

O you who believe, respond to the call of Allah and His Messenger when He calls you to that which would give you life...

# Khilafah

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## The Breakup of Sudan

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# NEWSBITES



## US LEADERSHIP GAINS APPROVAL IN SOME PARTS OF ASIA

According to a recent Gallup Poll, the US leadership in 2010 has become very unpopular in India and Pakistan, with only 18% approval of US foreign policy. However, the same survey reveals that the US has gained approval in other Asian countries such as Singapore and the Philippines.

It is not surprising that the majority of Afghans and Pakistanis do not approve. Why would they? Obama's failed 'Af-Pak' strategy has subjected the regions' people to a brutal occupation, with innocent civilians killed daily and witnessing the US's empty promises of 'freedom' and 'human rights' when detained and tortured in Bagram and Islamabad.

The 'War on Terror' has seen millions of people displaced from their homes while both the Karzai and Zardari regime, thoroughly discredited by corruption, continue to be propped up by Washington. Only recently, IMF structural adjustments have slaughtered an already crippled economy in Pakistan by introducing callous tax rises on basic food items and fuel, just as the people struggle to rebuild their lives after the worst flooding disaster in their history.

## OKLAHOMA STRIKES OUT AGAINST SHARIA LAW

In a pique of populist paranoia the Oklahoma state Senate and House of representatives have strongly voted to allow referendum Question 755, known as "Save our State" to ban any reference to or efforts to impose Sharia law in any court. The move is seen as a rallying call to conservatives state-wide to stop Sharia law becoming widespread as it supposedly has in Europe. Opponents of the ballot called it a preemptive strike against a non-threat, citing the fact that even the amendments sponsors couldn't

cite any case in which Oklahoma courts have applied Sharia law. Yet supporters of the amendment, borrowing George W. Bush's "with us or against us" doctrine, argued that those who don't support the amendment must be for Sharia law.

Perhaps the last laugh is on them - innocence until proven guilty, no detention without trial, the right to present to a competent judge, rights of prisoners, womens vote, womens right to own and inherit wealth - and many other principles adopted in the US have their antecedents in Sharia law. Although in a Guantanamo Bay, Bagram and Abu Ghraib world many of these rights have been badly eroded.



## PAKISTAN PLANS TO TARGET MILITANTS IN NORTH WAZIRISTAN

US Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen said the Pakistani military has pledged to go after militants that the US wants targeted in the North Waziristan tribal region. Mullen said Chief of Army Staff (COAS) General Ashfaq Kayani has given assurances that he will mount an offensive in the tribal region along the Afghan border. "He has committed to me to go into North Waziristan and to root out these terrorists as well", Mullen reportedly said in an interview on Bloomberg Television. "He clearly knows what our priorities are... North Waziristan is the epicentre of terrorism," Mullen said.

Pakistani PM Gilani admitted in mid October that former President Musharraf was the first to give the US authority to use un-manned drones in surveillance flights throughout Pakistan. These flights have since initiated hundreds of attacks (89 in 2010 alone, killing over 750 people].

## 42 MILLION AMERICAN DEPENDENT ON FOOD STAMPS

Despite protestations that the worse of the recession is over, the US department of agriculture reports that close to 15% of

all Americans are in dire poverty, reliant on government handouts for their most basic food provision. The bad news does not stop there. As the US deficit grows greater than \$12 Trillion (>80% of US GDP) the Federal reserve is planning on printing more dollars as the world is losing interest in lending more to history's greatest deadbeat.

Despite a massive stimulus package unemployment continues to climb, house prices continue to slump and house repossessions continue to escalate.

And as the politicians jockey for position for the November mid-term elections, poverty numbers rise and resentment grows. Hardly the model for global economic leadership.



## NATO FACILITATING TALIBAN CONTACTS WITH AFGHAN GOVERNMENT

Nato-led forces in Afghanistan are facilitating contacts between senior Taliban officials and the Afghan government, including allowing them safe passage for talks in Kabul, a senior Nato official said in mid October. The disclosure reveals a greater Western role than previously acknowledged in Kabul's preliminary attempts to seek a political resolution to the 9-year-old war. The official, who spoke to reporters in Brussels on condition of anonymity, cautioned that contacts were in their very early stages and could not be described as negotiations. Nato allies including the United States have previously voiced their support for reconciliation efforts by President Karzai's government. The extent of any Western involvement in those contacts had been unclear. "We have indeed facilitated to various degrees the contacts between these senior Taliban members and the highest levels of the Afghan government," the official said.

# Editorial

**Asalamu alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuh,**

We are fast approaching the days of Hajj where Muslims seek the pleasure and forgiveness of Allah (swt). It is the anniversary that reminds us of the sacrifices and obedience of Ibrahim (as).

When Ibrahim (as) was sent with his mission, the world was a very dark place – tyrant rulers like Nimrood walked the earth. People worshipped false gods and oppressed the believers who challenged this established, yet false, order. Fashiha and immorality was prevalent. The worship of Allah (swt) was absent from the world, except for Ibrahim (as) and those who followed him.

Following the command of Allah (swt), he took his family to live in the barren, uninhabited valley of Makkah. He built the Kaabah along with his son Ismail (as) and was ready to show his obedience to Allah (swt) by sacrificing his son at Allah's (swt) command. He spoke the truth to the tyrant ruler and called people away from the worship of idols, asking them to ponder over Allah's creation, so they would realise who their Lord really was. Allah (swt) elevated Ibrahim (as) to the status of Khaleel – or Friend – of Allah (swt).

Our world has many parallels with the world of Ibrahim (as) where the command of Allah (swt) did not dominate. It too is a dark place, full of

war, poverty and oppression. Tyrants and criminals dominate the politics of the Muslim world – one only has to read about the situation in Sudan at the moment in the plans to divide the country.

People in today's world worship a different set of false gods, the biggest of which are money and wealth. Just as the idols in Ibrahim's (as) time were destroyed – just look back at the global financial crisis, which one year on has mutated into an international currency crisis. This new phase has the potential to be every bit as devastating as the first.

In today's worship of money, they proclaim new pilgrimages. Not to Hajj, but capitalist pilgrimages to the Commonwealth Games, where India was exposed for frivolously spending billions of rupees on twelve days of games, money not spend on improving the welfare of its poverty stricken masses.

And the hope of justifying this 'religion' of capitalism, they look for false prophets. Our book review smashes the hopes of the western media, who hoped that Professor Stephen Hawking's latest book would be a new revelation for mankind.

The parallel between today's world and the jahiliyyah of the past is apparent.

But there is hope in today's world. Those who read the Q&A on Pakistan

by Naveed Butt will see that daw'ah carriers across the Muslim world carry the torch for this Deen. They struggle and sacrifice to establish the Khilafah system, in obedience to Allah (swt) and seeking nothing but the pleasure of Allah (swt). The shabab of Hizb ut-Tahrir in Britain accounted Musharraf, the former dictator and now pretender to the presidency of Pakistan souring his attempts to re-launch his political career.

As Muslims we need to take all the lessons we can from the examples of the Prophet's of Allah (swt). They marched forth either alone or with a small following; sincerely obeying Allah's command; persevering until Allah (swt) made them victorious. So, in the same way the Muslims must proceed along by the command of Allah – struggling and striving to establish His (swt) Deen. We must persevere even if there were hardships. We should sacrifice where it pleases Allah (swt). And we should trust that Allah (swt) will bring His Victory soon.

*'And Allah has full power and control over His affairs; but most among mankind know it not.'* [TMQ Yusuf:21]

■

# HAJJ Reflections



*'Pilgrimage to the house of Allah is incumbent upon men for the sake of Allah, upon everyone who is able to undertake the journey to it' [TMQ Aal-Imran:96]*

As one of the pillars of Islam, Hajj sits within the heart and sentiment of every Muslim. And every year as the blessed month of Dhul-Hijjah draws closer, preparations begin in earnest for those who will commence their travel towards Makkah in order to fulfil their lifetime obligation.

For the rest of the Muslims the importance and value of Hajj and the first 10 days of Dhul-Hijjah has never been lost. Mimbars around the world for the past 1,300 years have enjoined and reminded the faithful of:

- The rewards associated with Hajj and Dhul-Hijjah; for example, Abu Qatadah reported that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said, "Fasting the Day of Arafah will be credited with Allah by forgiving one's sins of the previous year and the following year." [Muslim]
- The principle ahkam (rules) in performing Hajj; for example, the requirements for the Day of 'Arafah (Yaum ul-'Arafah).
- The etiquettes that should be observed; for example, the bonds of brotherhood and reconciling the hearts of those that have severed the ties of kinship.
- The hardships of Hajj and the sacrifice of Ibrahim (as), and

- The final sermon of our beloved prophet, Muhammad (saw).

And whilst the Muslims learn of these matters, it is often that the link to the prevailing issues that confront the Muslims globally and specific ahkam are left untouched or unspoken. Therefore, the reflections and connections that the Muslims need to make with Hajj are often lost. Given this, it is important to shed light on some of these associations, in order to cultivate reflections amongst ourselves that, insha' Allah, will rouse our sentiments, thinking and actions towards changing the current situation of our Ummah.

## **REFLECTION 1**

During Hajj, Muslims visit Makkah and Madinah. We visit the places and follow the footsteps of the life of the

Messenger of Allah (saw), where he lived, roamed, laughed, cried, struggled, fought and died. We are never connected to the fact that the struggle of Muhammad (saw) was to establish tawheed upon the people via a political system i.e. the Islamic State. Makkah and Madinah were also the places where he (saw) ruled over the people with Islam and justice, prohibiting division or the squandering of the wealth of the people and barring assistance to those who fought against Islam and the Muslims. Compare that to the rulers of today. For example, the obscene commitment from Saudi Arabia to spend \$60 billion in weapons procurement deal with the US - assisting them financially and strategically whilst giving a meagre amount to the Muslims of Pakistan devastated by the recent floods.

#### REFLECTION 2

The awe and emotion that swells inside the Muslim when he comes to view the House of Allah, not by satellite or television, but by his naked eye as he stands in front of it. How the Muslims would leap to its defence if anyone came to violate its sanctity or worse sought to destroy it. Yet Muhammad (saw) proclaimed, whilst walking around the Kaabah: "How great and noble you are...but the blood of a Muslim is greater than you and all your surroundings". Compare this to the devastation wrought on Iraq, Gaza, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.

