**

The global balance of power or the international situation is the structure of the international relations between the world's nations. It is the status of the superpower and the nations that compete with it. Understanding the global balance of power apart from knowing the nations who are the world's powers, their policies and aims requires the knowledge of international relations, which is the constant competition between the world's powers over the position of the superpower. This is why the international situation is never stable, it goes through many changes. Hence any analysis of the global balance of power is a description of a particular point in time, when the international situation changes such an analysis becomes part of history.

The international situation will always be in a state of flux because it is determined by the political-economic situation of some states from one circumstance to another. Such change of situations and circumstances is either because a nation became stronger or weaker, or because its relations with other states became stronger or weaker. In such a case, a change in the global balance of power would result due to change in the balance of powers existent in the world. This is why understanding the status of each state that has influence on the international situation is the basis for understanding the global balance of power.

The construction of the Khilafah's foreign policy must take into account the prevailing international situation, on this basis the Khilafah can draw a variety of political plans to achieve its aims, what follows is an analysis of the global balance of power and the constituent nations that make up the current international situation.

## **USA**

Currently the US is the world's superpower, although faltering it still has the greatest influence around the world on international politics. Its \$14 trillion economy is the world's largest by far and it is also the most advanced nation technologically, it maintains over 800 military bases across the world in order to protect its interests.

The US emerged on the international scene in 1776 when the settler population developed a number of disputes with England. A mounting quarrel over taxes with the English government led to all-out war and the eventual independence of the colonies. The resultant effect of independence from Britain was that the North American continent became one large unified market, where a supportive political and legal system developed. Vast areas of highly productive farmlands and vast natural resources could now be used, extracted and developed for the benefit of America rather than its colonial masters.

Central to America's rapid development was the concept of Manifest Destiny the belief that the United States was destined, even divinely ordained, to expand across the North American

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continent, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific Ocean. The eagerness to expand westward was what led to an Indian removal policy that stripped the native peoples of their land. Such colonialism resulted in a huge decline in the indigenous American Indian population through war, conflict and massacre, with some tribal communities shrinking by 80-90% within a generation.

The American civil war of 1865 sealed the destiny of the nation and its economic system. The armament needs of the civil war laid the groundwork for the modern US industrial economy. War needs had enormously stimulated manufacturing, speeding an economic process based on the exploitation of iron, steam, and electric power, as well as the forward march of science and invention. The American Civil War was a bitter sectional conflict between the United States of America and the Confederate States of America, formed of eleven southern states' which moved to secede from the union after the 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States. The north's victory was eventually achieved by leveraging advantages in population, manufacturing and logistics and through strategic naval blockade preventing the confederacy from access to the world's markets.

The massive armament needs of WW2 pulled the US out of the great depression and turned them into a superpower. US entry into WW2 in December 1941 propelled them into a superpower and this status allowed them to organise the post war international architecture, as both Britain and France were devastated from WW2. The only obstacle was the Soviet Russia and for the next 50 years the US and USSR engaged in an intense battle for global domination, the cold war ended a period of intense struggle for global domination as the Soviet Union was unable to keep pace in the space race and arms race. This left the US as the undisputed global power.

The US today is the world's superpower she spends more on her military than the next 7 countries put together in order to protect her interests. The quality of US armaments is years ahead of Europe in terms of technological advancement. The USA yields most influence in the United Nations and in 2005 the US vetoed over 40 bills. The US dominates most international institutes, which means her domination over the political issues over the world. The US has the most voting rights in the World Bank amounting to 16.4% double then second placed Japan who has 7.9%.<sup>2</sup> The US has similar veto rule with 17% of IMF voting rights.<sup>3</sup> The liberal US think tank, the Brookings Institute, confirmed in one of its studies: *"The United States has viewed all multilateral organisations including the World Bank, as instruments of foreign policy to be used in support of specific US aims and objectives...US views regarding how the world economy should be organised, how resources should be allocated and how investment decisions should be reached were enshrined in the Charter and the operational policies of the bank."*<sup>4</sup>

America however is slowly bleeding to death from two open wounds in Iraq and Afghanistan that show no signs of abating. Both wars have now lasted longer than WW2. The US army, the most technologically advanced in history has been unable to defeat essentially a bunch of rag tags using weapons developed in the 1960's. As a result the US has to rely on regional nations to avoid embarrassment. The US is facing numerous challenges in the different regions of the world which only a decade ago it completely dominated.

In the Middle East, apart from needing the help of regional surrogates, the region is gradually shifting from being a uni-polar region in which the US enjoys uncontested hegemony to a multi-polar region. US aims in the region in the post war era were aptly encapsulated by Jimmy Carter in his State of the Union address in 1980 in what has come to be known as the Carter doctrine: “*Let our position be absolutely clear, ‘An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region would be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States’ and ‘be repelled by any means necessary, including military force’.*”<sup>5</sup> The US is facing more competition from China and Russia over access to Middle East oil. The US is now increasingly competing with India and Japan as well as the European Union for the lion's share of the regions black gold. Britain has also managed to foil American projects under the guise of partnership and co-operation. Graham Fuller former vice chairman of the National Intelligence Council described America's predicament when he wrote in the issue of the National Interest, “*diverse countries have deployed a multiplicity of strategies and tactics designed to weaken, divert, alter, complicate, limit delay or block the Bush agenda through death by a thousand cuts.*”<sup>6</sup>

The US is beginning to lose its grip in Africa after enjoying uncontested hegemony for decades; it is losing its grip to Britain and China. Britain under Tony Blair's tenure thwarted America's bid to oust President Kabbah of Sierra Leone and worked diligently to rescue Gaddafi's government from clutches of American neoconservatives who after September 11 wanted regime change in Libya. In Sudan the US has been unable to separate Southern Sudan due to the Darfur crisis which has been used by France and Britain to interfere in Sudan. In South Africa, Tony Blair competed tirelessly with the US to protect British influence there and made the country the mainstay of anti-government activities in neighbouring African countries. The US is also facing the prospect of being left out to dry as China has taken leadership on African development by completing over 100 deals, worth over \$20 billion, to secure a stable supply of oil. In response the US combined all military command structures creating AFRICOM, which will be the mainstay of US presence on the continent.

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As one cold war ended another struggle began, Many US policy makers saw the dismemberment of Russia as unfinished business. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the West led by the US began working to push its boundaries in Europe rapidly eastward, destroying Russia's ability to influence the region. The pro-Western lines have continued moving to the east for the past two decades, via NATO and EU expansion, until they pushed hard up against Russia's borders. With the collapse of the Soviet Union the US worked to dismantle the architecture established by the USSR, it worked to contain Russia by bringing all the former Soviet republics under its sphere of influence and for the next decade through the IMF and the World Bank it economically linked them to the West.

The US also expanded its presence in the Balkans. The US worked to contain the post-Soviet Russia, working to drive it out of the Balkans and Eastern Europe. The US obstructed the deal on a

federally controlled but semi independent Yugoslavia which led to civil war in 1993, it used this as a pretext to launch war against Serbia where Russia has ethnic ties with the Slavic's, and by inaugurating Kosovo's independence it further weakened Russian presence. The US worked to establish economic and military relations with Eastern European states, hence monopolising the security of the region. The encirclement of Russia was further attempted through the so called colour revolutions where pro-Russian regimes were overthrown and pro-Western leaders took the helms. Such relations were used as a basis to annex Eastern Europe into NATO.

