

NUSSRAH

MAGAZINE

ISSUE 37

JULY/ AUGUST 2017

SHAWWAL/ DHUL QA'ADAH 1437

**HOW THE BRAVE
SHINE DURING
ADVERSITY**

**CPEC- REALITY,
ISSUES AND WAY
FORWARDS**

**ABU BAKR (RA)
SUPPORTER OF
ISLAM AND
MUSLIMS**

**SHEIKH ATA IBN KHALIL ABU AL-RASHTA
(AMEER OF HIZBUT-TAHRIR)**

**TAFSEER AL-BAQARAH
AYAAT 159-163**

**A NEW INTERNATIONAL
SITUATION DETERMINED
BY THE KHILAFAH**

**THE KHILAFAT
MOVEMENT OF THE
INDIAN SUBCONTINENT**

Nussrah Magazine Issue 37
July/August 2017 CE-Shawwal/ Dhul Qa'adah 1438 AH

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Price: Rs. 30/-

Islam, Completely, Comprehensively

On 14th August 1947, the country with the largest Muslim majority population at the time, Pakistan, was created in the name of Islam. Inspired by the Hijrah to the state established by Muhammad (saaw) in Madinah, millions of Muslims migrated in a large migration of human history, with huge numbers embracing martyrdom. They endured martyrdom and rape at the hands of the Hindu mushrikeen, during immense trials that shaped the course of Pakistan. The Muslims who migrated were generously received, as the Muslims remembered the glorious example of the Muhajiroon and Ansaar (ra). The Muslims sacrificed willingly, without regret, with the slogan, "What is the meaning of Pakistan? It is 'There is no God except Allah'" on their lips.

14th August 2017 is the seventieth anniversary of the creation of Pakistan, Pakistan is second only to Indonesia in terms of Muslim population. Pakistan is a magnificently resourceful state, but without Islam as the sole source of its constitution, it is woefully underdeveloped. The loud mouthpieces of the regime cite the present situation as an evidence for less Islam in order to develop, advocating Western liberal values. They point to sectarian strife as an additional evidence for loosening our embrace of Islam. However, the entire history of Muslims in the Indian Subcontinent, affirms that more Islam is needed, rather than less.

Islam ensures success. Islam ruled within the Indian Subcontinent for over a thousand years, from the time of the Khilafah Rashida and it dominated the region for

centuries. Far from creating sectarian strife, it engendered a common sense of purpose and well being within a broad spectrum of religions and sects. Far from holding the people back in poverty, Islam raised the Indian Subcontinent as an economic powerhouse, inciting the greed of the Western colonialists.

Less Islam guarantees failure. After the occupying forces of the British Raj restricted our comprehensive Islamic law to personal law, they plunged the former citizens of Islamic India into unprecedented poverty and suffering. Since independence from the colonialists, successive rulers of Pakistan have trampled underfoot the aspirations of the Muslims by denying them Islamic rule for seven decades. By denying the restoration of the complete implementation of Islam, they ensured the continued economic hardship and humiliation of Muslims at

the hands of foreign powers. Today, Muslims find enmity increasing between Muslim states, whilst they are asked to exercise restraint when faced with hostility from their enemies. Today, the Muslims are afflicted by rulers, whose corruption and commitment to foreign powers has reached extreme levels.

Our entire history, confirms that the sure way out of our present crises is to commit fully to restoring Islam completely and comprehensively as the sole basis of our constitution and our laws. That can only be done by re-establishing the Khilafah on the Method of the Prophethood. Anything less will only guarantee failure.

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Tafseer Al-Baqarah: 159- 163

From the Book, Introduction to the Tafseer of the Quran, by the Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir, the eminent jurist and statesman, Sheikh Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah

There is no deity [worthy of worship] except Him, the Entirely Merciful, the Especially Merciful. (163)” [Surah Al-Baqarah 2: 159-163]

﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَكْتُمُونَ مَا أَنزَلْنَا مِنَ
الْبَيِّنَاتِ وَالْهُدَىٰ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا بَيَّنَّاهُ لِلنَّاسِ
فِي الْكِتَابِ أُولَٰئِكَ يَلْعَنُهُمُ اللَّهُ وَيَلْعَنُهُمُ
اللَّاغِنُونَ * إِلَّا الَّذِينَ تَابُوا وَأَصْلَحُوا
وَبَيَّنُّوا فَأُولَٰئِكَ أَتُوبُ عَلَيْهِمْ وَأَنَا التَّوَّابُ
الرَّحِيمُ * إِنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا وَمَاتُوا وَهُمْ
كُفَّارٌ أُولَٰئِكَ عَلَيْنَا لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ
وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ * خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا لَا
يُخَفَّفُ عَنْهُمْ الْعَذَابُ وَلَا هُمْ يُنْظَرُونَ *
وَالَهُكُمْ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ
الرَّحِيمُ﴾

“Indeed, those who conceal what We sent down of clear proofs and guidance after We made it clear for the people in the Scripture - those are cursed by Allah and cursed by those who curse (159) Except for those who repent and correct themselves and make evident [what they concealed]. Those - I will accept their repentance, and I am the Accepting of repentance, the Merciful. (160) Indeed, those who disbelieve and die while they are disbelievers - upon them will be the curse of Allah and of the angels and the people, all together (161) Abiding eternally therein. The punishment will not be lightened for them, nor will they be reprieved. (162) And your god is one God.

Allah (swt) clarified in what preceded that the People of the Book knew RasulAllah (saaw) as they know their own sons and they had his characterization by his description and that he would pray towards both the Qiblahs, yet they concealed what they knew

Allah (swt) clarifies in these verses the following:

1- Allah (swt) clarified in what preceded that the People of the Book knew RasulAllah (saaw) as they know their own sons and they had his characterization by his description and that he would pray towards both the Qiblahs, yet they concealed what they knew. Allah (swt) said, (الَّذِينَ آتَيْنَاهُمُ الْكِتَابَ يَعْرِفُونَهُ كَمَا يَعْرِفُونَ أَبْنَاءَهُمْ وَإِنَّ فَرِيقًا مِنْهُمْ لَيَكْتُمُونَ الْحَقَّ وَهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ) "Those to whom We gave the Book (Jews and Christians) recognize him (Muhammad) as they recognize their sons. But verily, a party of them conceal the truth while they know it i.e.,

the descriptions of Muhammad which are written in the Tawrah and the Injil" [Surah al-Baqarah 2:146].

After that, Allah (swt) clarified in these subsequent verses that those who conceal the all that Allah (swt) has revealed from the clear, evident verses upon the matter of Muhammad (saaw) and the verses guiding to the obligation of following him (saaw). Since this is all recorded for the People of the Book in their books, these concealers are deserving of cursing from Allah (swt) and from those who

bring the curses on the concealers are the angels and the believers from the two religions.

And this is stated in the context of the topic of the concealers from the People of the Book but the wording is general and therefore it is a general upon all who conceal knowledge from Allah (swt) they have and it is a sin of the highest order and concealing knowledge is forbidden severely with the *Qareenah*

(Contextualizing) **أُولَئِكَ يَلْعَنُهُمُ اللَّهُ وَيَلْعَنُهُمُ**

“Those are the ones who Allah (swt) curses and they curse” as is stated in the Hadeeth

«من كتم علما ألجمه الله بلجام من النار»

“Whosoever conceals knowledge Allah (swt) will bridle him with a bridle of fire”

for indicating the severe punishment for them and that is the Fire of Hell. (This hadith was narrated by Abu Yu'la and Taabaraani with the Sahih chain from ibn Abbas (ra)- RasulAllah (saaw) said, «من سئل عن علم فكتمه جاء يوم القيامة ملجما بلجام من نار» **“Whosoever is asked about knowledge and he concealed it he will be brought on the Day of Resurrection bridled with a bridle of Fire”** and the wording of the Hadeeth is in the text narrated by ibn Maajah 261 and Ahmed 2/499 ,508.)

Then Allah (swt) did not exclude from this except those who did three deeds: Repent to Allah a sincere repentance for concealment, correct what resulted from their concealment of the right to the people or misleading in the rulings of Sharee'ah and then they explained what they had concealed in its subjects by revealing it to the public and then Allah (swt) may grant repentance for them for

He (swt) is for them the Most Merciful, Most Forgiving.

2. In the following verse, Allah (swt) clarifies the fate of the Kuffar who die upon Kufr, for they are in the eternal curse from Allah (swt), the angels and all the people.

The subject of cursing in this verse is not the same as in the preceding verse, for this is in

this world and therefore Allah (swt), the angels and the believers cursed them **الَّذِينَ يُعَذِّبُ** "who are made ready through the curse of the people."

As for this verse, the cursing for them in the Hereafter, where Allah (swt), the angels and all the people curse them, that is, not only the believers curse them, but all the people, even the Kuffar, curse each other. **دَخَلَتْ** **“Every time a nation enters, it will curse its sister nation.”** [Surah al-A'raaf 7:38]

Thus, Allah (swt) clarifies that those who die upon Kufr are eternally in Hell, cursed forever, never relieved of torment, nor is their postponement for their apologizing. Moreover, no excuse will be taken for them and nor are they given respite.

3- After Allah (swt) mentions in the preceding verses the concealment of the People of the Book of the Prophethood of Muhammad (saw) despite the fact it is described in the Books revealed to them and they know him as they know their own children. So the argument against them is established with the evidence of

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his (saaw) Prophethood of his, by Allah (swt) in the last Ayah that indeed He is the sole single deity deserving of worship and divinity.

(وَالْهُكْمُ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ)
 (And your god is one God. There is no deity [worthy of worship] except Him, the Entirely Merciful, the Especially Merciful." The particle "and" (وaw) is of conjunction and the sentence is joined by conjunction to (إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَكْتُمُونَ) "Indeed, those who conceal" and so it is joining the narrative with the narrative by conjunction and the expansion through conjunction is that the first narrative is to confirm his (saaw) Prophethood and this narrative is to confirm His (swt) singularity.

The meaning is that your true God is alone worthy of your worship and He is One in His divinity. So the repetition of "God" is notification of the description of Allah (swt) by two characterizations in this verse:

- Entitlement to being worshipped through the addition of "God" to the pronoun of addressing as (إِلَهُكُمْ) "your God"
- The unity in divinity from the mention of (إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ) "one God" (لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ) "no God but Him" which is a confirmation and a determination of the singularity of God - beyond association - and its mention, that is, (لَا) "there is no God but He" comes after (وَالْهُكْمُ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ) "and your God is one God" for eradication if the imagining that there is a God other than your God. And the noble verse notifies that your God is the one deserving of worship and is One in His divinity and He is

the noble verse notifies that your God is the one deserving of worship and is One in His divinity and He is the God who has no god in existence other than Him and He is your Lord and the Lord of the Worlds

the God who has no god in existence other than Him and He is your Lord and the Lord of the Worlds and He (swt) is (الرَّحْمَنُ) "Entirely Merciful, the Especially Merciful" who generalizes His Mercy in the world to include the believers and the Kuffar but He specifies His Mercy in the Hereafter to the believers alone.

"(الرَّحْمَنُ) Entirely Merciful" which is the superlative of merciful and He is Whom His Mercy has encompasses all things i.e. which is filled with Mercy, like the severest anger of the anger filled with anger.

"(الرَّحِيمُ) Especially Merciful," is abundance of mercy, but in Most Merciful there is exaggeration/emphasis which is not in Especially Merciful because in Especially Merciful (الرحيم) there is a single addition from mercy (رحم) i.e. the Yey (ي) and in the Most

Merciful there are two additions الرحمن the Alif (ا) and the Nuun (ن) and the addition in the construction of the word indicates the increase in meaning.

How the Brave Shine During Adversity!

Musab Umair

Bravery is one of the noblest characteristics for the Muslim to acquire, whether he is the advocate of the Khilafah, striving for the resumption of Islam as a way of life, or the sincere officer in the armed forces, granting the Nussrah (Material Support) to secure the return of the Khilafah on the Method of the Prophethood. It is the sign of strength and restoring the dignity of the Ummah which depends on it. Bravery is the quality of those

who are strong and neither intimidated by men nor situations, those who are neither weak nor feeble, those who fear neither loss of property nor limb nor even life itself. It was narrated that Abu Hurairah said that the Messenger of Allah (saaw) said: «الْمُؤْمِنُ الْقَوِيُّ خَيْرٌ وَأَحَبُّ إِلَى اللَّهِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِ الضَّعِيفِ وَفِي كُلِّ خَيْرٍ آخِرُكُمْ عَلَى مَا يَنْفَعُكَ وَاسْتَعِزْ بِاللَّهِ وَلَا تَعْجِزْ فَإِنَّ أَصَابَكَ شَيْءٌ فَلَا تَقُلْ لَوْ أَنِّي فَعَلْتُ كَذَا وَكَذَا، وَلَكِنْ قُلْ قَدَرَهُ اللَّهُ وَمَا شَاءَ فَعَلَ»

The strong believer is better and more beloved to Allah than the weak believer, although both are good. Strive for that which will benefit you, seek the help of Allah, and do not feel helpless. If anything befalls you, do not say, "if only I had done such and such" rather say "Qaddara Allahu wa ma sha'a fa'ala (Allah has decreed and whatever he wills, He does)." For (saying) 'If' opens (the door) to the deeds of Satan." [Ibn Majah].

It has been observed that some Muslims grieve over the present situation of the Ummah, but since they lack courage, they cannot bear hardships and difficulties for improving our condition. Thus, they remain where they are

and continue lamenting about the situation of the Ummah, without taking the firm steps to bring it much-needed relief. However, the bold Muslims are willing to bear every hardship with a smiling face, when they see that the Ummah has reached critical crossroads. They are undaunted by the challenge of the task or the severity of the obstacle, depending on Allah (swt), whilst striving to find a way inshaa'Allah. They are frustrated and restless with the routine, plodding paths and seek the daring, risky highways, so they arrive quickly

at their goal. They are constantly accounting themselves and striving to improve themselves, so that they become better instruments for change. And, as with any attribute that is noble and good, bravery was seen in its purest form in the actions and speech of the best example for all of humankind, RasulAllah (saaw).

As the best example for the advocates of the Khilafah, locked in an intense struggle with the tyrants today, we see that RasulAllah (saaw) was brave in addressing the people publicly and contacting the notable and influential, in

private, despite the severe consequences. Ibn Hibbaan and Ibn Khuzaymah reported in their Sahih on the authority of Taariq al-Muhaaribi who said: 'I saw the Messenger of Allah (saw) pass a market of Zil Majaaz wearing a red garment and say to the people there: "O people, say there is no god but Allah and you shall be successful." A man who had been following him began to pelt him stones causing his ankles and hamstring to bleed. He told the people: O

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people do not listen to him for he is a lair. I said: who is this? They said: son of the tribe of ‘Abd al-Muttalib. I said: who is this man who was following him? They said: he is ‘Abd al-‘Uzza, Abu Lahab. And Al-Haakim reported, in al-Mustadrak and said the *isnad* (transmission) is sound according to the condition of Muslim to which the author of at-Talkhees agreed, that Anas (ra) said: “They beat Allah’s Messenger until he fainted. Abu Bakr (ra) came and started to shout and say: woe to you! Do you kill a man just because he says my Lord is Allah? They said: who is this? They replied: This is the son of Abu Quhaafah, the madman.”

And as the best example for the advocates of the Khilafah, we see the bravery of RasulAllah (saaw) in striving, calm and composed, even when the tyrants came to the decision to kill him, after all previous oppression had failed and the signs of the imminent victory of Islam were evident. Allah (swt) said, **وَإِذْ يَمْكُرُ بِكَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لِيُثْبِتُوكَ أَوْ يَقْتُلُوكَ** (And (remember) when the disbelievers plotted against you to imprison you, or to kill you, or to expel you (from your home, Makkah); they were plotting and Allah too was plotting; and Allah is the best of plotters.)” [Surah Al-Anfal 8:30] Thus, the tyrants of the Quraysh plotted that they would appoint from their youth to all strike Muhammad (saaw) at the same time with their swords and kill him. Hence, his (saaw) blood would be shed by all tribes. In this way, his (saaw) tribe, Banu Hashim, would realize that they cannot wage war against all of the Quraysh tribes and would be forced to agree to accept the blood money; and they would have brought comfort to themselves and stopped him from threatening their thrones.