#### REFLECTION 3

We witness the coming together of the Muslims, irrespective of colour, tongue, race, background, madhab, geography and celebrate this as a true recognition of our bond and unity as an Ummah. Yet the Hajj administration reminds us of our forced division by the disease of nationalism, our lands are separated from each other by illegal borders and political leaderships; and our strength under unity is dissipated and exploited by our political division. After the efforts to divide Iraq, one needs to look how the attention has turned to Pakistan and now the Sudan with its impending division being

ceremoniously pushed through by foreign powers with the complicity of the Sudanese government.

#### REFLECTION 4

We lament and recite connecting this to the recitation that the hujjaj make upon entering the state of ihram and crossing the miqaat. However, 'Labayk' was also the response of Muatasim Billah when the cry of the woman who was caught by Romans was narrated to him; and he despatched an army to free her and liberate Amoriyyah to Islam. Compare this to the hideous crimes committed against Dr. Aafia Siddiqui and her children, by the treachery of successive political leaderships in Pakistan. Who is proclaiming 'Labayk' in response to the demands of the US government?

#### REFLECTION 5

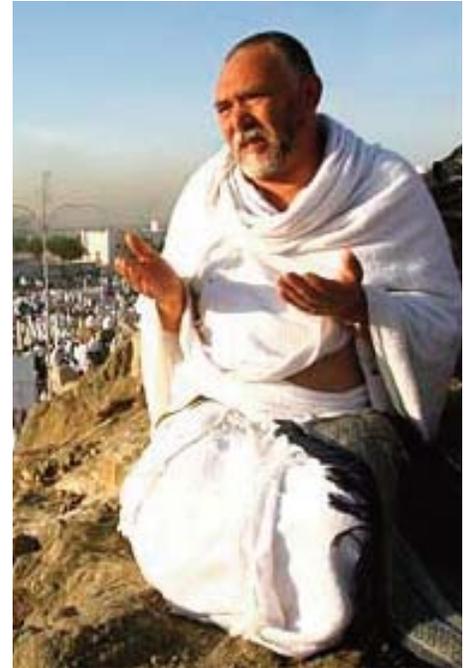
We learn the many ahkam of Hajj, their performance, timing and sequence. But why is no attention given to the rules of Hajj which inform the Muslims that the Imam or his delegate should lead the Hujjaj from Mina to Arafah, lead the prayer on arrival to Arafah and deliver the khutbah?

Which Imam will lead the Muslims over which issue? Is the Imam only for this journey from Mina to 'Arafah? No, rather the Imam should be the legitimate ruler over all the Muslims i.e. the Khaleefah or his delegate. Likewise he should lead us in all affairs, not merely the Hajj. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said, "**Verily the Imam is a shield..**". Look how we are denied this shield in all of our life and not merely Hajj.

Ironically, even the rulers of today do not attempt to lead the Hujjaj - it could be out of fear of slippers, of which there are plenty, that will be thrown in their direction. This is an action which has become an expression of the people's animosity towards these tyrants as we saw with Mahmoud Abbas and more recently Pervaiz Musharraf.

#### REFLECTION 6

Snippets of the Prophet's (saw) last sermon are delivered and explained to



the Muslims. This includes maintaining the life and property of every Muslim as a sacred trust; reminding the Muslims that it is taqwa that differentiates between two Muslims not race or colour and that the Muslims constitute one single brotherhood.

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "**I leave behind me two things, the Qur'an and my example, the Sunnah, and if you follow these you will never go astray.**" But what Sunnah do the rulers deliver to the people today? Abu Bakr (ra) when he became Khaleefah over the Muslims, dealt immediately with three key matters: the abandonment of the Sunnah, the fitnah becoming widespread and the emergence of bidah. He (ra) tackled them all promptly and effectively ensured the continued consolidation and spread of Islam in the coming generations.

Hajj is one of the great pillars of Islam for which we all look forward to and those that have performed Hajj are greatly affected. As we reflect this month we consider the great responsibility of not only worshipping Allah (swt) via the Hajj to his house but also to liberate his house from those that have neglected Islam in all of life's affairs.

# Letter to the French Embassy

Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain  
The Liberation Party

French Embassy  
58, Knightsbridge  
London  
SW1X 7JT

25th September 2010

## **Re: French Ban of Islamic Face Veils from Public Spaces**

Dear Ambassador Maurice Gourdault-Montagne,

We write in opposition to the recent vote by the French parliament and senate to ban Islamic face veils from all public places. The French political establishment may want Muslim women to expose their faces but through this divisive, discriminatory, and frankly xenophobic piece of legislation, the true face of French 'laïcité' has been made clear. France has shown it has an intolerant ideology where women are secluded from society simply for expressing modesty; a hypocritical ideology where freedom and equality are exclusive to only those who tow the secular line; and a fragile ideology that feels threatened by a few centimetres of cloth and a handful of harmless women. The denial of medical treatment, access to education, limitation of freedom of movement, refusing child benefit payments, and consequently rendering to second class status women who hold an alternative view to secular philosophy, reflects the religious

apartheid and fascist nature of this extremist ideology.

Many have questioned why in the midst of major economic, political and social crises, Western governments should choose to wage war on a piece of cloth worn by a few hundred women (if that) within their borders, other than to divert public anger away from political and economic incompetency. How convenient that at a time when the Sarkozy government is embroiled in corruption charges and pushing through unpopular pension reforms and economic cuts, national attention should be focussed on Muslim women and their clothing. Are secular liberal states so inept in solving their own major problems that they need to use Muslim women as human shields to hide their faults, inadequacies and failure in dealing with the real issues of the day? Furthermore, it has not gone unnoticed that the 'veil debate' has simultaneously exploited and fuelled an increasingly hostile climate to Muslims in the West for cheap political ends. Many have commented that Western politicians have used attacks on the face veil to gain the oxygen of media publicity and curry

favour amongst the rising xenophobic and anti-immigrant sectors of their electorate. They have unscrupulously exploited xenophobia to secure political ambitions. It demonstrates the cut-throat nature of secular politics where politicians have no qualms in whipping up hysteria about its religious minorities, competing in anti-Islamic rhetoric, and playing politics with their communities in order to bag a few racist votes.

Veiled Muslim women who may be forced to attend French citizenship lessons under the new law will therefore presumably be educated about a way of life that breeds contempt for religion, and where instigating prejudice against minorities and playing communities against one another is an acceptable electioneering tool. They would also seemingly be taught that the French view of the woman's dignity is to criminalise her for her religious dress, and that freedom extends to the right to exploit women through pornography and prostitution but not to the right for a woman to follow her religious convictions free from harassment. The 'veil debate' has exposed the failure of secular states to create harmonious

cohesive societies where all feel equally respected. Secularism's aversion to religious pluralism has nurtured an environment where racial hatred has thrived. Cheap attacks on the dress by opportunistic politicians have provided a veneer of acceptability for racist expression and anti-immigrant rants, fanning the flames of fascism and stoking tensions between communities. Xenophobic vitriol was given a platform, entertained, and tolerated under the umbrella of strengthening national identity. It has been the bigotry that has characterized this obsession with the veil, the antagonism of religious dress code bans, and the constant demonization of Islam that have fuelled prejudice and divided communities – not women's clothing.

Via hijab, minaret, and now niqab bans, European states have exposed the failure of secular liberalism to accommodate the rights of its religious minorities.

While secularism espouses freedom and claims to liberate Muslim women from lives of oppression, in reality it has treated them in true authoritarian fashion, forcing them to relinquish their religious convictions in exchange for access to basic human rights. It speaks volumes about any ideology that needs to subjugate the rights of its minorities and legalize religious discrimination in order to protect its values. No longer can it be acceptable for advocates of secular liberalism to lay claim to its universality and neutrality in securing rights for all. Dress code bans have been sold as a measure to protect, liberate, and empower Muslim women. However, where is the justification in criminalising the Muslim woman to set her free; stripping her of her rights in order to guarantee her choice; expelling young girls from school and cutting women off from employment, in the path of liberation; dismissing a woman's right to determine her own convictions in life, to safeguard equality; and increasing the prejudice, discrimination, and victimization she faces within society by stigmatising her dress, to protect her? Advocates of outlawing the veil have argued that it cuts women off from public life – the irony is that it is prejudice and bans that have achieved

just that. They have argued that it is a 'symbol of oppression' – is coercing women to leave their deeply held religious convictions through the arm of the law not a source of oppression itself? Furthermore it is not without irony that various 'male dominated' European parliaments, who have described the burqa as a symbol of the subjugation of women by men, see it fit to exert their male patriarchy to dictate to women how they should and should not dress. If the French government wished to be a torch-bearer for women's wellbeing, then why not appoint commissions tackling the causes of domestic violence, rape, and the sex industry in France – all of which affect the dignity of tens of thousands of women within the country rather than a few hundred? In addition, while accusing religious dress codes that reflect modes of modesty as outdated and oppressive, these same politicians ignore the objectification and sexualisation of women's bodies in pornography, lap-dancing clubs, advertising, and the entertainment industry, all permitted under the premise of freedom of expression and driven by the pursuit of profit in Western societies. It is these actions resulting from capitalist liberal values that have dehumanized, devalued, and degraded women. Surely, for those who have a sincere concern for women's rights, rising for debate, these forms of denigrating women should surely be more pressing than a handful of Muslim women covering their faces out of religious devotion within their societies. In contrast, Islam views the woman's dignity as sacrosanct and has prohibited exploitation of her looks and her objectification within society. The Islamic dress code is one means by which to ensure that society values women according to their thinking, abilities, and behaviour rather than their physical appearance. The Islamic belief that a woman's body is her own private concern and not open for public display, discussion, scrutiny, or monitoring – is clearly not a mark of liberation according to the Western liberal narrative of women's dignity. Ultimately, the outlawing of religious dress codes by Western governments

symbolizes a failure to convince Muslim women, many Western born, bred, and educated to embrace secular liberalism. It is a desperate attempt at 'forced secular conversion'. It is reflection of a weak ideology that resorts to state force rather than force of argument to convince and that is unable to protect its own values other than by stripping women of basic rights. The idea of increasing numbers of women who having tasted the fruits of liberalism and lived the Western dream being unconvinced by its ideals, and now adopting Islam as an alternative social and political path, appears to be a concept too indigestible for Western politicians to accept.

While debate has focussed on Islamic dress and whether it is appropriate for Western secular societies, the real debate to be had is whether secularism that is failing on so many fronts is appropriate to be idealised as the best system by which to organise society. The capitalist secular liberal system has caused chaos in the economy, meltdown of family life, and disrespect for women in society. Islamic laws and values offer society dignity for the woman, strong family units, and ensure healthy cooperation of men and women in public life. So in the end, dress code bans simply illustrate that when it comes to a battle of ideas with Islam, secular liberalism is incapable of rising to the challenge.

