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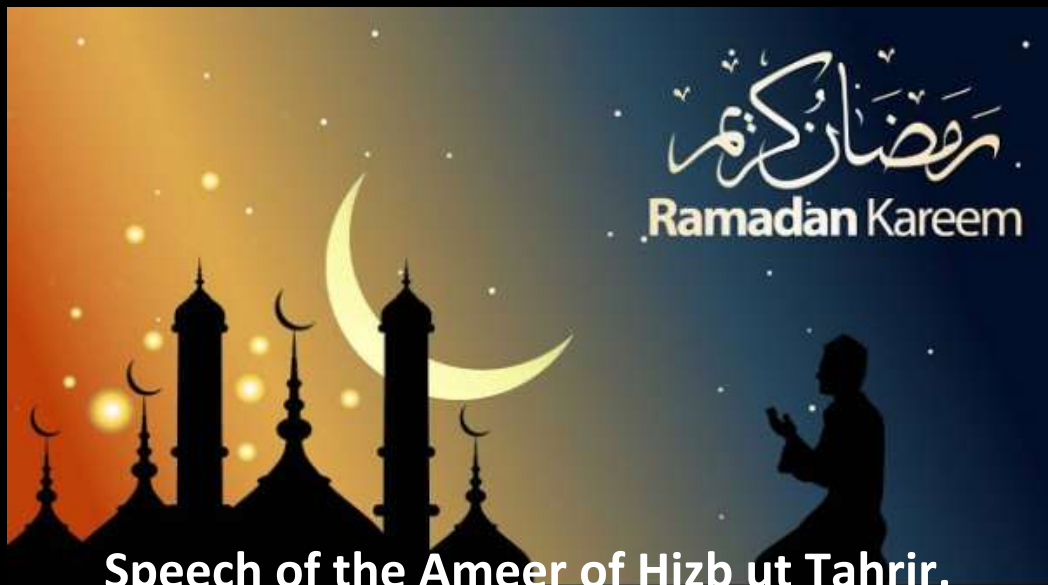
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Three Lessons from Biden's 2023 State of the Union Address

The Destruction of the Khilafah is a Painful Reminder of the Urgent Need to Re-Establish It

O Pakistan Army! The Current International Scenario is a Golden Opportunity, that Only Comes Around Once



**Speech of the Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir,
Eminent Scholar **Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah**,
for the Occasion of the 102nd Hijri Anniversary
of the **Destruction of the Khilafah****

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Editorial

Once again, Allah (swt) is honoring us with the opportunity to seek the plentiful blessings and rewards of Ramadhan Kareem. The month of Ramadhan is a reminder of the significance of the revelation of the Noble Quran, which began within this month. It was sent down to form an exemplary Ummah, the best of all nations and witness over all of humankind. Its revelation was brought to establish the Final Prophethood, that of the Prophet Muhammad (saw). It is this Final Prophethood which will define the fifth stage of ruling for the Islamic Ummah, the Khilafah (Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood. It is this Second Khilafah Rashidah that is to witness a Khaleefah, who will distribute wealth, without any accounting and calculation.

There are aspects of the rulings in Islam that are not performed as individuals, but as a Jamaa'ah, as a collective, such as Salah with Jamaa'ah, Imamah and Khutaba.' Amongst these matters is the Khaleefah leading the Ummah at the event of Hajj, being well aware of all the matters of his charge and presenting himself and his delegates for accountability. It is these aspects of the Method of the Prophethood that are absent today, lost in the history books. The collective aspect of Ramadhan is welcoming the month, upon sighting the moon, after an Ummah-wide effort. Then there is the celebrating of the revelation of the Noble Quran and the end of the Fast, with Eid. It is then that the Ummah of the Messenger of Allah (saw) gathers in huge collective gatherings. It is then that the Khaleefah, delegates and Waalis all prostrate to their Lord, offering Salah of Eid, with Takbeerat, in congregations.

However, today, despite holding one common belief in Allah (swt), the Messenger of Allah (saw) and the Noble Quran, the nation state borders of today have deprived the Islamic Ummah of rejoicing, as one single Ummah. Thus, in the absence of the Khilafah, to gather us together as one Ummah, we became divided. In addition, the loss of the Khilafah was the loss of our shield, that protects us against attacks and conspiracies.

Today, the US is longing to aggressively contain China in order to safeguard its influence over world affairs. For this purpose, the US is preparing

and developing India, in particular, to confront China, in the fields of technology and military power. A mandatory prerequisite to achieve this goal is stability on India's western borders, which are the eastern borders of Pakistan. To fulfill this prerequisite, in turn, the Pakistan Army is being kept in conflict on its western border, with Afghanistan, granting India stability in its occupation of Kashmir. In addition, the IMF is weakening Pakistan economically, to reduce its ability to challenge the rise of India.

The need of the time is to utilize the joint full potential of Muslim Lands and resources, by unifying them. These abundant resources include the energy resources of Central Asia, the mineral resources of Afghanistan, the fertile river plains of South Asia, the large regional population, the noble Afghan tribes and the powerful Pakistan Army. As one Khilafah, the Muslims can then end the regional hegemony of the colonialist power, the US, Russia and China. However, instead, Pakistan's ruling elite is busy granting positions, extensions and concessions, on the basis of self-interest.

The lowly politics of egoism and self-interests have to come to an end. The declined thinking of searching for solutions, within the conceptual bindings of West, must be abandoned. Let's avail this Ramadhan, with its abundant rewards, as an opportunity to work for revival. Let us work to return to the source of our identity and power, returning to our unique ruling system of Khilafah, which is purely derived from the creed of Islam. Let us strive for a new politics and a new state. It is the Khilafah that will provide justice and caring guardianship for the world, as it did for centuries before, in accordance to the divine revelation of the Almighty, Allah (swt).

As for the people of power, they must seize the moment. The current simultaneous conflict of the United States with two major competitors, China and Russia, drains and occupies it. Russia is losing focus on Central Asia, while being embroiled in the Ukraine conflict. China is amidst fires lit around it by the US, using Taiwan, South Korea and Japan. India is struggling and straining through confrontation with China. Most of the failed states of the Middle East are teetering, nearing collapse. By establishing Khilafah in this region, the people of power will not only be blessed with the bounties and rewards of the

Ansaar (ra), they will also have given rise to a Khilafah that will rapidly become the leading state of the world.

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Tafseer Al-Baqarah (2: 238-239)

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

﴿حَافِظُوا عَلَى الصَّلَوَاتِ وَالصَّلَاةِ الْوُسْطَىٰ وَقُومُوا لِلَّهِ قَانِتِينَ ۚ 238 فَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ فَرِجَالًا أَوْ رُكْبَانًا فَإِذَا أَمِنْتُمْ فَأَدْكُوا اللَّهَ كَمَا عَلَّمَكُم مَّا لَمْ تَكُونُوا تَعْلَمُونَ ۚ 239﴾

“Guard strictly (five obligatory) As-Salawat (the prayers) especially the middle Salah. And stand before Allah with obedience. And if you fear (an enemy), perform Salah (pray) on foot or riding. And when you are in safety, offer the Salah (prayer) in the manner He has taught you, which you knew not (before).” [Al-Baqarah: 238-239]

These are two verses regarding Salah, that were revealed by Allah (swt) during the verses of marriage, loyalty, divorce, khula', children, and breastfeeding. Regarding what is learned from their Revelation, during the midst of these matters:

Firstly: One must not forget to maintain Salah during the events that he passes through in his life, with his wife and children. His problems must not make him forget the pillar of his Deen. Salah is for Allah, the One and Only, for it is a great pillar of Islam.

Secondly: Paying attention to Salah and rushing to it is an important matter in Islam, especially when problems and events are escalating. The Messenger of Allah (swt) used to rush to Salah, whenever an important matter concerned him. In addition to that, Salah brings a person closer to his Lord and strengthens the Taqwa in him. So he fears Allah (swt), his Lord, when dealing with the wife and children. Thus, he puts his effort to investigate the truth and stands by it in the matters of marriage, divorce and children, hence avoiding injustice and harm to others.

Thirdly: One should always remember that this great Islam does not separate Deen from politics. It does not separate between acts of individual worship from collective transactions. It does not separate what they call

personal behaviour from jihad and the Bayah to the khalifah and so on. So, there is neither discrimination between rules related to rituals and rules related to worldly matters, nor is their discrimination between an obligation of the first type and an obligation of the second type. The One Who clarified the rulings of marriage, divorce and breastfeeding is the One Who explained the rulings of prayer, jihad, or zakat. All of these are from Allah (swt), and it is not correct to separate them from each other, nor to believe in some without the other. As mentioned in the Ayaat, **﴿وَيَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ يُرَدُّونَ إِلَىٰ أَشَدِّ الْعَذَابِ وَمَا اللَّهُ بِغَافِلٍ عَمَّا تَعْمَلُونَ﴾** (85) **“Then do you believe in a part of the Scripture and reject the rest? Then what is the recompense of those who do so among you, except disgrace in the life of this world, and on the Day of Resurrection they shall be consigned to the most grievous torment. And Allâh is not unaware of what you do.”** [TMQ Surah Al-Baqarah: 85-86]

In these verses, Allah (swt) explains the following:

1. Allah (swt) commands to maintain the Salahs. He (swt) singles out the middle prayer, and also commands us to perform the prayer with humility, not to speak in between about anything that is not from it.