Yet, we found despite this clear and present danger, RasulAllah (saaw) was calm and courageous, taking firm steps to establish Islam

as an authority in Madinah, having secured the Nussrah from the Ansaar previously. Jibril (as) came to the Prophet and commanded him not to sleep in his bed that night and conveyed to him the news of their plot. RasulAllah (saaw) did not sleep in his house that night, and Allah (swt) gave him permission to make Hijrah, which he (saaw) did with composure and cunning. And even during the Hijrah when the Kuffar had almost caught him, his (saaw) bravery was evident. Abu Bakr (ra) narrated, **قُلْتُ قَدْ أَنْ الرَّحِيلُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ قَالَ «بَلَى» فَارْتَحَلْنَا وَالْقَوْمُ يَطْلُبُونَا، فَلَمْ يُدْرِكْنَا أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمْ غَيْرُ سُرَاقَةَ بْنِ مَالِكِ بْنِ جُعْشَمٍ عَلَى فَرَسٍ لَهُ. فَقُلْتُ هَذَا الطَّلَبُ قَدْ لَحِقَنَا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ فَقَالَ: «لَا تَحْزَنْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَنَا»** Then I said, **'It is time for us to move, O Allah's Apostle!'** He said, **'Yes.'** So we set out while the people (i.e. Quraish pagans) were searching for us, but none found us except Suraqah bin Malik bin Ju'shum who was riding his horse. I said, **'These are our pursuers who have found us. O Allah's Messenger (saaw)!'** He said, **«لَا تَحْزَنْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَنَا»** 'Do not grieve, for Allah is with us.' [Bukhari]

And after the establishment of Islam as a state, RasulAllah (saaw) was the first to allay the fears of his charge, through personal bravery. Anas narrated regarding RasulAllah (saaw) **كَانَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَحْسَنَ النَّاسِ وَأَجْوَدَ النَّاسِ وَأَشَجَعَ النَّاسِ، وَلَقَدْ فَرَعَ أَهْلَ الْمَدِينَةِ دَاثَ لَيْلَةٍ فَانْطَلَقَ النَّاسُ قَبْلَ الصَّوْتِ، فَاسْتَقْبَلَهُمُ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَدْ سَبَقَ النَّاسَ إِلَى الصَّوْتِ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ «لَنْ تُرَاعُوا، لَنْ تُرَاعُوا»** “The Prophet (saaw) was the best among the people (both in shape and character) and was the most generous of them, and was the bravest of them. Once, during the night, the people of Medina got afraid (of a sound). So the people went towards that sound, but the Prophet (saaw) having gone to that sound before them, met them while he was saying, **«لَنْ تُرَاعُوا، لَنْ تُرَاعُوا»** "Don't be afraid, don't be afraid." [Bukhari].

As for the sincere officers in the armed forces, RasulAllah (saaw) is the best example for them to aspire to, at a time when the current rulers fear the impending end of their tyranny and so bribe them with worldly gains, so as not to move against them. RasulAllah (saaw) was brave, even when the enemy had a sword pointed at him (saaw) and he himself was unarmed (saaw). It was narrated by a group of Companions of Rasulallah (saaw) that كُنَّا مَعَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِذَاتِ الرَّقَاقِ، فَإِذَا أَتَيْنَا عَلَى شَجَرَةٍ ظَلِيلَةٍ تَرَكْنَاهَا لِلنَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَجَاءَ رَجُلٌ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ وَسَيْفُ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مُعَلَّقٌ بِالشَّجَرَةِ فَأَخْطَرْتُهُ فَقَالَ تَخَافُنِي قَالَ "لَا". قَالَ فَمَنْ يَمْنَعُكَ مِنِّي قَالَ "اللَّهُ". فَتَهَدَّدَهُ أَصْحَابُ We were in the company of the Prophet (during the battle of) Dhat-ur-Riq'a', and we came across a shady tree and we left it for the Prophet (to take rest under its shade). A man from the pagans came while the Prophet's sword was hanging on the tree. He took it out of its sheath secretly and said (to the Prophet (saaw), 'Are you afraid of me?' The Prophet (saaw) said, 'No.' He said, 'Who can save you from me?' The Prophet (saaw) said, 'Allah.'" [Bukhari]. And it is related by Jابر in Riyad us-Salaheen that this brave stance caused the mushrik to drop his sword.

And as for the senior most officers in armed forces, the generals, who may cite their age as an excuse not to grant the Nussrah, let them consider carefully the example of RasulAllah (saaw) during his last years on this earth. RasulAllah (saaw) was over sixty years of age, in the Battle of Hunayn 8 AH, when the battle became fierce. It is narrated that فَأَقْبَلَ الْقَوْمُ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَأَبُو سُفْيَانَ بْنُ الْحَارِثِ

As for the sincere officers in the armed forces, RasulAllah (saaw) is the best example for them to aspire to, at a time when the current rulers fear the impending end of their tyranny and so bribe them with worldly gains, so as not to move against them.

يَقُودُ بِهِ بَغْلَتَهُ فَنَزَلَ وَدَعَا وَاسْتَنْصَرَ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ «أَنَا النَّبِيُّ لَا كَذِبَ أَنَا ابْنُ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ اللَّهُمَّ نَزِّلْ نَصْرَكَ». قَالَ الْبَرَاءُ كُنَّا وَاللَّهِ إِذَا أَحْمَرُّ الْبَاسُ نَتَّقِي بِهِ وَإِنَّ الشُّجَاعَ مِنَّا لِلَّذِي يُحَازِي "The people turned to the Messenger of Allah (saaw). Abu Sufyan b. Harith was leading his mule.

So he got down, prayed and invoked Allah's help. He said: I am the Prophet. This is no untruth. I am the son of Abd al-Muttalib. O Allah, descend Your help. Bara' continued: When the battle grew fierce. We, by Allah. would seek protection by his side, and the bravest among us was he who confronted the onslaught and it was the Prophet (saaw)." [Muslim]

O advocates of the Khilafah! O sincere officers of the armed forces! Our beloved RasulAllah (saaw) is the only example for us, the best example for this Dunya and the most beloved company we seek in the

Aakhirah. Let us pay heed that the one who was brave before may falter now and let himself down. And let us be assured that the one who was a coward before, may yet redeem himself through his bravery now. RasulAllah (saaw) said, «إِنَّ الْعَبْدَ لَيَعْمَلُ عَمَلًا أَهْلُ النَّارِ، وَإِنَّهُ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْجَنَّةِ، وَيَعْمَلُ عَمَلًا أَهْلُ الْجَنَّةِ، وَإِنَّهُ مِنْ أَهْلِ النَّارِ، وَإِنَّمَا الْأَعْمَالُ بِأَخْوَاتِيمِ» "A man may do the deeds of the people of the Fire while in fact he is one of the people of Paradise, and he may do the deeds of the people of Paradise while in fact he belongs to the people of Fire, and verily, (the rewards of) the deeds are decided by the last actions (deeds)." [Bukhari].

Arise, O brothers, with courage, as your time draws near!

Abu Bakr (RA) Supporter of Islam and the Muslims

Bilal al-Muhajir, Pakistan

Indeed, Allah (swt) has imposed laws for the changing of societies, laws which cannot be contradicted, and amongst these laws is His (swt) saying **إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّى يُغَيِّرُوا مَا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ** “**Indeed Allah does not change that which is in the people until they change with is within themselves.**” [Surah Ar-Ra'ad 12:11]. So, for the situation of people to change, it is upon them to change what is within themselves, which is their thoughts, their feelings and the systems to which they adhere to in judging upon each other. Moreover, Allah (swt) has made it a condition for the Muslims to execute that which he obligated upon them, so that He (swt) can send down upon them victory, for indeed Allah (swt) said **يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِن تَنْصُرُوا اللَّهَ يَنْصُرْكُمْ وَيُثَبِّتْ أَقْدَامَكُمْ** “**O you who have believed, if you support Allah, He will support you and plant firmly your feet.**” [Surah Muhammad 47:7] So, even though Allah (swt) is capable of changing the situation of the people, and ensuring their victory, without the need for humankind to lift a finger, Allah (swt) made it Obligatory upon humankind to undertake material actions, which have material consequences.

Allah (swt) has made it an Obligation to rule by Islam through an Islamic state and society. Such a goal is unattainable by an individual or a few people, rather it is through the combined efforts of all those who are sincere to their Deen, desiring the pleasure of Allah (swt) and the revival of their Ummah. It was so in the era of RasulAllah (saaw), when

the Companions of RasulAllah (saaw) entered the Deen of Islam, from various segments of society. There were those amongst them who were notables, whose entry to Islam was a Support for the Muslims and Islam within Makkan society. And from those notables was the first man who entered Islam, Abu Bakr As-Siddiq (ra). The characteristics of Abu Bakr As-Siddiq had a great influence in firming the position of RasulAllah (saaw), since Abu Bakr (ra) was one of the nobles of the Quraysh and one their notables before Islam. Before Islam, he (ra) used to cater for the Hujjaaj and hosted the people. The people used to seek his help in their disasters and calamities. He was reknowned by them for his good character and they used to love him and know him for his goodness. He was also famous for his generosity and spending his money with openhandedness. He never prostrated to an idol for it was his sound enlightened mind that compelled him to refuse to do so and he prohibited alcohol for himself before Islam. He (ra) was given the title of as-

Siddiq, "the truthful one," because he affirmed the truth of the RasulAllah (saaw) and his affirmation extended to great degrees, as it did on the morning of the Isra'a (Night Journey), when it was said to him: your friend has claimed a Night Journey and he replied: If he said as much, then he is truthful! Allah (swt) characterized him as truthful when He (swt) said, **وَالَّذِي جَاء بِالصِّدْقِ وَصَدَّقَ بِهِ أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ** “**And the one who has brought the truth and [they who] believed in it - those are the righteous.**” [Surah Az-Zumar 39:33]

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Indeed in the characteristic of Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq (ra) as a notable amongst his people was a Support for Islam and empowerment of it. Whosoever is endowed with such characteristics in his environment, his opinion holds weight and is followed by his contemporaries, his country and environment. His belief in any thought is a guide to his people of its correctness and accord. For example, the entry of Abu Dhar Al-Ghaffar (ra) into Islam, his return to his tribe of Ghaffar and his invitation for them to Islam, it was the personality and nobility of Abu Dhar (ra) that had an effect on his people such that they entered Islam. Therefore the role of notables is a pivotal role. So their duty as the leadership of their community in the process of change for the ruling by the law of Allah (swt) is a greater duty than that of the general public, who have little influence in society or it is confined to their family. At the same time, were they to fall short in the work of revival of their Ummah, their sin is greater than the sin which falls on the necks of the general Muslims. The Greatest Companions (ra) who had these distinctive qualities understood this equivalence and the entry into Islam of Abu Bakr, Umar ibn al-Khattab, Hamza ibn Abi Talib, Uthman bin Affan and Abdul Rahman bin Auf (ra) was a Support for Islam and not merely an increase in the number and multitude of Muslims.

And every Companion who entered Islam did work which distinguished him from all others. Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq (ra) was distinguished by his inseparability from RasulAllah (saaw) in giving Dawah to establish Islam as an authority. He (ra) knew of the lineage and

Abu Bakr (ra) did not content himself merely with entering into Islam, as do many of the notables in our time, where they pray, fast, pay Zakat and go to Hajj and Umrah, but spend most of their life chasing after the Dunyah, raising their children and building a “future” for them. He (ra) spent his all in raising the Deen of Allah (swt) highest, offering his wealth and very being.

nobility of the tribes and this enabled RasulAllah (saaw) to select tribes for contacting, to offer Islam to them and ask for Nussrah for Islam from them in order to establish the Islamic state. It was narrated from Abu ibn Taghlib from 'Ikrimah from Ibn 'Abbas: Ali ibn Abi Talib told me: When Allah (swt) commanded His Messenger (saaw) to present himself to the Arab tribes, he went out, and Abu Bakr and I went with him, to Mina, where we joined one of the gatherings of the

Arabs. Abu Bakr (ra) went forward and greeted them and he was known for his prominence in doing good and his knowledge of Arab lineages ... Then we went to another gathering, which was a gathering of dignified and respectable people. Abu Bakr went forward and greeted them, and he said: "Who are you?" They said: "Banu Shayban ibn Tha'labah." Abu Bakr (ra) turned to the Messenger of Allah (saaw) and said: "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you. These are the best of the people"

Thus, Abu Bakr (ra) did not content himself merely with entering into Islam, as do many of the notables in our time, where they pray, fast, pay Zakat and go to Hajj and Umrah, but spend most of their life chasing after the Dunyah, raising their children and building a “future” for them. He (ra) spent his all in raising the Deen of Allah (swt) highest, offering his wealth and very being. He (ra) did not spare anything of his wealth and effort for himself or his family. He paid

ransoms for the release of many of the Companions, who had entered Islam and were consequently tortured by the Quraysh. He spent such that when Allah (swt) caused his death, he did not leave Dinaar and Dirham, though he

was then the Khaleefah of RasulAllah (saaw). Indeed, he (ra) is of those upon whom the saying of Allah (swt) applies, **وَابْتَغِ فِيمَا آتَاكَ اللَّهُ الدَّارَ الْآخِرَةَ وَلَا تَنْسَ نَصِيبَكَ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَأَحْسِنَ كَمَا أَحْسَنَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْكَ وَلَا تَبْغِ الْفُسَادَ فِي الْأَرْضِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُفْسِدِينَ** **“But seek, through that which Allah has given you, the home of the Hereafter; and [yet], do not forget your share of the world. And do good as Allah has done good to you. And desire not corruption in the land. Indeed, Allah does not like those who corrupt.”** [Surah al-Qasas 28:77]

Indeed, the acknowledgement of the society and respect for them makes them the true People of Influence (Ahl ul Hali wal Aqd) in society. It's in their capability to form and shape a public opinion upon Islam, Therefore, the role of the notables is to form the public opinion that it is essential to change the corrupt reality and replace it with Islam as a way of life, through a state that rules by Islam. This role is one of the Duties of the notables in the first place, since if they called for that the rest of the people will listen and follow them. Additionally, the notables have a way to and influence upon the People of Power and Security (Ahl ul Quwwa wa Man'a), who can take power from the rulers who usurped the authority, handing it over to the sincere advocates for the establishment of the Khilafah on the Method of the Prophethood. Therefore, although they are not from the People of Nussrah, they have a moral authority and compulsion over the People of Nussrah. It is their duty to conform to the Seerah of the Companion of RasulAllah (saaw), Abu Bakr (ra), by calling the People of Nussrah to support the advocates for the Khilafah on the

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Method of the Prophethood. If they fail to do their duty, they will be sinful, incurring upon themselves not less than the sin of those who flee the battlefield, for the Nussrah for Islam is akin to Jihad in the Path of Allah. Even more than that, it is greater than Jihad in the Path of Allah, for the Nussrah is for Islam and the establishment of the Islamic State is the guardian of all the Duties and not the guardian of the Obligation of Jihad in the Path of Allah alone. Their abandoning of their Duty means their content at the Ummah remaining in the

darkness of the rule by other than all that Allah (swt) has revealed. There is no doubt that there is a great sin in such neglect for those who are weighed upon the balance of Shariah and the destructive consequences of failing to undertake this Duty. Allah (swt) said, **وَلَقَدْ كَانُوا عَاهِدُوا اللَّهَ مِنْ قَبْلُ لَا يُؤْلَوْنَ الْأَذْبَارَ وَكَانَ عَهْدُ اللَّهِ مَسْنُوءًا** **“And they had already promised Allah before not to turn their backs and flee. And ever is the promise to Allah [that about which one will be] questioned.”** [Surah Al-Ahzab 33:15. And Allah (swt) said, **يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِذَا لَقِيتُمُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا زَحَفًا فَلَا تُولُوهُمْ الْأَذْبَارَ * وَمَنْ يُولُهُمْ يَوْمَنْذِ ذُبْرَهُ إِلَّا مُتَحَرِّفًا لِقِتَالٍ أَوْ مُتَحَيِّرًا إِلَىٰ فِتْنَةٍ فَقَدْ بَاءَ بِغَضَبٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَمَأْوَاهُ جَهَنَّمُ وَبِئْسَ الْمَصِيرُ** **“O you who have believed, when you meet those who disbelieve advancing [for battle], do not turn to them your backs [in flight] - And whoever turns his back to them on such a day, unless swerving [as a strategy] for war or joining [another] company, has certainly returned with anger [upon him] from Allah, and his refuge is Hell - and wretched is the destination.”** [Surah Al-Anfaal 8: 15-16]

The Liberal World Order and a New International Situation Determined by the Khilafah on the Method of Prophethood

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International order or world order generally refers to the state or nature of relationships between different states in the world. In reality, the relationships which define and determine the international or world order are relationships between major powers. So, international situation or international struggle at a given point in time is practically defined by the relationships between great powers of that era.