**Dr. Nazreen Nawaz**

Women's Media Representative  
*Hizb ut-Tabrir* Britain

# The Colonial Push to Separate Southern Sudan



In September 2010, on the sidelines of the meeting of the UN General Assembly President Obama gave an ultimatum to the people of Sudan. "What happens in Sudan in the days ahead may decide whether a people who have endured too much war move forward towards peace or slip backwards into bloodshed". He spoke in reference to the planned referendum for the independence of southern Sudan, and the division of Sudan, scheduled for 9th January 2011. He promised that Washington would normalise relations should the referendum be carried off calmly; that if the government of Omar Bashir fulfils its obligations in settling the conflicts, then the United States will support agricultural development, expand trade and investment, exchange ambassadors and eventually lift sanctions. Failure to do so, would lead to a hardening of attitudes.

There is a bitter irony that the United

States fought its own civil war to keep the unity of its state, yet seeks to legitimise a so-called "civil war" which would lead to division in the Muslim world.

Yet, the drive for the division of the Sudan is not new - though it has accelerated dramatically in recent times. Indeed, Sudan and Egypt were once one. What is called the problem of 'south Sudan' started after the British occupation in late 19th Century. The British High commissioner in Cairo, Lord Cromer, presented plans in 1883. The British encouraged the Masaleet tribe in 1916, to self-determination. A similar declaration was made by US President Woodrow Wilson in 1918 and again by James Robertson the administrative secretary of the British Government in Sudan in 1946. It is the same as the so-called manifesto of the SPLA rebel movement in 1983. Presently, the US is spearheading the effort to enforce this

long-planned division, with the support of the current regime under President Omar Bashir.

When Bashir became President, the government abandoned its previous uncompromising refusal to grant self-determination to the people of the south, after the IGAD declaration in 1994. After this, the main steps towards division over 15 years can be summarised as follows:

**1995** - Acceptance by the so-called opposition forces in the Asmara conference "of the fate determining issues" of the right to self-determination (i.e. separation) of south Sudan.

**1997** - The Khartoum peace agreement signed between the current Government and some rebel factions, which stated the right of self-determination.

**1997** - The Government signed the

declaration of the principles of the IGAD stating the right of separation for the south.

**2005** – Codification of the interim Sudanese constitution for the right of the separation of the south.

**2005 and 2007** – The Government signed the Mishacos protocol and later the Nifasha agreement which stated the right for separation of the south.

**2009** – The Juba declaration signed by the SPLA and opposition, which secured the right of self-determination.

**2010** – Elections scheduled for January 2011 in order to provide democratic 'legitimacy' needed for the separation of the south.

#### **IS SEPARATION A SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT?**

Some have argued separation of the south is the only solution. Scott Gration, Obama's special envoy to Sudan said on 26/4/2010: "We know that the elections are fake and faced many difficulties, but we will acknowledge it in order to reach the independence of the south of Sudan and avoid going back to war".

The south of Sudan is an oil rich area. China has interests in this region, and whoever controls this area, controls resources vital to manufacturing economies across the world.

President Bashir argued as long ago as the 1990's, on Al-Jazeera TV, that he preferred peace with the separation of the south over unity with war; and that separation would achieve stability.

But the idea of separation as a solution to the problem is simply running away from the real solution to the problems of neglect towards the people of the south. By following colonial powers successive leaders from north and south have neglected the people of the Sudan. Just as the government neglected the people, the rebel movements also neglected the people they were supposedly fighting for. None of the people – north or south had their rights and affairs looked after by Islam and its justice. Far from being a solution separation

adds to complexity of problems.

Moreover a dangerous nationalism and tribalism has emerged in the north, calling for a separate south – even saying that the people of the south do not 'resemble us' and other similar base and ignorant remarks.

#### **THE REAL DANGERS OF SEPARATION**

The idea of separation has always been brought by colonialists under the guise of 'independence' for an occupied power.

But separation will not stop the warring. It may precipitate endless wars over territory, between tribes and over the strategic Nile basin.

#### **LAND DISPUTES:**

Some have described this area as set to become the Kashmir of Africa, as division provokes irresolvable territorial disputes. To illustrate this, it is worth looking at one or two problems that are well known.

The shepherd herding tribes in west Sudan own half of Sudan's cattle (estimated 15 million according to

1994/95 statistics). The natural grazing and watering areas for them is the middle of the south: the area of Bahr al-Gazal, Bahr al-Lol and Bahr al-Arab. Separation would mean that these tribes would be restricted to the borders of Bahr al-Arab only, which would last them for about only one month. Hence, the potential conflict provoked would be one of survival for these tribes.

Another dilemma is in the Abyei region inhabited by the Denka tribe (who want it to be part of the south). Their claim is disputed by the Maseeriyah tribe who believe that the Denka are living in their area and have refused to accept the outcome of the Nifasha treaty. These kinds of disputes can be avoided when the tribes live under a common

authority, but are incendiary when separation occurs.

#### **STRATEGIC DANGERS:**

What is taking place in Sudan, whether in the Darfur region or the south, cannot be isolated from the wider politics of the Middle East. In particular the United States would seek to dominate the south and north of Sudan – leading to enormous regional influence affecting both Sudan and Egypt due to influence over the Nile basin.

Moreover, Israel has sought its own strategic influence in the region. There is a historical relationship between the rebel movement SPLA in the south and the state of Israel as part of a wider alliance of countries encircling the Arab world. Israel has interfered in the south of Sudan and established close ties with the rebel movement whether by providing training or by sending experts or reinforcing with heavy machinery. During the time of Former Ethiopian President Mengistu in most of the treaties that were signed between Ethiopia and Israel, Ethiopia had to give a fraction of the arms sent to it by Israel to the SPLA in the south of Sudan. Furthermore Israel used to provide satellite pictures to the rebel movement. John Garang (then the leader of SPLA) signed a treaty with Israel that included the reinforcement of his army with many Israeli military experts. In 1990 more than 15 Israeli experts arrived in the south.

The south of Sudan is an oil rich area. China has interests in this region, and whoever controls this area, controls resources vital to manufacturing economies across the world.

#### **INFLUENCE IN THE SOUTH OF SUDAN MEANS INFLUENCE OVER THE NILE BASIN**

Influence in the south means influence over the Nile basin and so directly threatens Egypt's and Sudan's security.

It has been reported that the United States and Israel have pressured Egypt to accept one of the following two options: Either to accept providing Israel with

what is sufficient for it from the Nile water or to build huge dams in Ethiopia [which has a special relationship with Israel] in order to reduce the water falling into Sudan and Egypt to its lowest level.

In the past, Israel had asked Egypt to change the route of the Nile from the Mediterranean Sea to the desert of Al-Naqab (in Israel). Egypt's foreign ministry revealed in October 2009 that Israel accepted to fund five dams to store water in Tanzania and Rwanda, Tanzania had four dams and one in Rwanda. The agreement by Israel came after the visits by its 'foreign minister' Lieberman to three of the Nile Basin countries in September 2009.

The establishment of a new state in the south of Sudan would be an ideal time to review the allotment of Nile water - since there would be a new country and its share would have to be defined.

On 31 May, news agencies that the Egyptian water expert, Ahmed Mughawri said that Washington and Tel Aviv want to drag Egypt and Sudan into an eternal war over the Nile water.

The implementation of the Nifasha Treaty has shown without doubt the laxity of security in the south for tribal minorities. There have been individual and collective tribal massacres. The Al-Sahafa newspaper [issue 6035 on 30/4/2010] reported that minorities such as the Moorly, Anwak, Dedenga and Barya in the south and west are endangered, because they are attacked by the biggest tribe of the south, the Deenka, who do so either to control the lands of the minority or as revenge for theft of their herds.

The Deenka are also poor as they have only a small representation in the government of the region.

#### **SETTING THE PRECEDENT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION**

After the south of Sudan, the events in Darfur are the next on the table. Voices of rebel leaders rose there asking for the right to self-determination and a

settlement upon the lines of the Nifasha settlement. A meeting held by the SPLA in Al Kurmuk city in February 2010 has recommended self-autonomy or co-federal rule to the Blue Nile province. According to Akhir Lahza newspaper, sources revealed that a meeting took place between the SPLA, Darfur military movements, and officials of France, Israel, America, and Uganda in early January 2010.

The fall of Sudan - through the separation of the south first - and then a cycle of division, would be nothing short of devastating for this Ummah.

#### **THE HUKM SHAR'I ON SEPARATION:**

Islam views separation as forbidden.

Dividing Muslim countries is one of the gravest crimes, to have more than one authority is forbidden, as there must be one ruler for Muslim countries (however large the area).

On authority of Abi Sa'eed al-Khudri said, that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: **'If a pledge of allegiance is given to two Khaleefahs, then kill the latter'**. On authority of Arfaja he said: I heard the Messenger of Allah (saw) say: **'Whoever came to you while you are united by one man (ruler) and he wants to divide you, then kill him'**

#### **SUDAN WAS UNIFIED SUCCESSFULLY FOR CENTURIES UNDER ISLAM**

Sudan is an Islamic land, and was under Islamic authority for long years prior to and after the British colonialism. The land of south Sudan including its three provinces was opened by Muslims and was under the Sultan of Islam in the time of the 'Uthmani Khilafah and after that under the Mahdiya. Many Historians have documented the historical order of the south of Sudan under the Sultan of the Muslims. Dr. Muhammad Sa'eed Al-Qadal in his book 'The History of modern Sudan' includes a map showing the borders of Sudan during the Egyptian state. That map shows that parts of Uganda were considered part of Sudan - up to Lake Albert.



Dr Yusuf Fadl Hasn mentioned in his book: "Studies in History of Sudan and Africa and Arab countries" [Volume 2 1989 the first print on p.81 and 82] "The southern part of Sudan faced dangerous threats from some European states. The state had weak control over that region from Congo, and Belgium, and was heading towards directorates of Bahr al Ghazal and A'ali Al Neel. In 1884 they fought with the leader Arabi Dafa' Allah and as a result of a French Belgium treaty. A French campaign started by the leadership of Captain Marshand and headed by Bahr Al Ghazal and A'ali Al Neel, while the British controlled Uganda and were watchful over the Mahdiya state from the south."

#### **CONCLUSION**

Separation of the south would be haram, and a political disaster. It would be a recipe for endless conflict and subjugation. It would set a precedent not only for other regions within Sudan but for the formal division of Iraq, Pakistan and Nigeria. A success for the United States in Sudan would only further embolden it to divide and rule the Muslim world for longer.