﴿حَافِظُوا عَلَى الصَّلَوَاتِ﴾ **“Guard strictly As-Salawât (the prayers).”** That is, they performed it in its times with its pillars and provisions. Al-Bukhari and Muslim narated on the authority of Ibn Masoud, may Allah be pleased with him, and the wording is from Al-Bukhari, he said, **سَأَلْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قُلْتُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ أَيُّ الْعَمَلِ أَفْضَلُ قَالَ الصَّلَاةُ عَلَى مِيقَاتِهَا قُلْتُ ثُمَّ أَيٌّ قَالَ ثُمَّ بَرُّ الْوَالِدَيْنِ قُلْتُ ثُمَّ أَيٌّ قَالَ الْجِهَادُ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَسَكَتُ عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَلَوْ اسْتَزِدْتَهُ لَرَادَنِي** **“I asked the Messenger of Allah (saw), I said, O Messenger of Allah: which deed is best? He said: Prayer on its appointed time, I said: Then which? He said: Honoring the parents, I said, then what? He said: Jihad for the sake of Allah, so I stopped asking the Messenger of Allah (saw), and if I had asked him more, he would have increased me.”**

وَالصَّلَاةِ الْوُسْطَى **“the middle prayer,”** Several narrations have been mentioned about what is the middle prayer. Fajr, Zuhr, Asr, Maghrib, Isha and others were mentioned. By examining them, it becomes clear that no

narrations were narrated from the Messenger of Allah (saw), except about the Asr prayer and the noon prayer. The saying of a Sahabi is his opinion and not a sharai evidence, and therefore we will leave its discussion.

We now we'll review the Shariah evidences related to the Asr prayer and those related to the Zuhr prayer to see the most correct opinion regarding As-salat-ul-wusta (the middle prayer).

First: Muslim quoted from the hadith of Ali - may Allah honor his face, said that the Prophet (saw) said on the day of Al-Ahزاب, «سَغَلُونَا عَنِ الصَّلَاةِ الْوُسْطَى صَلَاةِ» «They distracted us from the middle prayer, the Asr prayer, and Allah (swt) filled their homes with fire.»

Al-Tirmidhi narrated on the authority of Samrah **عن رسول الله ﷺ سئل عن الصلاة الوسطى فقال: «هي العصر»** «The Messenger of Allah (saw) was asked about the middle prayer, and he said: **“It is the Asr prayer.”**»

Secon: Ahmad and Abu Dawud reported with a good chain of narrators on the authority of Zaid bin Thabit who said, **كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يُصَلِّي الظُّهْرَ بِالْهَاجِرَةِ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ يُصَلِّي صَلَاةَ أَشَدَّ عَلَى أَصْحَابِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْهَا فَنَزَلَتْ** «The Messenger of Allah (saw) used to pray the Zuhr prayer at the Hijrah, and there was no prayer more severe for the Companions than it, so it was revealed: **“Guard strictly (five obligatory) As-Salawat (the prayers) especially the middle Salah”**»

By examining these evidences, it becomes clear that the first group of hadiths is explicit in naming by the Messenger (saw) that the middle prayer is the Asr prayer, and in the second group, the Companion (ra) mentions that the reason for the revelation of the verse is related to the Zuhr prayer.

The first group is stronger in indicating the subject because it is an explicit text regarding the middle Salah, so it is more likely than the second.

It is true that the reason for Revelation is more likely to specify what is required if the first hadiths are considered. In addition, it the hadith is an explicit text within the matter. Therefore, it is more likely that it is the Asr prayer. There are also hadiths confirming its virtue.

It was reported regarding the Messenger of Allah (saw), **«مَنْ فَاتَتْهُ صَلَاةُ الْعَصْرِ، «Whoever misses the Asr prayer, it is as if he lost his family and property.» [Abi Dawud]**

And he (saw) said, **«بَكَّرُوا بِالصَّلَاةِ فِي الْيَوْمِ الْغَيِّمِ فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ فَاتَتْهُ صَلَاةُ الْعَصْرِ حَبِطَ عَمَلُهُ»** **“Hasten to pray on a cloudy day, for whoever leaves the Asr prayer, his deeds are in vain.”**

Thus, it will be in the verse, **﴿حَافِظُوا عَلَى الصَّلَوَاتِ وَالصَّلَاةِ الْوُسْطَى﴾** **“Guard strictly (five obligatory) AsSalawât (the prayers) especially the middle Salah.”** Mentioning the Specific after the General, Allah (swt) has commanded to maintain the prayers and singled out the middle prayer for a wisdom that the Almighty knows.

﴿وَقُومُوا لِلَّهِ قَانِتِينَ﴾ **“And stand before Allah with obedience”** i.e. being humble, without saying anything other than the prayer. Al-Bukhari and Muslim reported on the authority of Zayd bin Arqam who said, **كُنَّا نَتَكَلَّمُ عَلَى عَهْدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ، فَأَمَرْنَا بِالسُّكُوتِ وَنَهَيْنَا عَنِ الْكَلَامِ** **“We used to talk during Salah in the time of the Messenger of Allah (saw) until the revelation of “And stand before Allâh with obedience” , and we were ordered to stay quiet and were forbidden to speak, during Salah.”**

Ibn Jarir narrated on the authority of Ibn Masoud (ra) that he said, **أَتَيْتُ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَهُوَ يُصَلِّي فَسَلَّمْتُ عَلَيْهِ فَلَمْ يردْ عَلَيَّ، فَلَمَّا قَضَى الصَّلَاةَ قَالَ «إِنَّهُ لَمْ يَمْنَعْنِي»** **“I came to the Prophet while he was praying, so I greeted Salam to him, but he did not respond to me, and when he finished the prayer, he said: He did not prevent me from responding to your Salam except that We are commanded to stand up to Allah in obedience, not to speak in Salah.”**

In the second verse, Allah (swt) explains how to pray in extreme fear. Allah (swt) shows the form of Salah in three cases:

Firstly: the usual prayer in safe circumstances, with the obligation to perform its rulings with its conditions and pillars, so the standing, recitation, bowing, prostration, and the rest of what is obligatory should be completed according to the Sharii rulings related to prayer.

Secondly: there is fear of an enemy and fear of his attacking the Muslims and the obligation of guarding, so that the Muslims are not taken by surprise.

So Allah (swt) commanded Salah in this case in a special way, which was indicated by a verse that was revealed in the Battle of Dhat al-Riqa,' in the month of Jumada al-Awwal, in the fourth year of Hijrah, as narrated by Ibn Ishaq, according to what Ibn Hisham mentioned in his biography of him.

So Allah (swt), commanded prayer in this case in a special way, which was explained in the verse of surah An-Nisa, فَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَوْ تَغْفُلُونَ عَنْ أَسْلِحَتِكُمْ وَأَمْتِعَتِكُمْ فَيَمِيلُونَ عَلَيْكُمْ مَيْلَةً وَاحِدَةً وَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْكُمْ إِنْ كَانَ بِكُمْ أَدَىٰ مِّن مَّطَرٍ أَوْ كُنْتُمْ مَرْضَىٰ أَنْ تَضَعُوا أَسْلِحَتَكُمْ وَخُذُوا حِذْرَكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَعَدَّ لِلْكَافِرِينَ عَذَابًا مُّهِينًا ﴿١٠٢﴾ **“When you (O Messenger Muhammad) are among them, and lead them in As-Salah, let one party of them stand up (in Salah) with you taking their arms with them; when they finish their prostrations, let them take their positions in the rear and let the other party come up which has not yet prayed, and let them pray with you taking all the precautions and bearing arms. Those who disbelieve wish, if you were negligent of your arms and your baggage, to attack you in a single rush, but there is no sin on you if you put away your arms, because of the inconvenience of rain or because you are ill, but take every precaution for yourselves. Verily, Allah has prepared a humiliating torment for the disbelievers.”** [TMQ Surah An-Nisa 4:102].

It was revealed during the Battle of Dhat al-Riqa' in the month of Jumada al-Awwal, the fourth year of migration, as narrated by Ibn Ishaq, according to what Ibn Hisham mentioned in his biography of him.

It was narrated by the six muhaddiths, except Ibn Majah, about the prayer that the Messenger (saw) led the Muslims in Dhat al-Raqqā': **أَنَّ طَائِفَةَ صَفَّتْ مَعَهُ وَطَائِفَةٌ وَجَاءَ الْعَدُو، فَصَلَّىٰ بِالنَّبِيِّ مَعَهُ رَكْعَةً ثُمَّ ثَبَتَ قَائِمًا فَأَتَمُّوا لِأَنْفُسِهِمْ ثُمَّ انصَرَفُوا وَجَاءَ الْعَدُو، وَجَاءَتِ الطَّائِفَةُ الْآخَرَىٰ فَصَلَّىٰ بِهِمُ الرُّكْعَةَ الَّتِي بَقِيَتْ مِنْ صَلَاتِهِ فَأَتَمُّوا لِأَنْفُسِهِمْ فَسَلِمَ بِهِمْ** **“A group lined up with him and a group came and the enemy came, so he prayed with the one with him one rak'ah, then he stood still, so they completed for themselves. Then they turned away when the enemy came, and the other**

group came and he led them in the remaining rak'ah of his prayer, and they completed it themselves, then he greeted them."