The word “global” or “world” order is often misleading. It is more accurate to refer to the current international order as the liberal or Westphalian order, for it is built upon Western ideals about international relations agreed upon in the German city of Westphalia in 1648 by West European states, and later embraced by the whole of Europe and much of rest of the world.

The Treaty of Westphalia gave a unique concept of sovereignty and defined certain rules for conducting international relations based on this particular concept of sovereignty. Sovereignty or authority of a state was limited to a territorial boundary, and the state was realized as an institutional entity independent of a particular government or ruler. International relations were thus viewed as being conducted by the state and not a particular government or ruler.

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Equality of states was declared but, of course, it was not translated into equality of their ability to define and shape international relations. What the equality of states meant was that each state, no matter how small and weak it was, was recognized as a sovereign entity and had certain rights; for example, its freedom to determine its own internal political system

independent of foreign interference. The most profound impact of the Treaty of Westphalia was this particular approach towards sovereignty. States agreed not to interfere in another state’s internal matters and recognized the exclusive authority of a government or a ruler over its own territory and were committed not to violate this authority and the rights it enjoyed internally.

What this meant was that the states agreed on the principle of not using force to expand the boundaries of a particular state or to reduce the territorial reach of another state. Simply put, borders will not be changed through the use of military force even if a stronger state had the ability and moral case to do so. Sovereignty was limited within a territorial boundary, and the nation-state was born.

From the principle of not changing borders through the use of force emerged the idea of balance of power. The Treaty of Westphalia emerged under a particular internal

and external environment within Christian Europe. Internally, Europe was divided due to sectarian wars within Christianity as well as power struggles between the monarchs and feudal lords and between the monarchs and the Church and between monarchs themselves. Externally, the Islamic Khilafah State threatened Christian Europe with its conquests which were a regular aspect of the foreign policy of the Ottoman Khilafah. This specific context motivated the Europeans to develop a concept of sovereignty which protected states from interference from other states. It was argued that this particular approach towards sovereignty will reduce conflicts and usher in an era of peace and stability in Europe. It was agreed that if a state's borders are violated by another state, all states will collectively repel the aggressor state and restore the balance of power and hence international peace.

The motivation behind the Treaty of Westphalia was to reduce the frequency of the use of military power to resolve international conflicts. As the use of military means to resolve conflicts was discouraged, a rules-based approach towards conducting international relations was adopted, which relied more on political action based on a certain degree of agreement among major powers as to how to conduct international relations. Thus, another idea emerged from the Treaty of Westphalia was the idea of Summits of European states. The idea was for the European states to meet regularly to develop a consensus on how to solve their problems and protect their national interests through consensus or consultations. This idea of summits later developed into the idea of

summits of super powers where they meet to decide global and regional issues in the light of interests of the super powers. The idea of a rules based international order emerged directly from the treaty of Westphalia and formed the basis of what is now known as international law.

The idea of balance of power, which emerged from the Treaty of Westphalia, was in fact an agreement between major powers to divide the world between themselves and to resist the change in the international situation, and hence keep their monopoly over power and influence in shaping the international situation.

Thus, Westphalian ideals of limiting sovereignty to territorial boundaries, discouraging the use of military force to change boundaries or resolve conflicts, the idea of balance of power, the idea of international summits, international law and rules-based conduct of foreign relations and preserving the current configuration of global power and influence came to form the basis of how foreign policy is conducted in the post Westphalian World.

We can see the application of these Westphalian ideals in the conduct of foreign policy by major states. Internal political dynamics and change in political, military and economic strength of different states resulted in shaping very strong or weak states over time. Wars or conflicts continued to take place, which also contributed to the strength or weakness of major powers of a particular era. This relative increase and decrease in the strength of major powers often resulted in what is referred to as disturbing the balance of

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power. Whenever this occurred, wars were initiated by major powers, which aimed at restoring the balance of power as the Westphalian ideal demanded. This happened in the case of Napoleonic wars in the early nineteenth century when France, under Napoleon, waged a major war against different European states, and during the second half of the eighteenth century when Russia annexed Crimea and some other Ottoman territory. Another example is of the First World War when Britain, France and Russia felt threatened from Germany and its alliance the Ottoman State and launched a war against them. Or the example of the Second World War when Germany felt that it has been denied a legitimate stake in the balance of power in Europe and sought to alter it aggressively in its favor through the resort to military means. America and the Soviet Union, sensing an opportunity to alter the global balance of power, intervened in Europe and Asia under the pretext of restoring the regional and global balance of power.

Today, the current world order, dominated by America, is built on the same Westphalian ideals. American policy makers take pride in the fact that for the past seven decades, no direct great power military conflict broke out at the global or regional level. They attribute this to the successful management of great power relations and balance of power. In fact, the current American foreign policy towards the two great powers which are considered potential adversaries (China and Russia) is to manage their rise or ambitions through a regional balance of power, or if need be, like the case of China, to integrate it in the

global balance of power. American policy towards China in the Asia Pacific region insists on persuading China from abstaining from using military means to resolve conflicts in the East and South China Sea. As for Russia, America in alliance with Europe, seeks to punish it through punitive sanctions for its violation of the Westphalian ideal of changing boundaries through the use of force in Ukraine. Through this, America seeks to emphasize Westphalian ideals which underpin the current global order.

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International relations are thus increasingly conducted at the regional level with America, playing a role in shaping the relationships between states at the regional level. Thus, it seeks to manage the rise of China in South East Asia, helps the rise of India in South Asia, deters an aggressive Russia in Europe and keeps Europe sufficiently weak in order not to rival it as an economic power. It has not allowed any international competition in North or South America, and has competed with Europe in controlling the resources of Africa while it has sought to control the Middle East

for its oil resources and strategic location. In all these regions, the execution of American foreign policy generally followed Westphalian ideals.

There were, however, some important exceptions. The Westphalian ideal of non-interference in other states' affairs contradicted with the ideological conduct of foreign policy especially during the cold war where both the

Western and Eastern camps tried to promote their own models of governance, management of economy, social organization of societies, conduct of foreign policy and their viewpoint about organization of human societies. Moreover, after the end of the cold war, a new interpretation of sovereignty was put forward by Western powers, which was built on the idea of responsibility to protect. This ideal sought to deny sovereign governments their right to act as they liked within their own territories if such action led to a humanitarian crisis. So, Western governments pragmatically sought to ignore the Westphalian ideal of non-interference in other state's affairs when it suited their interests. In addition, Western governments did not stop from interfering in the affairs of weak or subordinate states and even in the affairs of satellite states under one pretext or another. It is probably more accurate to state that the Westphalian ideal generally applied to the relationships between strong independent states rather than all states.

The most profound challenge to the Westphalian ideal came from two regions based on two different ideals. The European economic integration project, which was launched to create a powerful economic interdependence among European states so as to deter them from going to war as happened in the Second World War, led to the idea of European political integration as well. This gave rise to the European Union free trade zone

and Euro Zone and what some thinkers referred to as the postmodern project or the postmodern era. The modern era was the era of Westphalian

ideal of nation-states and national boundaries. The postmodern era was deemed as the era where national boundaries did not matter and where the Westphalian ideal lost its relevance. The European Union and Euro Zone were considered to be examples of this era which was termed by some as the way forward for much of the world. However, the economic problems faced by Euro Zone and European Union countries in the last decade or so have discredited the idea of postmodernism and nationalism and have made a comeback in Europe. This is what some writers like to refer to as the return of history in the context of Europe where the Westphalian ideal has made a comeback.

The other region where the Westphalian ideal faced a significant challenge and collapse altogether is the Middle East or the Muslim World. There, the Westphalian ideal of nation-state was introduced artificially by

European colonialists after the destruction of the Ottoman Caliphate and the end of Muslim rule in the Subcontinent. This ideal was artificially upheld by dictatorial regimes subservient to Western states who used force to make Muslim societies submit to the ideal of nation-state and secular politics. However, the Arab spring and a wider Islamic revival led to the collapse of some of these states in the Middle East while many Muslim majority states face serious challenges to their legitimacy. The reason for the failure of the

The other region where the Westphalian ideal faced a significant challenge and collapse altogether is the Middle East or the Muslim World. There, the Westphalian ideal of nation-state was introduced artificially by European colonialists after the destruction of the Ottoman Caliphate and the end of Muslim rule in the Subcontinent.

Westphalian ideal in the Muslim World is thoroughly ideological. Islam cultivates within its followers a powerful sense of religious identity which supersedes all other identities. The concept of an Islamic Ummah, which is one with the exclusion of all others, is emphasized repeatedly and in detail in Islamic culture. Moreover, the Westphalian ideal of nation-state emerged in Western Europe, together with the ideal of secularism, and both were promoted by Western states to the rest of the world. The Muslim World was also introduced to nation-state and secular politics at the same time and it comprehensively rejected both.

Another challenge to the current Westphalian ideal is the issue of globalization and global commons. Increasingly, states are affected by issues which transcend national boundaries. Climate change, cyber space or pandemics are just a few examples. Some present economic interdependence in the same context, however, participation in free trade agreements and international financial markets are sovereign choices which can be rolled back any time. Still, economic interdependence is considered as a challenge linked to globalization. There is increasingly an argument in the West for collective responses to issues linked to globalization and global commons. A new interpretation of the Westphalian ideal is being presented as a solution to such issues. To mask its imperial ambitions in Afghanistan and justify its occupation, America presented a new interpretation for sovereignty to the world. It argued that any sovereign nation loses its rights under the Westphalian ideal if its territory is used against another nation and it refuses to hold accountable those who used its territory against another nation. Later America expanded this justification to intervene militarily in Muslim countries. Now, some

American thinkers are presenting this very interpretation of sovereignty which was used to invade Afghanistan and to deal with issues linked to globalization and global commons calling it sovereign obligation. Under this concept, states will be held responsible for actions taking place within their territory but which affect other states; actions like carbon emissions, cyber-attacks, failing to warn the world against an infectious disease or providing a sanctuary to militant groups. However, such a concept is still under development and is applied occasionally to international issues.

The defense of Westphalian ideal was also the excuse used by America to intervene militarily in some of the Muslim countries in the name of bolstering or protecting the legitimate or sovereign authority from attacks from militant groups.

There is now a consensus among great powers that the Westphalian ideal is embraced by much of the world (except for the Middle East), and hence the creation of any new states is undesirable. In fact, the creation of numerous new countries in the twentieth century was considered part of decolonization under the slogan of self-determination. Both the Soviet Union and America encouraged the policy of decolonization to reduce the role and influence of European states in global and regional affairs. Hence, support for self-determination has now waned after the completion of physical decolonization. Rather, self-determination is now increasingly seen from the prison of Westphalian ideal of interfering in a country's internal affairs.

Islam presents a uniquely different approach towards international relations and international situation which is thoroughly ideological in its orientation. The Islamic state does not subscribe to the Westphalian ideal of

territorial sovereignty, the concept of building and maintaining a balance of power or the idea of a rules-based global or regional governance architecture which is binding on all states, for Islam seeks to radically change the international situation so as to make it favorable for the deliverance of Islam's message to humanity to worship Allah (swt). Allah says in the Quran: **كُنْتُمْ خَيْرَ أُمَّةٍ أُخْرِجَتْ لِلنَّاسِ تَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَتَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَتُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ** “**You are the best of peoples ever raised up for mankind; you enjoin Al-Ma'ruf (i.e. Islamic Monotheism and all that Islam has ordained) and forbid Al-Munkar (polytheism, disbelief and all that Islam has forbidden), and you believe in Allah.**” [Aal e Imran:110]. Islam cultivated a powerful sense of Islamic identity based on the Islamic creed which superseded tribal, ethnic or other identities. Allah says in the Quran: **إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِخْوَةٌ** “**The believers are nothing else than brothers (in Islamic religion).**” [Al-Hujuraat-10]. And Allah says: **يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا ۚ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ ۚ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ** “**O mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another. Verily, the most honourable of you with Allah is that (believer) who has At-Taqla. Verily, Allah is All-Knowing, All-Aware.**” [Al-Hujuraat-13]. This powerful sense of Islamic identity, of belonging to an Islamic Ummah by just embracing the Islamic creed, made Islam a truly transformational force in global politics when it first appeared at the international stage after the establishment of the Islamic State in Madina by Prophet Muhammad (saw). The message was universal and inclusive. Anyone and everyone is welcomed and is embraced as part of the Muslim Ummah irrespective of his previous beliefs, ethnicity, race, language, gender or color if s/he proclaimed shahadah.

Islam presented the concept of an expansive state which is not limited by territorial boundaries. The objective of the expansion of the Islamic state was to establish the authority of Islam over new lands. This establishment of the Islamic authority would naturally serve as an invitation to Islam as the new areas annexed to the Islamic state will be governed by Islamic law. The new citizens of the state will thus have a comparative experience of living in an Islamic society governed by Islamic laws and a non-Islamic society governed by non-Islamic law. The superior experience of living in an Islamic society would thus be an invitation to the new religion and no coercion would be applied by the state on its non-Muslim citizens to change their religion. In fact, non-Muslims will enjoy similar rights as that of Muslims with a few differences.

On the return of the Khilafah to the international stage, it will seek to overturn the Westphalian ideal of nation-state. The Muslim World is ready for such a change, for Muslims in the Middle East specifically and the Muslim majority countries generally reject the Westphalian ideal, and in some cases the Westphalian state has already collapsed. Africa, Central Asia and Eastern Europe as well as some countries in South Asia and South America are weak states who have not benefited considerably from the liberal world order. People of such states and societies will willingly embrace a superior alternative to Western liberalism if the superiority of such an alternative is demonstrated to them.

It should be noted that although global arrangements, like the United Nations, IMF, the World Bank and World Trade Organization, are in place, much of them are discredited globally for they mostly represent the balance of power as was the case immediately after the Second World War or as was in the case of WTO immediately after the

end of Cold War. Increasingly, America is resorting to regional architectures or bilateral or smaller multilateral arrangements to manage international relations. This points to a lack of consensus over the liberal order in today's world. On its return, the Khilafah would target the dismantling of formal global and regional architectures which introduce binding or formal obligations upon states whether such architectures are political, economic or security related in nature. Such a campaign would need to be political and sometimes military in nature where the ineffectiveness of such arrangements or their bias towards protecting interests of Western states needs to be demonstrated to the world.

The world should instead be invited to voluntary treaties to manage their international relations negotiated for a certain amount of time for a certain aspect of international relations. To successfully achieve this, the Khilafah State must have a strong military as was historically the case and should achieve considerable economic strength in the shortest possible time. One of the biggest assets that would be available to the Khilafah State is the huge number of Muslims spread across the globe. As is easily demonstrable even today, these Muslims can exert a lot of soft power. Even today, Muslim communities in the Western and other non-Muslim countries are at the forefront of intellectual and political struggle against Western and other governments who are insisting that Muslims adopt Western secular culture or that Muslims abandon their Islamic identity. If properly organized by the Islamic state, this huge Muslim population can project tremendous soft and cultural power helping to prepare foreign societies for the acceptance of Islam's message and eventual expansion as a state and authority.

The Khilafah State would also be best positioned to tackle the challenge of what is

termed as globalization because it will be a single expansive sovereign authority reaching three continents if only current Muslim majority countries are taken in to account. This will mean that a central authority, the Khalifah, will have the ability to immediately implement any policy whose reach and influence will be felt over three continents instantaneously. Nothing will guarantee more stability, consistency of policy, free movement of goods, services and people over such a long stretch of lands than these areas being under the command of a single sovereign and expansive authority; the Khilafah State. This will be the case when the Khilafah returns and this was the case when it commanded global authority historically.