No referendum could legitimise such an action as the division of Muslim land - not even under the label of self-determination, because it is giving what you don't own to someone who does not deserve it. Rather, Muslims must work to unify the whole Ummah under the Islamic Khilafah and so end the era of colonialism, instability, internal conflict and subjugation. ■

# UPDATE: Global Economic Crisis – The Quest for Growth



The IMF's annual gathering in Washington had one message, that the worlds economies need to work together to achieve sustainable economic growth. "The most important policy question we confront together is how to strengthen the pace of growth and repair" US Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner reiterated the same remarks at a Brookings Institute speech.

At the G-20 summit in June, world leaders pledged to coordinate their economic policies, putting particular emphasis on the need to refrain from currency actions that could endanger global economic health. But a sluggish global economic recovery is setting the stage for fractious talks on currencies and growth-rebalancing as financial leaders from the world's largest economies gathered for the IMF annual meeting and the G-20 conference in South Korea. Charles Dallara, head of the Institute for International Finance, which represents many of the world's largest private banks, said the lack of collaboration threatening

the recovery extends beyond currency issues. "Sustaining growth and restoring confidence will require not only astute domestic policymaking, but an unprecedented level of multilateral coordination," Dallara said. "It will also require action that transcends purely domestic short-term concerns."

#### Economic Growth: Mission Impossible

Over the past year, world output and trade have expanded and financial conditions have improved, but policymakers have still had to deal with the strains of sovereign debt crises and the start of public sector austerity. Ben Bernanke, chairman of the Federal Reserve, summed up the global economy in 2010 at the annual get-together of central bankers in Jackson Hole, Wyoming in October 2010: "Notwithstanding some important steps forward ... I think we would all agree that, for much of the world, the task of economic recovery and repair remains far from complete."

The global economy in 2010 has been unable to achieve sustainable economic growth. In some ways the global economy today is in the same position it was at the beginning of 2009. Whilst the world's largest economies attempted to kick start growth with stimulus plans, any stimulus was always a high-octane boost and a temporary measure. They are designed to kick-start stalled economies, not to fuel sustained economic growth. The growth figures achieved in 2010 are the inflated results of stimulus measures achieving their intended effect to be temporary. Brian Bethune, economist at IHS Global Insight highlighted this: "It's good to have the economy growing again, but we don't think that rate of growth is sustainable because it is distorted by all the government stimulus. The challenge here is to get organic growth – growth that isn't helped by fiscal steroids." This is why over 15 million people remain unemployed in the US.

The stimulus packages have driven

artificial growth, whilst Western nations have not provided such a leg up for their economies, for some time the free market has been unable to grow on its own in any sustainable way and has brought the spectre of a double dip recession ever closer.

### **THE US ECONOMY AND UNEMPLOYMENT**

The US economy, the largest in the world, has seen its recovery stalled. US policymakers in October were considering how much ammunition they had left to throw at the economy as global economic

largest bond investor, said: "A once promising global response has now been replaced by inadequately co-ordinated national economic policies and growing frictions among countries."

### **US-CHINA CURRENCY WAR**

The weak recovery has led to many nations to resort to protective measures for their own economies which have led to currency wars. The sharpened differences between China and the US recently has led to some senators to consider the support China provides to its currency a subsidy which has an adverse impact on the US

The spectre of a double dip recession has not subsided and as the US contemplates another round of stimulus, the economic crisis that engulfed the world in 2008 is far from over.

co-operation, so strong at the start of the global financial crisis descended into quarrels over currencies and economic nationalism. The global financial crisis has left an unprecedented degree of unemployed in the US and underused factories in its wake. The possibility of the recovery faltering has pressured the Federal Reserve, America's central bank, to possibly unleash new measures to strengthen the recovery. The various stimulus measures may have prevented economic collapse, but the spending programs that were financed by them are winding down, and cash-strapped local governments, have resorted to layoffs and other cost-cutting measures.

### **ECONOMIC NATIONALISM**

The consensus driven response to the financial crisis started to crumble. This was most apparent at the G20 summit in June 2010. Whilst the US called for a continuation of stimulus which would encourage consumer spending and stimulate the economy with new jobs and allow the recovery to take hold. Europe however was calling for austerity, as the various fiscal stimulus plans and 'quantitative easing' was creating even more debt in Europe - the Greek debt crisis also caused Europe to focus on individual strategies for economic recovery rather than a global approach. These differences have sharpened over the year due to the different effects the global financial crisis has had on the premier economies of the world. Mohamed El-Erian, chief executive of Pimco, the world's

economy. Various senators attempted in September 2010 to mark up the 'Currency and Reform Fair Trade Act,' the new bill would force the US Department of Commerce to treat China's undervalued currency as a subsidy for its exports and retaliate accordingly.

The value of the Yuan plays an important role in China's rapid economic development. China is an export driven economy, its economy is built to produce goods which are exported around the world. This is why most consumer goods have a 'made in China' label. To make Chinese goods more attractive than Japanese and German goods, the Chinese government controls the value of the exchange rate of its currency, rather than let it float freely. This is in order to achieve certainty - certainty in a number of areas. China keeps the value if its currency low, which makes it cheaper to purchase consumer goods - far cheaper for the world than anyone else. By China undercutting the world, aside from keeping Chinese factories open, this also means most Chinese citizens have a job. When Chinese citizens have jobs this deals with domestic social unrest which has long plagued China. Chinese factories make little profits on the goods they export, as due to the low exchange rate the potential profit is lost. However for China - profit is not the real concern but territorial cohesion is what drives its currency policy.

The impact this has on the wider world -

especially the US is that its companies are unable to compete with Chinese craftsmanship as China is undercutting the market. This has led most of the world to turn to China for consumer goods rather than domestic suppliers. This causes unemployment across the world as such industries lose business to China. It is those senators who have seen many businesses collapse in their states, due to China, that have led the campaign to have the US pass legislation to counter it.

As China is an export driven economy, it has to ensure it can sell goods globally cheaper than anyone else, its currency policy is central to this. This has the impact of those industries closing in the West - where most of Chinese exports go, as they are unable to compete with China on such a low price. It results in China selling more goods to the world than what China buys from the world. This is why China has a trade surplus, whilst the world has a trade deficit with China. Commerce Minister Chen Deming told the BBC in 2009 that when economic growth slowed 'the chances of possible social unrest increase as well.' I don't worry a lot about the GDP growth, however the biggest challenge to China is unemployment. 'We need to create sufficient jobs for university graduates and the redundant workforce from the countryside.'

### **CONCLUSIONS**

As the West struggles in its quest for economic growth, unemployment is now at the top of the agenda. The breakdown in the multilateral approach that characterised the early response to the financial crisis will lead to more and more economic protection by the world's economies which will compound the recovery. The currency war is just the beginning. The conditions in the world economy have stopped worsening, however unemployment remains high and consumer spending is still too low to sustain any economic recovery. At best the current growth rates seen in some of the world's major economies is premature, the underlying economic fundamentals remain absent.

The spectre of a double dip recession has not subsided and as the US contemplates another round of stimulus, the economic crisis that engulfed the world in 2008 is far from over. ■

# Currency Crisis Betrays Capitalist Rivalries



*"When you lose your job, your health is likely to be worse. When you lose your job, the education of your children is likely to be worse. When you lose your job, social stability is likely to be worse - which threatens democracy and even peace. So we shouldn't fool ourselves. We are not out of the woods yet. And for the man in the street, a recovery without jobs doesn't mean much."*

These aren't the words of socialist leaders like Hugo Chavez or Fidel Castro. These are the very revealing words of Dominique Strauss-Kahn the head of the International Monetary Fund - capitalism international advocate, sponsor, financier.

His stark warning came at a recent IMF meeting and reflected Western fears of the long term consequences of the recent recession - one of the worst since the Great Depression in the 1930s. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/oct/10/imf-us-jobs-currency>

The western world is still reeling from the recession though now technically over. The US is seeing a jobless recovery with nearly 1 in 10 adults still unemployed. In the US capitalist model, healthcare is invariably linked to employment, so when people lose their jobs they not only lose their home but their health also suffers. Families and communities lie in ruin and the basic fabric of society crumbles - as is visibly evident now in many American cities.

The European economy is no better. Near bankrupt governments are facing civil

strife, strikes, and unrest, as swingeing cuts in public services, higher taxes, lower benefits and reduced pensions together with postponed retirement ages are being implemented in order to reduce deficits.

## **FAILING RECOVERY PROMPTS A RUSH TO DEVALUATION**

This is the context in which western institutions - principally the US Federal Reserve and the European Central banks - are waging a currency war. In spite of two years of near zero interest rates, several massive fiscal stimulus packages and quantitative easing, American and European economies are on the brink of another major recession. Therefore with unrest at home, American and European policymakers are resorting to their last throw of the dice - currency devaluation to resuscitate their ailing economies.

Like a bad alcoholic who blames drink and not his indiscretion, America today blames China for its economic ills. The Chinese are accused of stealing American jobs by maintaining a competitive Yuan exchange rate to promote their exports. Yet before the recession, cheap Chinese imports into the USA (and Europe) were seen as a significant deflationary influence enabling the west to achieve a prolonged period of high growth with low inflation, while fulfilling its insatiable appetite for consumer goods.

## **DEVALUATION ARTIFICIALLY BOOSTS AN UNCOMPETITIVE ECONOMY**

America is threatening import tariffs on Chinese goods potentially risking a trade war on top of a currency war and is planning another round of printing US dollars (quantitative easing) in order to artificially gain competitive advantage in international markets - blatantly contradicting its age old mantra to free trade and open markets. Import tariffs will raise the price of Chinese goods in the

USA (making American goods more competitive at home) while many billions of freely printed dollars on international markets will directly lower the dollar exchange rate (making American goods more competitive abroad).

## **THE ABSURDITY OF FIAT CURRENCY**

The fact that a country can deliberately instigate a devaluation of its currency to gain competitive advantage overnight, over those countries with genuinely lower labour costs, cheaper raw materials or better quality products acquired over decades of sweat, tears and hard work is absurd and a travesty of justice.

Such devaluations are possible, indeed, very probable because Fiat currencies have no intrinsic value or are not backed by gold or silver. Without such solid anchors, countries have a tendency to print money in crises for unashamed self-interest - with the US and Europe leading the way today with their modern day equivalent to printing money called quantitative easing.

## **ISLAM ANCHORS ITS CURRENCY ON GOLD AND SILVER**

The Shari'ah has legislated that currency in Islam must be fully convertible in gold and/or silver. That at a stroke rules out printing money, quantitative easing, devaluation, etc. A solid anchor on the currency will provide the economy with stability and low inflation in line with the natural tendency for the economy to grow productively. This will not only benefit the citizens of the Islamic state but also its trading nations who, in the state's currency, will have a solid means of exchange, store of wealth and a responsible trading partner not aiming to destabilise their economies purely for self-interest.