There are other hadiths that are authentic in other collections, and all of them are valid as long as the hadiths contained in them are authentic, provided that the Salah is carried out in the manner mentioned in the hadiths.

Thirdly: in the event of contact with the enemy, and here are two cases:

A. If the fear is intense, meaning that the enemy is attacking the Muslims, and anticipation and maneuvering in the battle continues, and it is possible for the soldiers to pray walking or riding by gesturing, lowering the head in prostration more than bowing, if possible, pray this prayer, the prayer of intense fear, as stated in the verse of Al-Baqarah, ﴿فَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ فَرِجَالًا أَوْ رُكْبَانًا﴾ **"And if you fear (an enemy), perform Salah on foot or riding"**.

Ibn Majah narrated on the authority of Ibn Omar (ra), أن النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم وصف صلاة الخوف وقال فإن كان الخوف أشد من ذلك فرجالاً أو ركباناً **"The Prophet (saw) described the prayer of fear and said: If the fear is more severe than that, then on foot or riding."** That is, the Messenger (saw) described the prayer of fear in Surat An-Nisa, then added that if the fear was more severe than that, then on foot or riding, referring to a verse of Al-Baqarah.

And this hadith is in Al-Bukhari in the tafseer of Surah Al-Baqarah with the wording, إن كان الخوف أشد من ذلك فصلوا رجالاً قياماً على أقدامهم أو ركباناً مستقبلي القبلة, **"If the fear is greater than that, they should separate men, standing on their feet or riding, facing the qiblah and not facing it."**

Then Al-Bukhari added that Malik said, Nafi' said, لَا أَرَى عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ عُمَرَ ذَكَرَ ذَلِكَ إِلَّا عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ **"I do not see Abdullah bin Omar mentioning that except on the authority of the Messenger of Allah (saw)."**

B. If the gathering is more severe, and the fighting from the enemy is considered greater, so that it is feared to expect death, where the soldiers distracted from the fighting by praying even if by lowering the head i.e. nodding, then in this case it is permissible to delay the prayer until this situation is over, as happened with the Messenger of Allah (saw) in the battle of Al-

Ahzaab. As Al-Shafi'i carried with a chain of narrators, that is Sahih, on the authority of Abu Saeed Al-Khudri (ra) who said, «حبسنا يوم الخندق حتى ذهب هوى من الليل حتى كفيينا القتال وذلك قوله تعالى ﴿وَكَفَى اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الْقِتَالَ﴾ فدعا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بلالاً فأمر فأقام الظهر فصلها كما كان يصلي ، ثم أقام العصر فصلها كذلك ، ثم أقام المغرب فصلها كذلك ، ثم أقام العشاء فصلها كذلك ، وفي لفظ فصلى كل صلاة ما كان يصلها في وقتها» **“We confined ourselves on the day of the Trench until the storm of the night was gone, until the fighting sufficed us, and that is what the Almighty said: “Allah sufficed for the believers in the fighting” [Al-Ahzab:25] So the Messenger of Allah (saw) called Bilal and he commanded that he give iqamah for zuhr prayer and he prayed it as he used to pray, then he established the asr prayer and he prayed it in the same way, then he established the maghrib prayer and he prayed it likewise, then he established the isha prayer and he prayed it likewise. In another wording, he prayed every prayer he used to pray at its time.”**

It is not said here that this was before the revelation of the An-Nisa verse, regarding the Salah of fear, because al-Khandaq was in the fifth year of Hijrah and the An-Nisa verse in the battle of Dhat al-Riqa' was in the fourth year of Hijrah. Therefore each case has its own Salah as we have mentioned.

And as happened in the case of (Tuster) with the Persians, Al-Bukhari narrated on the authority of Anas bin Malik (ra), **حَصَرْتُ مَنَاهَصَةَ حِصْنِ تَسْتَرٍ عِنْدَ إِضَاءَةِ الْفَجْرِ، وَاشْتَدَّ اشْتِعَالُ الْقِتَالِ فَلَمْ يَقْدِرُوا عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ فَلَمْ نُصَلِّ إِلَّا بَعْدَ اِرْتِفَاعِ النَّهَارِ فَصَلَّيْنَاهَا** **“The opposition of the Shushtar Fortress came at the light of dawn, and the fighting intensified. So they were unable to pray. We did not arrive until after the day had risen, so we prayed it while we were with Abu Musa, and he conquered for us. Anas said: I am not pleased with that worldly prayer and what is in it”**

﴿فَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ فَرِجَالًا أَوْ رُكْبَانًا﴾ **“ And if you fear (an enemy), (perfrom Salah) on foot or riding”** That is, if you fear (the enemy) and you arrive standing on the ground, then pray on foot, or if you arrive as riders, then pray riding, according to your position. This omission is in the manner of the Arab saying **إن خيراً فخير وإن شراً فشر** **“if it is good, then it is good, and if it is bad, then it is bad”** meaning **إن تفعل خيراً، وإن تفعل شراً** **“if you do good, and if you do evil.”**

﴿فَإِذَا أَمِنْتُمْ فَأَدْكُوا اللَّهَ كَمَا عَلَّمَكُم مَّا لَمْ تَكُونُوا تَعْلَمُونَ﴾ “**And when you are in safety, perform Salah in the manner He has taught you, which you knew not (before)**” That is, if the fear of the enemy is removed, pray the usual Salah and thank Allah for His grace and facilitation for you in prayer and teaching you what you didn’t know.

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Seeking Nasr (Victory) in Ramadhan demands Nussrah from the Muslim armed forces for the return of the Khilafah

Allah (swt) Al-Qawwi. Al-Aziz said in His revealed Book, the Noble Quran, ﴿وَمَا النَّصْرُ إِلَّا مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ الْعَزِيزِ الْحَكِيمِ﴾ **“And there is no victory except from Allah the Almighty, the All-Wise.”** [Surah Aali-Imran 3:126] And He (swt) said in the Book in which there is no doubt within it. ﴿إِنْ يَنْصُرْكُمُ اللَّهُ فَلَا غَالِبَ لَكُمْ وَإِنْ يَخْذُلْكُمْ فَمَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَنْصُرُكُمْ مَنْ 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]. These ayaat confirm to the believing heart, whose eyes fill with tears upon reading the words of Allah (swt) that the greatest weapon the Ummah possesses is the promise of Allah (swt) An-Naasir, of victory, Nasr. Yes, indeed, the Muslim armed forces prepared of material power, as commanded by their Lord, preparing it to the extent that their superiority in weaponry struck fear in the hearts of the weapons, whether it were missiles, torpedoes or naval forces, yet they approached Allah (swt) for the victory through Dua. Yes, the armed forces’ leadership prepared the creative and thorough plans of war, down to the last man in the army and the last hillock upon the terrain, yet they looked to Allah (swt) for providing success in the plans. Yes, indeed, the Muslim officers had the backing of Islam implemented as a state and a rule, to unify the Ummah under the Khilafah (Caliphate) yet again they depended on Allah (swt) for ensuring the victory.

Thus, the Muslim armed forces were found to fight in the cause of Allah (swt) by day and invoke Allah (swt) to provide the victory, standing in prayer by night, drawing closer to Him (swt) so that He (swt) became the eyes, ears and limbs of the believers. This Iman, dependence on Allah for victory multiplied the power of the military assets the armed forces possessed, propelling them to achieve practically that which the Kuffar could not even dare to conceive, let alone propose. Thus the Kuffar enemy forces began to conceive that the armed forces were other than humans, of the Jinn and possessing blood that is blue, not red. And the generals of the Kuffar for centuries marveled at the skills of

the Muslims, such that General Rommel of Germany's armed forces declared that the secret of his success on the battlefield were the strategies of Khalid bin Walid (may Allah be pleased with him).

So what of the seeking of victory during Ramadhan today by our armed forces? The month of Ramadhan granted abundant blessings to draw closer to Allah (swt). The blessed Ramadhan with its closure of the gates of Hell, chaining of the Shayateen, opening of the gates of Jannah, its fasting, its Tarawih and its night of worship, a night of power, which is better than a thousand months of worship! Thus it was during Ramadhan, that this Ummah has seen its greatest victories. It was during Ramadhan that the armed forces greatest weapon, Iman in Allah, was ground to its sharpest and shined to its brightest. And of all times of this Ummah, understanding this matter is of great importance this Ramadhan. For today, the armed forces of the Ummah number over six million personnel, many times that of its foremost enemies. As for weaponry our armed forces possess tanks, planes and ships and even nuclear capability. Yet, the Ummah is besieged by its enemies, whether in Palestine, Syria, Afghanistan or Kashmir by despised enemies, who spare not the elderly, the children, the women, the cattle or the crops. It is at this time that the Ummah, whether from the armed forces or outside of them, must consider Ramadhan and victory for the Muslims.