The return of the Khilafah State to the international stage would in itself be a remarkable event, for it would demonstrate the sheer determination, resilience and willingness of Muslim societies to resist colonialism and overthrow its clutches. It would be a powerful political announcement on its own. Add to this the reality that liberal democracy and Capitalism are facing an internal crisis of legitimacy within their own countries where tough economic conditions have unleashed a wave of popular movements which are challenging long held Western traditions like Open Market, Free Trade, an acceptance of immigration and the willingness to project military power abroad. And we have a world which is ready for change and a reconfiguration of global power once the Khilafah on the Method of the Prophethood returns by the will of Allah.

China – Pakistan Economic Corridor- Reality, Issues and Way Forward

Muhammad Suleman, Pakistan

Introduction:

Since 2015, the Chinese-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has been touted by the government of Pakistan as a game changer and solution of all ills for Pakistan. The government engineered hype surrounding CPEC has been consistent and is often equated by official circles to the success story of Pakistan's successfully achieving a nuclear weapon capability. This time it is dubbed as "the economic bomb".

Notwithstanding a premature and controversial hype surrounding CPEC, the plan does reflect the seriousness of Chinese intentions both economic and political. Moreover, CPEC has become nearly a house hold discussion within Pakistan as there exists a generally favorable but uninformed public opinion for the project.

It is important for Dawah carriers to develop a comprehensive understanding of the CPEC debate so that we are better able to guide the Ummah as its honest leaders.

This article will address the following issues regarding CPEC:

- a. Origins of China's One Belt One Road (OBOR) vision and its economic sense.
- b. What is CPEC all about?
- c. What are the risks for Pakistan's economy and politics?
- d. How does the broader geopolitics link up with Chinese ambitions?

- e. What is the Islamic viewpoint regarding CPEC?

Origin of OBOR and CPEC:

At the end of 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping announced one of China's most ambitious foreign policy and economic initiatives. He called for the building of a Silk Road Economic Belt and a 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, collectively referred to as One Belt. One Road (OBOR) which has also come to be known as the Belt and Road Initiative. Xi's vision is an ambitious program of infrastructure building to connect China's less-developed border regions with neighboring countries. OBOR is arguably one of the largest development plans in modern history. On land, Beijing aims to connect the country's underdeveloped hinterland to Europe through Central Asia. This route has been dubbed with the Silk Road Economic Belt. The second leg of Xi's plan is to build a 21st Century Maritime Silk Road connecting the fast-growing Southeast Asian region to China's southern provinces through ports and railways.

All levels of the Chinese Government, from the national economic planning agency to provincial universities, are scrambling to get involved in OBOR. Nearly every province in China has developed its own OBOR plan to complement the national blueprint. Major state-owned policy and commercial banks have announced generous funding plans to fulfil President Xi's ambitious vision.

Before the 18th Party Congress in 2013, there were heated debates among Chinese policymakers and scholars about the strategic

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direction of the country's foreign policy, especially in its neighborhood. In October 2013, Beijing convened an important work conference on what it termed 'peripheral diplomacy'. It was reportedly the first major foreign policy meeting since 2006 and the first-ever meeting on policy towards neighboring countries since the founding of the People's Republic. It was attended by all of the most important players in the Chinese foreign policymaking process, including the entire Standing Committee of the politburo.

At the Peripheral Diplomacy Work Conference, Xi said that China's neighbors had "extremely significant strategic value". He also said that he wanted to improve relations between China and its neighbors, strengthening economic ties and deepening security cooperation. "Maintaining stability in China's neighborhood is the key objective of peripheral diplomacy. We must encourage and participate in the process of regional economic integration, speed up the process of building up infrastructure and connectivity. We must build the Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, creating a new regional economic order." (source?) Xi clearly sees China's considerable economic resources as a key tool in his efforts to maintain regional stability and assert China's leadership in the country's neighborhood.

At a broader strategic level, influential Chinese policymakers and analysts have also

argued that OBOR could be used as a strategic tool to counter the US rebalancing to Asia. In 2015, Justin Yifu Lin, an influential policy adviser and a former chief economist at the World Bank, argued President Xi had launched OBOR to counterbalance US policies, such as the pivot and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). He argued China should use its economic resources including its large foreign reserves and experience in building infrastructure to strengthen its position in the region. One Counsellor at the State Council of the Chinese Government, Tang Min, noted that China and many emerging economies had been locked out of the US led TPP and these countries needed a 'third pole', namely OBOR.

State of Chinese Economy:

OBOR will help China to meet some of its most pressing economic challenges. Of these challenges, three in particular are important in understanding the key aims of OBOR: encouraging regional development in China through better integration with neighboring economies, upgrading Chinese industry while exporting Chinese standards, and addressing the problem of excess capacity.

The regional development aspect of OBOR is perhaps one of China's most important economic policy objectives. The lead coordinating government agency for OBOR is the National Development and Reform

Commission, the country's premier economic planning agency. It is likely that Chinese domestic components of OBOR projects will

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be built before any overseas components for the simple reason that Beijing can enforce its plans much more effectively within its own jurisdiction. However, if the Chinese Government fails to connect its domestic projects with overseas components, OBOR will be little different from other domestic infrastructure programs, greatly diminishing its economic and strategic value.

In 2014, OBOR was officially incorporated into China's national economic development strategy at the Central Economic Work Conference, the annual agenda-setting economic summit for policymakers. Beijing announced three regional development plans; one of which was OBOR. These regional development plans are designed to address the chronic problem of uneven development in China. Inequality between inland western regions and prosperous eastern seaboard states is a huge challenge for the ruling party. For example, the coastal mega-metropolis of Shanghai is five times wealthier than the inland province of Gansu which is part of the old Silk Road. Beijing has tried to close the gap between these provinces.

Since 1999, the Chinese Government has pursued the so-called 'western development strategy' to revitalize chronically underperforming provinces, including the Muslim majority autonomous region of Xinjiang. However, these efforts have produced few tangible results. Despite Beijing's preferential policies, large-scale fiscal injections and state-directed investments, the western provinces' share of China's total GDP increased only marginally from 17.1 per cent in 2000 to 18.7 per cent in 2010.

One acute side effect of heavy state subsidies in these western provinces has been a high concentration of state-owned enterprises and low penetration of private firms. For example, the western regions of Xinjiang, Tibet, Qinghai, and Gansu are the four lowest-ranked provinces on the China Economic Research Institute's Free Market Index. Their average score is 2.67 (0 means no private enterprise and 10 means completely free); the national average is 6.56.

China has developed a reputation as the 'world's factory' over the last three decades. In recent years, however, its comparative advantages in manufacturing, such as low labour costs, have begun to disappear.

Apart from developing the western region, OBOR is also expected to play an important role in revitalizing economically underperforming provinces in the north-east as well as other poor regions in the southwest, bordering Southeast Asia. In fact, all Chinese provinces are keen to be involved in the national project. Many see it as a golden opportunity to obtain cheap funding and political support for their own infrastructure projects under the banner of OBOR.

China has developed a reputation as the 'world's factory' over the last three decades. In recent years, however, its comparative advantages in manufacturing, such as low labour costs, have begun to disappear. For this reason, the Chinese leadership wants to capture the higher end of the global value chain. To do this, China will need to upgrade its industry. Indeed, this has become one of China's most important domestic economic goals. It is reflected in the "Made in China 2025 strategy" drafted by the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (MIIT). Its primary goals are to make the country's manufacturing industry more innovation-driven, emphasize quality over quantity, and restructure China's low-cost manufacturing industry.

Problem of Excess Capacity in Chinese economy:

During the global financial crisis, the Chinese Government delivered one of the largest stimulus packages in recent economic history. It saved China (and arguably a host of other countries, including Australia) from recession by sending commodity prices sky-high. Though the stimulus program was effective, one of its lasting side effects was the creation of massive excess capacity in many industrial sectors from steel to cement. In the steel industry, for example, China's annual steel production surged from 512 million tons in 2008 to 803 million tons in 2015. To put that into perspective, the extra 300 million tons are larger than the combined production of the United States and the European Union.

Dealing with the country's excess capacity has become one of the top economic priorities for the Chinese Government. Beijing has described this issue as the sword hanging over its head. Excess capacity will squeeze corporate profits, increase debt levels, and will make the country's financial system more vulnerable. Many state-owned firms in sectors with excess capacity borrowed heavily during the financial crisis. The slowing economy, sluggish international demands, and the supply glut have reduced their profits. Many are struggling to keep their heads above water. These bad loans have put the Chinese banking system under a great deal of stress. The Chinese Government has announced a number of policy measures to address the issue of excess capacity. This has included laying off 1.8 million workers from the steel and coal mining industries. The authorities are also trying to shut down polluting steel mills and blast furnaces.

Hu Huaibang, Chairman of the China Development Bank and the most influential financier of OBOR projects, says one of the most important objectives of OBOR is to help China undergo economic structural reform and upgrade its industries, moving away from the cheap mass manufacturing model:

“On the one hand, we should gradually migrate our low-end manufacturing to other countries and take pressure off industries that suffer from an excess capacity problem. At the same time, we should support competitive industries such as construction engineering, high-speed rail, electricity generation, machinery building and telecommunications moving abroad.” (source?)

China, like other colonial powers before it, wants to exploit the resource rich neighborhoods to develop its own under developed western and southern regions

Moving factories with excess capacity to OBOR countries helps China reduce the supply glut at home while helping less developed countries to build up their industrial bases. In essence, domestic economic liabilities become foreign economic and diplomatic assets. Jin Qi, the Chairman of the Silk Road Fund, a sovereign wealth fund set up in 2014 specifically to provide seed capital for OBOR projects, made this clear during one of her rare

public speeches on OBOR.

The summary of discussion is that China, like other colonial powers before it, wants to exploit the resource rich neighborhoods to develop its own under developed western and southern regions. Moreover, China is also facing a problematic transition of its economy.

What is China – Pakistan Economic Corridor?

One of the most important flagship projects of OBOR is the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor which links Kashgar in Xinjiang with the Port of Gwadar in Pakistan's South.

Till date, the concrete economic pact finalized between the government of China and Pakistan regarding CPEC has not been made public. This is consistent with China's statecraft. What we have mostly in public domains are official statements which indicate that CPEC project is a collection of infrastructure projects currently under construction throughout Pakistan, modernizing its rail and road infrastructure and numerous energy projects, and special economic zones. CPEC was initially valued at 46 billion dollars of which, according to official rhetoric, 33 billion dollars investments will go into power sector and remaining 13 billion dollars will be aimed at rail and road networks. These figures have been revised upwards recently.

The CPEC projects will be financed through four sources namely:

- a. Concessionary loans
- b. Interest based loans
- c. Private Consortiums
- d. Asian development Bank (ADB) and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)

However, a recent news story by Pakistan's leading English daily DAWN has created a different perception about CPEC. Based on the original document authored by China's National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) and China's development bank (CDB) in 2015 titled "Long Term Plan on China-Pakistan Economic Corridor", the image of CPEC appears to be contrary to the picture painted by Pakistani officials of massive industrial and transport undertaking, involving power plants and highways. The plan acquires its greatest specificity, and lays out the largest number of

projects and plans for their facilitation, mainly in agriculture and mining sector of Pakistan.

Given the developments on the ground and in the light of recent revelations, it is clear that CPEC is mainly about major investments in full cycle of agriculture industry from seeds to live stocks and supply/export of agricultural products under Chinese label through rail and road network in the region. Investments in mining of massive strategic minerals, which Pakistan is blessed with and which will be

Investments in mining of massive strategic minerals, which Pakistan is blessed with and which will be consumed in Chinese industries in its western provinces, transported via road networks.

consumed in Chinese industries in its western provinces, transported via road networks. And investments in Pakistan's energy infrastructure where profits from energy production in Pakistan will be repatriated back to China. Moreover, since the road and rail network of CPEC are linked with China's restive Xinjiang province, the major Chinese focus is the development of a range of industries in Xinjiang that will be fueled by Pakistani raw materials.

Other Chinese provinces too can look into case to case basis as to consume Pakistani resources into their respective provincial industries.

China recognizes the problem of Pakistan's crippled energy and power sector that is generated due to a mixture of circular debts and aging power infrastructure and that, without investing into Pakistan's power sector, China will not be able to run its industries inside Pakistan. So, upgrading Pakistan's power structure is also part of CPEC.

CPEC and the "Malacca Dilemma":

The Straits of Malacca provide China with its shortest maritime access to Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. Approximately 80% of

China's Middle Eastern energy imports pass through the Straits of Malacca. As the world's biggest oil importer, energy security is a key concern for China while current sea routes used to import Middle Eastern oil are frequently patrolled by the United States' Navy.

In the event that China were to face hostile actions from US and its allies, energy imports through the Straits of Malacca could be halted which, in turn, would paralyze the Chinese economy in a scenario that is frequently referred to as the "Malacca Dilemma." In addition to vulnerabilities faced in the Straits of Malacca region, China is heavily dependent upon sea-routes that pass through the South China Sea, near the disputed Spratly Islands and Paracel Islands, which are currently a source of tension between China, Taiwan, Vietnam, the Philippines, and the United States. The CPEC project will allow Chinese energy imports to circumvent these contentious areas and to find a new artery in the west, and thereby decrease the possibility of confrontation between the United States and China.

In addition, the Indian Navy has recently increased maritime surveillance of the Straits of Malacca region from its base on Great Nicobar Island. India has expressed fears of a Chinese "String of Pearls" encircling it. Were conflict to erupt, India could potentially impede Chinese imports through the straits. Indian maritime surveillance in the Andaman Sea could possibly enhance Chinese interest in Pakistan's Gwadar Port, the Kyaukpyu Port, which is currently being developed in Myanmar by the Chinese government as another alternate route around the Straits of Malacca, will likely be vulnerable to similar advances by the Indian Navy. The proposed Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Corridor (BCIM) would also be vulnerable to Indian advances against China in the event of conflict, thereby potentially limiting the BCIM Corridor's usefulness to China's energy

security, and thereby increasing Chinese interest in CPEC.

Risks of CPEC for Pakistan:

There are apprehensions regarding the efficiency and economic feasibility of the project. Moreover, Pakistan faces various internal and external political challenges which may hamper the progress of CPEC. Some of the negative implications for Pakistan are as follows which clearly outweigh any potential benefits:

- **Threat to Sovereignty:** CPEC will increase the Chinese clout within Pakistan forcing it to take decisions which will be detrimental to its interests, for example, China has been quietly talking with Pakistani officials to give Gilgit Baltistan a provincial status that will result in accepting status quo on Kashmir issue. China is also setting up a small naval base in Gwader to "safeguard" its investments. China too has shown concerns post 9/11 about US military and intelligence bases in Pakistan and would like to have its own setup to monitor US activities in Pakistan.

- **Risks to Indigenous industry -** China has an established track record of arriving much like a horde of locusts and completely wiping out the local indigenous industry. The floodgates to Pakistan have been opened to the Chinese and it is just a matter of time before Chinese goods do the Walmart-effect on Pakistani industry and destroy what is left of it.

- **Debts and Interest Rates on Payments:** \$46 is a mountain of a loan for Pakistan. China is lending Pakistan at a relatively very high rate of interest. A nearly bankrupt Pakistan would begin running in to balance of payment problems even before any of the projects out of this money completes. Sri Lanka has already stared at a Balance of payment problem and has already begun regretting letting Chinese in to their country. China has already begun arm-twisting Sri Lanka in to giving away territory

in the sense that it is asking for a 99-year lease which is as good as giving it away to China.

Interestingly, both Pakistan and China haven't made public the transit fee Pakistan should get on China bound traffic from Gwader.

- **Price of Electricity:**

One of the promises of the CPEC is that it will provide electricity to Pakistan. No doubt, Chinese investment in power sector will add approximately 10,000 MW electricity in the grid but what no Pakistani official is telling is - at what rate? In India, the cost of electricity generation has come down to as low as 3.46 rupees (\$0.0519) per unit. Compare that with the current Rs 14–16 per unit of Pakistan. And the future may be worse. It is estimated that Pakistan won't be able to keep it under Rs 18 per unit because China will invest in the existing IPPs (Independent Power Producer) and per unit cost should be high to generate lucrative profits. Details of negotiations in this domain are also kept secret.

- **Increased focus on Domestic Security:**

Pakistan needs to provide security to Chinese investment, personnel and work force as part of the terms. The said corridor will be thousands of kilometers of roads running through plains, mountains and deserts. Pakistan has already raised a full division size force to guard the Chinese investment, the roads, and the trucks passing by. This will further increase Pakistan's focus on internal security in an environment where it needs to transit from counter insurgency operations to traditional war fighting mode.