Since Vladimir Putin become Russian President he has managed to gain a grip on the nation and counter US attempts to weaken Russia. Today Russia is rapidly developing without following the example of Western liberal democracy. Russia has opted to openly challenge the West as well as the US at practically every turn, whether by planting a flag on the seabed beneath the Arctic icecap, testing the massive ordnance air blast bomb or disputing the sitting of US early-warning defence systems in Eastern Europe, which it has managed to successfully halt for the moment. Russia has begun re-inventing itself as a regional power, after winning back Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan from America's grip and managed to reverse the colour revolutions. The US after nearly 20 years of having no rival is now facing the grim prospect of a challenge from a nation with the world's largest gas reserves and substantial oil reserves.

US foreign policy has also shaped by its attempts to contain China. In order to achieve this, the US has employed a number of styles in order to restrict any major Chinese initiative to expand its influence. The US has upgraded security relations with Japan and has supported Japanese calls for nuclear development, this would mean abandoning the decades old constitutional defensive policy; for the US this would act as a military counter weight on China's Eastern flank. On the Western flank India has been wooed with economic deals, the transfer of nuclear technology and ambitions of permanent security council status indicating that India should be the first among equals in Asia, for the US this would create a substantial counterweight in the region. The US in a similar manner has normalized relations with Vietnam burying its historical conflict and forming bilateral partnerships with it. The US has successfully manoeuvred the Vietnamese to increase interaction with it, breaking the age old Chinese links to the pacific region. Vietnam continues to have a territorial dispute on its northern border with China. The US has also used its conflict with North Korea to contain China. The US has been considerably silent to the nuclear progress in Pyongyang compared to Iran, whilst China has been pursuing six party talks trying to ensure its back door is not set on fire. The statements from such meetings have been contradictory where China has been remarking pessimistic talks with distance on issues to the US remarking successful negotiations. The New York Times commented '*Americas opening gambits in this process have exasperated a stalemate, as these positions have been so unworkable that it is almost presents the case of feigning a stance.*'<sup>7</sup> The continued sluggish progress and prolonging fits perfectly for causing instability in the region for the US and with North Korea testing its nuclear arsenal in October 2006 this will expend Chinese efforts and gives a suitable justification for sustained and substantial US presence in South Korea. Hence China has been unable to defuse North Korea and achieve its vision of North and the South becoming a unified Korea. The US has also announced in September 2009 a shift in policy towards Myanmar (Burma), it plans to move beyond the current sanctions regime to include direct engagement with the military government. Myanmar is playing a central role in China's

overseas energy strategy and through direct engagement the US is attempting to minimize the expansion of a Chinese sphere of influence in Asia,

The US took full advantage of the 9/11 attacks to further its hegemony in the Muslim world. It used it as a pretext to occupy Afghanistan, which is on the doorstep of Central Asia and it brought Iraq's strategic asset – oil under its command. The ultimate aim of the United States in the Muslim world is to prevent the emergence of any major power in Eurasia. The paradox of this is the goals of US intervention in the region was never to achieve something – whatever the political rhetoric might have said – but to prevent something. The United States wanted to prevent stability in areas where another power might emerge. Its goal was not to stabilize but to destabilize, and this explains how the United States responded to the rise of Islam. The US wanted to prevent a large, powerful Islamic state from emerging. The United States has no overriding interest in peace in Eurasia. The United States has no interest in winning the war outright, the purpose of these conflicts is simply to block a power or destabilize the region, not to impose order.

Whilst the US is the world's super power as it has the most influence in the world on international politics, it has designed political plans for all the regions of the world in order to maintain its influence, however the debacle of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars has severely dented US prowess around the world, Guantanamo bay showed the world what the US really meant about justice and the financial crisis has exposed the fallacy of the free market which was a key US export since becoming a superpower. The US is finding today it is being challenged in regions of the world which only a decade ago it completely dominated. The US is finding its predicaments around the world require a multilateral approach to global affairs which will only complicate US foreign policy.

The nations that are able to compete with the US are Russia, Britain, France and Germany, all four nations have international ambitions.

## **Russia**

Russian history is dominated by the period of Communist rule, which turned a backward agricultural land into a global superpower. The communists inherited an outdated economy; agriculture still resembled that of medieval Europe, with peasants bound to village communes using

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outdated farming methods. The USSR's rural agrarian economy struggled to produce enough food to feed the cities. Further hampering food production was Russia's lack of modern infrastructure and transport. Russia lacked the ability to effectively transport food across cities.

Beginning in 1928, the Soviet economy was directed by a series of five-year plans. Soviet planners developed various plans to stabilise the agricultural and financial situation of the country, followed by two further 5 year plans which allowed them to industrialise and achieve a virtually self sufficient economy.

After WW2 the global balance of power had completely shifted, Britain was considerably weakened after the war and the US saw Soviet participation as crucial to shape the post war world to the detriment of Britain. The wartime alliance however was based on aversion to a common enemy, not on an ideological consensus. Victory removed the mutual enemy and opened the coalition to strains between the Soviet Union and the US. The Soviet Union emerged from World War 2 as one of the worlds major powers, a position maintained for four decades through its hegemony in Eastern Europe, military strength, aid to developing countries and scientific research especially into space technology and weaponry. The Soviet Union's growing influence abroad in the post-war years helped lead to a Communist system of states in Eastern Europe united by military and economic agreements. It overtook the British Empire as a global superpower, both in a military sense and its ability to expand its influence beyond its borders.

The communist world the Soviet Union had constructed began to fragment as the Soviet Union was unable to keep pace with the US in the space race and the arms race, the deteriorating situation led to the communist ideology as a system to falter and as confidence in it evaporated, the communist camp began to call for independence. This resulted in the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The fall of Communism in 1990 and the break-up of the Soviet Union represented a wonderful opportunity for Western states and institutes to transform a huge centralist economy to a market orientated one. A total of \$129 billion poured into Russia with \$22 billion by the IMF and the World Bank implemented a number of its development schemes. The IMF and World Bank enforced its structural adjustment policies as its does to all nations and as a result, all industry was developed to produce goods ripe only for export abroad, hence Russia would forever become reliant on worlds prices and world currency rates. Boris Yeltsin at the same time privatised almost all industry and utilities creating a clique of oligarchs, who siphoned their wealth abroad. The inevitable result of this was the financial crisis in 1997 when Russia was forced to devalue its currency. The crisis raised poverty from 2 million to 60 million, a 3000% increase. UNICEF noted that this resulted in 500,000 'extra' deaths per year

Vladimir Putin succeeded Boris Yeltsin in 1999, a nationalist who endeavoured to change the fortunes of Russia. Putin began the process of re-nationalizing key sectors, assets, utilities and industries through policies intended to change the course of the nation. He dealt with the oligarchs who were essentially looting the nation, by restricting the amount of money they took out of the nation; some were allowed to leave the country only if they contributed to the re-building of the nation such a Roman Abramovich, whilst other oligarchs were dealt with ruthlessly. He stabilised the domestic situation through economic policies which were only possible under a dictatorship -

any parliament or senate would have stalled on such huge decisions and would have allowed their own interests to get in the way.

Russia in the last decade has managed to gain control over its mineral resources and utilities and banished many oligarchs who benefited from the break-up of the Soviet Union. With some of the worlds largest energy reserves it is now developing a state of the art military and competing directly with the US in regions where the US for nearly a decade had uncontested hegemony.

Russia continues to follow an independent route, such policies include Russia's continued position that it does not view Hamas and Hezbollah as terrorist bodies despite numerous US resolutions to the contrary. Russia has signed a deal with India to develop a stealth fighter as well as various military pacts. Its Middle East tours, position it as an alternative superpower to the US which is supplemented with its observer status in Arab league and OIC. Russia continues to use its Iran card and the sale of the S-300 missile systems card to frustrate US plans on UN sanctions against Iran. Russia plans to spend over \$200 billion in the next 5 years to modernise its military. This includes new nuclear submarines, aircraft carriers, a fleet of TU-160 supersonic strategic bombers and the development of a fifth generation fighter jet. Such production is also leading to Russia cornering the arms industry; Russia is the largest supplier of arms to China, Iran, and Venezuela and is courting the Middle East.