■

# The Sacred Months and Geo-Politics



*“Indeed the number of months before Allah is twelve - in the Book of Allah - since the day He created the heavens and the earth, of which four are sacred; this the straight religion; so do not wrong yourselves in those months; and constantly fight against the mushrikeen as they constantly fight against you; and know well that Allah is with the pious.”* [TMQ Taubah:36]

According to Imam Ahmad, in his farewell Khutbah the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: **“The division of time has turned to its original form, which was current when Allah created the heavens and the earth. The year is of twelve months, out of which four months are sacred: Three are in succession Dhul-Qa’dah, Dhul-Hijjah and Muharram, and (the fourth is) Rajab of (the tribe of) Mudar which comes between Jumada (Ath-Thaniyah) and Sha’ban.”**

There are huge virtues in these months and also there is a great need for caution, for any sin committed in these months is worse than sin in other months.

Ibn Kathir mentions in his tafsir of the ayah from Surah Taubah: “The four Sacred Months were made four, three in succession and one alone, so that the Hajj and ‘Umrah are performed with ease. Dhul-Qa’dah, the month before the Hajj month, was made sacred because they

refrained from fighting during that month. Dhul-Hijjah, the next month, was made sacred because it is the month of Hajj, during which they performed Hajj rituals. Muharram, which comes next, was made sacred so that they are able to go back to their areas in safety after performing Hajj.”

The pagan Arabs in the era of jahiliyyah before Islam also looked upon these months as sacred and their custom was not to fight in these months. Indeed, fighting was considered a violation of a diplomatic established norm.

The quoted tafsir implies the sacredness of these months commentary is in some way linked to the military, trade and political environment of the Arabian Peninsula. The Arab tribes before Islam relied on Makkah not only as a place of worship, but as a regional centre of trade. The acceptance of these norms was based in part upon this.

After the migration of the Messenger of Allah (saw) to Madinah, he used to send people to spy on the trade caravans of Quraysh. One such mission was led by Abdullah ibn Jahsh (ra). However, the mission resulted in a fight, leaving one of the mushrikeen dead. The Quraysh raised major propaganda against the Muslims, the Messenger and the fledging Islamic state, saying they had violated what was considered international law at the time.

At this time Allah (swt) revealed the ayah in Surah Baqarah: *“They ask you about the Sacred Month and fighting in it. Say: “Fighting in it is a grave sin”; but barring people from the way of Allah, disbelief in Him, denying entry into the Sacred Mosque, and expelling its inmates from it, are far graver and more sinful in the sight of Allah; disorder (rooted in rebellion to Allah and recognising no laws) is even far graver and more sinful*

*than killing.”* [TMQ Baqarah:217]

Allah (swt) affirmed the sanctity of these months but stressed more than this that the actions of Quraysh had been far worse.

The incident which led to the revelation of this ayah is but a single evidence of how the Islamic State of the Messenger of Allah (saw) accepted International norms of diplomacy and war, but did not accept these norms or traditions as a binding law. And they certainly didn’t accept to be kept in subjugation by these norms being used against them by the powerful tribes of that time.

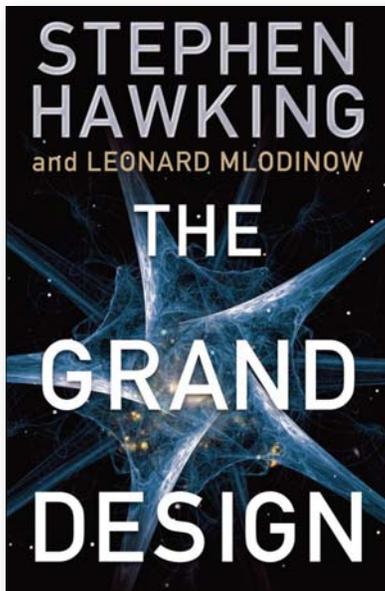
Such an example is contrary to what developed years later. Western powers established International Laws, which they then sought to implement by force upon the whole world. Moreover, these laws were used to establish their hegemony.

In recent years a clear contradiction has emerged in International law. The Westphalian model, where states would not interfere in the internal affairs of other states was considered to be incorporated into law after World War II. However, in recent years - with the NATO missions in Kosovo and Iraq, as well as Britain’s engagement in Sierra Leone - this principle has altered. This clearly illustrates that Western powers do not really view the principle as a binding law.

A future Islamic state would need to clearly recognise what is legally binding upon it, in terms of bilateral treaties; what is an established norm it will follow due to its moral weight - such as the etiquettes of the positive recognition of ambassadors; and what is a clear attempt to enforce a law to maintain the hegemony of powerful states.

# Book Review:

## The Grand Design by Stephen Hawking



*Media reports of Stephen Hawking's new book "The Grand Design" make inaccurate bold claims...that are utterly irrational.*

This article was not written. It was not spoken, nor inspired, nor created in any fashion. This article, according to the theory of some, has "popped" into existence of its own accord. They believe that, coincidentally, the article has emerged in the English language, and independently found its way into a relevant publication, containing a discussion of a topical subject matter.

Of course, this opening paragraph sounds nonsense. Indeed, the absurdity of spontaneous creation hasn't been lost on the world's most famous physicist, Professor Stephen Hawking. Yet, the western media have misquoted from his new book "The Grand Design" so as to

leave the casual reader with the impression that science has finally proven the non-existence of a Creator of the Universe. This fits rather nicely into their secular worldview, hostile to religion. As Hawking notes in his book, people have a model through which they see the world.

No one should be surprised to find this book serialised in national newspapers by an aggressively secular humanist media that so clearly has an agenda against religion. While this book is reported as supporting an atheist or agnostic viewpoint, to the contrary, Hawking quite expertly describes the absolute need for a Creator, and for miracles.

The first matter that should be clarified is terminology. Muslims are quite used to the idea of words taking on specific meanings. For example, in pre-Islamic Arabia, the word "zakat" simply meant "to purify", whereas we now understand it to be a tax subject to a litany of rules. In a similar vein, Hawking defines the words "Universe", "nothing", "create" and "God" in a very special way. Ordinarily, if you read that "the Universe can create itself out of nothing and does not require God for its creation", you'd be forgiven for thinking that you could just understand the statement as one that is in line with atheism. Instead, through Hawking's careful and deliberate redefinition of each of the key words in this sentence, the meaning is actually quite the opposite. The Grand Design - the entire book - is in fact about the expansion of an already existing Universe, and quite pointedly not about its origin or creation from nothing.

Hawking writes:

"...although one can think of the big bang picture as a valid description of early times, it is wrong to take the big bang literally, that is, to think of Einstein's theory as

providing a true picture of the origin of the universe. That is because general relativity predicts there to be a point in time at which the temperature, density and curvature of the universe are all infinite; a situation mathematicians call a singularity. To a physicist this means that Einstein's theory breaks down at that point and therefore cannot be used to predict how the universe began, only how it evolved afterwards. So although we can employ the equations of general relativity and our observations of the heavens to learn about the universe at a very young age, it is not correct to carry the big bang picture all the way back to the beginning." ["The Grand Design". Hawking, Stephen, Chapter 6: Choosing our Universe, pp 128-129]

Despite the clarity of the above statements, popular media reports have systemically misrepresented the warped conclusion without clarifying Hawking's special redefinitions.

This same theme continues throughout the book. Hawking states that the only thing that can spontaneously come into existence from 'nothing' is a Universe, but that it can only pop into existence when a tiny quantum particle is pulled apart. Note the special use of "nothing" in this instance. But it should be clear that the presence of "a quantum particle" is not "nothing" - but something. This critical information - present in the book - is editorialised by the media. The natural question we should be left with is: If the Universe can only come into existence when preceded by a quantum particle, upon what does that quantum particle depend for its very presence?

The origin they are talking about is relative origin. This is akin to theorising whether the plant bearing fruits originated as a seed in a nutrient laden pot.



Hawking, having already recognized that the Big Bang was not the start of the universe, albeit proposing it as the means for its expansion, then proposes 'M-theory' as a more accurate theoretical model for expansion.

M-theory is an attempt by theoretical physicists to solve physics' 'holy grail'. Physics' ultimate quest is to discover a unified theory that accounts for all physical phenomena taking place in the universe, a theory dubbed the 'Theory of Everything'. Since the early 20th century, physical phenomena in the universe have been explained by either of two distinct theories: Firstly, quantum physics that explains the world of the very small, such as the behaviour of electrons, neutrons and photons. Secondly, Einstein's theory of general relativity is used to explain phenomena at very large scales such as the behaviour of stars and galaxies. These two theories are considered resounding successes for modern physics: and together they can explain the vast majority of physical phenomena occurring in Nature. The next logical step is to discover a single theory that accounts for all physical phenomena.

Yet, M-theory – a theory that as yet has no proofs to validate it – does not address the absolute origin of the universe but simply seeks to address how the current universe behaves.

A fundamental fallacy is to think that empirical scientific methods, which are

very helpful in understanding the physical world and has led to real advances for humanity, can be used to explain how the Universe (or 'multiverse' in Hawking's view) came into existence. Although this theory which explains of how the universe behaves and expands is useful, it is hardly the "Ultimate Question of Life" as the front cover of the book may suggest. The ultimate question is also not whether God is needed to get the universe running or not. The ultimate questions are whether or not the universe needs a Creator to exist and whether this Creator has sent down guidance for how we should live our lives, govern our countries, and solve all of the problems humans face.

We can know that a Creator of the Universe exists by a process of rational deduction. Indeed, Hawking comes remarkably close to this conclusion in his book: "Time, however, seemed to be like a model railway track. If it had a beginning, there would have to have been someone (i.e. God) to set the trains going. Although Einstein's general theory of relativity unified time and space as space-time and involved a certain mixing of space and time, time was still different from space, and either had a beginning and an end or else went on forever."

Hawking concludes that the process by which the Universe exists is only because of the expansion of a quantum particle. However, he chooses not to even discuss the origin of this singularity since he

admits that this true origin would not be subject to the same rules and laws of the universe, not even subject to time. He agrees that this origin would have to be external to the universe, outside our perception and understanding, and something of a mystery. On this point, we can completely agree; and it is not for us to assign attributes to something outside of our reality. However, it is clear that this Universe depends on this outside factor for its existence; without it, the Universe simply could not be.

This process of rational deduction is not specific to the start of the Universe; we apply this in every day of our life. Everything that we see around us needs something else for it to exist. There isn't a single object that we could point to and say that it came into existence of its own accord without relying on something other than itself for its existence.