CPEC and US:

US has welcomed Chinese Belt and Road initiative and CPEC as it is aware of both risks and opportunities in the geopolitical domain. American officials sense a political opportunity on working with China to manage regional challenges, like Afghanistan, where US has

allowed its puppet regime in Kabul to increase its economic ties with China.

US also has its own vision of silk route trade which emerged before Xi Jing ping's 2013 announcement of OBOR. It remains to be seen how the United States exploits Chinese plans for developing energy resources in Central Asia's Turkmenistan, creating infrastructure in Pakistan, or winning political influence with local governments throughout Asia. Other Asian powers, like India and Russia, are meanwhile seeking to define their own approach to regional integration. While these ambitious projects hold the potential to reshape one of the world's least integrated areas, all must contend with local rivalries, logistical roadblocks, security risks, and political uncertainty.

As then-Deputy Secretary of State, William Burns, outlined in a major 2014 policy address, a centerpiece of the U.S. strategy has been building a regional energy market for Central Asia. More than 1.6 billion consumers in India, Pakistan, and the rest of South Asia are increasingly demanding energy supplies of the kind that Kazakhstan or Turkmenistan with their hydropower and natural gas reserves, are capable of providing.

The proposed Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline, which could provide major economic dividends to Afghanistan, has been a focus of U.S. policy. Turkmenistan is home to the world's second-largest deposit of natural gas, and the TAPI would allow it to diversify its exports away from China by delivering energy to India and Pakistan.

A crucial next phase in this regard will be connecting private-sector investment and entrepreneurship in Afghanistan and Pakistan, says former Ambassador Marc Grossman, who served as the U.S. Special Representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan from 2011 to 2012. Grossman points to the potential for export industries like Afghani fruit and Pakistani

cement that are currently restricted by trade barriers. India and Iran both are key outlets of energy exports emanating from Central Asia in American plan for silk route which is also one of the reasons why America has encouraged increasing Indian and Iranian ties.

Islamic Viewpoint on CPEC:

What is clear from CPEC agreement is that it is nothing more than a resource grab and an exploitation plan where China in a garb of “Win-Win cooperation” slogans will actually consume Pakistani resources to build its own domestic economy. The dividends for Pakistan’s own economy are too little as compared to political and economic costs. More importantly, it is important to understand that the entire capitalist framework, its benchmarks and barometers for measuring economy are flawed.

Islam has laid down extensive rules for International trade as the Khilafah State is not an isolationist state and will develop economic, political and cultural links with other states of the world.

Creating economic, military and political dependency on other states is strictly forbidden in Islam because that gives Kuffar say over state’s matters.

The destructive colonialist policies are a constant feature of any government that rules by man-made laws in Pakistan. And the Bajwa-Nawaz regime is no exception, for democracy is the system through which colonial powers ensure the securing of their interests. As such democracy is just a rubber stamp for colonialism and now Chinese colonialism will further our miseries in return for cheap benefits that regime is touting.

The only way for establishing the economic revival of Pakistan on a firm footing is the abolition of democracy and the return of the Khilafah to Muslim lands. The details of the blessings that Islam will bring to the economic life of Muslims are outlined by Hizb ut Tahrir

in the vast culture produced by it on Islam's economy.

Under the Khilafah, Islam will uniquely unleash great funds from the economy to fuel agricultural and industrial development without crippling taxation through a radical restructuring of state and public and private ownership amongst other measures. Islam mandates the building of a powerful heavy industrial base, supported by world leading research, to propel the Khilafah in its role as a leading state. Agriculture under the Khilafah was the envy of the world for centuries and will be again as Pakistan will witness a return to the linking of ownership of lands with its practical cultivation which will simultaneously increase rural means of livelihood as well as food security for the Ummah's state. The currency of the state will be established on gold and silver standard again which is the sure footing for the elimination of inflation from its root. And the energy resources will be returned to public ownership so that power is provided readily as well as cheaply. Thus, the Khilafah will demonstrate practically to a world that is crippled by the collapse of corrupt capitalism the truth of the Deen of Islam.

(وَابْتَغِ فِيمَا آتَاكَ اللَّهُ الدَّارَ الْآخِرَةَ وَلَا تَنْسَ نَصِيبَكَ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَأَحْسِنْ كَمَا أَحْسَنَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْكَ وَلَا تَبْغِ الْفُسَادَ فِي الْأَرْضِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُفْسِدِينَ)

“But seek the abode of the Hereafter in that which Allah has given you, and do not neglect your portion of worldly life, and be kind even as Allah has been kind to you, and seek not corruption in the earth. Verily, Allah likes not the Mufsidun (those who are mischief-makers, corrupted).”

[Surah Al-Qasas 28: 77]

The Khilafat Movement

Afzal Qamar, Pakistan

One of the biggest political developments for the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent after World War I was the Khilafat Movement. It was formed because it became reasonably clear that the losing powers would have their rulers deposed. In the case of the Ottoman State that meant the Sultan. It also meant in his case that the Caliphate would also be abolished. The State itself was also to be abolished, which meant that the Arab lands were to be split up and given independence, while the State's lands in Europe were to be further reduced, along with the abolition of the Kingdom of Hungary and the independence of its lands.

The Muslims of the Subcontinent were not so much concerned with the Sultan of Turkey as with the Caliph. The Khilafat Movement energized the Muslims of the Subcontinent, and forced all existing Muslim political forces to join in. The symbol of the movement were the Ali Brothers, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Maulana Shaukat Ali, the former going to jail after he used the Khilafat Movement as a reason to suborn Muslim troops who were being sent to Iraq to help occupy the Arab lands. He was convicted for distributing pamphlets among them in Mumbai (Bombay).

The Khilafat Movement, in origin, got its impetus from the wishes of the Muslims that the Caliph should retain control of the Holy Places, as well as sufficient lands as would allow him some independence. Perhaps the salient lesson of the Khilafat Movement at the time was the futility of seeking a common future with the Hindus, because Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar obtained the support of the Indian National Congress by adding Home Rule for India to its demands, as well as a

pledge to stop cow slaughter. One result of this was to give India, in the shape of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Muslim icon. Azad along with many Muslims, had gotten involved in politics through the Khilafat Movement, and after the Caliphate was abolished, remained to win Home Rule, choosing Congress as the vehicle for the expression of their political aspirations.

Another important dimension is that it represented the first venturing by Indian Muslims into politics since the extinguishing of the Mughal rule in 1857. After 1857, the Muslims had been advised to avoid politics by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, which they had done, thus standing apart from Congress when it was founded. The founding of the AIML can be seen as an attempt to play catch-up, especially since the AIML drew close to the Congress to the extent that it virtually merged with it in 1917. The Khilafat Movement showed that Muslims did not see Home Rule, or any other of that era's slogans, as the prime motivator of politics, but the Caliphate. Another consequence of the Khilafat Movement was that it drew a large number of people into politics who had not been involved in it before. When the Khilafat Movement came to a disappointing end because of a failure to achieve its aims, a record number of Muslims were left without a political platform. Some went into the Congress, but others went into the AIML, because they wanted to achieve both Home Rule, and a Muslim state.

There seems to have been some confusion about what exactly the Muslims of the Subcontinent wanted. Did they want what the INC wanted, which was a kind of replica of the British Raj? Or did they want to be part of the Caliphate? With the Caliphate abolished, the latter was not possible. It should not be

forgotten that when the Khilafat Movement took place, Ireland was winning its independence, and providing an example from which all Indian leaders, not just Muslims, were learning, on what post-Independence India might be like.

That the abolition of the Caliphate created a restlessness among the Muslims of India is shown not just by the Khilafat Movement, but by the Reshmi Rumaal Tehrik, as well as the founding of the Tablighi Jamaat. After the Khilafat Movement, the AIML underwent a revival. It underwent a split in the 1920s over the question of meeting the Simon Commission, and it was at an annual session of the anti-Commission faction that Allama Sir Muhammad Iqbal proposed, in his presidential address, a separate state for Muslims. The AIML reunified, but it did not adopt this idea as official policy until 1940.

That the Khilafat Movement affected the Pakistan Movement occurred for two major reasons; first, the carry-over of personnel, and second, the tremendous impact of the first. It should not be forgotten that large numbers of those who became involved in politics for the first time in the Khilafat Movement stayed in politics through the AIML. Though they did not go against party policy, they interpreted it in ways that made it accord with their earlier political experience. Because of both these reasons, the Khilafat Movement had an important effect on the Pakistan Movement, and on the Pakistan Ideology which underpinned it. Thus Pakistan is not so much the result of the reaction of the colonized to colonialism, as of the Muslims to the abolition of the Caliphate. There are two strands apparent within Pakistan. One is an admiration of Mustafa Kemal and Kemalism, of the nationalist experiment in post-Ottoman Turkey. This may have owed something to the

desire to create a national, or rather nationalist, identity for the new state of Pakistan. Then there is the pan-Islamist strand, which saw Pakistan as a laboratory of Islam. This assumed that Islam needed modernizing. It is forgotten that this need was felt not just because of the experience of colonialism, but also because of the abolition of the Caliphate, and the problems in the practice of Islam that appeared after its destruction. This was partly the reason why Pan-Islamic movements found such acceptance, indeed popularity, in Pakistan, whether it was the World Islamic League, or even the OIC.

The problem for the new state has been that it has been diverted from this purpose by its rulers to support the former colonial masters. Pakistan will only find its destiny if it becomes part of a Caliphate. The Caliphate is not limited to the Ottoman state, but must be a state which fully implements Islam on the example of the Prophethood. Any party which does not work towards this goal is only a diversion. Also, as Allah (swt) said, (وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا وَاذْكُرُوا نِعْمَةَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ كُنْتُمْ أَعْدَاءً فَأَلَّفَ بَيْنَ قُلُوبِكُمْ فَأَصْبَحْتُمْ بِنِعْمَتِهِ إِخْوَانًا وَكُنْتُمْ عَلَى شَفَا حُفْرَةٍ مِنَ النَّارِ فَأَنْقَذَكُمْ مِنْهَا كَذَلِكَ يُبَيِّنُ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ آيَاتِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ) **“And hold firmly to the rope of Allah all together and do not become divided. And remember the favor of Allah upon you - when you were enemies and He brought your hearts together and you became, by His favor, brothers. And you were on the edge of a pit of the Fire, and He saved you from it. Thus does Allah make clear to you His verses that you may be guided.”** [Surah Aali Imran 3:103.] The Khilafat Movement was based on this desire to obey the command of Allah (swt). Pakistan came into being because of this desire, but could not satisfy it. Until that desire is fulfilled, that yearning will continue.

Political, Judicial and Societal Impact of the Panama Case

Muhammad Ghaznavi, Pakistan

Introduction

The Supreme Court bench hearing the Panama case claimed in triumph that the verdict would be remembered for centuries. While its effects for the coming centuries are debatable, what it has undoubtedly achieved is a political victory for the ruling party as well as the so-called opposition. It gives PML-N an apparent nod to keep governing the country with the added confidence that the 'proofs' presented against the Prime Minister were inadequate. It gives PTI, PPP and JI something to shout about while they prepare their pre-election agenda. It saves the judiciary some face too as the so-called senior most judges gave dissenting notes in an attempt to keep the mirage of impartiality. Furthermore, it reassures the Nawazs' and the Zardaris' of the nation that no matter how much blood they suck out of the masses, all systems are in place to safeguard their thirst.

Flawed Man-Made Judiciary

Yet, most importantly, this verdict hands down a confirmation to the general public of Pakistan that their hopelessness and frustration regarding the judicial process are indeed based on reality. This verdict validates the image of two parallel judiciaries present in our country;

one for the rich and affluent, and another for the ordinary man.

This judicial system could not get back the billions of dollars swindled by Mr. Zardari even though the federal government and the judiciary know exactly which Swiss banks the money is stashed away. Ms. Ayan Ali, who was

caught red-handed trying to smuggle money to Dubai, was not only released from jail but also her name was removed from the exit control list (ECL) as if to facilitate her to 'complete the unfinished job'! It's the same legal wizards who remained silent while Musharraf took charge of the government, passed the controversial PCO, declared emergency in the country, and finally escaped the country after being charged with 'treason'.

The same 'judicial diligence' gave Raymond Davis a clean chit to leave the country unscathed after having murdered Muslims in broad daylight. On the other hand, the common man knows well that when he knocks the door of a court, it may take his entire life to get a verdict! It is folklore now that rulers and the affluent class 'employ' services of judges rather than hiring lawyers!

A reading of the detailed Panama case verdict reveals the significant similarities in the thought processes and arguments of all the five judges. Yet, the decision came out to be 3:2. What caused the

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Muhammad Ghaznavi: The Panama Case

three judges (majority) to not rule against the current ruler despite debating the matter in almost the same way as the two other judges who wanted to oust the PM?

It doesn't take a lot of intellect to understand the root cause of the ailment our judicial system suffers from. No matter how impartial, brilliant and principled a jurist is, he cannot be just in this system.

The reason for this is that the system is inherently flawed. This system enables man to decide on the fate of man, referring to the law of precedence. The law and jurisprudence is literally at the beck and call of judges who can twist and turn or interpret any law or canon to suit the situation. This power given to man, however pious he may be in his personal life, is the source of weakness and corruption. The 'doctrine of necessity', PCO in Musharaf era and now the Panama verdict are but a few examples.

Islam's Legal Framework

Islam, on the other hand, provides a legal framework based on detailed Hukm Shari' which take their source from Quran and Sunnah. Islam encourages the judges to be free to adjudicate within the framework provided by Allah (swt) and the Messenger (saw). The same legal framework oversees the quality of judgments being handed out, and serves as an internal check-and-balance feedback system.

Therefore, we see that judges in the days of the righteous Khulafah Rashideen were beacons of fairness, impartiality and justice.

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It is the same legal system which enabled a Jew to stand victorious in a case against none other than the Khalifah of Muslims at that time, a scholar and jurist in his own right, Ali Ibne Abi Talib (ra)!

It is the same law adhering to which Khalifah Umar Bin Khattab (ra) punished his own son and was himself accounted over his garment! There was no VIP treatment as we see today. The rights of the weak are restored to them regardless of their race, status, gender, school of thought or religion.

When it was requested that a woman who committed theft be pardoned because she was from a noble family, RasulAllah (saaw) warned the Muslims by saying

«إِنَّمَا أَهْلَكَ الَّذِينَ قَبْلَكُمْ أَنَّهُمْ كَانُوا ... إِذَا سَرَقَ فِيهِمُ الشَّرِيفُ تَرَكُوهُ وَإِذَا سَرَقَ فِيهِمُ الضَّعِيفُ أَقَامُوا عَلَيْهِ الْحَدَّ وَإِنَّمَا اللَّهُ لَوْ أَنَّ فَاطِمَةَ بِنْتَ مُحَمَّدٍ سَرَقَتْ لَقَطَعْتُ يَدَهَا»

“The people before you were ruined because when a noble person amongst them committed theft, they would leave him, but if a weak person amongst them committed theft, they would execute the legal punishment on him. By Allah, were Fatimah, the daughter of Muhammad, to commit the theft, I would have cut off her hand.” [Bukhari]

The core reason for the stability and robustness of this system is the fact that man doesn't get to decide man's

sentence from his own whims and desires rather the judge confines himself to that which is revealed. Rasullah (saaw) said,

«الْقَضَاءُ ثَلَاثَةٌ: وَاحِدٌ فِي الْجَنَّةِ، وَاثْنَانِ فِي النَّارِ، فَأَمَّا الَّذِي فِي الْجَنَّةِ فَرَجُلٌ عَرَفَ الْحَقَّ فَقَضَى بِهِ، وَرَجُلٌ عَرَفَ الْحَقَّ فَجَارَ فِي الْحُكْمِ، فَهُوَ فِي النَّارِ، وَرَجُلٌ قَضَى لِلنَّاسِ عَلَى جَهْلٍ فَهُوَ فِي النَّارِ»

“The judges are of three types: One is in heaven, the others are in Fire. As for the one who is in Jannah; he is the man who knows the truth and judges by it, whereas the one who knows the truth and aggrieves it in judgment, he is in Fire. And the man who judges for the people on ignorance is also in Fire.” [Abu Daud]

O Muslims of Pakistan!
This judicial system is known well to you. What’s the point of flogging a dead horse? You were hopeful that something good would come out of the Panama verdict because you want justice to prevail, but mere hope achieves nothing!