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## **Britain**

Britain historically has been a world power and still has influence in its former colonies. Britain is a key player in Europe and has frustrated many US plans. WW2 consumed Britain to such an extent that it weakened its international standing; British policy makers eventually accepted Britain's weakness and developed a policy of preservation rather than direct competition with the US. Britain has achieved this by siding with the US on one hand – cooperating with it across the world. Whilst at the same time it has sided with Europe aiming to frustrate US dominance.

Britain was the first nation in the world to industrialise, in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century Britain was a backward nation and until the 17<sup>th</sup> century imported most of its technology from continental Europe. England in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was a poor country, lacking the wealth of Portugal and Spain and so unlike the Spaniards and Portuguese, the English were neither missionaries nor colonists. The English were predominantly farmers and engaged in fishing. Due to the small nature of the English isles England was forced to make alliances and partnerships.

The basis of the British superiority was founded in the age of mercantilism; Britain went out in search of colonies, so they could provide the raw materials and markets for manufactured products. These colonial markets helped stimulate the textile and iron industries, which were probably the two most important industries during the Industrial Revolution. The British Empire first took shape in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, with the English settlement of the eastern colonies of North America, which would later become the original United States of America, as well as Canada's Maritime provinces, and the colonisation of the smaller islands of the Caribbean such as Trinidad and Tobago, the Bahamas, the Leeward Islands, Barbados, and Jamaica. These sugar plantation islands, where slavery became the basis of the economy, were part of Britain's most important and successful colonies.

*This programme of aggressive colonisation entrenched Britain's position in the world and changed battles from being fought for territories to offshore markets. It was this colonial war machine that drove a large chunk of Britain's scientific research, innovation, new ways of organising labour and military strategy. The liberal values which are trumpeted as the source of Britain's development arrived after achieving global domination*

Despite the loss of 13 of Britain's North American colonies, the final defeat in Europe of Napoleonic France in 1815 left Britain the most successful international power. While the Industrial Revolution at home gave her an unrivalled economic leadership, the Royal Navy dominated the seas. The distraction of rival powers by European matters enabled Britain to pursue a phase of expansion of her economic and political influence through free trade and strategic preeminence. With the use of industrial promotion strategies Britain when it reached its pinnacle in 1800 was navigating the seas in search of riches around the globe. This programme of aggressive colonisation entrenched Britain's position in the world and changed battles from being fought for territories to offshore markets. It was this colonial war machine that drove a large chunk of Britain's scientific research, innovation, new ways of organising labour and military strategy. The liberal values which are trumpeted as the source of Britain's development arrived after achieving global domination.

British foreign policy historically has been to maintain the global balance of power at all costs, even sharing the majority of the spoils if it would guarantee victory. It was Britain that brought together a number of coalitions to halt Napoleon Bonaparte's attempts at expanding the French empire from 1803 – 1815. The first world conflict is considered by many to have driven the industrial revolution in Britain. Britain was an important influence on the continental powers in encouraging their resistance to France. London had brought the coalition together through subsidies, and Napoleon realised that without defeating the British, French supremacy could not be achieved. Britain emerged the world's superpower after Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1815.

Britain once again led the world's powers against German aggression, expansion and development in the early 1900's as Germany attempted to shift the global balance of power, through territorial expansion. Such competition eventually led to WW1, where Britain and France emerged the world's powers with both powers distributing the conquered territories including the Middle East's oil, which had become critical to industry, amongst them.

British appeasement to Hitler in the 1930's led to the re-emergence of Germany who once again attempted to shift the global balance of power. The German war machine rapidly developed and conquered most of continental Europe. Britain once again brought the US into the war in order to halt Nazi expansion. When the war ended in 1945 Europe was devastated as the war had consumed them to the point that the global balance of power shifted from Britain and France to the Soviet Union and the US.

In the post war era British global aims were restricted by its economic realities, for this reason Britain works to have a role in the world by partaking in global issues; however it is unable to completely shift the global balance of power.

British foreign policy today is built upon the basis of having a role in Europe and influencing the US. Effectively the UK has one leg in Europe and one in the US, this is because British policy is not to melt in the EU and become a state such as Luxemburg who gives up its interests to the interests of Europe. Hence it searches and works on the basis of where its benefits and interests will be achieved. Its policy of being influential in Europe began during the cold war when the US and Russia in 1961 reached a détente over the international issues hence dividing the world into the Eastern camp and the Western camp for their respective spheres of influence. To counter this, the UK joined the European Common Market despite severe domestic opposition. Britain's policy was to strengthen itself with Europe in facing the two giants.

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Britain has frustrated many US plans across the world such as rescuing Gaddafi's government from clutches of American neoconservatives who after September 11 wanted regime change in Libya. Britain also managed to delay the Iraq war by influencing the US to go through the United Nations weakening the US considerably who then went against international law.

British foreign policy can be encapsulated as when its interests meet with the interests of America it sides with the US in a way weakening Europe. This has been the case with the Middle East peace process. At the same time Britain used its relations with the US and its position in Europe to divert and weaken US plans for global domination. Examples of this include Lebanon and Sudan

## **France**

France established a strong state in the centre of Europe in 1789, through, what came to be known as the French revolution during which the French governmental structure, previously a monarchy with feudal privileges for the aristocracy and Catholic clergy, underwent radical change to form a nation state based on the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment occurred in France and as a result new ideas on the role of the king and the powers of the state emerged. Many other French philosophers

and intellectuals gained social, political and philosophical influence on a global scale, including Voltaire, Denis Diderot and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose essay *The Social Contract, Or Principles of Political Right* and Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu described the separation of powers and were all a catalyst for government and societal reform throughout Europe.

Such changes were accompanied by turmoil and violence which included the trial and execution of the king, mass bloodshed and repression and warfare involving every other major European power. France has attempted to export its culture from its very inception. Its confrontational approach has been a recurring occurrence since the day the French republic was constructed. France like Britain established numerous colonies and laid claim to a number of North American territories, the West Indies, the Caribbean and much of West Africa. Jacques Cartier was one of the first French explorers who ventured deep into American territories during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The largest group of French colonies became known as New France, and cities such as Quebec City, Montreal, Detroit and New Orleans were founded by the French.

In 1799 Napoleon staged a coup against the bankrupt constitutional government, in the first decade of the nineteenth century, he turned the armies of the French Empire against every major European power and dominated continental Europe through a series of military victories. He maintained France's sphere of influence through the formation of extensive alliances and the appointment of friends and family members to rule other European countries as French client states. It took a global alliance of various nations to halt French expansion, which was eventually achieved with the French defeat at Waterloo in 1815.

France found itself at the centre of German expansion in 1914, with the German army a mere 43 miles from Paris. It was Britain that mobilised the world's powers to halt German attempts at shifting the global balance of power. The distribution of the spoils of war had already been agreed between the French and British. In November 1917 when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, Lenin's communists discovered amongst the documents of the Czarist foreign ministry a secret document, which was quickly made public. The document outlined plans to carve up most of post war Europe including the Uthmani Khilafah and the distribution of its parts to the victorious allies. The details were worked out in February 1916 before the beginning of the war. The Sykes-Picot Agreement of May 16<sup>th</sup> 1916 was a secret understanding between the governments of Britain and France defining their respective spheres of post-World War I influence and control in the Middle East. The agreement was negotiated in November 1915 by the French diplomat François Georges-Picot and British, Mark Sykes. The borders and the leaders of all the Arab states were decided upon by Britain and France. Britain and France concluded a secret oil bargain agreeing in effect to monopolise the whole future output of Middle Eastern oil between them.