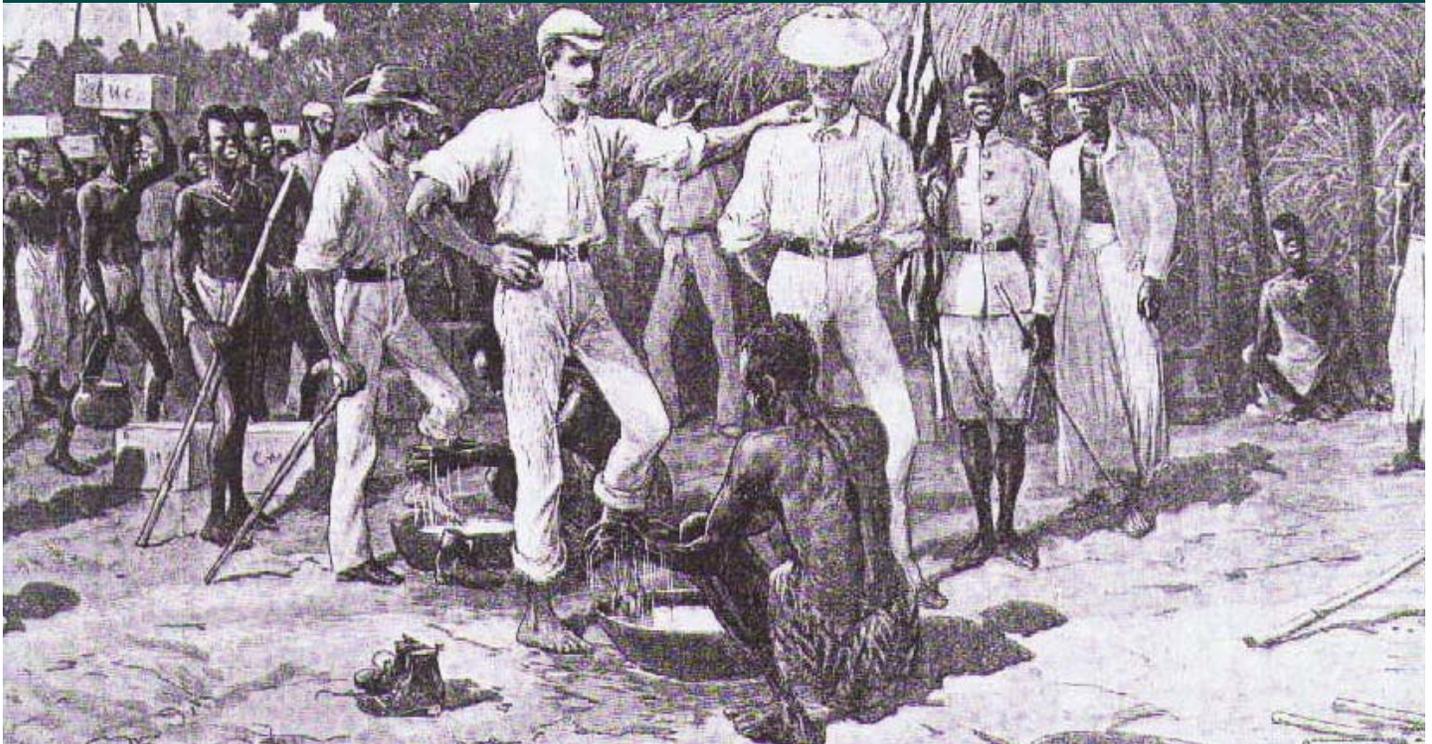
The only rational explanation is that everything we perceive depends upon a Creator, and that Creator must bear the quality of being unlimited. This is so because by its very definition, the Creator would need to be eternal and timeless so that the universe can rely on it for its origin.

This simple and perfectly rational truth deals directly with the issue of the true origin of the universe. Whereas, M-theory and all of the other theories presented in Professor Hawking's book only propose the processes of how the universe works and how it has reached its current state.

The obsession in post-enlightenment Europe to keep people uncertain about these questions – as can be seen by media coverage of this debate – is a distraction. There is a robust rational approach which can answer these questions. Such an approach can answer the questions using sensed realities such as footprints in the desert for the Bedouin – or whether the sensed realities are distant nebulae for the astrophysicist. This is the Islamic approach – and indeed this is the only belief that answers this issue in a rigorous way – compelling humanity to examine this universe, think and conclude with conviction that a Creator has created this universe and not without a grand design and purpose.

# Nigeria:

## 50 Years of Colonial Legacy (Part I)



Nigeria celebrated 50 years of independence on 1st Oct 2010. 50 years is sufficient time for a nation to formulate and execute far-reaching development programs and achieve many strategic goals. With the correct outlook, Nigeria's 900,000 sq km of fertile real estate coupled with its teeming population of 130 million and vast natural resources should have propelled it on an ascending trajectory of sound development and sustainable growth. Regrettably, the reality is far from this. In five decades of self-determination it has little to show that is proportional to the bounties Allah (swt) has blessed it with.

From the outset, the formation of pre-independence Nigeria implanted seeds

of decline, chief among them tribal division. In 1939 the British colonialists carved out 3 regions dominated by the major tribes of the Igbo from the East, the Yoruba of the West and the Hausa-Fulani of the north resulting in an uneasy coexistence lasting beyond independence. Instead of creating social cohesion, the colonial construct introduced national identity confusion concerning what it means to be Nigerian that is inadequately defined to this day (as attempted by the "federal character principle", formulated in 1975). The absence of a comprehensive and distinct unifying factor amplified the ethnic disparity of over 250 ethno-linguistic groups. The situation remained unresolved till the departure of the British in 1960. Ethnic enmity, vying for

political supremacy and military coups and counter coups, became the defining factor of the post independence relationship. The Igbo's attempt to secede from this unstable arrangement ignited the flames of the Biafra Civil War, which lasted from July 1967 to January 1970, claiming nearly 2 million lives to the war and famine.

The Federal system of governing imposed by the colonial masters accentuated the divisions of society contributing to Nigeria's defragmentation. This is most clearly displayed at the Local Government Area (LGA) level which has multiplied six-fold since 1963, from 131 to 774. In the absence of viable options, this weak man-made system drives the

disheartened to identify with alternative structures based on faith, ethnicity or region. This exacerbates the issue as it contributes to further breakdown of social cohesion in society, spiralling dangerously into decline. Inter-communal tensions (like the recurring crises in Plateau State) that have caused more than 14,000 deaths since 1999 and displaced more than 3 million are direct outcomes of this. Creeping State failure is a widespread consequence of this cycle.

Systemic failure has also caused shrinkage of citizen loyalty and gradual disconnection between the public and the State. Consequently, Nigeria's citizens have ceased to expect reliable social services, functioning public utilities, infrastructure, security and corruption-

under military rule or even higher. Muted calls to revert to military rule started to surface in some quarters.

A majority of the population do not see an exit strategy from the ills and social upheavals bedeviling Nigerian society. A sense of hopelessness and despair prevails causing large swathes of the masses to retreat into the comfort of prayer, pursuing religious deliverance from temporal adversity. Religious establishments and networks have sprouted everywhere catering to, or cashing in on, this new spiritual commodity.

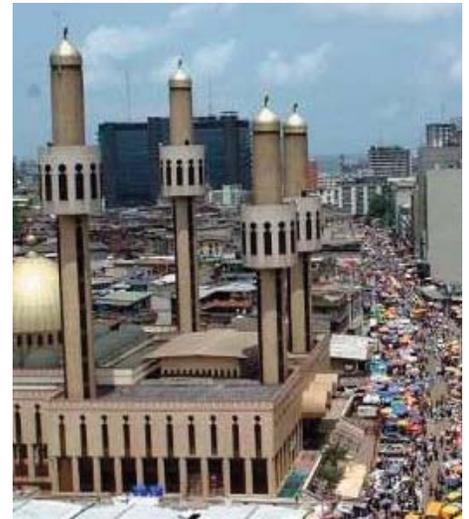
The despair of the population is only matched by its extreme level of poverty. The scale of economic decrepitude is most apparent in the oil sector. It is

**Nigeria's chronic problems transcend proposed remedial solutions like constitutional reform, administrative transparency and institution building or mere policy recommendations.**

free administration from their government. It is a deplorable, yet common feature in this resource rich country to discover households generating electricity for personal consumption from generator units, sinking boreholes or wells for water supply and employing private security firms for their safety requirements.

Nigeria's misfortunes were immediately blamed on military dictators that ruled the country for 29 out of the 50 years of its post-independence. Six successful military coups contributed to the crystallization of this opinion. Consequently, tremendous public expectations accompanied the 20 May 1999 transfer of power from General Abubakar's military government to civilian rule of General Olusegun Obasanjo (rtd). Nonetheless, the transfer to democracy did little to improve the lot of the majority of the population. High hopes were completely dashed as continuing political malpractice; economic banditry and social frustration were the only 'dividends of democracy'. Nigerians deplored the new situation observing that corruption was as high as

remarkable that a nation, which is the world's seventh largest crude oil producer, has 70 percent of its population eking out a living on less than N150 (\$1) a day. Nigeria has earned more than \$400 billion in oil revenue since the early 1970s yet it has not transformed into a better standard of living for the masses. Overdependence on oil has skewed the economy rendering once productive areas like agriculture and solid minerals into non-performing sectors. Despite the massive exports of 2.1 million barrels of oil per day Nigeria fails to refine sufficient petroleum products for its own domestic consumption forcing it to resort to importation. An industrialized base to support national development never materialised from the riches gushing from the ground either. Industrialisation projects were liable to experience slow and gradual deaths. An ambitious steel industrialisation project at Ajaokuta Steel Mills was started in 1979. 31 years later the complex is yet to roll off a single steel sheet, having succumbed to Nigeria's unwritten rule of non-sustainability.



The nation began to unravel from Independence and the subsequent descent into chaos of the first Republic set an unfortunate tone for the future of the country. Nigeria appears doomed to oscillate between the twin disasters of military rule and 'the democratic experiment'. It is in freefall as the political-elite class scurry to plunder its wealth. Racially based secessionist groups like O'Odun People's Congress (OPC) from the Yoruba and the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) of the Igbos emerged, indicating persistent frailty in the governing system of the country.

Nigeria's chronic problems transcend proposed remedial solutions like constitutional reform, administrative transparency and institution building or mere policy recommendations. What is required is a complete alternative outlook that will transform the foundation of society and change the current systems. This is a practical possibility with historical precedence.