You have to think – and think deeply as to how, after almost half a century, we are still left at the mercy of these corrupt rulers and the ‘legal’ cover they get from the judicial system the way they desire when they desire!

Stand up shoulder-to-shoulder with Hizb ut Tahrir to resist this systemic corruption, with no fear of adverse consequences:

«أَلَا لَا يَمْنَعَنَّ أَحَدَكُمْ رَهْبَةُ النَّاسِ أَنْ يَقُولَ بِحَقِّ إِذَا رَأَاهُ أَوْ شَهِدَهُ فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَقْرَبُ مِنْ أَجْلِ وَلَا يُبَاعِدُ مِنْ رِزْقٍ»

“Do not fear the people from speaking the Truth when it is witnessed or seen, for it will neither shorten the life span nor cause loss in Rizq”.(Ahmad)

O officers of Pakistan's Armed forces!

O the fighting arm of the Ummah of Muhammad (saw), your leadership is the

puppeteer behind this show. You know for sure that these rulers cannot do anything unless they get a green signal from GHQ.

...think deeply as to how, after almost half a century, we are still left at the mercy of these corrupt rulers and the ‘legal’ cover they get from the judicial system the way they desire when they desire! Stand up shoulder-to-shoulder with Hizb ut Tahrir to resist this systemic corruption, with no fear of adverse consequences.

Your leadership ensures that this parasitic system prevails in a land which was dedicated to become a fortress for Islam and Muslims of the world.

Respond to Hizb ut Tahrir, under its Ameer Sheikh Ata Bin Khalil Abu al-Rashtah, the eminent statesman and capable jurist when it calls you to give Nussrah so that this system is replaced with a Khilafah that takes its inspiration from the Khulfah Rashideen. Be assured that Khilafah is coming by the Will of our Lord:

(وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَى لَهُمْ وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا أَمَّا يَعْبُودُونَني لَا يَشْرِكُونَ بِي شَيْئًا وَمَنْ كَفَرَ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ)

“Allah has promised those who have believed among you and done righteous deeds that He will surely grant them succession [to authority] upon the earth just as He granted it to those before them and that He will surely establish for them [therein] their religion which He has preferred for them and that He will surely substitute for them, after their fear, security.” [Surah An Nur 24:55]

Indeed, the word of Allah suffices for the believers, settling their hearts, eradicating their fears and energizing their limbs.

Anniversary of the Battle of Badr: Occupied Kashmir Demands Liberation by the Khilafah, the Shield of the Ummah

Media Office Pakistan

As we remember with pride, the visionary leadership and brave fighting men that led to victory in the Battle of Badr, let us consider the situation in Occupied Kashmir. Brutal Hindu troops continue to oppress the Muslims of Occupied Kashmir in Ramadhan, in their latest long campaign that begun last summer and has so far included the use of pellet guns to blind and the tying of a Muslim to a jeep as a human shield. The seven decades long oppression in Occupied Kashmir is a painful confirmation of why our forefathers sacrificed so much to establish Pakistan, knowing well that were the Hindus to have any degree of authority over us, they are incapable of justice. And today we shed tears and grieve, with the knowledge that tens of thousands of our brothers and sisters have been martyred, thousands have been injured or blinded and hundreds of our sisters have been raped by the Hindu Mushrikeen, including the dozens gang raped by Hindu troops on February 23, 1991 during the "search and interrogation" operation in the twin villages of Kunan and Poshpora, that was met with international outcry.

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Yet, instead of having a visionary leadership to rouse our brave officers and troops to liberate Occupied Kashmir, we are burdened by a visionless leadership that gives loud addresses as a prelude to more inaction and "restraint." Despite hostiles actions from his Indian counterpart, including the martyrdom of an elderly Muslim in Poonch district on 10 June, Pakistan's Chief of the

Army Staff (COAS), Gen Qamar Javed Bajwa, remains motionless. In fact, on that very day, Bajwa instead tried to pour water on the fire that burns in the breasts of our troops stationed along the Line of Control, by hollowly stating the obvious, "We are aware of defence and security challenges being faced by the country and we are capable to defeat all threats irrespective of the front." Enough of ineffective and inept military leadership that hides behind words, when jaw-breaking responses are the demand of the time! Enough of a leadership whose hollow words condemn the Muslims of Kashmir to a future full of oppression through a "solution" where the Hindus will be guaranteed an authority over Muslim Land. And we know

well that the Hindu cowardly troops could not earn such an authority for themselves on the battle field in seven decades, despite being only

confronted by small bands of poorly armed, yet highly motivated Muslims. O for that glorious day, when the Hindus are roundly defeated by a powerful Muslim armed forces, led by a Khaleefah Rashid, raising the flag of RasulAllah (saaw)!

Enough, O Muslims, it is enough! Hizb ut Tahrir Wilayah Pakistan urges the Muslims to restore their shield, the Islamic Khilafah State, so that Ramadhan becomes a month of victory again as it was for centuries. Yes, today, Monday 12 June, corresponds to 17 Ramadhan corresponds to the anniversary of the Battle of Badr, 2 AH. Indeed the Battle of Badr is a reminder for us all that whilst the Muslims had an Imam who ruled by Islam, fearing none but Allah (swt), the Muslims were victorious over their enemies, even when they were greater in number and possessed superior weapons. Muslim narrated on the authority of Abu Huraira that RasulAllah (saaw) said, «إِنَّمَا الْإِمَامُ جُنَّةٌ يُقَاتِلُ مِنْ وَرَائِهِ وَيُتَّقَى بِهِ فَإِنْ أَمَرَ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَعَدَلَ كَانَ لَهُ بِذَلِكَ أَجْرٌ وَإِنْ يَأْمُرُ بِغَيْرِهِ كَانَ عَلَيْهِ مِنْهُ» **“The Imaam (of the Muslims) is a shield for them. They fight behind him and they are protected by (him from tyrants and aggressors). If he enjoins fear of God, the Exalted and Glorious, and dispenses justice, there will be a (great) reward for him; and if he enjoins otherwise, it falls back upon him.”**

And the Battle of Badr is a reminder that whilst the Muslims were shielded by an Imaam who feared only Allah (swt), the Iman of their fighting men soared, which multiplied their capability, whilst striking fear in their enemies so as to prepare the path for victory. Muslim narrated from Anas (ra), that "RasulAllah (saaw) and his Companions reached Badr before the polytheists, and when they arrived, he (saaw) directed: «لَا يُقَدِّمَنَّ أَحَدٌ مِنْكُمْ إِلَى شَيْءٍ حَتَّى» **“Let no one of you advance ahead of me.”** When the polytheists came

near, the Messenger of Allah (saaw) said, «فَوُومُوا إِلَى جَنَّةٍ عَرْضُهَا السَّمَاوَاتُ وَالْأَرْضُ» **“Now stand up and proceed towards Jannah which is as wide as are the heavens and the earth.”** 'Umair bin Al-Humam (May Allah be pleased with him) asked: "Is Jannah as wide as are the heaven and the earth?" The Messenger of Allah (saaw) replied in the affirmative. 'Umair remarked: "Great!" The Messenger of Allah (saaw) asked, «مَا يَحْمِلُكَ عَلَى قَوْلِكَ بَخٍ بَخٍ؟» **“What had urged you to say so.”** He replied: "Nothing, O Messenger of Allah! But hope that I might become one of the inhabitants of Jannah." The Messenger of Allah (saaw) said, «فَأَنْتَ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا» **“You will definitely be among them.”** 'Umair then took some dates out of his quiver and began to eat them, but after a short time he said: "If I live so long as to eat my dates, it will mean a long life." So he threw away the dates which he had with him and then fought with the enemy till he was killed.

However, today, without such a shield, burdened by a visionless leadership, even though the Muslims collectively possess more than three million troops in their armed forces, how do we find ourselves? Without our shield, the body of this Ummah is struck hard by even the smallest of nations, such as the rulers of Burma, as well as the cowardly, such as the Jewish State, the Hindu State and the American crusaders. It is the urgent need of the time for the Muslims in general to fulfill their Islamic duty towards the re-establishment of the Khilafah (Caliphate) upon the Method of the Prophethood. And it is the urgent need of the time for the officers of armed forces in particular to free themselves from the criminal rulers of today who restrain them, by granting the Nussrah to Hizb ut Tahrir for the re-establishment of the shield of the Ummah.

Fasting is the Shield of the Believer and Khilafah is the Shield of the Ummah

O Muslims of Pakistan, the Pure, the Good

In the centuries of Islamic rule, after the era of RasulAllah (saaw), the Khilafah state was a shield for the Ummah against her enemies. During Ramadhan itself, the Islamic Khilafah State mobilized the armed forces to achieve major victories, whilst facing formidable enemies. In Ramadhan 13 AH, the Khilafah defeated the Persian Empire in the Battle of Buwayb, shaking it to its core and heralding its destruction. In Ramadhan 92 AH, the Khilafah opened Andulusia (Spain), opening Europe for Islamic ruling for centuries. And also in Ramadan 92 AH, Muhammad bin Qasim opened the Indian Subcontinent to Islam, laying the basis for Islam's dominance over the Hindu mushrikeen for centuries. In Ramadhan 223 AH, the Khilafah opened Amooriyah (Amorium), even though it was the pride of the powerful Roman Empire. In Ramadhan 658 AH, the Khilafah prevailed over the Tartars in the Battle of Ein Jaloot, despite their occupation of large parts of the Islamic country for more than a century. Therefore, whilst the Ummah had her shield, Ramadhan was the month of victory for the Muslim armed forces.

However, this Ramadhan, 1438 AH, without our shield, our armed forces are withheld from liberating Masjid al-Aqsa from the Jewish state and saving the Muslims of Occupied Kashmir from being martyred, injured and blinded by the Hindu mushrikeen. Yet, the rulers deploy our troops without hesitation to protect the occupying Kuffar from the Muslims fighting them, whenever the US

military officials issue demands to “do more.” And the rulers do so even though it is the US occupation of Afghanistan that keeps the door open for Indian RAW) intelligence there, from where it strikes at us repeatedly in our tribal areas, Baluchistan and major cities.

Moreover, instead of mobilizing our armed forces for our protection, the rulers seek to consolidate the Kuffar's occupation, through making concession after concession to them. This Ramadhan, just as the Arab rulers bow before the Jewish State, under the banner of “normalization,” so do Pakistan's rulers bow before the Hindu State. In a bid to please their masters in Washington, Pakistan's rulers work day and night to make cultural, economic, military and political compromises to India, pleading before the Muslims the need for “restraint.” Indeed, the Bajwa-Nawaz regime is digging a grave for our security, by practically realizing the Hindu vision of “Akhand Bharat,” (Greater India), just as the Arab rulers lay foundations for “Eretz Israel” (Greater Israel).

So, despite the fact that Pakistan possesses land, resources and armed forces that rival those of the world's major powers, its impact is far less than its actual weight. Without the Islamic Khilafah State, the current rulers are not shields over our heads, they are chains upon our limbs and swords against our necks, so that we are weakened before our enemies.

O Muslims of Pakistan!

Fasting was likened by RasulAllah (saaw) to a shield protecting each of us individually

from the Fire of Jahannam. RasulAllah (saaw) said, «الصَّيَامُ جُنَّةٌ مِنَ النَّارِ كَجُنَّةِ أَحَدِكُمْ مِنَ الْقِتَالِ» **"Fasting is a shield against the Fire just like the shield of anyone of you against fighting."** [Ibn Maajah]. So, this Ramadhan, we establish the Obligation (*Fard*) of Fasting sincerely, seeking the Reward of Allah (swt), His Forgiveness and His Mercy and averting His Wrath.

However, RasulAllah (saaw) also likened the Khilafah to a shield, not for us individually, but for us as an Ummah collectively. RasulAllah (saaw) said, «إِنَّمَا الْإِمَامُ جُنَّةٌ يُقَاتِلُ مِنْ» **"Indeed, the Khaleefah is a shield, from behind whom you fight and by whom you are protected."** [Muslim] So, this Ramadhan, we must ask ourselves what we are doing to establish this Obligation? What are we doing for this obligation when it is not just one Hukm Shari that is abandoned in its absence, but hundreds? Indeed, the Khilafah is Islam's method for the implementation of our Deen as a state, ensuring that our ruling, economy, education, judiciary, domestic policy and foreign policy are all in accordance with the Quran and the Sunnah.

O Muslims of Pakistan!

Fasting, praying and weeping for the forgiveness of Allah (swt) this Ramadhan is not enough from us, when we find ourselves without our shield. It is upon us to work sincerely and seriously to end the American Raj and prevent the rise of Akhand Bharat. This Ramadhan, let us raise our voices with **Hizb ut Tahrir** for the re-establishment of the Khilafah on the Method of the Prophethood.

If we did not work to establish this Obligation, it would be an acceptance of the many sins of the rulers, which are now obvious to us all. Our situation will become even worse in the Dunya than it is now and we will expose ourselves to punishment in the Aakhirah. RasulAllah (saaw) said, «إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ لَا يُعَذِّبُ الْعَامَّةَ بِعَمَلِ الْخَاصَّةِ حَتَّى يَرَوْا الْمُنْكَرَ بَيْنَ ظَهْرَانِهِمْ وَهُمْ قَادِرُونَ عَلَى أَنْ يُنْكِرُوهُ فَلَا يُنْكِرُوهُ فَأَذَا فَعَلُوا ذَلِكَ عَذَبَ اللَّهُ الْخَاصَّةَ وَالْعَامَّةَ» **Allah will not punish the**

common people due to the work of specific people, until they see the munkar amongst themselves and they were able to forbid it but they did not do that. If they did that Allah will punish the specific people and the common people." (Ahmad)

O Sincere Officers of Pakistan's Armed Forces!

This Ramadhan, the Bajwa-Nawaz regime is active in strengthening the American Raj and laying the foundations for Akhand Bharat. At such a time, it is enough for civilians to raise the word of truth in front of these tyrants. However, it is not enough for you, for you are the military men, like the chiefs of the Ansaar (ra) before you, who have the material capability to seize and uproot the tyrants, ending their treachery decisively.

Our armed forces are the mighty lion that has been chained too long, when one strike of its paw will send the enemies scurrying. Unchain our armed forces and restore the Ummah's shield by granting the Nussrah (Material Support) to **Hizb ut Tahrir**, under its Ameer, the eminent statesman and capable jurist, Sheikh Ata Bin Khalil Abu al-Rashtah, for the immediate re-establishment of the Khilafah on the Method of the Prophethood. Come forwards now in this blessed month and heal the wounded hearts of the believers, restoring Ramadhan as the month of victory against Kufr and its people.

(إِنْ يَنْصُرْكُمْ اللَّهُ فَلَا غَالِبَ لَكُمْ وَإِنْ يَخْذُلْكُمْ فَمَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَنْصُرْكُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ وَعَلَى اللَّهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ)

"If Allah helps you, none can overcome you; and if He forsakes you, who is there after Him that can help you. And in Allah (Alone) let believers put their trust." [Surah Aali-Imran 3:160].

Hizb ut Tahrir/ Wilayah Pakistan

22 Sha'ban 1438 AH/ 19 May 2017 CE

Q&A: Disputed Classification of Weak Ahadith among the Hadith Scholars

Question:

As-Salam Alaikum, I am an Egyptian, and this is the first time I visit your website.

I am confused about some previous information, and when I read your answers to some of the questions, more confusions surfaced, so will you have patience and hear them out, thank you.

“Both Hadiths are not free of disputes, this is why some scholars of Hadith classified it as weak, but we regard it as Hassan Hadith, because it was mentioned in the Fiqh Books and they referred to it when extracting rules”

This statement was mentioned in the answer of Sheikh Abu Al-Rashtah regarding the Hadith of “my companions are like stars”. To my knowledge it is the Muhadiths (scholars of Hadiths) who classify a Hadith. My question is: Is it possible that a Hadith can be classified as Sahih by the Fiqh but as Mawdoo’ (subject) for example according to the Muhadith?

Mahmoud Ahmed

Answer:

Wa Alaikum As-Salam Wa Rahmatullah Wa Barakatuhu

It seems that you were confused when you read our answer regarding the Hadith of “my companions are like stars” and you thought that the Muhadiths can classify a Hadith as weak but the Faqihs can classify it as Hassan, but this is not the case, if the Muhadiths agree that a Hadith is weak, then the Faqihs do not classify it as Hassan.