French influence remained until the outbreak of WW2, France launched a limited assault on German expansion, but

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was unable to stop Poland from falling to Germany and then capitulated to Germany who blitzed through France, forcing French leaders to surrender to Nazi Germany in June 1940. In June 1944 known as D-Day, the Western Allies invaded northern France leading to the defeat of the German Army units in France, the allies moved through Europe and eventually surrounded Berlin and defeated Nazi Germany in 1944.

Post war French policy has centered on European integration as France attempted to strengthen itself through Europe. During the Gaullist era, France perceived the United States and particularly the US dominance of European foreign and defence policies through NATO, as a threat that could make Paris irrelevant. At the time, the French saw their country as a key world power that did not need hefty alliances, and that needed to stand apart from the United States. In 1950 French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman proposed a community to integrate the coal and steel industries of Europe - two elements necessary to make weapons of war. France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, West

*But since Nicholas Sarkozy took office in 2007, Paris has been growing much closer to Washington, ending Frances Gaullist period. French leaders have always viewed German economic power as a threat to France's ability to be a European power. French aims are now to become the United States' key ally on the Continent, thereby assuring that Germany and other possible competitors would not be able to challenge France's relevance or security*

Germany and Luxembourg signed the Treaty of Paris (1951) creating the European Coal and Steel Community, the origins of the European Union. De Gaulle's veto and French objections delayed the first enlargement and Britain's entry into the European Community. Today France has developed close ties with reunified Germany to become the most influential driving force of the EU.

But since Nicholas Sarkozy took office in 2007, Paris has been growing much closer to Washington, ending Frances Gaullist period. French leaders have always viewed German economic power as a threat to France's ability to be a European power. French aims are now to become the United States' key ally on the Continent, thereby assuring that Germany and other possible competitors would not be able to challenge France's relevance or security. French cooperation with the US has included France being part of US led negotiations involving Israel and the Palestinians and has been one of the strongest supporters of the United States' Iran policy.

France like Britain has been a key player in European history and politics, its policies for decades has been centred on creating influence across the world through its colonies, French culture and through its economic strength. France continues to have influence in Algeria, Tunisia and Lebanon due to the presence in these states of many people educated with French culture, after it completely lost its influence in Morocco and Mauritania. Politically, France dominates the European Union and has used it as a tool to further French interests. With Nicolas Sarkozy taking over the helm in France he has furthered French interests abroad by establishing military bases in the Gulf and cooperating with the US in Lebanon and with the US in the Russia-Georgia conflict.

## Germany

The German people emerged on the European scene in spectacular fashion. Germany rapidly industrialised and on two occasions attempted to change the global balance of power. Medieval Germany, lying on the open Northern European Plain, was divided into hundreds of contending kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms, bishoprics and free cities since the formation of the Roman Empire. Over a thousand years various kings and rulers attempted to unify the German states without success. As a result the German people engaged in many internal wars and conflicts amongst each other.

Otto Van Bismarck oversaw German unification which set the nation on the path to industrial supremacy. Beginning in 1871, Germany began establishing several colonies outside of Europe. Bismarck managed to achieve unification of the German lands which many had attempted for nearly a thousand years. Such unification meant German resources and minerals could all follow one unified policy and for once Germany could be domestically developed without facing any secessionist calls.

Germany's rapid development placed it in direct conflict with Britain and by 1900 Germany matched the military prowess of Britain and competed with it in the colonisation of the world. Germany took full advantage of Serbia's assassination of the heir to the Austria-Hungary Empire. Germany invaded France, broke its alliance with Russia and began invading Eastern Russia. Germany didn't stop there and continued the invasion of Europe and when its military machine went into Belgium Britain mobilised for war and WW1 had begun. The British empire's control of oil and the capturing of the rich oil fields of Baku on the Caspian Sea denied vital supplies to Germany and resulted in the eventual surrender of Germany.

The Treaty of Versailles in 1919 officially ended World War I between the Allied and Associated Powers and the German Empire. After six months of negotiations, Germany was forced to accept full responsibility for causing the war and, under the terms of agreement would make reparations to certain members of the Allies. Germany would also lose certain amounts of its own territory to a number of surrounding countries, be stripped of all its overseas and African colonies, and its ability to make war again was limited by restrictions on the size of its military.

It was in such circumstances Hitler emerged, a rightwing fascist who believed Germany to be a great state. Hitler managed to unify the German masses on his vision, that Germany is a great state, and therefore needs a strong economy in order to achieve her potential, which arguably Hitler perceived, as a world power. The vision of a thousand-year Reich managed to capture the imagination of a large section of the German public, which motivated hundreds of thousands of them to work towards the aims of Nazism.

On the two occasions Germany embarked on becoming a world power through its war economy it quickly became a world power, the rapid rise of Nazi Germany was only halted through the mobilisation of the world's powers through war.

German defeats in both the world wars have defined the nations post war policies. The help received from the US to curtail the possible shift towards communism resulted in the US to redevelop Germany and ever since Germany has developed a largely economic eccentric foreign policy viewed from the lens of Europe. Germany continues to work in partnerships due to its historical legacy and uses its economic strength to strengthen Germany. This has not resulted in political influence as the post war generation views this as a return to its colonial legacy. Germany continues to expand economically through a distinct set of economic policies with virtual hegemony in Eastern Europe. During the Cold War, when much of Eastern European business dried up, Germany became the largest Western trading partner of every country within the former Soviet Empire. When the communist system collapsed German bankers and industrialists moved quickly to fill the vacuum.

Germany today is the third largest in economy in the world at \$2.7 trillion and an economic powerhouse in Europe. In 2004 it was the world's largest exporter at \$912 billion. Germany played an active role in the successful mediation in the issue of exchanging prisoners between Israel and Hezbollah. Germany also deployed a naval force in the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 2006. Its deployment consisted of two frigates - the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Karlsruhe - supported by helicopters, supply ships and patrol boats, with about 1,500 men on board. This is Germany's largest military deployment since WW2. Germany however continues to view the world from a European perspective through its partnership with France, whilst Britain and France view the EU as a tool to achieve their national interests.

## **Emerging Powers**

After the nations that directly compete with the US, China is an emerging power and will in all likelihood yield influence in the future, whilst Japan possesses economic power.

## **China**

After the nations that directly compete with the US across the world, China has the most influence however it remains currently a regional power. Had China not been narrow in its international ambitions, focusing only on its region it would have competed with the world's powers. However this situation is very likely to change in the future.

In China's 5000 year history it has never been a superpower and has never influenced international politics. Even when it adopted Communism it never carried this beyond its borders and never influenced any of the regions of the world. Much of China's 5000 year history is composed of internal wars and struggles in order to unify the homeland. China's economy throughout history was based on farming that used ancient methods, and much of the agricultural activity was performed at a subsistence level. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century when

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the worlds leading powers had industrialised China still had an underdeveloped agricultural economy.

When Japan invaded the Chinese mainland in 1932, China was in no position to defend itself, by not industrialising its neighbour, which was a small island, managed to subdue a nation which was over 20 times its size. It was only WW2 and the intervention of the US that brought an end to Japanese occupation. By 1949 the communists managed to defeat the Chinese nationalists for a series of retreats known as the long march. The communist leadership then defined its long term goals of transforming China into a modern, powerful, socialist nation. For long China was considered a constituent member of the Eastern camp, however it split from this and developed relations with the US in order to be independent from the Soviet Union.