This alternative is Islam, which has a unique propensity to initiate quantum changes in society. This derives from its universal viewpoint that provides solutions to human problems in life. The universal viewpoint, which is the 'Aqeedah, maintains that Allah (swt) created the universe and all that it contains, organizing and sustaining it. Messengers were sent to direct mankind to the recognition of their Creator and

subsequent submission to the Organiser of life. Man's devotion and servitude is expressed by his adherence to the systems that resolve the numerous challenges he faces in life. These systems came codified in general principles, rules and regulations best known as the Shari'ah. The widespread misconception that Islam is a limited set of personal beliefs and rituals is a secularised view that truncates its real scope and purpose.

When the Khilafah State applied the Islamic ideology, it completely eradicated tribal discrimination, a source of social friction and division in Nigeria today. It replaced it with the Islamic bond, forming a stable foundation for a cohesive society. History bears witness to this unparalleled success. It transformed peoples, like the Arabs wallowing in the abyss of darkness and bloody tribal feuds, to the elevation of the ideological bond. Consequently, the majority of the peoples which Islam ruled left their religions and entered the Deen of Islam willingly and not by force. He (swt) says: *"There is no compulsion in religion."* [TMQ Baqarah:256]

Non-Muslims of Nigeria will not be forced to abandon their religion to embrace the 'Aqeedah of Islam; their lives, rituals, wealth, customs and places of worship are protected. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: **"He who hurts a dhimmi hurts me, and he who hurts me annoys Allah."** [Tabarani]

**"He who kills a dhimmi enjoying the oath of Allah and the oath of His Messenger, then he has betrayed the oath of Allah so he shall not smell the scent of Jannah; its scent is found the distance of a seventy year march."** [Tirmidhi]

Yet the Shari'ah of Islam is applied upon them to solve their societal problems. Islam views man in his capacity as a human being who requires solutions to his problems in life. Non-Muslims in Nigeria taste the bitter pills of insecurity, corruption, resource mismanagement and theft of public wealth by officeholders, similar to Muslims. The

Shari'ah of Islam addresses these types of numerous societal problems and solves them comprehensively.

To cite an example, wealth in the Khilafah state is divided into three categories: private property, public property and state property. It is the state that maintains and protects these in accordance with the laws of the Shari'ah.

Focusing on Public property the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: **"People are partners in three; Water, Pastures and Fire."** [Abu Daud, Ibn Maajah]

The term 'fire' here includes all forms of energy used as fuel in industry. The category of Public ownership includes all minerals whether they are solids like copper, iron or gold, liquid like oil or gaseous like natural gas. The state ensures that every citizen gets his rightful share of public property. Oilfields and the mineral mines in the Khilafah state are not owned by the state where it exercises its will over such resources similar to the Communist system. Nor do individuals own it, as is the case in the Capitalist system.

In Nigeria all oil production is by means of joint ventures with foreign oil companies like between Shell Oil and the government known as Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Limited (SPDC). Shell Nigeria accounts for fifty percent of Nigerian's total oil production. The company has more than 100 producing oil fields, and a network of more than 6,000km of pipelines, running through 87 flow stations. Mixing up the categories of property by permitting ownership of public property by private individuals and enterprises on grounds of free market economy, privatisation and globalisation invariably results in fraud and institutionalised looting of public resources. The primary focus of private business is profit-making, public interests and environmental matters are not accounting measurements on balance sheets. This encourages corruption of officeholders as private companies resort to illegal practices like bribery to

obtain favourable contracts or licensing rights. Officeholders collude with private enterprise, using political power to misappropriate valuable resource for personal gain. The Halliburton Bonny Liquefied Natural Gas Project bribery scandal that started in 1994 is an example.

Inadequate oil wealth distribution also illustrates the dangerous outcomes associated with improper classification of property in the current capitalist framework. The 'derivation principle' designed to address oil revenue allocation since 1960 through to 2004 failed to quell disgruntled elements within the oil producing areas. This contributed to the rise of militant groups like Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) and Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) who seek economic redress through violent means.

The problem is not confined to the economic sphere alone, it manifests in ruling as well. Drawbacks associated with military rule like election rigging, national resource mismanagement and strong-arm politics were found to equally exist in civilian rule also. Between 2000 and 2007 Obasanjo's government spent \$16 billion fixing the endless power problems with no results after 7 years except a huge gap in the national reserves. Close scrutiny of these bitter experiences reveals the underlying factor hindering the revival of Nigeria is the continued application of the man-made system ruining the lives of the people.

Islam is the only ideology capable of building society on a sound footing, securing the lives of the people and guaranteeing the rights of citizen's, whether Muslim or not. It is the only alternative left for Nigeria today, the exit strategy from British colonial legacy. Nigeria should not spend another 50 years to learn this fact.

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# Interview: Naveed Butt

Spokesman for Hizb ut-Tahrir, *Wilayah Pakistan*



## 1. How are the people coping with the situation in Pakistan following the devastating floods?

The situation is still very bleak. There are areas in Sindh where water is still standing and the only way to provide food is either by air or through boats. The people of Pakistan has once again donated more than what their pockets could bear as have Muslims living outside Pakistan. May Allah accept their Sadaqat insha'allah. Millions of people have lost their homes as well as their standing crops. The winter is around the corner and we do not know how the people will cope as the army has shifted its focus back to the so-called war-on-terror. Locally, NGOs are still trying to feed the people but the question is, for how long?

## 2. What is your view on the talk about the Zardari regime failing?

This is very typical of Pakistan; each regime takes only two to two and half years to completely discredit itself. The Zardari regime managed to do that even quicker. But the US keeps it going as long as possible as they have limited options. The people are so fed-up with the current system that it has become imperative for the US to bring some sort of face change before things completely

get out of hand, though the modality of change is still not obvious. But what is clear so far is that this setup cannot continue for long. One option is change in the cabinet including the Prime Minister. The other option is getting rid of Zardari since he is the most hated individual. But this will produce a power vacuum in PPP, which right now will not suit US who has finally gotten hold of this party after Benazir's murder. The other option is a Bangladesh model i.e. army supported technocrats or clean politicians who have not ruled yet. And the last option is an army coup. I personally believe that the last option is not going to be feasible as people have just gotten rid of a dictator therefore they are not ready for another military rule. If there is only change of Gillani or cabinet reshuffle this will not be enough to vent out public anger and frustration. So I think if US were smart she should go for a Bangladesh model and bring technocrats or clean politicians with the support of the Army. This is the best option they have. Having said this option is also not going to be long-lasting because without changing the system these clean politicians will fail very sooner than Zardari.

Hizb ut-Tahrir has launched a campaign to make the Ummah aware that this type of farcical changes will never bring real change in Pakistan. The real change is the change in system, which will only occur with the establishment of the Khilafat and the eradication of capitalist system. At the end of this campaign, Hizb ut-Tahrir plans to do nationwide rallies on 5th of November, insha'allah.

## 3. What is your view on the feelings in the military, especially since the recent killing of soldiers from the Pakistan Army within Pakistan's borders by NATO

### security?

The feelings within the army are explosive and consider it as an attack on their honour and dignity. Though they should have felt the same way when US was conducting drone attacks but killing of the security personal was too much for them to digest. The media also jumped on the issue and the whole of Pakistan was up in arms. Everybody knew that this was an escalation from the American side and if not resisted would provide US the license to kill anyone, anywhere.

This resentment and anger in the military forced the government to take this unprecedented measure.

But quite cunningly the government used this "supply-line-drama" as a smoke screen as well and restarted military operations in the FATA region which were otherwise stopped for the last few months due to military's involvement in flood rescue operations. Hence, when the media was focused on suspended supply to the NATO Pak army had started operations on various parts of FATA. As a result nobody noticed this important development and the government didn't face any resistance.

Political analysts have also noticed that during flood relief work when military and the whole administration was busy and Pakistan was a soft target there was no significant activity on the part of the militants. The number of bomb blasts actually went down instead of increasing to an extent that there was not even a single blast during the month of August. Similarly, when the Pakistan military was pressurising the US and had cutting the NATO supply line, hundreds of NATO oil tankers were set on fire allegedly by Tehrik-e-Taliban, Pakistan (TTP) who

later claimed responsibility. On the contrary during the past six years TTP never conducted such systematic attacks on oil tankers even when they were under attack in Waziristan, Swat and Orakzai.

Pakistan could have linked cutting of the supply line with stopping drone attack but they didn't this shows that the government is in complete cohorts with the US in the unlawful murder of its own citizens.

#### **4. What's your analysis about the bombings in Pakistan's city centres?**

Right after 9/11, under the dictates of America, Musharraf sent thousands of troops to FATA. They started military operations in South Waziristan but since there was no valid excuse the sincere people within the Army and media strongly resisted these operations. So much so that over 200 soldiers including officers surrendered without firing a single shot. Many officers even to the rank of Lt. Colonels refused to fight and were court marshalled.

America was forced to change its strategy. She stopped operation temporarily to build public opinion in her favour. She carefully orchestrated series of "suicide bombings" in major cities of Pakistan. Some of the "suicide bombs" were later exposed by the media to be planted bombs such as the bomb blast on a Shia procession in Karachi, which was caught on CCTV to be planted in a box along the road. Hence, the plan was to kill civilians to build public opinion for US's war of Terror and demonise the tribal's. A video of a man lashing a girl was heavily publicised on the local electronic media just before starting Swat operation. After the brutal Swat operation it was reported in the press that the video was concocted and fake but obviously it was too late.

Initially, this US strategy worked to some extent and the public opinion shifted in favour of operations in the Tribal belt. But Hizb ut-Tahrir and some sincere people in the media exposed this US plan and Blackwater officials (sometimes disguised as Pashtuns) were routinely

caught with weapons and then released on the instructions of interior ministry, people were able to see-through this heinous and wicked US plan. People started to question that why it is that Mosques and Islamic universities are targeted while Blackwater offices are untouched? No US official has ever been targeted whilst markets and shrines are raised to the ground! The Ummah has realised now that the real people who are behind bombing in Mosques and Islamic schools are none other than US security agencies and private mercenaries such as the Blackwater.

Alhamdulillah, America's options are getting fewer and fewer each day. Common people on the street and sincere amongst the media have started to call for ejection of US from the region. It is part of the public opinion now that Pakistan can only have peace if US leaves the region something, which Hizb ut-Tahrir has been calling for quite some time.