What of 17 Ramadhan 2 AH and the Battle of Badr? Consider the first and foremost commander of the Muslim armed forces, RasulAllah (saw) the Chief of the Prophets (as). Allah (swt) granted the Muslim armed forces a resounding victory over the forces of the leading tribe amongst the Arabs, the Quray'sh, at the Battle of Badr. Remember our brave forefathers standing in the battle field number, more poorly equipped than the enemy, such that they had to share shields, greatly outnumbered by the enemy such that it was three-fold larger, fighting as a single force in their first major battle against a fighting force that had generations of experience. Remember the mercy to all humankind, RasulAllah (saw) as he prepared the battle lines to the finest of details and then prayed to Allah (swt) as if he possessed nothing, asking for His victory. So what a befitting example for Allah (swt) to confirm for all time the fact that He Alone holds the victory as He declared in His Book, a guidance for the believers for all time, ﴿وَلَقَدْ نَصَرَكُمُ اللَّهُ بِبَدْرٍ وَأَنْتُمْ أَذِلَّةٌ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ﴾ **“And Allah already**

helped you in Badr when you were a weak little force. So fear Allah and be grateful to him.” [Surah Aali-Imran 3:123].

As for 20 Ramadhan 8 AH, it saw the Opening of Makkah. At a time when RasulAllah (saw) made practical efforts to expand the call for Islam well outside the Arabian Peninsula, Allah granted the Muslims a victory over their chief obstacle from within the Arabian Peninsula, the Quraysh rule of Makkah. The Opening of Makkah ended the Quraysh dominance over others and paved the way for the rapid expansion of the Islamic State throughout the lands. RasulAllah (saw) went for battle with a force of ten thousand, noble Muslims marching in state of fasting until they reached Al-Qadeed on the way to Makkah. Abu Sufyan, leading the Kuffar, was made to bear witness to the numerous tribes in the formidable and battle hardened forces that were unified by Islam under a single state, demoralizing him to the extent that he was convinced of defeat. And consider how the forces of the Muslims adheres to precise missions, invoking the help of Allah (swt) and sweeping asides the enemy forces in a single day. It was a manifest victory which paved the way for the opening of lands far beyond the Arabian Peninsula, after consolidating Tawheed firmly within it. After the Opening of Makkah, Allah (swt) said, **﴿إِذَا جَاءَ نَصْرُ اللَّهِ وَالْفَتْحُ - وَرَأَيْتَ النَّاسَ يَدْخُلُونَ فِي دِينِ اللَّهِ أَفْوَاجًا﴾** **“When the Help and Victory of Allah comes. And you see the people enter in droves into Islam.”** [Surah An-Nasr 110:1-2]

And even after the return of the beloved RasulAllah (saw) to Allah (swt) the Ummah continued to spread the light of Islam over the armed forces. They were fully aware of their responsibility towards the Risaalah of Islam for RasulAllah was not sent with a Risaalah for a time and a particular people but for all of humankind and for all time. Thus the Muslim armed forces benefitted of the bounties of Ramadhan to seek victory after victory over the enemies throughout the ages. Even after the return of RasulAllah and the best generation of Muslims, his generation, the Muslims for centuries sought victory at the hands of Allah during the blessed month and throughout the era of Islamic rule, Ramadhan heralded victories for the Muslims.

Indeed, the Opening of Andalusia took place from 28th Ramadhan 92 Hijri. Spurred the Khalifah of Al-Walid’s Musa ibn Nusayr who sent Tariq bin Ziyad to

open Spain; an army of around 7000 men was led by Tariq who crossed the straits and took possession of the fortress on the Rock that came to be known as Jabal al Tariq or Gibraltar. Then he advanced into Algeciras in Southern Spain. Then Musa himself personally participated in the opening of Spain, landing with a large force at Tarifa and heading for Seville, capturing it as well as Carmona.

The momentous victory over the Crusaders, the Battle of Hitteen also took place in the month of Ramadhan, in the year 584 AH (1187 CE). In 1187 the Christian King of Karak, who was called Arnat, attacked an innocent group of pilgrims travelling to make the Hajj. The attackers, showing no mercy, plundered, tortured the men and dishonoured the women. Whilst killing the pilgrims, Arnat said, "Go tell Muhammad and ask him if he can save you." When the news of this event reached Salahuddin, despite his anger, he sent a polite message to King Arnat. In the letter he asked him to respect the peace agreement, to free all the prisoners and to return whatever he had stolen. The King however refused Salahuddin's request. The Christians amassed a strength of 50,000 fighters to do battle at Hitteen. The Christians led by the Kings of Jerusalem, Karak and Tripoli were defeated comprehensively. Many of their princes and knights were taken as prisoners. It was Allah's (swt) will that Salahuddin should meet face to face with King Arnat of Karak, the butcher of innocent pilgrims. Before killing him with his own hands Salahuddin told him he was killing him for defaming the honour and dignity of the Prophet (saw) and for the murder of innocent Muslims.

And the Battle of Ain Jaloot in Ramadhan 658 Hijri (1260 CE) against the Tartar invasion was yet another great victory for the Muslims. Towards the end of 656 Hijri, the Tartars launched one of their largest assaults on the land of the Islamic Khilafah, resulting in the seizure of the Khilafah capital, Baghdad, the killing of the Khalifah Al-Musta'sim Billah, and the occupation of three quarters of Islamic land. Heading towards Egypt and Morocco, the last stronghold of the Muslims, the Tartars sent a threatening letter to the Ameer of Egypt, Mahmoud Saifudeen Qutuz, which included the following statement, "We have demolished the land, orphaned the children, tortured the people and slain them, made their honoured despised and their leader a captive. Do you think that you can escape from us? After a while you will know what's coming to you..." Qutuz replied in a befitting manner. He killed the Tartar delegation and

left their corpses hanging in his capital, lifting his soldiers and people's spirit on the one hand, and putting down his enemy's and that of their spies and loyalists on the other. This raised the spirit of the Muslims and simultaneously shocked the Tartars for they realised they were facing a leader unlike those they had previously encountered. Qutuz rallied the Muslims to prepare for the inevitable battle that would occur. Under his leadership, Muslims were rallied upon Iman, unity and the necessary weapons of steel to confront the enemy. He sought the help of rulers and Ulema alike to unify, stand for the defense of Islam and focus the efforts of the Muslims towards the liberation of the Islamic lands. Then it was time to engage the enemy on the battlefield at Ain Jaloot on Friday 25th Ramadhan 658 AH. Qutuz led the Muslims into the battle, which initially swayed towards the Tartars. Observing this, Qutuz climbed on a rock, throwing his helmet away, shouting "Wa Islamah. Wa Islamah", urging the army to keep firm and fight Allah's (swt) enemies. Inspired by Qutuz's flushed face, striking vigorously with his sword and engaging the enemy the Muslim army shifted the battle in its favour of the Muslims, until the Tartar army was shattered and fled from the battle. Victory was for Islam and the Muslims. As for the Tartars, when they realized their incursion and dominance in the Islamic East was fading and that Muslims regained their power, they escaped towards their homeland, which eased Qutuz's efforts to liberate all of Shaam (modern day Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, etc.) within weeks.

The essential question is how to restore Ramadhan to its proper status, a month of victory over the enemies of Allah and His Messenger. What is it that prevents the Muslim armed forces from heeding the cries of the injured men, the dishonored women and the orphaned children? How is it that RasulAllah is defamed and there is no befitting answer, such that the Kuffar are encouraged to repeat their evil again and again? In answer it is the fact that the Muslims are no longer ruled by Islam and led by righteous rulers. Instead they are ruled by traitors against the Muslims, who serve their enemies and implement other than Islam. Today these traitors receive the officials of the enemies and take orders from them rather than sending a message of defiance through them such that they shake in their thrones. The response of the traitors to the cries for help from the Muslims of Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Kashmir and Afghanistan is to firmly lock the armed forces in their barracks, awaiting instructions from the Kuffar masters so as to send them to assist Kufr and its people all over the

world! The duty upon those who are sincere in the armed forces is to grant the Nussrah for the immediate re-establishment of the Khilafah. Only then will the armed forces of Muslims will set forth as they are meant to, spreading the pure Risaalah of Islam throughout the earth. Allah (swt) said: **﴿إِنَّا لَنَنْصُرُ رُسُلَنَا وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا﴾** **“Verily, We will indeed make victorious Our Messengers and those who believe, in this world’s life and on the Day when the witnesses will stand forth (Day of Judgment)”** [Surah Ghafir 40: 51].

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O Pakistan Army! Our Muslim Lands Are Not Laboratories for Experiments and Trials. The Current International Scenario is a Golden Opportunity, that Only Comes Around Once

Bilal Al-Muhajir, Pakistan

After the agreement, between the two military factions that were fighting over leadership in the army, Faiz Hamid and Imran Khan on the one hand, and General Bajwa on the other, the Pakistani military leadership settled the issue of extending the service of General Bajwa. It took the decision for General Bajwa to step down, retiring from the army command, only to hand over the leadership of the Pakistan Army to his right hand man, General Asim Munir.

Then, voices were heard, everywhere, at once, asking to grant General Munir time to prove his worth, in the leadership of Pakistan's nuclear-capable army. However, General Munir has never advanced the army in real battle, whilst he was the right arm of General Bajwa in recent years, ever since he rose in the ranks of the army leadership! Do people not know that the generals in the army command are not heroic warriors? Instead, they are money and power tycoons. They are the ones who empowered the US in the region, when they sided, under the leadership of General Musharraf, with America, in its crusade against Islam and Muslims. So, they facilitated the US in occupying Afghanistan. They still secure the US influence in Afghanistan. Their treachery has grown to the level that they now pave the way for the arch-rival and enemy, the Hindu State, America's new ally and substitute agent for Pakistan, to replace Pakistan in Afghanistan, sharing influence there, with America!