The execution of China's current foreign policy represents an important evolution from Beijing's narrow and reactive approach to global affairs since WW2. China is abandoning its long-held victim mentality of 150 years of shame and humiliation and adopting instead a great power mentality (*daguo xintai*). The natural extension of this is the increasing role of China in global issues. With the abandoning of the victim mentality and the adoption of a great power mentality China is increasingly seeing itself more akin to the world's major powers. This represents a shift from its past and China is now openly speaking about the need to share global responsibilities and this is the lens through which Chinese strategists view the world.

China's foreign policy is centred on domestic economic development and procuring all the necessary raw materials to achieve such aims. China has challenged America's containment policy by attempting to weaken the nations the US is attempting to use to contain China. This is through using its economic trump card and developing bilateral ties to loosen US relations with the likes of Australia, India, Japan and South Korea. Until China changes its regional ambitions to global ones it will never become a world power.

## **Japan**

Japan is an economic power with the largest economy in the world after the US; however outside the economic sphere it has no influence. Its current policy of taking part in the coalition in Afghanistan and the removal of article 9 in its pacifist constitution allowing it to deploy troops and develop nuclear weapons, is the US attempting to counter balance Chinese influence in the region.

Much of Japanese history is composed of internal struggles that consumed Japan as it attempted to create a centralised and unified state. Its history of internal strife is a result of the terrain and short supply of arable land, which made struggles over land rights and food supply both bloody and inevitable.

In 1853 in the infamous black ship incident US Navy Commodore Matthew Perry famously demanded that Japan open its doors to

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foreign trade. The Japanese faced the prospect of either being colonised like their neighbours or industrialising in order to negotiate with the West on an equal footing. This confrontation triggered the Meiji Restoration of 1868, when a radical group of young Samurai launched a coup against the Tokugawa Shogun and restored the emperor as the formal national leader, igniting a rapid process of re-centralisation and modernisation of Japan's economic, political and military systems. The Meiji State undertook a huge programme of industrialisation creating model factories and developing infrastructure.

Japanese policymakers, who increasingly were military leaders, were painfully aware of their limited natural resources and that the very existence of a modernising Japan depended on imports and trade routes that were vulnerable to numerous threats. In the 1930's Japan began a territorial expansion programme to solve the shortage of raw materials. It conquered Manchuria, the Korean peninsula and surged deep into China to exploit labour and resources.

The US brought Japanese expansion to a grinding halt by dropping nuclear bombs upon the nation, it occupied Japan with 500 000 troops, the threat of communist expansion however resulted in the US to develop Japan to be a model democracy with a flourishing economy. The US allowed the transfer of technology which greatly speeded Japan's post war development and ever since Japan has concentrated on electronics and has become a leading exporter of technological products.

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Japan is thus an economic power but lacks any political weight in the world.

After the great powers there are some nations that have influence in some circumstances on specific issues due to their history or location, but this has been temporary. India has a large population and possesses nuclear weapons and has the potential in the future to influence its region, currently it is well down the list of global powers although the media tends to give the nation much more status than it deserves. This is because India lacks economic power and the political power necessary to challenge the world's superpower. India is still very early in its development hence it is still formulating its global policies. Italy has some influence in the world, it was once a power prior to WW2 but this was temporary. Today it has some weight in Europe but has no global ambitions.

This is the international situation currently, The American, the English, the French and the Russians are considered the world's powers with the US sitting at the top, this is because it is these nations that have global ambitions and attempt to strengthen themselves through competing in numerous regions in the world. The world's powers differ in strength and any change in this would result in a change in the international situation.

## **Khilafah and International Relations**

The Khilafah's foreign policy in light of the international situation can be guided by the following general broad guidelines:

1. Conveying the Islamic da'wa is the axis around which foreign policy revolves, and upon which relations between the Khilafah and other states will be built.
2. The political cause of the Khilafah is Islam, it the might of the State.
3. One of the most important political means is the manifestation of the greatness of the Islamic thoughts in taking care of the affairs of individuals, nations and states.
4. Political manoeuvring is necessary in foreign policy, and the effectiveness of this manoeuvring is dependent on concealing your aims and disclosing your acts.
5. Some of the most important political means are disclosing the crimes of other states, demonstrating the danger of erroneous politics, exposing harmful conspiracies and bringing down misleading personalities.
6. Ends do not justify the means, because the method is integral to the thought. Thus, the duty and the permitted cannot be attained by performing the forbidden actions. Political means must not contradict the political methods.

The Khilafah's relationships with other states should be built upon these considerations:

7. The current Muslim nations are considered to belong to the Khilafah and, therefore, they are not included within the sphere of foreign affairs. Relationships with these countries are not considered to be in the realm of foreign policy and every effort should be expended to unify all these countries into one state because Allah سبحانه وتعالى demands it. The subjects of these countries are not considered to be foreigners.
8. States that have economic, commercial, friendly or cultural treaties with Khilafah are to be treated according to the terms of the treaties. If the treaty states so, their subjects have the right to enter the State provided our subjects are treated in a like manner. The economic and commercial relationships with such states must be restricted to specified items which are deemed necessary.
9. The state will generally not have formal relations with the imperialist states. All precautions must be taken against them. Their subjects may enter the Islamic State only with a passport and a visa specific to every individual and for every visit. However the political manoeuvring with such states should take place as the Messenger of Allah صلى الله عليه وسلم did with the Quraish.

10. With states that are actually belligerent, like Israel, They must be dealt with as if a real war existed whether an armistice exists or not - and all their subjects are prevented from entering the State.
11. States which are not actually belligerent, imperialist and do not have designs on the State are allowed to open embassies in the State. However, the activities of such embassies are not to be cultural or political, and there should be restrictions on their movements.
12. The State will open embassies in the states that are not actually belligerent, according to the interest of da'wa. Among the activities of such embassies is to deliver the Islamic call.
13. The State is forbidden to belong to any organisation which is based on something other than Islam or which applies non-Islamic rules. This includes international organisations like the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and regional organisations like the Arab League.

## **Khilafah's Foreign Policy**

On the re-establishment of the Khilafah reunification with the wider Muslim world should be sought, this practically means:

- The Ummah globally is to be informed that they are represented by one Khaleefah, the Khilafah will need to get into a position where every Muslim in the world is the responsibility of the Khaleefah, any attack on any Muslim should result in the intervention of the Khilafah, geographical borders are to be irrelevant.
- The Current rulers in the Muslim world are to be told to relinquish their roles as Islam demands one ruler, they will be informed the Khilafah will annex their countries eventually whether they relinquish their roles or not, This is to be done publicly. The aim here is to address all the Muslims across the world, whatever their ethnicity, colour and nationality and win their allegiance.
- From a practical perspective the Khilafah will need to take over all civil and ruling organs of state, across the Muslim world. This has traditionally always been the case when an occupying force took over a nation. The four position's of ruling – the ruler, chief judge, governors and delegated assistants, will be undertaken only by those who understand the Islamic ruling system, all those working in posts other than ruling – which will be 95% of people, they will be given Islamic policies to implement, clearly derived from the Islamic sources. It should be remembered that for nearly 200 years the Muslim world has had governments that were not fit for purpose
- The Khilafah through its economic polices will inshallah rapidly develop. With the aim of reunification through persuasion and economic success the Ummah globally should drown out any calls from those who do not want to reunify with the Khilafah. A strong Khilafah will be a powerful magnet for many nations across the world.
- The complete implementation of Islam, the execution of the different Islamic systems simultaneously, all will inevitably solve the Muslims world's economic problems, social issues, justice and domestic development issues. Such an occurrence, which has been almost absent for 200 years will melt the whole Ummah into one Ummah, deal with all those who have doubts over the applicability of Islam and make it very difficult for any Muslim to undermine the Khilafah. In the long term the successful implementation of Islam, the solving of problems, economic development etc will have huge global implications, as this would mean there is now an alternative way to deal with national issues with an alternative ideology.
- Many domestic developments have global implications. Industrialisation means a nation can engage in territorial expansion or support the development of allies. For the Khilafah the Implementation of the Islamic ideology is the challenge to Capitalism.