My brother, the issue is regarding a weak Hadith that the scholars of Hadith disputed in its classification as weak, some would consider it as weak and cannot be used as evidence, while others approve it as evidence. This is because some narrators are considered as trustworthy by some Muhadiths, but are considered as not trustworthy by others, or that the narrators are considered as unknown by some Muhadiths, but as well-known by others. Also some Hadiths are taken as Sahih from a chain but as not Sahih from a different chain, The Muhadith who finds an unknown

narrator in the chain of a Hadiths will consider that Hadith as weak and not fit to refer to as an evidence. But on the other hand if this unknown narrator’s identity is revealed and is seen to be a trustworthy narrator, the Hadith will be fit to use as evidence. If a Muhadith sees that it is was not possible for one of the narrators to hear the Hadith from the previous narrators, then the Hadith will be classified as weak because there is an interruption in the chain, but if a Muhadith can prove that there is no interruption in the chain, and that the narrations reached all the narrators then the Hadith is considered Hassan and is used as evidence.

If a Muhadith sees that it is was not possible for one of the narrators to hear the Hadith from the previous narrators, then the Hadith will be classified as weak because there is an interruption in the chain

I will mention to you some examples of the disputes of the Muhadiths as I explained above:

For example: Abu Dawood, Ahmad, Nasa’i, Ibn Majah, and Tirmithi narrated from Abu Huraira (ra) that he said: «سأل رجل رسول الله فقال يا رسول الله. إنا نركب البحر ونحمل معنا القليل من الماء فإن توضعنا به عطشنا أفنتوضأ بماء البحر؟ فقال: هو

«الطهور ماؤه الحل ميتته» “A man asked the Prophet ﷺ and said, ‘O Messenger of Allah, we ride the sea and carry little water, if we use it for Wudu we will become thirsty, can we use the sea water for Wudu?’ He ﷺ said: ‘Its (sea) water is pure (Tahir) and its dead (animals) are permitted.’”

Tirmithi related that this Hadith is correct (Sahih) by Bukhari. Hakam Ibn Abd Al-Bar spoke of its correctness due to the acceptance of this Hadith by the scholars. Ibn al-Munthir said it is Sahih Hadith, and Ibn Al-Aseer said in Sharh Al-Musnad: This Hadith is Sahih and Mashoor, extracted by the Imams in their books, and they used it as evidence, and its narrators are trustworthy. As-Shafi'i said that in the chain of the narrators of this Hadith, there is an unknown narrator to him. Ibn Daqiq Al-Eid mentioned the ways why this Hadith is not used as evidence; this includes the lack of information regarding Saeed Ibn Salama, and Al-Mugheera Ibn Abi Barda who are mentioned in the chain of this Hadith, while these two narrators are known according to some Muhadiths. Abu Dawood said: Al-Mugheera is known, this is confirmed by Nasa'i. Al-Hafith said: therefore from this it is incorrect someone claims that he is not identified and unknown. As for Saeed Ibn Salama, he followed Safwan Ibn Salim's narration regarding Al-Julah Ibn Katheer.

Another example: Ahmad narrated from Saad Ibn Abi Waqas that he said: «سمعت النبي ﷺ يسأل عن اشتراء التمر بالرطب فقال لمن حوله أينقص الرطب إذا يبس؟ قالوا نعم، فنهى عن ذلك» “I heard the Prophet ﷺ enquiring about buying Tamr for Rutab (two forms of dates), He ﷺ asked those around him: ‘Does the Rutab (fresh date) shrink when it dries up?’ They said yes. He ﷺ prohibited that (action).”

This Hadith is Sahih by Bukhari, but was not accepted by a group including At-Tahawi, At-Tabari, Ibn Hazm, and Abdul Haq, due to the presence of Zaid Ibn Ayash in its chain of narrators who is considered unknown.

In the conclusion of the answer, he said that Ad-Darqitni said that he is a confirmed trustworthy (meaning Zaid Ibn Ayash), Al-Munthiri said: that two trustworthy narrators have narrated from him, and they were accepted by Malik who is known for his extreme criticism.

Such Hadiths that are disputed in their classification as weak, they are the ones referred to by the Mujtahids, or to their followings and witnesses that increase their strength, rendering them fit to be used as evidence. Note that not every weak Hadith is subject to search for its followings and witnesses to strengthen it, or that it is subject for search to find if it was used by Mujtahids, there are weak Hadith that cannot be strengthened by anything, this is because the weak Hadith is divided into two types:

- A type that is not used and is not strengthened by any followings and witnesses.
- A type that is strengthened by any followings and witnesses, and is used by renowned Mujtahids and Faqihs.

In our book, The Islamic Shakhsiyya, Volume I, it mentions the following:

“...It is incorrect to say that the weak Hadith if it comes from different weak chains it becomes Hassan or Sahih. If the Hadith is weak because of the corruption of its narrator or for being accused of actual lying, and if it comes from other narration of such nature, this adds weakness to its weakness...” It also states: “Hassan Hadith is the Hadith whose extractor is known and its narrators are famous, and does not contradict most of the Hadiths, and it is what is accepted by most scholars and is used by most Faqihs, i.e. that its Sanad (chain of transmission) does not contain any one accused of lying, and it must not be an odd Hadith. It is of two types: the first: The Hadith that its narrators are not free of any unknown whose is not eligible, but he must not be unaware and full of mistakes, and must not be accused of fabrication. And the Matn (text) of the Hadith

must have a similar narration from another chain, this will ensure that it is not odd or strange... End of quote. This type in origin is weak but because it has witnesses and followings it is considered Hassan. This is what the scholars of Hadith say, in the book, Al Muqadimah by Ibn As-Salah who is one of the most famous scholars in Hadith science, it states:

(- Not every weakness in a Hadith is removed when it comes from different chains, but this differs: the weakness that is not removed in such a way, due to the extent of the weakness and the end of the tyrant's oppression and his resistance. This is like the weakness that originates because the narrator is accused of lying, or that the Hadith is odd... and there is weakness removable by that, such as it being originating from a weakness in the memorization of the narrator, while he is of the people of truth and Deen. If we see that the narration that he brings from another chain, then we know it is due to his memorization, and that his accuracy is not compromised.

It is clear to me that Hassan Sahih is of two types:

First: The Hadith that its narrators are not free of any unknown whose is not eligible, but he must not be unaware and full of mistakes, and must not be accused of lying about the Hadith, i.e. that he did not show deliberate lying about the Hadith or any other corrupt reason, and the Matn (text) of the Hadith also is known, through another similar narration or the same from different chain or chains, until it is linked to the following of the one who is following a similar narration, or with that which have a witness to, which is the

narration of another similar Hadith, which clears it from being odd and strange...) End quote. Here you see that this Hadith is weak in origin is considered as Hassan if a similar

Hadith from another chain or is linked to the a following or has a witnesses...etc.

And so, if a Hadith is said to be weak among some of the Muhadiths, it is not sufficient to discard it and not to use it as evidence, but the reasons for its classification as weak will be researched, and whether the Mujtahids and renowned Faqihs and whether there are witnesses and followings that strengthen it or not. And whether it is classified by all Muhadiths? Or that they have disputed in the reason for classifying it as weak...and after studying all of that a decision will be taken whether to use the Hadith as evidence or not and so on. This is the basis we followed with regards to the Hadith «أَصْحَابِي كَالنُّجُومِ بِأَيِّهِمْ أَقْتَدِيْتُمْ اهْتَدَيْتُمْ» **“My companions are like the stars, by each whom you follow you will be guided.”**

...if a Hadith is said to be weak among some of the Muhadiths, it is not sufficient to discard it and not to use it as evidence, but the reasons for its classification as weak will be researched, and whether the Mujtahids and renowned Faqihs and whether there are witnesses and followings that strengthen it or not

Because of the following:

1- This Hadith is narrated in more than one chain, each has been commented on, and the strongest is the narration by Jabir (ra) which is:

Abu Umar Yusuf an-Nimry Al-Qurtubi (died in 463 AH) has extracted in his book, Jami' Bayan Al-Ilm Wa Fadhlulh, he said:

Ahmad Bin Ummar told us and said: he praised Ali Bin Umar, and praised Al-Qadi Ahmad Bin Kamil, and praised Abdullah Bin Rawah, and praised Salam Bin Sulaim, and praised Al-Harith Bin Ghusain, from Al-Amash, from Abi Sufyan, from Jabir that he said: the Prophet ﷺ said: «أَصْحَابِي كَالنُّجُومِ بِأَيِّهِمْ أَقْتَدِيْتُمْ اهْتَدَيْتُمْ»

«أَقْتَدَيْتُمْ أَهْدَيْتُمْ» **“My companions are like the stars; by each whom you follow you will be guided.”**

Abu Umar said: “This is a chain that is not accepted as evidence, because Al-Harith Bin Ghusain is unknown”.

But Ibn Hazm knew him and said that he is Abu Wahab Athaqafi, and Bukhari also knew him and mentioned him in At-Tarikh Al-Kabeer, Al-Hafith Ibn Hajar Al-Asqalani followed him in Al-Amali Al-Mutlaqa, he said: Ibn Haban mentioned him as one of the trustworthy, so it cannot be that he is unknown.

So it is a weak Hadith according to those who considered Al Harith Bin Ghusain as an unknown, as mentioned by Ibn Abdul Bir. But the Hadith is considered as fit to be used as evidence by those who knew Al Harith Bin Ghusain and considered him as trustworthy.

Therefore the Muhadiths did not agree on the classification of this Hadith as weak, so if this Hadith is found among renowned Mujtahids and Faqihs, it will be fit to be used as evidence. Because there is no consensus that it is weak by the Scholars of Hadith, this is followed by the renowned Mujtahids and Faqihs, so it is used as evidence with reassurance.

I will mention to you some of the renowned Mujtahids and Faqihs who used this Hadith as evidence:

Muhammad Bin Ahmad Shams Al-A'ima As-Surkhasi (died 483 AH) who used it as an evidence in his book Al-Mabsoot regarding the subject of Judiciary.

Abu Al-Abbas Shihab Ad-Deen known as Al-Qarafi (died 684 AH) in his book Az-Zakhira in his study of the Usul of Malik, also referred to by Abu Al Hassan Ali Bin Muhammad known as Al-Mawardi (died 450 AH) in his book Al-Hawi Al-Kabeer in his study of the Sahabah, Abu Muhammad Muwafaq ad-Deen known as Ibn Qudama Al-Maqdasi (died 620 AH) in his book Al-Mughni in the chapter: “The Sixth Chapter: The Reward of what was a Hunting Animal and the Similar Blessing”.

As you can see the Hadith is used by renowned Mujtahids and Faqihs, this is why it is considered as Hassan.

This is only for the issue related to Hadith that is disputed as weak by the Muhadiths not the Hadith that is agreed by all as weak. This latter one would not be considered if it was mentioned as weak in the books of the renowned Mujtahids or Faqihs, even if we assume that it is mentioned there for the sake of argument, it will still be weak, and I say “for the sake of argument” because the renowned Mujtahids or Faqihs do not use the weak Hadith that is agreed

upon that it is weak.

I hope that this subject is completely clear to you my dear brother.

Your brother,

Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah

6 Safar 1438 AH/ 6 November 2016

6/11/2016 CE

Q&A: The Definite Answer to the Ones that Say that We are Not Obligated to Follow the Method of the Prophet (saw) in Reaching Power and Building a State

To Ahmad Abu Eid

he will look for the evidence concerning fasting when he needs to know the rules of fasting.

Question:

Assalamu alaikum...our Sheikh...is it possible to give me a definite answer to the ones that say we are not obligated to follow the method of the Prophet (saw) in reaching power and building a state?

Answer:

Wa Alaikum Assalam wa Rahmatuallahi wa Barakatuhu,

In short, the definite answer is as follows:

Ask the one who says we are not obligated to follow the method of the Prophet (saw) in reaching power:

1- Ask him which evidence he looks for when he wants to make wudu? Does he not look for the evidence concerning wudu? Or does he, for example, look for the evidence of hajj? He will answer you that he will look for the evidence concerning wudu...

Then ask him if he does not look for the evidence concerning siyam (fasting), when wanting to know the rules of siyam (fasting)? Or does he look for the evidence concerning jihad to know how to fast? He will answer that

he looks for the evidence concerning the establishment of the state, and the Prophet (saw) established the state once by asking for nusrah in the interaction stage. Hence the method of establishing the state is by seeking nusrah.

Then ask him if it is not correct that he looks for the evidence of salah (prayer), when he wants to know the ruling concerning salah (prayer)? Or does he look for the evidence concerning zakat? He will answer that he looks for the evidence concerning salah (prayer).

It is thereby clear that he for the ruling of any issue will look for its evidence in the Shariah.

Now, ask him concerning the establishment of the state, does he not look for Shari' evidence reported from the Prophet (saw) about how to establish the state?

He does not, for example, look for the evidence concerning jihad, prayer or fasting...rather he looks for the evidence concerning the establishment of the state, and the Prophet (saw) established the state once by asking for nusrah in the interaction stage. Hence the method of establishing the state is by seeking nusrah.

The question now is whether seeking nusrah is fardh (obligatory), mandub (encouraged) or mubaah (permissible)?

If seeking nusrah is fardh then we are obligated by this method in establishing the state, by studying this issue we find that:

It is an obligation (fardh) to seek nusrah, the evidence for this is that the Prophet (saw) did not change this method despite the hardship he faced when seeking it. He sought it from Thaqif and they answered him severely by making his feet bleed...and the Prophet (saw) did not change it to another method, rather he (saw) continued to seek nusrah from the tribes.

He sought it from Bani Shayban, Bani Amer and so on, all in all he sought it some ten times, without any positive response. Still he did not change the method to another despite the hardship lying in it. In the usool (fundamentals of fiqh) the repetition of the same thing while enduring hardship because of it, is an indication that the issue is fardh.

Hence to seek nusrah is fardh ...and it is the only method the Prophet (saw) followed in establishing the state, and he continued using it until Allah (swt) honoured him with the Ansaar who gave him bayaah (swore allegiance) in the second Aqabah, from there he emigrated to Al-Madinah where he established the state.

This is the answer in short for the one who has a heart or listens and bears witness, yet the stubborn one's argument is refuted because

he is satisfied to look for the evidence concerning wudu, fasting and prayer so that he might make wudu, fast and pray...and he does not look for evidence concerning the acts he does not want to perform, while it is obligatory upon him, if he is sane, to be satisfied to look for the evidence concerning the establishment of the state if he intends to establish a state.

There is only one evidence from the Prophet (saw) delivered to us by his acts and sayings and that is the seeking of nusrah, which he performed in the end of the interaction stage...and this method is fardh. This is in short the definite and adequate answer to the method we use in establishing the state.

In the end I bid you Salam and ask Allah (swt) to open the gates

of goodness for you.

Your brother,

Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah

2 Jumadal Awal 1438/ 30 January 2017

...to seek nusrah is fardh ...and it is the only method the Prophet (saw) followed in establishing the state, and he continued using it until Allah (swt) honoured him with the Ansaar who gave him bayaah (swore allegiance) in the second Aqabah.

Q&A: The Growing Tension between America and North Korea

(Translated)

Question:

The growing tension between the United States and North Korea is rising. The United States is carrying out large-scale military exercises in South Korea. As a result of this tension, America sent a large group of warships, including an aircraft carrier, while North Korea is warning of a nuclear war. The BBC reported on April 15, 2017: North Korea has warned the United States against any provocative actions in the region, saying it is "ready to respond with nuclear attacks." What is the reality of this tension? Can a nuclear war erupt between them? And what is China's position on this tension on its borders, especially since North Korea is considered to be its ally?