The voices that raise the need to give General Munir more time, are either ignorant of the reality of; the leadership of the Pakistani army, the conditions of membership of this exclusive club, and the one who has the real final say in inducting, promoting or extending any new member, or they are fully supportive of this latest decision to fool the public and the army rank and

file. Whenever this fact is exposed, the decision makers come up with a new narrative, that is even more convoluted than the previous one. It is no secret, to anyone who follows the political and military affairs in Pakistan, that the one who decides who will take over the political and military leadership, is undisputedly America. Its power of decision is to the extent that there are many narrations of interviews of candidates, for the higher ranks in the Pakistan Army, being conducted by CIA officers and employees of the US Embassy in Islamabad. The Americans even opened an office within the military General Headquarters (GHQ) in Rawalpindi! The matter is not limited to appointing pro-American generals as Chief of Army Staff. The matter extends to following up their actions, whilst dictating to them all that serves America in the region.

This bitter truth is not a double game, as some like to say, in denial of its true horror. Instead, it is known to all those who follow, and are familiar with, the events. Thus, the truth is known to the voices that are calling for giving time to General Munir, as well as those who will come after him. These voices also arose when General Bajwa, and those before him, came to power. It is just another game, within the games of America and its agents in Pakistan, intended to prolong the life of the puppet, secular regime, with both its political and military wings. That is until it is exposed to the people, by which time another alternative is prepared, to replace the old, and so on...

If the current alternative, General Munir and the other members of his club, are really different from the previous club, as it was claimed from the first day of his appointment, and even before the appointment, any one of the corps commanders, amongst these generals, could have changed the military and political reality of Pakistan, overnight. That is if he really wanted to, and genuinely had a vision different from the vision of the current leadership. For example, General Munir, was the commander of XXX Corps (Pakistan) in Gujranwala, towards the north, could have marched for the liberation of Kashmir, compelling the other corps to support him in war for the liberation of Kashmir. That could only ever be if any corps commander had the sincere will and ideological affiliation to Islam, alone.

It was circulated that General Munir had memorized the Qur'an, and that the name "General Mullah" was conferred upon him by the Hindu enemy.

However, if his affiliation with the Deen was genuine, he would have put his hand with the hands of Hizb ut Tahrir. He would have granted the material support (Nussrah) to re-establish the Khilafah state. Instead, he was complicit in, and an observer of, the persecution of the shebaab of Hizb ut Tahrir, as well as the persecution of some officers, whom the media spoke about, for their initiative to grant Nussrah to the Hizb, to re-establish the Khilafah (Caliphate) on the Method of the Prophethood, confining them to dungeons.

The unfortunate fact of Pakistan's political and military leadership, is that it does not allow any voices that call for the generals to prove their loyalty to Islam, Muslims and the people of Pakistan, who number more than two hundred million. Pakistanis must not be lab rats, whilst Pakistan must not to be a mere camp for military exercises and training only. The generals have already exhausted their opportunities to prove themselves. They have failed miserably in preserving the Shariah interests of Muslims and Pakistan, foremost of which is the ruling by all that Allah (swt) has revealed, in the country that was established in the name of Islam. So, let all those who ask for more time for these leaders, be ashamed. They are only giving them more time, and giving them more opportunities, to unleash their hands, and the hands of their American masters, to disrupt Pakistan and harm its people.

The reality of these leaders obliges the sincere in the military institution, in the first place, and more than ever before, to cleanse the Muslim nuclear-capable, jihad-loving, military institution, of all of its impurities, by granting Nussrah to Hizb ut Tahrir, to re-establish the Second Khilafah Rashidah State on the Method of Prophethood. It is then that they will be led by a Khaleefah, who rules the country and the people, by all that Allah (swt) has revealed. This is so he establishes the Truth and eradicates Falsehood, so Allah (swt) will be pleased with us, granting us victory over our enemies, America, the Hindu State and the Jewish entity. It is then that we will liberate Kashmir, and the rest of the Islamic Indian Subcontinent, from the Hindu oppressors. It is then that we will liberate Al-Masjid Al-Aqsa from the desecration of the Jews, after unifying the various Muslim Lands, under the rule of the Khilafah state, so security, safety and prosperity will prevail throughout the state's domain. The Prophet (saw) said, **يَكُونُ فِي آخِرِ أُمَّتِي خَلِيفَةٌ يَحْيِي الْمَالَ حَنِيئًا، لَا يَعُدُّهُ عَدَدًا** "There would be a Khaleefah in

the last era of my Ummah, who would freely give handfuls of wealth to the people, without counting.” [Muslim]

The reality of the honorable Islamic Ummah is that it yearns for liberation from the chains of colonialism, and its domination over its capabilities. It is ready to sacrifice all that it holds precious and dear. As for the reality of the international scenario, it is divided within itself, with bitter struggle for influence and resources. This reality makes the liberation of the Ummah, and the declaration of its independence, under the Khilafah State, easier and more achievable. And the state of the Ummah today is like that of the Prophet (saw), when he took advantage of the opportunity that arose within the struggle between the Persians with the Romans, and established his state in Madinah, the first Islamic state. Let all the sincere in the Pakistan Army learn from history. Let them not miss out on this opportunity. Let them grant their Nussrah to Hizb ut Tahrir, whilst they know the extent of its readiness to rule by all that Allah (swt) has revealed, its political prowess and its enlightened approach, that enables it to confront various international and regional challenges, with the help and victory of Allah (swt). With their Nussrah, they do not proceed to an unknown experiment, as Islam has been applied for more than thirteen centuries, when the Muslims dominated the world through Islam. In addition, ruling by Islam is a way of ruling by which our Creator, Allah (swt), is pleased with us, whilst He (swt) Alone is the All-Knowing, the All-Wise. Indeed, there is no system that works for people better than the divine system of Islam, sent down by Revelation from the Creator of the universe, man and life, Allah (swt).

O the Sincere within Pakistan’s Armed Forces! Do not be those about whom Allah (swt) said,

أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ يَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّهُمْ آمَنُوا بِمَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ وَمَا أُنزِلَ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يَتَحَاكَمُوا إِلَى الطَّاغُوتِ وَقَدْ أُمِرُوا أَنْ يَكْفُرُوا بِهِ وَيُرِيدُ الشَّيْطَانُ أَنْ يُضِلَّهُمْ ضَلَالًا بَعِيدًا * وَإِذَا قِيلَ لَهُمْ تَعَالَوْا إِلَى مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ وَإِلَى الرَّسُولِ رَأَيْتِ الْمُنافِقِينَ يَصُدُّونَ عَنْكَ صُدُودًا

“Have you not seen those who claim they believe in what has been revealed to you and what was revealed before you? They seek the judgment of false judges, which they were commanded to reject. And Satan desires to lead

them farther away (60) When it is said to them, “Come to Allah’s revelations and to the Messenger,” you see the hypocrites turn away from you stubbornly. (61)” [TMQ Surah an-Nisaa 4:60-61]

And know that Allah (swt) said,

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِنْ رَسُولٍ إِلَّا لِيُطَاعَ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ وَلَوْ أَنَّهُمْ إِذْ ظَلَمُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ جَاءُوكَ فَاسْتَغْفَرُوا اللَّهَ وَاسْتَغْفَرَ لَهُمُ الرَّسُولُ لَوَجَدُوا اللَّهَ تَوَّابًا رَحِيمًا * فَلَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّى يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِي مَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ لَا يَجِدُوا فِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَرَجًا مِمَّا قَضَيْتَ وَيُسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا

“We only sent messengers to be obeyed by Allah’s Will. If only those hypocrites came to you, after wronging themselves, seeking Allah’s forgiveness and the Messenger prayed for their forgiveness, they would have certainly found Allah ever Accepting of Repentance, Most Merciful. (64) But no! By your Lord, they will never be true believers until they accept you, O Prophet, as the judge in their disputes, and find no resistance within themselves against your decision and submit wholeheartedly.” [TMQ Surah an-Nisaa 4:64-65]

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O Muslims, the Destruction of the Khilafah, Our Shield, is a Painful Reminder of the Urgent Need to Re-Establish It

The Messenger of Allah (saw) conveyed to his Ummah that , **«إِنَّمَا الْإِمَامُ جُنَّةٌ»** «Indeed, the Imam (Khaleefah) is a shield, from behind whom you fight and by whom you are protected.” (Muslim).

O Muslims, what to say of the loss of our shield, the Khilafah, on 28 Rajab 1342 AH, corresponding to 3rd March 1924 CE?!

After the destruction of our unifying Khilafah, the Western colonialists did not desist in their centuries of crusader hostility. They carved up states from within states, such that we feel the full pain of the divide et impera (divide and conquer) policy of the Westerners.