The following are some broad guidelines for the Khilafah with regards to the world's powers:

## **United States**

The US after gaining independence from Britain established a constitution and through colonialism expanded until it occupied the whole North American seaboard. The US was forced to mechanise tasks due to its small population and this set in motion the nation's industrialisation. This struggle the US underwent is taught in primary school education and is something all US citizens grow up with. US citizens place the success of their nation down to the struggles of their founding fathers and the adoption of Capitalism, it is this very fact that leads to many US citizens to support US aims abroad as they are sold the policy that the US has a role in the world to do good i.e. spread Capitalism.

As the US is the world's superpower, it represents Capitalism, the Khilafah represents Islam and this difference leads to each viewing the other as a potential challenger to its superiority. As a result each will legislate in a manner that cements its position different to the other. The Khilafah will effectively be in a cold war with the US and aim to challenge Capitalism.

As no two ideologies can coexist in the world, the US initially led the challenge against the Soviet Union, which represented Communism. Since the demise of Communism and the Soviet Union the US has designated Islam as a potential challenger to Capitalism and all Capitalist states have consistently used 'subversion' to defend Capitalism and halt the potential return of Islam. Through creating many lies such as Islam is inherently violent and irrational, Western Capitalist states have created global public opinion based upon such concepts. Hence in dealing with the US and taking into account such points the following guidelines should be used to develop policies with regards the US:

- Through the states industrial programme and infrastructure development the Khilafah domestically will eliminate many of the current problems, as the absence of any system is what has caused many of the issues. The US and many of the Capitalist nations deflect their domestic failures by only focusing on their successes and by comparing their system with a third world country. Consider the following facts:
  - In 2008, in the US, a person was murdered every 31 minutes, raped every 2 minutes, a burglary was committed every 18 seconds and Identity fraud took place every 5 seconds.<sup>8</sup>
  - The US suffers from a huge wealth disparity. In 2005 the US generated \$13 trillion, however US statistics show the majority of this wealth went to a minority of the population. 13% of US population earned 53% of the income generated in 2005; this means 87% of the population shared in only 42% of the income,<sup>9</sup> it is for this reason 37 million Americans live below the poverty line.
  - US consumption patterns have created numerous health problems, In the United States, 55% of adults are overweight by international standards. A whopping 23% of American

adults are considered obese. And the trend is spreading to children as well, with one in five American kids now classified as overweight.<sup>10</sup> Liposuction is now the leading form of cosmetic surgery in the United States, 400,000 operations take place every year.

Such facts show that the US is drowning in a sea of misery that will only be compounded by the global financial crisis. Whilst there is no doubt the US has made substantial progress in technological development and science, it has failed however in creating social harmony, in fact in the pursuit of Freedom the US has a suicide rate of 89 suicide deaths a day (1 suicide every 16 minutes).<sup>11</sup>

- Due to the Islamic social system being from Allah سبحانه وتعالى, it is not characterised with the conflict of balancing society's freedoms. By having clearly defined roles for men and women and by restricting sexual relations to marriage, the Islamic system will not be characterised with the problems the US faces and this reality needs to be projected across the world, this will counter US propaganda that living a shari'ah based lifestyle is a life of misery.
- The Khilafah will need to challenge, frustrate and divert US aims globally, this is important even for the Khilafah's own survival. The US is a colonial state and has designs all across the world. We see the US has used Iran's nuclear programme crisis to keep a substantial force in the region, it has used this as a basis to provide security for many of the Gulf States. The US has used North Korea as a justification to maintain a substantial force in South Korea and justify keeping its 14 bases in Okinawa in Japan. The US is a colonial state that has designs on the Muslim lands, the Khilafah needs to develop multiple polices to reverse this.
- **Middle East** – The US entered this region after it saw the strategic advantages it offered during WW2. Its strategic location and huge reserves of oil attracted many US policy makers and with Israel willing to protect US and Western interests the US worked to remove Britain from the region through bringing agent rulers to power through coups and then making them dependent on the US through loans and economic aid. The US has also provided most of the regions security in order to curb any rise of Islam as the Middle East is the natural birth place and departure point for the return of Islam. Once this happens by Allah سبحانه وتعالى permission, the Khilafah needs to destroy the two key tools the US's uses to interfere in the region.
- The first of these tools is the agent Muslim rulers, they have protected US interests and must be removed. Those rulers who refuse to leave their posts, should be publicly removed and humiliated and be forced to repay the nations debts. Through such rulers the US makes use of a number of military bases, cutting such supply lines will severely hinder US military capabilities.
- There is also the very real possibility of a military strike by the US as the Persian Gulf Oil and Gas – the largest in the world are threatened for the first time. The US has the capability to carry out a sustained attack using an array of missiles. Whilst there is no short answer to

this dilemma, the Khilafah will need to mitigate the possibilities of such an attack occurring, this can be achieved by annexing and expanding very quickly, so the US will then be dealing with a much larger area. As the Afghanistan and Iraq wars have shown, the longer the supply lines have to travel the weaker the front lines and with the absence of military bases the Khilafah will be well placed to deal with US ambitions.

- **South Asia** – US policy in South Asia has been shaped by containing China and various strategies to halt the Islamification of the region. The US backed and funded Jihadi groups in the 1980's to counter the threat of Soviet expansion when they invaded Afghanistan. Since the events of 9/11 the US has worked to reverse the Islamification process through its invasion of Afghanistan, which the US has no intention of leaving any time soon. The US plans to use Afghanistan as a spring board against China and the threat posed by Russia in Central Asia. US policy makers now deal with Central Asia and South Asia as one region. When the US was bogged down with an insurgency that showed no signs of abating in Afghanistan it enlisted the help of Pakistan and spread its war to Pakistani soil to justify Pakistani participation. The Pakistani army is acting as a mercenary force for the US, it has also provided the US with the necessary supply lines to conduct the war. The US is reliant upon Pakistan for success in Eurasia, the search for alternative supply routes is causing considerable problems for the US, it is only Pakistan's support through conducting operations for the US that the US has not been humiliated. The Khilafah's policy for South Asia can be nothing other than reversing and deconstructing US presence in the region.

## **Britain**

Britain has a long history of being a global power, it was the first nation to industrialise and engaged in many world wars to protect the global balance of power. Britain from its origins was a colonial state, as Britain is a small island, it had to expand as the British could never fulfil their basic needs from its small resources. During WW2 Britain's economy, society and military was exhausted, its role in the world changed as there were nations in the world who actually benefited from the war as they expanded their military machine. The Suez crisis in 1956 was the final nail IN the coffin that proved Britain had been removed from being the world's superpower. The US had managed to bring its agent Jamal Abdul Nasser to power in 1952 and wrestled the Suez Canal from Britain in 1956. British, French and the Israeli invasion of Egypt was halted after the pressure by the US and the USSR.

Since then, Britain has played the role of siding with the US and Europe on global issues. It has attempted to undermine both whilst trying to strengthen itself through frustrating each parties plans. Britain has worked with the US on the North Korea nuclear issue, Iran's nuclear programme and Palestine. It has at the same time worked against the US in Sudan, Africa and the Indian subcontinent.