#### **5. What is Hizb ut-Tahrir's position regarding the violence in the NWFP? How will you end the violence in Pakistan?**

US fuelled this war to stop the Jihadi's from the Tribal belt as well as from various parts of Pakistan from going to Afghanistan. The plan was to engage these sincere people inside Pakistan and that too using Muslim blood i.e. Pakistani army. Using a 'sledge-hammer' approach, as seen in Lal Masjid and Bajaur operations, the government inflicted maximum damage to life and property of a common Tribesman. Millions were displaced during Bajaur, Swat and Waziristan operation and markets and houses were erased to the ground. This produced hatred within the Tribal population towards the militants and all those who were calling for the implementation of Islam as they were portrayed as the cause of this conflict, not the US. The operation was to teach the Islam loving tribesmen a lesson that if they are going to support anybody who calls for Islam this is the price they should be willing to pay. These operations were nothing but a type of collective punishment.

As far as our position on the current violence is concerned we believe this is a war of Fitnah which was fuelled by the US. In our leaflets and press releases we have demanded both from the Pakistan Army as well as the tribal people for ceasefire and as this infighting only suits America who wants to consolidate her hegemony over the region by making Muslims fight Muslims. This is the same policy, which she adopted in Iraq by fuelling sectarian strife.

The cause of violence is the presence of US in the region. US forces Pakistani military to conduct brutal operations whilst US's security services and private army, Blackwater, conducts bomb blasts in mosques and market places to build the public opinion for operations. Hence, when the Khilafat is established US will be ejected from the region as a result there would be no excuse for the so-called militants to continue fighting the state apparatus. And the violence will die its own death.

#### **6. You call for a Khilafat in Pakistan; will not the US and her allies launch a devastating attack on Pakistan if Islamic government is established?**

First of all we have to understand that Pakistan is not a 'banana state'. It is a nuclear power and has the seventh largest and a very professional army. Pakistan possesses a reasonably advanced missile programme and a considerably strong Air Force. Hence, all strategic US locations in the region including Bagram Base and CENTCOM in Doha Qatar are within striking range. Also the major supply route for fuel and ammunition passes through Pakistan, closure of which in itself will be no less than a fatal blow.

We have to remember that US is not in a position to start a third war and that too with a nuclear Khilafat. The US economy is passing through huge economic problems. The US public opinion for war is just not there. US army is stretched thin and above all the moral of the US is all time low. After the Iraq War, the US has lost its global moral high ground and now is seen as an imperialist power throughout the world.

US soldiers have failed to reign in the Mujahedeen in Afghanistan how can they fight a professional army which is 7th largest in the world. Presence of over a hundred thousand troops in FATA can come as a blessing in disguise since we will not require a lot of time to mobilise them to annex Afghanistan.

Furthermore, Pakistan is situated right at the gates of Persian Gulf through which majority of world's total oil passes through. The West knows that if supply to newly established Khilafat is cut then Khilafat will not allow any tanker to pass through the Persian Gulf, something that the world cannot afford. Hence, the Khaleefah will have a lot of options if Khilafat is established in Pakistan.

#### 7. What immediate steps could the Khilafat take to deal with the US on the Western frontier?

The Khilafat will immediately cut the NATO supply line and allow Mujahedeen to go to Afghanistan to help their brothers. Troops already stationed on the Pak-Afghan border will be mobilised as well. Without fuel and food US government will be more interested in air lifting its remaining soldiers rather than paying for coffins and freight.

#### 8. All the analysis shows that Pakistan is heading towards bankruptcy. What is your economic plan for Pakistan?

Pakistan's economic woes are not because Pakistan is a poor country rather it is because of the corrupt and exploitative capitalist system which allows the West to loot and plunder our wealth. WB, IMF and the US shove corrupt policies down Pakistan's throat in order to rape its resources and keep people of Pakistan poor and economically dependent. The corrupt and agent rulers connive with the West to implement these policies. A glimpse of Pakistan's resources, tell us a completely different story. Pakistan has 600 tons of gold, 600 million tons of iron ore, seventh largest copper reserves, and fourth largest coal reserves in the world. It also has sixth largest reserves of natural gas in Asia. Potential of hydro electricity is more than 50,000 MW (Pakistan's current requirement is only



20,000 MW). Similarly, Pakistan has the potential of 50,000 MW of wind energy. Pakistan's cultivable land is fourth largest in the world. Pakistan's wheat production is more than Africa and equal to South American continent. Pakistan is second in Buffalo milk production, second in indigenous Buffalo Meat, second in indigenous Goat Meat and it has tenth largest labour force in the world. Pakistan also has 5011 PhDs, which can help Pakistan to an industrial and agricultural revolution.

The current regime has privatised our gold and copper reserves at a throw away price. According to Islamic economic system the natural resources and energy resources cannot be privatised and must be provided to people around cost price since Islam considers them as public properties. This means oil, gas, electricity and other minerals will be dirt cheap which will play a significant role in alleviating poverty. Cheap raw material and fuel will help the ailing industry to recover and compete in the world. These Islamic laws will also put an end to the exploitation of our resources by the multinational companies.

In Pakistan 40% of the cultivable land is not being used. According to Islam anybody who revives a dead land also becomes the owner of the land. This incentive would encourage 70% of the population to migrate and revive the dead lands and become their owners. This will not only eradicate

unemployment but also increase the agricultural production. Consequently the revenues will also increase in the shape of Kharaj and Ushr.

The currency in the Khilafat will be based on gold and silver standard rather than the dollar and thus will break the economic hegemony of US in the world.

The pyramid of taxation in Islam is also reverse as compared to the capitalist taxation model. There is only direct taxation in Islam and indirect taxation is haram. Indirect taxes such as sales tax, GST, VAT etc applies on both rich and poor, which Islam does not allow. Hence, the sources of revenue in a Khilafat include, Kharaj, Ushr, Zakat, Fai, Hima, Khums, and Jizyah etc. Hence, in Islam money is taken from the rich and spent on the poor. This will reduce the huge gulf between the rich and the poor of Pakistan.

Pakistan has enough scientists who made Pakistan a nuclear state. We just need a sincere leadership in the form of Khilafat, which will provide all opportunities to these scientists who can make this newly established Khilafat into an industrial giant.

Hence Pakistan only needs the divine system of Islam and a sincere leadership, which would harness its resources and provide economic prosperity to its people.

**9. How could you reassure the people of Pakistan that you will not be as corrupt as the current politicians once you are in power?**

It is well known that “power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely”. Islam gives us a system, which takes away the absolute source of power from man, which is the ability to legislate or make laws. Hence, the Khaleefah, Wali and Aamil don't have the right to legislate so they cannot make laws to protect their interests or legalise their corruption. Hence, in the Khilafat the real rule of law prevails where everybody is accountable before the law. It is not like democracy where the most corrupt promulgates NRO (National Reconciliation Ordinance) and is absolved of all crimes. According to the current Pakistani constitution (Article 248) the President enjoys indemnity therefore he cannot be brought before any court for his crimes. All this cannot happen in the Khilafat. Therefore the important thing for people to understand is that the system, which we are calling for, cuts almost all avenues, which provide protection to corrupt rulers.

Secondly, the Ummah is well aware of the steadfastness and sacrifices of our shabab for the past half a century. They know the sincerity of our members and leadership. The Ummah knows that most of us are all well educated professionals and are struggling in this cause not just to get money as we Alhamdulillah already have good sustenance from Allah. Rather our main aim is to strive for the pleasure of Allah by implementing His Deen on earth by establishing the Khilafat.

**10. You address the sincere elements in the armed forces in your leaflets and press releases. Are you calling for a military take over again?**

No we are not calling the Army to rule since we know they are neither trained for ruling nor they have clear understanding of the Khilafat system with which people of Pakistan must be ruled by. We are only asking them to stop supporting the corrupt rulers who are implementing Kufr and instead

support us so that we could implement the system of Islam. Hence, we are reminding them that they should not be in the camp of those who have declared a revolt against Allah (swt) and His Messenger (saw) rather they should be working with the sincere sons of this Ummah who are working day and night to uproot these rulers and implement Islam.

**11. What is your policy towards the two big powers in the region, India and China?**

This is outside of my remit to comment, it is something that the Amir and future Khaleefah will decide Insha'Allah. But in general terms, it is the responsibility of the state to convey Islam to the entire world and ensure that Islam is implemented throughout. The state will build its foreign policy to this end, using all available means to achieve them.

**12. Do you have a policy towards the Kashmir conflict?**

Kashmir is a Muslim land and must be liberated from Indian occupation. This cannot be done through negotiations or even by sending few ill-equipped mujahedeen. Rather it can only be liberated through an organized Jihad by mobilising troops. One cannot expect this from any of the current puppet regimes of the Muslim world. So practically we have to first establish the Khilafat in any of the strong Muslims state such as Pakistan, Turkey, Syria, Egypt etc and then mobilise the armies along with the sincere mujahedeen to liberate our brothers and sisters in Kashmir.

**13. What would you say is the single reason that Pakistani's should put Hizb ut-Tahrir in power?**

Hizb ut-Tahrir is the only political party that has the recipe for real and correct change. Only Hizb ut-Tahrir has the sincere leadership and a clean system in the shape of the Khilafat system, which can liberate us from the Western slavery and bring prosperity and unity to the whole Ummah. People are fed up with the current secular system and slavery to the West. People have experienced both dictatorship and democracy but since

under both ruling systems the same Capitalist system is implemented therefore all rulers have failed to bring any prosperity to Pakistan. No other party has detailed solutions to Pakistan's problems except Hizb ut-Tahrir rather all of them are trying to look for solutions from the same Capitalist framework which has failed time and again. The only hope of Pakistan is under Islam and Hizb ut-Tahrir is the party who has done its homework in terms of giving a detail blue print of the systems of Islam.

**14. What are the 5 November Khilafat rallies about? How can the Muslims outside Pakistan help?**

Hizb ut-Tahrir, Wilayah Pakistan has launched a campaign to make the masses aware that real change can only occur with the establishment of the Khilafat. In this regard, on 5th November, Hizb ut-Tahrir's plans rallies in major cities of Pakistan in order to demand from the sincere within the armed forces to give nusrah to Hizb ut-Tahrir for the establishment of the Khilafat. We ask Muslims outside of Pakistan to encourage their relatives here in Pakistan to be part of this struggle. They can also hold rallies outside Pakistani embassies in their respective countries on the same day. They should try calling in to popular talk-shows and remind them that the only way to get Pakistan out of this mess is through establishing the Khilafat. They can also write letters to Pakistani newspapers. They should contact their relatives in the armed forces to urge them to support Hizb ut-Tahrir in its establishment of the Khilafat. The recent activities done by 000 and the sincere Muslims of UK have made strong ripples in the Pakistani press especially Hizb ut-Tahrir's demos against Zardari and Musharraf.

**Naveed Butt**

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