Despite our vast numbers, due to the absence of the Khilafah to shield us, enemy nations attacked us, just as we were warned by the Messenger of Allah (saw), **«يُوشِكُ الْأُمَمُ أَنْ تَدَاعَى عَلَيْكُمْ كَمَا تَدَاعَى الْأَكْلَةُ إِلَى قَصْعَتِهَا»** “The nations will fall upon you, inviting others just like the guests invited to a meal.” They asked, “Will we be few in numbers on that day?” He (saw) replied, **«بَلْ أَنْتُمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ كَثِيرٌ، وَلَكِنَّكُمْ غَنَاءُ كَغَنَاءِ السَّيْلِ، وَلَيَنْزِعَنَّ اللَّهُ مِنْ صُدُورِ عَدُوِّكُمْ الْمَهَابَةَ مِنْكُمْ، وَلَيَقْذِفَنَّ اللَّهُ فِي قُلُوبِكُمْ الْوَهْنَ»** “No you will be many, but you will be like the froth on the waters. Allah will remove fear of you from the hearts of your enemies and He will cast Wahan in your hearts.” They asked, “What is Wahan, O RasulAllah?” He (saw) replied, **«حُبِّ الدُّنْيَا وَكَرَاهِيَةِ الْمَوْتِ»** “Love of life and fear of death.” (Abu Daud).

Without our shield, the Khilafah, our lands are occupied and our people are martyred, despite us having over three million soldiers. We starve, despite having the world’s best resources under our feet. Misguidance rains down upon our children and families, even though we carry the one true Deen in our hearts!

O Muslims, indeed, the Khilafah did not fall without a reaction from our forefathers!

The destruction of the Khilafah shook the Muslim elite of the Indian Subcontinent, even though it was occupied by the British at the time. Iqbal read “Jawab-e-Shikwa (Answer to the Complaint)” in the Bhadshahi Masjid of Lahore, in November 1912, in order to raise funds for the Khilafah. Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali Johar from Utter Pradesh began efforts to mobilize the Muslims for support of the Khilafah, in the Tehreek e Khilafat (Khilafah Movement).

The Muslims condemned the traitors amongst the Arabs, who rebelled against the Khilafah. After the Arab nationalist traitor, Sharif Hussain, fought the Uthmani Khilafah, in June 1916, demonstrations took place all over the Indian Subcontinent against his rebellion. On 26 June 1916, a resolution was passed in Lucknow condemning the “outrageous conduct” of Hussain. After the occupation of the Khilafah, a fatwa was circulated in Occupied India, in February 1919, which declared that the appointment of an Imam or Khaleefah was obligatory.

The Muslims were restless when the traitors amongst the Turks abolished the Khilafah, on 3 March 1924. On 9 March 1924, Muslims of Occupied India convened to organize events, for the retention of the Khilafah. They issued a telegram warning that the abolition of the Khilafah “would open the door to the mischievous ambitions.” A circular was issued demanding that the deposed Khaleefah’s name, Abdul-Majeed, is mentioned in the Friday prayers.

This is how our noble forefathers were, as they saw the Khilafah fall. So how must we be, when it has been over a Hijri century, since the Khilafah has fallen?

O Muslims, we are sinful, unless we are working to re-establish the Khilafah!

It is not allowed for us to be without a Khaleefah, ruling us by all that Allah (swt) has revealed. Allah (swt) said, ﴿وَمَنْ لَّمْ يَحْكَمْ بِمَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ﴾ **“And whosoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed, such are the disbelievers.”** [TMQ Surah Al-Ma’idah 5:44] Abdullah Ibn ‘Abbas (ra) commented, “Whoever من جحد ما أنزل الله فقد كفر ومن أقر به ولم يحكم فهو ظالم فاسق”

rejects what Allah has revealed, will have committed Kufr, and whoever accepts what Allah has revealed, but did not rule by it, is a Zalim (unjust) and a Fasiq (rebellious) and a sinner.” [Narrated by Ibn Jarir]

Appointing the Khalifah becomes obligatory (fard) upon us, from the moment that the previous Khalifah dies, or is removed. Abu Hurayrah (ra) narrated that the Prophet (saw) said, «كَانَتْ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ تَسُوسُهُمُ الْأَنْبِيَاءُ، كُلَّمَا هَلَكَ نَبِيٌّ خَلَفَهُ نَبِيٌّ، وَإِنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي، وَسَيَكُونُ خُلَفَاءُ فَيَكْتُمُونَ، قَالُوا: فَمَا تَأْمُرُنَا؟ قَالَ: فُوا بِبَيْعَةِ الْأَوَّلِ خَلَفَهُ نَبِيٌّ، وَأَنَّه لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي، وَسَيَكُونُ خُلَفَاءُ فَيَكْتُمُونَ، قَالُوا: فَمَا تَأْمُرُنَا؟ قَالَ: فُوا بِبَيْعَةِ الْأَوَّلِ» **“Banu Isra'il were ruled over by the Prophets. When one Prophet died, another succeeded him; but after me there is no Prophet and there will be Khulafa'a and they will be quite large in number. His Companions said: What do you order us to do (in case of more than one Caliph)? He said: The one to whom allegiance is sworn first has a supremacy over the others. Concede to them their due rights (i. e. obey them). Allah will question them about the subjects whom He had entrusted to them.”** (Bukhari and Muslim).

The Ijma'a of the Companions (ra) conveys to us the command of the Messenger of Allah (saw), O Muslims. By this Ijma'a, it is established that it is not allowed for us to be without a Bayah to a Khaleefah, for more than three days and their nights. Al-Bukhari reported through Al-Miswar Bin Makhramah who said: طَرَقَنِي عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بَعْدَ هَجْعٍ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ، فَضْرَبَ الْبَابَ حَتَّى اسْتَيْقِظْتُ، فَقَالَ أَرَأَيْتَ نَائِمًا، قَالَ: “Abdur-Rahman called on me after a portion of the night had passed and knocked on my door till I got up, and he said to me, “I see you have been sleeping! By Allah, during the last three nights I have not slept enough.”

It has been over a Hijri century, not only three days and three nights, without us fulfilling the obligation of the Khilafah. So are we not late to join the work to re-establish it?!

O Muslims, we must re-establish the Khilafah (Caliphate), so we are ruled by all that Allah (swt) has revealed!

The Khaleefah neither rules by his own personal opinion, nor the consensus opinion of an assembly. He rules according to the Noble Quran and the

Prophetic Sunnah. He is subject to the Law of Allah (swt) in any dispute with those he rules. Allah (swt) said, **﴿فَإِنْ تَنَارَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ﴾** **“And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you should believe in Allah and the Last Day.”** [Surah an-Nisa’a 4:59]

The First Khaleefah Rashid, Abu Bakr as-Sadiq (ra), secured the rights of the weak, by ruling according to Islam. He (ra) declared, **وَالضَّعِيفُ فِيكُمْ قَوِيٌّ عِنْدِي حَتَّىٰ أَرْيَحَ عَلَيْهِ حَقَّهُ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ، وَالْقَوِيُّ فِيكُمْ ضَعِيفٌ عِنْدِي حَتَّىٰ أَخَذَ الْحَقَّ مِنْهُ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ** **“The weak amongst you is strong before me till I return to him his right, Allah willing, and the strong amongst you is weak before me till I take the right from him Allah willing.”**

The Second Khaleefah Rashid, Umar al-Farooq (ra), took back his order, when he was corrected by a single woman, on the basis of Islamic evidence. He (ra) declared, **إِنَّ امْرَأَةً حَاصِمَتٌ عُمَرَ فَخَصَمَتْهُ** **“Indeed, a woman has disputed with Umar, and she is in the right in the dispute, over him.”**

It has been over a hundred Hijri years that the Islamic Ummah has been ruled by other than all that Allah (swt) has revealed. How can we be silent and motionless over the continued neglect of our Deen?

O Muslims, the Khilafah was a shield for non-Muslims, so what of the Muslims?!

Immediately, after the Sword of Allah, Khalid Ibn al-Walid (ra), had opened al-Hira in southern Iraq, he (ra) wrote a letter to the Khaleefah Abu Bakr (ra). He told him how he had implemented the Jizyah tax, but had exempted non-Muslims who were poor, old and handicapped, saying, **طُرِحَتْ جَزِيَّتُهُ وَعِيْلٌ مِنْ بَيْتِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَعِيَالُهُ** **“Exempted of Jizyah, he will be enriched of the Bayt ul Maal of Muslims, along with his family.”**

The Khilafah of Umar al-Farooq announced that the Jizyah was to be given back to the non-Muslim citizens, because it was unable to ensure their protection from the Roman army. However, instead of siding with the Roman Christians, the Christians of the Khilafah declared, **رَدَّكُمْ اللَّهُ إِلَيْنَا، وَلَعَنَّ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا يَمْلِكُونَنَا مِنَ الرُّومِ، وَلَكِنَّ وَاللَّهِ لَوْ كَانُوا هُمْ عَلَيْنَا مَا رَدُّوا عَلَيْنَا، وَلَكِنْ غَضَبْنَا، وَأَخَذُوا مَا قَدَرُوا عَلَيْهِ مِنْ**

"May Allah return you to us safely. Allah curse those who dominated us from Rome. By Allah, had they been over us, they would not have returned to us. They would have robbed us and taken what they could from our wealth. Indeed, your guardianship and justice is more beloved to us, than the oppression and misery were under."

Upon learning about the oppressive expulsion of Jews from Spain, the Khilafah of Sultan Bayezid II dispatched its navy to bring the Jews safely to the lands of the Khilafah State, mainly to the cities of Thessaloniki and İzmir. The Khaleefah declared regarding the occupier of Spain, "You venture to call Ferdinand "the Wise" yet he who has impoverished his own country and enriched mine!"