Britain is an expert at exploiting nations and peoples for its own ends. This is in fact the history of Britain – all three world wars was Britain utilising others to maintain its dominance. It was Britain that brought the world together to halt Napoleon, this devastated Europe and Britain emerged the

words global power. It was British attempts to halt German expansion that led to WW1, Britain used its blockade of Germany to occupy Caspian energy and even brought the US into the war. Britain once again brought the world's powers together to halt German aggression in WW2 and even managed to get the US to take part in the war. Britain's real strength is in using peoples and nations. The only way to overcome Britain is through confronting it alone ensuring it has no assistant or partner

## France

France since the French revolution has been a colonial state. The French today consider their nation to be the forefathers of Capitalism. It is this pride that drove France to colonise other lands and not just steal their resources but actually get the host population to like French culture. France has generally taken a very confrontational approach to foreign policy matters; it took France 17 years to actually conquer Algeria. The Khilafah's policies towards France should take the following matters into account:

- Although France has influence in Europe, it lacks the skill of both the US and Britain in maintaining influence around the world, for these reasons the Khilafah should consider challenging France, especially in its former colonies where it still maintains some influence.
- The Khilafah should directly challenge Capitalism in France, as the French adherence to Capitalism is largely built upon their historical struggle rather than any intellectual conviction.
- Since adopting Secularism France has worked to enshrine Individualism, French Secularism does not recognise groups of people, the French state is all about protecting and recognising individuals. Sexual freedom has come to characterize France, as one writer stated '*it is forbidden to forbid. Which means: it is forbidden to set standards.*'<sup>12</sup> This has created lewdness and debauchery of the highest level.
- Many consider French culture to be dead. Whilst France at the dawn of Capitalism was leading change in Europe, today most thinkers, new ideas and philosophers come from the US, this has created a very insecure France who has become very pessimistic about the future of the nation.
- Unemployment has always been high in France. Over 9% of the working population is unemployed and for these reasons France draws upon immigrant workers from its former colonies to the jobs French people refuse to do.
- The Khilafah once it is in a position to challenge France should do so as France has many internal issues which include their own identity.

## Germany and Japan

Both Germany and Japan have attempted to shift the global balance of power in the past. After WW2 when both nations were occupied by the allied forces the destiny of both nations was going to be one of reducing them to a level where they could never be a threat ever again. With the threat of communist expansion both nations were redeveloped to be held as successful democratic nations. The US transferred technology, provided loans and expertise so both nations could very quickly become independent and be members of the Western capitalist camp. Ever since, both nations have achieved phenomenal economic success, but both have not been able to expand their influence. Japan has a global lead in electronics and is an economic power whilst Germany has a very successful manufacturing base which has made it the world's largest exporter. The Khilafah should consider both nations as possible candidates to fracture the capitalist camp:

- Germany and Japan suffer from a raw materials shortage, which makes them more prone to enter into an alliance with the Khilafah in return for a stable supply of raw materials.
- Whilst German industrial development in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was built upon German iron and coal, such minerals are largely depleted and today Germany is reliant upon oil imports. Germany at the same time has a declining population, which makes Germany a nation the Khilafah could enter into an alliance with in order that it remains neutral in the world in return for energy.
- A similar policy could be pursued with Japan, who is in an even worse state than Germany. Japan faces a potential decline in its workforce population due to an ageing population. Japan has inadequate natural resources to support its economy. Japan is dependent on foreign sources for many of the minerals essential to modern industry. Iron ore, copper, and bauxite are all imported. Such challenges mean the Khilafah can make an alliance and provide the raw materials in return for Japanese allegiance around the world.
- The Khilafah can become a source for raw materials for both Germany and Japan in return for their allegiance. As both Japan and Germany have no global aims and appear not to be moving in this direction the Khilafah could also use the relationship to acquire technology that the Khilafah lacks.

## China

China in its 5000 year history has never been a global power, it has never expanded its borders. China throughout its history was marred in internal conflicts between various competing dynasties and foreigners were viewed as devils. China's was humiliated by its island neighbour, Japan, who conquered large swathes of the mainland in a brutal occupation. This occupation defined the post war Chinese mindset of being a victim. Those who managed to survive WW2 and took on positions of power and were generally communist and viewed post war China as a wounded patient. By the 1970's the WW2 generation has either passed away or were too old to partake in governance. Hu Jintao, who took over the leadership of China in 2003, born in 1942 was the first leader of the republic not to have taken part in the Chinese revolution. These new breed of leaders, do not view

the world through a victim lens but rather from the perspective of China developing and having a role in the world.

Chinese foreign policy has been driven by rapid economic development, the need to secure raw materials and protecting itself through strengthening itself in its region. China's approach to such policies has not been colonial, it has been the complete opposite to what the Western world has traditionally done. China is still on its ascendancy, however it remains to be seen whether China will ever look beyond its region for political dominance. The US for the last three decades has been working to curtail China's rise in the world, through instigating fragmentation through its agent the Dalai Lama in Tibet and through the separatist movement in Xinjiang. The US has also worked to contain China by bringing all the nations surrounding it, under its authority by arming them and through economic deals. As a result the following guidelines should be used with regards to building policies towards China:

- The Khilafah on its establishment should work to get into a position where it is a protector of the global Ummah, this includes the Muslims of Xinjiang who China has had many problems with due to foreign interference by the US. The Khilafah could guarantee the end of the separatist call in the region in return for China to end hostilities and ensure its economic development also includes Xinjiang. This will bring the much needed stability China needs and ensure China falls into the Khilafah's camp.
- Many of the current Muslim nations have various economic agreements with China, especially Pakistan, these should continue and China should be used as a source of technology that the Khilafah needs to acquire.
- The Khilafah can give China the stability it lacks at the same China can be bulwark against the US global domination.
- China needs to perceive itself equal in any relationship, as Chinese policy makers believe the nation doesn't get the credit it deserves. This was one of the reasons China rejected the idea of a US-China "Group of 2" in 2009, China believed the US was not prepared to view China as an equal.
- It will be in China's interests to cooperate with the Khilafah when its lands stretch from one side of the world to the other and when the world's key water ways and oceans are under the Khilafah's authority.

## **Russia**

Russia has returned to the global arena after the collapse of the Soviet Union, but finds itself in direct conflict with the US. The US since the collapse of the Soviet Union has worked to bring all the former Soviet republics under its influence, it has achieved this primarily through EU enlargement and NATO. Putin has put in place a programme to reverse the decline and is directly challenging the US, with all its energy needs being fulfilled through domestic sources Russia is well placed to challenge the world's superpower.

- It is highly unlikely Russia will enter into any type of alliance with the Khilafah. Russia has a history longer than Britain and the US of colonising Muslim territories.
- Russia's main concern currently is the US and its encroachment on Russia's periphery, As Russia is in a position to challenge the world's superpower the Khilafah should ensure this continues and work to consolidate its domestic situation. This is because as Russia has a sizable Muslim population, if it views the Khilafah as a threat as the Muslim lands share many borders with Russia than it may turn its focus to the Khilafah and end its aggression towards the US. Hence in the case of Russia the Khilafah should develop policies that ensure it continues to challenge the US.