Answer:

Yes, the tension escalated dramatically between North Korea and America after President Trump took office in America. The issue of North Korea's missile tests is used by America to threaten North Korea. It was noticeable that the escalation of tension became more intense after the arrival of the Trump administration in America as if the administration's top priority is to eliminate what it calls the North Korean

"threat" to its interests and its allies in Asia, and the indicators are:

1- The issue of North Korea in the American strategy is not a question of an enemy military force, with its socialist system and is not subject to the American world order. The small size and strength of North Korea do not place it at the top of the American priority, but it is so because it is part of a whole called

America's tension with North Korea was one of the other tensions raised by America against China, such as the border dispute between China and India, and the islands issues between China on the one hand, and Japan, the Philippines, Vietnam and Malaysia on the other

China. America is looking with great worry to the increasing growth of China and is looking at all options to curb China's power. One of these options is to have tension at China's borders, including North Korea. What confirms that is that America, under the Obama era, has been active in building alliances around China; its relations have been significantly increasing with India, Japan, Vietnam and the Philippines as well as South Korea, and it wanted these alliances to be a cordon around China to limit the momentum of China's investment policy of the South China Sea and to limit the strengthening of its trade routes with the world.

America's tension with North Korea was one of the other tensions raised by America against China, such as the border dispute between China and India, and the islands issues between China on the one hand, and Japan, the Philippines, Vietnam and

Malaysia on the other. Because of China, America has lifted too many restrictions on Japan's military to confront China. Today, when America places this "threat" issue at the top of its priorities, it is part of its strategy against China. US pressures on North Korea are not new even if they are now taking a more heated approach. This strategy at first took the style of pressured negotiations. America and North Korea's negotiations in 1994 resulted in the suspension of Pyongyang's nuclear program. In 2008, the negotiations resulted in the six-party talks in the closing down of the Yongbyon reactor. In the year 2012, it resulted in North Korea's suspension of its nuclear program and allowing inspectors to enter the country. Every time North Korea resumes its nuclear program because of America's non-compliance with its commitments to provide light water reactors as alternatives, to provide fuel, or because of America's humiliation to it through the aid provided by America. America was the one pushing Pyongyang to return to the square of tension ... And then America adopted a new method in 2012 to transfer 60% of its naval power to the Far East, and it does so not against the small North Korea but in order to limit China's power. And the tension today is only in continuation of this limitation.

2- Secretary of State Tillerson announced that the US strategic patience policy towards North Korea has ended. Tillerson said during a press conference with his South Korean counterpart Yun byung-se in Seoul: "Let me be very clear, the strategic patience policy has ended, we are studying new security and diplomatic measures, all options are on the table," (Reuters, March 17th, 2017). This is also reinforced by the fact that America has been somewhat reassured about Syria after

proving Turkey's ability to force the revolutionaries to hand over Aleppo. That is, subsiding the danger of the Syrian revolution (as America sees it) allows America to move and focus on North Korea. Thus, North Korea became the No. 1 issue at President Trump's table after the Syrian issue had been one of the priorities in the Obama administration, and America had not yet prepared its plans for China's borders as it was considering its options and preparing its alliances. Therefore, the tension with North Korea became the high tone in Washington, and America's declaration of the end of the policy of strategic patience was the indication of the possibility of Washington's resorting to a military solution with North Korea. As a result of that, America announced its response to North Korea's military tests with provocative steps and statements including:

a- US Secretary of State Tillerson threatened North Korea by using nuclear weapons: US Secretary of State Tillerson threatened North Korea of using the "nuclear deterrence" to defend South Korea and Japan in the strongest response to Pyongyang's latest missile test, and Tillerson issued a joint statement with his South Korean and Japanese counterparts, in which he stressed that the United States is "determined" to defend Tokyo and Seoul even by using the "nuclear deterrence" ... (Russian Sputnik agency, 17/2/2017).

b- America's threat to provide South Korea and Japan with nuclear weapons: US Secretary of State, Rex Tillerson, announced earlier today that he does not rule out a solution that could lead to the emergence of nuclear weapons in South Korea and Japan. He did not

specify if he means the deployment of US nuclear weapons in those areas, or that these weapons belong to South Korea and Japan ... (Russian Sputnik agency, 18/3/2017)

c- With words of provocation, Trump reminded North Korea of several American weapons that the US can strike it by: "The US president also said that he had telephoned the Chinese President Xi Jinping yesterday and asked him in an hour-long call to let the ears of the North Korean leader Kim Jong-un hear that: "The United States has not only aircraft carriers but nuclear submarines too," he said firmly: "North Korea cannot be allowed to possess nuclear weapons, they do not yet have the means to launch nuclear weapons, but they will have it ..." (Russia Today, 13/4/2017 quoting the American newspaper Wall Street Journal)

d- Due to the recent escalation of tension between the United States and North Korea after Pyongyang's announced a new missile test and fears of preparing it for a sixth nuclear test, the United States sent a large US force of destroyers and aircraft carriers near North Korea. "The spokesman for the US Pacific Command confirmed that the US aircraft carrier Carl Vinson and its aircrafts, as well as two destroyers of missile launchers and rocket launcher, headed towards the Korean Peninsula after it was supposed to stop in Australia, and that it was put in place "as a precautionary

measure." The spokesman added that the source of the number one threat in the region is from North Korea because of its missile program ..." (France 24, 9/4/2017)

US Vice President Mike Pence confirmed this on Saturday, 22/4/2017. He told reporters in Sydney: "The aircraft carrier " will be in the Sea of Japan within days before the end of this month, with two destroyers and a rocket launcher. He continued: "The North Korean regime must make no mistake, for the United States has the resources, personnel, and presence in this region of the world that allows it to safeguard our interests and the security of these interests, and the security of our allies." Pence vowed that there will be "an overwhelming and effective response" to any attack by North Korea, stressing that the country poses "the most serious threat to peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region." (AFP 22 /4/2017)

e- The US large scale military exercises by the American army in South Korea: "The South Korean and US troops began a large-scale military exercises on Wednesday, which takes place yearly, to test their defense readiness in the face of North Korea's threats ... The drills come amid heightened tension after the latest attempt to launch a ballistic missile by North Korea on 12th February ..." (Reuters, 1/3/2017). It is worth mentioning that the US military has a large military base in South

Due to the recent escalation of tension between the United States and North Korea after Pyongyang's announced a new missile test and fears of preparing it for a sixth nuclear test, the United States sent a large US force of destroyers and aircraft carriers near North Korea.

Korea with 28,500 US troops, part of a military system in the countries of the China Basin and the Pacific Islands, with more than a quarter of a million troops, not to mention the naval force that are sailing in the seas.

3- Thus, Trump threatens as if war is imminent. But there are indications that America does not want war now including:

a- America threatened and showed its readiness with a strong response to any new North Korean test, so North Korea responded with a major military parade on 15/4/2017. It was broadcasted by Pyongyang Television, and it showed North Korea's capabilities to launch ballistic missiles from submarines and the possibility that some of its intercontinental missiles are capable to reach the American territories. This reflected that the reality of power in North Korea is a dilemma for America. America wants to plan a war without facing significant harm, or it does not strike its territory. When North Korea has revealed the reality of its strength, the credibility of the American threats were put in a critical situation. Moreover, Pyongyang did not stop at its highlighted military display and television broadcast (specifically the ability of submarines to carry ballistic missiles and launching them) but it followed that with a missile test on 16/4/2017 as if it was an intercontinental ballistic missile. Although it failed, it increased its defiance of America. This shows that the America's threats are not real, and that America is now unable to implement them, that is, America is not ready for war yet.

b- The missile defense system (THAAD) has not yet been deployed in South Korea, but it is being prepared although it has

been agreed on for about a year. "US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Susan Thornton has confirmed that the missile shield system (THAAD) in South Korea is not yet deployed according to the drawn plan, note that the US missile systems were scheduled to be deployed in South Korea in June or July this year, but the United States and South Korea apparently decided to speed up the operation on the back drop of North Korea's missile tests. The agreement between Washington and Seoul for the deployment of (THAAD) missile systems in South Korea was reached in July 2016. The plans for the deployment of (THAAD) missiles on the Korean Peninsula are of concern to Russia and China, while Japan considered that this will strengthen the security of the region ..." (Russian Sputnik agency, 17/4/2017).

c- It is unlikely that America will engage in a war against North Korea before the 100-day deadline agreed upon with the Chinese president to conclude a major trade agreement that would review the overall trade relations between the two countries. America wants to show some softness in trade with China, contrary to what President Trump promised during his election campaign of imposing a 45 percent tax on Chinese goods, that is, it is trying to lure China into putting pressure on Pyongyang, which would justify abandoning it and leaving it alone facing America and its allies, and this helps America to achieve two objectives:

First, if this succeeds, it will diminish China's status by showing its abandonment of its allies. As to underestimate China, President Trump's instructions to authorize Syria's missile strike on April 7th, 2017 was during a

dinner between Trump and the Chinese President Xi Jinping in Florida, and that what some considered as an insult to China. Al-Arabiya Net reported on 8/4/2017 (the website reported that Jack Keane, a retired general and former Vice Chief of Staff of the United States Army, as quoted by Fox News as saying regarding Trump's behavior: "He's doing what he says. He's sending a message to the Chinese " i.e., regarding his intention to wage war against North Korea, and that China should press on and abandon North Korea. If it did, it would be treated with leniency in the trade agreement.

Second: America wants to try to show the Chinese card against North Korea by increasing the American statements on the consensus of the two countries on the dangerous situation in North Korea, and this will speed up things to achieve the US-Russian consensus; America will use the Korean card to be a playground for the race between Russia and China! The increase in such statements was striking. Mike Pence, Vice President of the United States, said in a press conference with his Australian counterpart Malcolm Turnbull: "We were excited by the steps China has taken so far," Last week, Trump praised China's efforts to rein in the Korean threat. North Korea after North Korean media warned the United States of a massive pre-emptive strike. "(Al-Hayat Newspaper, Sydney 22/4/ 2017)

d- America wants to face North Korea from a position of power that can weaken Pyongyang, and this is by positioning Russia militarily alongside America against Pyongyang, and perhaps as a spearhead as in Syria, as this would confuse many of the calculations of North Korea which thinks that

Russia is an enemy of America. This new old Kissinger plan is what the US sanctions on Russia from the Obama administration are centered around, and temptations for Russia from the Trump administration, was delayed by America, and the most important issue was the alliance against North Korea on the agenda of US Secretary of State Tillerson in Moscow on 11/4/ 2017, as confirmed later by Russian sources on Wednesday, 16/4/2017, quoting the Russian newspaper Kommersant,"As for the United States, according to the outcome of the Moscow talks, it can consider the discussion of the Korean problem a success. This was the priority of Tillerson's visit to Moscow." And if the Korean war breaks out before the US-Russian agreement, America could suffer heavy losses. America also wants to make China affected by the escalation of the threat to intervene in the face of North Korea for fear of a nuclear war.

4- Because of all the above, America is not prepared for the war in North Korea now, and has no other suitable solutions. It is waiting for China to pressure North Korea, and is trying to speed it up, and its statements that America is ready to solve the problem on its own (i.e., without China)is increasing, as if it is threatening China to obey America and pressurize Pyongyang to disarm its nuclear weapons. America is also waiting for its agreement with Russia to involve it in solving the Korean dilemma. In the face of these imperfect conditions for the war, the United States has retreated from its threats even though North Korea has not retreated from its missile and nuclear tests and continues to threaten a full-scale war on American soil, showing its fearlessness of a nuclear war. The

evidence for America's toning down is its latest statements:

The Associated Press quoted a US military source, who asked not to be identified, that Washington currently has no real intention to strike North Korea even if the latter continued in its nuclear and missile tests. The source added that Washington's plans will change only when Pyongyang attacks South Korea, Japan, or the United States, and that the US leadership agreed at the present time to wait and not to escalate (Russia Today, 15/4/2017). America is de-escalating matters that it has escalated out of a rash decision. "The Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Susan Thornton, said her country is not seeking conflict with North Korea or changing its regime: "The United States has clearly stated that it wants to solve this problem with North Korea through disarmament of nuclear weapon peacefully on the Korean Peninsula, we certainly do not focus on conflict or regime change." (Russia Today, 17/4/2017). US Vice President Mike Pence said: "Nuclear disarmament on the Korean Peninsula could still be peaceful, thanks to Washington's new engagement with Beijing, despite growing fears that North Korea would conduct a new nuclear test soon". Pence said: "We really believe that if China and the allied countries in the region put pressure, there is an opportunity to achieve the historic goal of making the Korean peninsula nuclear-free by peaceful means ... " (Al-Hayat Newspaper, Sydney, 22/4/2017)

5- This is the reality of the situation and the tension on the Korean peninsula caused by the American recklessness and planning, and those were the active parties, and this is the

general line. However, the situation is flammable at any moment, and the threat of war breaking out remains waiting for the conditions to be completed by special agreement expected between America and Russia. If agreed, the likelihood of escalation will increase and if their agreement is delayed too much or did not take place, the situation on the Korean peninsula will remain on a moderate state of tension in order to keep pressure on Pyongyang's nuclear disarmament. If the US administration rush in dealing with North Korea, then the ramification will be devastating.

This administration does not have the wisdom to implement accurate strategies: "Former US Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta warned against Washington's preemptive strike on North Korea, saying any move in this direction would ignite a nuclear war that would cost millions of lives, "This is why the former US presidents stopped pushing the trigger and hit North Korea." He added: "The US administration must be careful in choosing its words, avoiding escalation, and be cautious and not take any hasty decisions, "he pointed out to the necessity to wait for what China will be able to achieve in the direction of calm, especially as Washington has recently given it a chance to intervene, and it may be able to influence". (Russia Today, 15/4/2017)

6- As for the reality of China's position, it is fully aware that it is indirectly targeted by America's igniting tension not to mention the war, so it is doing what it can to defuse the ignition. It calls for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, rejects military solutions, and openly rejects the militarization of the Korean Peninsula, including its categorical rejection of

setting up "THAAD" the American anti-missiles system in South Korea, "and China's Foreign Ministry expresses Beijing's opposition to deploy THAAD system, demanding at the same time North Korea and its neighboring countries to refrain from committing any acts of incitement ..." (Al-Jazeera Net 17/4/2017). However, it is bracing for the worst, and is preparing for the probability of war, and it is worried about it. The Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi, said: "If the war broke out, there will be no victorious side" (BBC 15/4/2017). As for the Chinese military readiness, Russia Today reported on 14/4/2017, United Press International the American agency revealed that the Chinese armed forces had received orders directly from the General Command of the Army to maintain high alert in five military zones. According to the agency based on the non-governmental Center for Human Rights and Democracy in Hong Kong that artillery battalions in the military areas of Chongqing, Sichuan and Yunnan in China were ordered to move and station on the border with North Korea. According to the center, some 25,000 military personnel from the 47-army stationed in the west have been ordered to move with their war machinery for long distances towards a military base near the North Korean border. A Japanese news agency reported that the reason behind the move of Chinese troops to the North

Korean border is Beijing's concern that Washington may preemptively attack Pyongyang, similar to the scenario of the US missile attack on Al-Shayrat military base in Syria).

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This is what we think in this matter according to the analysis of current events at least during the foreseeable future, and even beyond, and we say this because the world is controlled by monsters in human clothes who have no value for human blood. If their bloody interests require that, they will rush to shed rivers of blood with their nuclear and non-nuclear weapons as they did and do. The world will not feel safe and secure unless capitalism and other man-made systems cease to exist and no longer control the world, and the system of the truth and justice, the righteous Khilafah, the system of the Lord of the Worlds, dominates this world and spread the good and the joy of living and tranquility. The Creator is the one Who knows

what works best for His creatures

(أَلَا يَعْلَمُ مَنْ خَلَقَ وَهُوَ اللَّطِيفُ الْخَبِيرُ)

"Does He who created not know, while He is the Subtle, the Acquainted?" [Al-Mulk: 14]

26 Rajab 1438 AH/ 23/4/2017 CE

Palestine: Anniversary of Destruction of Khilafah; Ramallah Hosts a Massive Conference

Under the title of “The Khilafah is Strength after Weakness and Security after Fear” Hizb ut-Tahrir held a blessed conference in the courtyard of Al-Bireh Municipality, Ramallah, attended by thousands of Hizb ut Tahrir supporters on April 22, 2017. And called for the establishment of the Khilafah, which liberates prisoners and prisoners in the prisons of the Jewish occupation, and called for the

movement of armies to liberate the occupied country, especially Palestine from its sea to its river. Several speeches were delivered by honorable speakers and a nasheed was sung, as well as a speech from the Al-Waie group, the university student division of Hizb ut Tahrir in Palestine.





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MULTIMEDIA COVERAGE ABOUT THE VIGOROUS STRUGGLE OF
HIZB UT-TAHRIR
FOR THE RETURN OF THE KHILAFAH TO THE MUSLIM WORLD