In the thirteen centuries of the Khilafah, the non-Muslims were protected by its shield. Yet, today, without this shield, the Islamic Ummah is defenseless, for over a Hijri century. Is it not high time we restored our shield, O Muslims?

O Muslims, working to re-establish the Khilafah is an obligation upon us, whilst the Nasr (Victory) is in the Hand of Allah (swt) alone!

﴿وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَىٰ لَهُمْ وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُم مِّن بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا﴾
"Allah has promised those of you who believe and do good that He will certainly make them successors in the land, as He did with those before them; and will surely establish for them their faith which He has chosen for them; and will indeed change their fear into security, provided that they worship Me, associating nothing with Me. But whoever disbelieves after this promise, it is they who will be the rebellious." [Surah An-Noor 24:55].

Ibn Kathir commented in his Tafsir, هذا وعد من الله لرسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم . بأنه ، سيجعل أمته خلفاء الأرض ، أي : أئمة الناس والولاية عليهم ، وبهم تصلح البلاد ، وتخضع لهم العباد ، وليبدلن بعد خوفهم من الناس أمنا وحكما فيهم "this is a promise from Allah (swt) to His Messenger (saw) that He would cause his Ummah to become successors on earth, i.e., they would become the leaders and rulers of humankind, through

whom He would reform the world and to whom people would submit, so that they would have in exchange a safe security after their fear.”

Thus, Allah (swt) promised to grant us Nasr (Victory) if we obey Him (swt), whilst the Messenger of Allah (saw) gave us glad tidings of the return of the Khilafah, after the rule of oppression. He (saw) said, **«نُمَّ تَكُونُ مُلْكًا جَبْرِيَّةً فَتَكُونُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ تَكُونَ ثُمَّ يَزْفَعُهَا إِذَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَزْفَعَهَا ثُمَّ تَكُونُ خِلَافَةً عَلَىٰ مِنْهَاجِ النَّبُوَّةِ»** “Then there will be an oppressive rule, and things will be as Allah wishes them to be. Then, Allah will end it when He wishes. Then there will be a Khilafah according to the method of Prophethood.” After this speech, then, he (saw) fell silent.

After understanding the promise of Allah (swt) and glad tidings of the Prophet (saw), does it not encourage us to shake off any apathy or hopelessness, fulfilling our obligations, without hesitation or neglect?!

O Muslims, let us work to re-establish the Khilafah, until Allah (swt) restores ruling by all that He (swt) revealed.

Indeed, the Prophet (saw) and his Blessed Companions (ra) bore great hardship at the hands of tyrants, to ensure the ruling by all that Allah (swt) has revealed. When he (saw) was asked by his uncle to desist, he (saw) replied, **«يَا عَمَّ ، وَاللَّهِ لَوْ وَضَعُوا الشَّمْسَ فِي يَمِينِي ، وَالْقَمَرَ فِي يَسَارِي عَلَىٰ أَنْ أَتْرَكَ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ حَتَّىٰ يُظَاهِرَهُ اللَّهُ أَوْ «O, Uncle!, by Allah, even if they placed the sun on my right hand and the moon on my left, I will not abandon this work until either Allah makes this Deen the dominant one or I perish on this path.”** Thus, the best of all generations (ra) believed, worked and sacrificed with the Messenger (saw), until Allah (swt) granted His Nasr, establishing Islam in authority, within Al-Madinah al-Munawarah.

Inaction over the restoration of the Khilafah has run its course in over one hundred hijri years. The punishments of this world, in terms of suffering and humiliation have reached their peak. One suffering has yet to end, before another starts. Each humiliation only leads to a greater humiliation. O Muslims, the sin of inaction is not an option for anyone who loves Allah (swt) and His Messenger (saw). Let us not squander what Allah (swt) has blessed us of health and time. Let us invest it all in the pursuit of the pleasure of Allah (swt). Let us

earn admission into His Jannah, in the every lasting Aakhira. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said, «نُعْمَتَانِ مَغْبُورٌ فِيهِمَا كَثِيرٌ مِنَ النَّاسِ الصَّحَّةُ وَالْفَرَاغُ» “Two blessings which many people squander: Good health and free time.” [Bukhari]

Indeed, the lands of Muslims have been darkened by the rule of kufr, disobedience and oppression for far too long. Let each and every one of us fulfill our duty, until the light of Islam shines upon us all again.

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The Military Commander We Need

Arsalan Farooq - Pakistan

With a change in the command of the sixth largest army in the world, debate was sparked locally, in Pakistan, and globally, over the role of the powerful military establishment and its army chief. A lot has been discussed regarding the legacy of the army chiefs, who preceded General Syed Asim Munir, the Seventeenth Commander in Chief of the nuclear-armed, ninth most powerful army in the world. However, more than the legacy of predecessors, which is a source of regret and anger, the duty of the military commander itself, must be the subject of attention.

So, what kind of military commander is required? The Chief of Army Staff in Pakistan is a role that carries one of the mightiest responsibilities before Allah (swt), the Creator of mankind, in the world today. The role of the military commander is established from the Command of Allah (swt), for He (swt) alone is Sovereign over all military officers. Thus, the military commander is not to pay any attention to Western institutional doctrines, or the whims and desires of any people, the likes and dislikes of the colonialist international community or whatever the American military's USCENTCOM, the US Pentagon and the US State Department, may demand to "do more" of.

The legacy of the previous, or the incumbent, Commander in Chief are evaluated according to the Deen, that Allah (swt) chose for us. The motto of the Pakistan Army regiments is an embodiment of the Command from Allah (swt), regarding the role of its chief. The new Army Chief is from the 23rd Battalion Frontier Force Regiment, whose motto "Labbaik," is an expression of total submission to Allah (swt). The true Islamic military commander does not submit to the will, dictates, instructions, guidelines, resolutions or commands of any Taghoot (authority other than Allah (swt)).

There is no room for disobedience of Allah (swt), for the Muslim military commander. There is no room for; going back to the barracks at a time of oppression whilst claiming to "restore institutional integrity," being blind to the

atrocities upon the Muslims in Occupied Kashmir and India due to “geo-economics,” compromising with colonialist international powers due to doctrines of necessity, turning away from fighting for the Sake of Allah (swt) with the excuse of a weak economy and being “apolitical” by supporting democracy, which only ruins our potential and increases our misery.

The remarkable Islamic history has taught us that the honored military commanders are those who fought for the Sake of Allah (swt), protecting the lands, life, property and honor of Muslims. Thus, Salauddin, Sultan Muhammad Fateh, Mehmud of Ghazni, Fahreddin Pasha and Tipu Sultan live on in the hearts and Duas of billions of Muslims. However, Mir Sadiq and Mir Jaffer, who sold their armies and people to the kuffar, are hated until today.

The honored general we need now will overturn the US plan to strengthen India against China, by ensuring the “restraint” of Pakistan Army from any “misadventure.” He will reject support of US military and strategic objectives in Afghanistan, through providing GLOCs and the ALOC of “the Boulevard” air corridor, that allows US drones to spy on our sensitive military assets. He will seal the US spy-posts that are disguised as an embassy and consulates, that can listen into our military communications. He will reject abandoning Occupied Kashmir, that leaves our women and children to the mercy of the brutal Indian Army. He will reject the IMF and FATF interventions in Pakistan, that destroy our economy and weaken our army.

Thus, the honored general we need now, does not care for anything other than the Command of Allah (swt). He will never allow the United States any authority over our affairs. He will never ally with and assist the foremost enemy of Muslims, to achieve its strategic regional and global objectives.

The honored military commander we need now, will never confine his army to the barracks, at a time when his Nussrah is required to re-establish the ruling by Islam. Indeed, Islam commands action in times of oppression, not inaction. Allah (swt) said, **وَلَا تَزْكُنُوا إِلَى الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا فَتَمَسَّكُمُ النَّارُ وَمَا لَكُمْ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَوْلِيَاءَ ثُمَّ لَا تُنصَرُونَ** “**And do not be inclined to the oppressors or you will be touched by the Fire. For then you would have no protectors other than Allah, nor would you be helped.**” [TMQ Surah Hud 11:113].

The military commander we need is the honored son of the Ansar, whose leader, Sa'd bin Mu'adh (ra) had the most honored of deaths. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said, اهْتَزَّ عَرْشُ الرَّحْمَنِ لِمَوْتِ سَعْدِ بْنِ مُعَاذٍ **“The Throne of the Beneficent shook because of the death of Sa`d bin Mu`adh.”** [Bukhari]. Regarding the shaking of the Throne mentioned here, in his book Fatah Al-Baaree, Ibn Hajar interpreted it by saying, والمراد باهتزاز العرش استبشاره وسروره بقدوم روحه **“The meaning of shaking means His rejoicing and His pleasure at the receiving of his soul.”** Such an honored death was after granting Nussrah for the establishment of the Deen, and Jihad in the Path of Allah (swt) to spread it.

Having granted his Nussrah for the re-establishment of the Khilafah (Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood, the military commander will be mobilized by the Khaleefah, as we need. The Khaleefah will never leave Muslim women and children at the mercy of tyrants and oppressors, be it in Kashmir or Palestine. He will respond to the call of oppressed, sending a willing Salahudin, considering only the obligation Allah (swt) imposed on him. The Khaleefah will not leave Muslims in disarray, divided into over fifty nation states. Under the command of a unifying Khilafah, a Salahudin will be sent to uproot the traitors and collaborators of the kuffar. And the tyrants of the world will be deposed, one by one, by an army that will finally liberate humanity from the oppression of man-made law.