## Israel

Whilst a number of Jews wanted a homeland for their people in the 1800's it was Britain who used the call for a Jewish state to its advantage. It was British Prime Minister Henry Bannerman in 1906 that said: *" if, per chance, this nation (the Ummah) were to be unified into one state; it would then take the fate of the world into its hands and would separate Europe from the rest of the world. Taking these considerations seriously, a foreign body should be planted in the heart of this nation to prevent the convergence of its wings in such a way that it could exhaust its powers in never-ending wars. It could also serve as a springboard for the West to gain its coveted objects."* The following framework should be used with regards to Israel:

- The establishment of the Khilafah in reality means Israel has failed for the very purpose it was created, which is to stop Muslim unity. The issue that would remain is what actions would Israel undertake and what will Israel's masters, the US, possibly do?
- The US will need to decide if Israel still represents its interests. If the Khilafah has been established, such a tool is now outdated. The US however may arm Israel to the teeth to launch a war with the Muslim world under to guise of self preservation.
- Israel could launch a unilateral war as it did in 1956 and 1967 to protect itself, however this would be near impossible, Israel would need to occupy large swathes of Muslim land to keep the Khilafah out. It cannot do this on its own and would need the US in any sustained attack. Israel doesn't have the capabilities to launch a lengthy war and occupy land. It is only able to survive due to two key factors which when removed make Israel irrelevant.
- The first is the support it has received from the West. The West has armed Israel and given Israel the right to sell to their markets. Without this supply line Israel would be on its knees as its small population and lack of resources cannot generate sufficient wealth domestically.
- The second is the support the Muslim rulers have given to Israel, this explains how less than a million Jews subdued a Muslim population of 40 million in 1947 and how today Israel is able to survive amongst 300 million Muslims. The Muslim rulers of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Iraq are Israel's first line of defence, they have never had the aim of ending the occupation, and they institutionalised it by negotiating on the 1967 borders.

- The Khilafah should expose the treachery of the rulers and work to bring the Muslim lands under its authority. Once this is achieved the US will need to decide, with the Khilafah surrounding Israel, is it worth intervening. The Khilafah should work to get itself in this position. The Khilafah should work to reverse Israeli occupation by destroying the two supply lines that give it oxygen.

## Conclusions

US think-tanks and policy makers in the Western world have continued to cite the continued demand for Shari'ah in the Muslim world as a medium to long term challenge the US will face. US national intelligence estimates have predicted the emergence of the Khilafah by 2020. The war on terror has been long exposed as a war on Islam and whilst the Islamic world is not represented by the Khilafah currently, its potential emergence represents a potential threat to the world's powers and has led them to engage in an ideological battle for the hearts and minds of Muslims across the world.

Whilst there is no doubt that many challenges await the Khilafah on its emergence the Khilafah's policy makers will need to take a realistic approach to foreign policy and prioritise its strategy. The Khilafah will need to balance between its immediate priorities of domestic development and consolidation and reunification with the wider Muslim world. It will also have to take into account the plots and plans of the Western world which will have a huge impact on domestic policy.

Whilst on the surface these may appear to be insurmountable issues, Islamic history has shown that when the Khilafah possessed the Islamic ideology and made this its central call to the world it overcame all obstacles.

The Messenger of Allah صلى الله عليه وسلم understood very well that the Qur'aish would never allow the Islamic state in Madina to exist and survive. With this in mind as soon as the Messenger of Allah صلى الله عليه وسلم established Islam in Madina he set about securing all the Islamic state's trade routes, in doing so he signed treaties with neighbouring tribes and blocked such routes for Qur'aishi use, this eventually led to the battle of Badr which was the Qur'aysh's most important trade route. The Messenger of Allah صلى الله عليه وسلم attempted to overcome the Qur'aishi obstacle through a concerted strategy of weakening them.

Whilst the Byzantines had been fought on land, on a number of occasions, since the time of the Messenger of Allah صلى الله عليه وسلم the Khilafah had generally never gained a decisive victory and for these reasons *Mu'awiyah* had realised that the decisive battle against the then superpower would be at sea; the Khilafah however had no navy to speak of at the time.

*Mu'awiyah* institutionalised a programme of expanding the Khilafah's capabilities through the creation of dockyards in Acre in Syria and also in Eastern Egypt which was in Muslim control by 641. By 649 the construction of 1000 fleet was complete. This policy also resulted in ship building factories being constructed at important ports such as Abla and Sirafin in the Persian Gulf, Tunis on the North African Coast, Sus in Morocco then after further victories, facilities developed in Palermo and Messina in Sicily and Bari in Italy. *Mu'awiyah* also constructed military bases, the first attempt at conquering Egypt failed due to the then supply line being overstretched - the Fustat military base was 1500 miles away. Other bases such as Kufa and Basra were even further. In 670 the first full military base composed of garrisons, horses, camels, artillery, blades, swords and gunpowder was made in Qairawan (modern Tunisia) like all the other bases it developed into a famous city.

In This way the Khilafah was in a position to challenge the Byzantines as most of their provincial capitals were coastal cities – Alexandria, Carthage and Caesaea.

Both these examples show seemingly insurmountable obstacles were overcome through the motivation to spread the Islamic ideology and through realistic policy development. The Islamic ideology like any ideology provides a coherent system which can act as a basis for deriving legislation, developing economic policies, achieving social cohesion and constructing foreign relations. It is only the absence of the Islamic system that makes the issues in the Muslim world seem impossible to fix

When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ passed away the sahabah adhered to Islam and continued to carry it to other lands. When they come across new customs, languages and cultures the Muslims took what Islam permitted and rejected the rest. The new people were introduced to Islam and Islam was applied across the Islamic lands without differentiation between the people. In most cases those who were introduced to Islam, then became the carriers of Islam to the next lands, the adherence to the deen is what catapulted the Muslims into a superpower which included the Islamic foreign policy of conveying Islam to the world.

Islam is the only salvation for the Ummah, it has a track record of success, and it took the nomads from the desert of the Middle East to the coasts of Western Europe. Islam when it was a source of governance brought much prosperity and success. Only a return to Islam is the Ummah's salvation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Woodrow Wilson speech at St. Louis, 11 September, 1919

<sup>2</sup> World Bank, Votes and subscription

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/ORGANIZATION/BODEXT/0,,contentMDK:20124831~menuPK:64020035~pagePK:64020054~piPK:64020408~theSitePK:278036,00.html>

<sup>3</sup> Monbiot G, 'Don't be fooled by this reform: the IMF is still the rich world's viceroy,' Sep 5<sup>th</sup> 2006,

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/story/0,,1864923,00.html>

<sup>4</sup> Catherine Gwin, US relations with the World Bank, 1945-1992, Published in 1994, (Brookings Occasional Papers) Brookings Institute

<sup>5</sup> Jimmy Carter, State of the Union Address, January 23<sup>rd</sup> 1980, accessed 21<sup>st</sup> September 2009,

<http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/documents/speeches/su80jec.phtml>

<sup>6</sup> David E. Sanger, 'Bush agenda shows 'superpower fatigue,' International Herald Tribune, November, 2006, accessed 19<sup>th</sup> September 2009, [http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/21/world/americas/21iht-assess.3620836.html?\\_r=2](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/21/world/americas/21iht-assess.3620836.html?_r=2)

<sup>7</sup> New York Times, 29<sup>th</sup> February 2004

<sup>8</sup> See [http://ovc.ncjrs.gov/ncvrvw2009/pdf/crime\\_clock\\_hr.pdf](http://ovc.ncjrs.gov/ncvrvw2009/pdf/crime_clock_hr.pdf) and

[http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2008/about/crime\\_clock.html](http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2008/about/crime_clock.html)

<sup>9</sup> 2006 Economic, Survey, income data, US Census Bureau

<sup>10</sup> 'Chronic Hunger and Obesity Epidemic; Eroding Global Progress,' World Watch Institute, March 2000, accessed 24<sup>th</sup> September 2009, <http://www.worldwatch.org/node/1672>

<sup>11</sup> See [http://www.suicidology.org/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?folderId=232&name=DLFE-29.pdf](http://www.suicidology.org/c/document_library/get_file?folderId=232&name=DLFE-29.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> See <http://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/3977>