The role of the military commander we need is clear. Who will arise to fulfill its requirements, in order to earn the pleasure of Allah (swt)? That, remains to be seen.

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POSTMODERNISM

Shayan Sohail, Pakistan

As a theory postmodernism has often been defined ambiguously for various reasons: the deliberate attempt of its intelligentsia to avoid the neat closure of definitions; its application over a wide range of seemingly unrelated disciplines (academic and theoretic disciplines such as political science, organization theory, cultural studies, philosophy of science, economics, linguistics, architecture, feminist theory, and literary criticism, as well as art movements in fields such as literature and music); and the appearance of different and sometimes contradictory definitions that have been used over time with varying levels of disagreement between postmodernist scholars. Accepting this indefinability as a truism, The Stanford Encyclopedia attempts to describe postmodernism as "a set of critical, strategic and rhetorical practices employing concepts such as difference, repetition, the trace, the simulacrum, and hyper reality to destabilize other concepts such as presence, identity, historical progress, epistemic certainty, and the univocity of meaning."

Generally speaking, postmodernism is characterized by irreverence, self-reflexivity, incomprehensibility, irony and cynicism. In philosophy it manifests as post-structuralism, anti-foundationalism, pragmatism, decline of metaphysics and the growing divide between analytic philosophy and continental philosophy. In politics it is reflected in identity politics, nihilism, anarchism, political correctness, and the erosion of unifying narratives and their replacement by a plurality of localised narratives. In critical theory it emphasizes deconstruction, relativism, power dynamics and importantly the viewing of pre-modern and early modern traditions from the perspective of historically marginalized and opposed identities. Postmodern arts feature bricolage, the use of text prominently as the central artistic element, collage, simplification, appropriation, performance art, the recycling of past styles and themes in a modern-day context, as well as the break-up of the barrier between fine and high arts and low art and popular culture. Similarly, a wide array of features characterizes the myriad other disciplines where postmodernism applies.

The philosophical basis of postmodernism arose in the 1970s, originating principally in continental Europe especially France, for which reason it has also been termed the French theory. Postmodern theorists such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Jean-François Lyotard, Jean Baudrillard, and others challenged the traditional Anglo-American academic discourses that followed the modernity principles of the Enlightenment and proposed alternate critical readings of various texts in an attempt to present a more nuanced and unoppressive understanding of reality. Although these postmodern theorists did not constitute a unified school, they were unified by a critical attitude towards truth emerging from the assumption that all knowledge is partial and local; by the conception that the dominant narrative is constructed by the elites and serves their power interests; and by the influence of earlier thinkers, prominently Nietzsche, Kierkegaard and Heidegger. Importantly, Derrida, Foucault, Lyotard all began their academic careers as Marxists.

The rise of postmodernism, specifically in France, also needs to be understood in the historical context that it developed. The post-war French intellectuals were exposed to several historical traumas: “the fall of France, the ignominies of occupation and collaboration, the existential uncertainties of the Cold War and the nuclear age, humiliating defeat in Indochina, and a colonial uprising in Algeria that precipitated the end of the Fourth Republic and brought the nation to the brink of civil war. The social and cultural changes France experienced during these years were equally profound. France was transformed from predominantly rural to primarily urban. Traditional cultural values seemed threatened by a rising tide of mass culture. Formerly one of the Europe’s leading powers, France was forced to accustom itself to a new role as a bit player on the stage of world politics.” These catastrophes shattered the conceptual framework within which French intellectuals worked giving rise to a philosophical nihilism and, eventually, a radical mistrust of every concept linked to the Western liberal civilization and the Enlightenment, especially the very concepts of language, culture and reason.

Thus, postmodernism was initially a reaction both to Western Liberal Capitalism and to the totalitarian horrors of the Nazis, Fascists, Soviets. As postmodernism strengthened in the mid '70s, it was also construed as the reflection of the disappointed revolutionary generation of '68 and the

incorporation of many of its members into the professional and managerial 'new middle class', and a symptom of political frustration and social mobility. For present day postmodernist scholars, however, it has developed into a significant intellectual or cultural phenomenon in its own right.

The term 'postmodernism' entered the philosophical lexicon in 1979 with the publication of 'The Postmodern Condition' by Jean-François Lyotard, in which he characterised postmodernism as possessing an 'incredulity toward metanarratives'. A metanarrative refers to a theory that tries to give a totalizing, comprehensive account to various historical events, experiences, and social, cultural phenomena based upon the appeal to universal truth or universal values. Simply put, postmodernism adopts an attitude of scepticism, irony towards and rejection of any ideology or grand narrative (religion, Marxism, Freudianism etc.) that attempts to define what is wrong with the world and provide a method through which the necessary rectifications could be made. Similarly, all forms of universalism including the notions of reason, human nature, social progress, objective truth and objective reality are inherently suspected.

Postmodernism argues that the Enlightenment project had failed in improving the lives of humans, and that the two world wars, the threat of nuclear destruction and environmental problems were testament to this failure. While the Enlightenment philosophers had maintained that every problem can be explained and solved using reason, this had led to the expression of ideological traditions that offered rival conceptions of the good life, for example, liberalism and Marxism, and their failure had undermined public faith in all such metanarratives arising from reason. In contrast, in the postmodern, post-industrial, consumer driven, media dominated, globalised society people no longer want to identify with metanarratives, instead they prefer fragmentation and diversity, in that all views are valuable and equal.

Postmodernists claim that the theory developed in the big, advanced cities due to an increased understanding and awareness of the different ways of thinking over time. Postmodernity is, thus, linked to post-industrialism, in that the development of society is no longer dependent upon the manufacturing industry, but more reliant upon knowledge and communication. In such

'information' societies, individualism replaces class, religious and ethnic loyalties.

Lyotard contends that metanarratives have "lost their credibility" due to the technological progress in the areas of communication, mass media and computer science. He then posits the replacement of the totalitarianism of metanarratives with a plurality of small, localized narratives. Thus, by focusing on specific local contexts as well as the diversity of human experience postmodernism argues for the recognition of a "multiplicity of theoretical standpoints" or in other words epistemological relativism. The postmodern society then winds up being characterized by a breakdown into multiple incomparable and contrasting micronarratives and localized realities leading to the political expression of identity politics.

Jacques Derrida (1939-2004), one of the leading postmodern theorists, also held the concept that no objective or absolute truths existed and that elites construct dominant narratives about reality. His famous sentence "nothing outside the text" reflects that all forms of truth are contextual. The purpose of such dominant narratives is simply to serve the power interest of the Elite, and to oppress and marginalise minorities (or 'others'). According to Derrida, language fails in its representation of reality. The semiotic determinants of language mandate that all linguistic representations fail a priori in their efforts to provide an objective view of reality. As language operates at a spatial and temporal remove from reality, meaning is never 'present', but is deferred to other signs, and so all truth related claims made by language are secondary and derivative. Derrida termed this 'Différance' which dually means 'to differ' and 'to defer'. In arguing this, Derrida relies on the following two claims of Ferdinand de Saussure (1) that language systems are constituted by a series of internal differences as opposed to a direct correspondence with reality; and (2) that the phenomes or signifiers employed in speech are arbitrary i.e. in a relationship of utter contingency vis-à-vis questions of meaning. Thus, if 'difference' is prior to 'presence', and language signifiers are arbitrary, then a systematic account of truth is a linguistic impossibility. Also, Derrida contends that in a classical philosophical opposition we are not dealing with the peaceful coexistence of a vis-à-vis, but with a violent hierarchy: one of the two terms governs the other or has the upper hand, for example, signified over signifier,

intelligible over sensible, speech over writing. Derrida then proposes that texts must be 'deconstructed', i.e. reduced to their constituent parts and then reinterpreted, so that these oppositions within texts are exposed and overturned. To be effective deconstruction also needs to create new terms – Derrida called these undecidables – that can no longer be included within binary opposition.

A similar indictment of reason was presented by Michel Foucault. For Foucault, truth is neither neutral nor disinterested, but rather inextricably linked to power. In 'Truth and Power', Foucault claims that "truth is a thing of this world" and that as such it must be understood "as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation, and operation of statements." Thus, truth is "linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extends it." For Foucault, truth is a dangerous concept because by assuming a position of objectivity it systematically conceals its own prejudices, partisanship and biases. Thus, power is disguised in the form of truth, and hence, the Foucauldian neologism "power-knowledge". The historical analysis of the will to knowledge, for Foucault, "reveals that all knowledge rests upon injustice; that there is no right, not even in the act of knowing, to truth or a foundation for truth; and that the instinct for knowledge is *malicious* (something murderous, opposed to the happiness of mankind)." It is evident that Foucault is not just condemning certain manifestations of knowledge, but is characterizing all forms of knowledge as 'something murderous' and resting upon injustice. For Foucault, all claims of 'right' or 'justice' are subsumed under claims of power. Power is omnipotent, ever present, the metaphysical fundamental basis of everything. After all, 'power is everywhere', diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and 'regimes of truth'.

Postmodernism then is an anti-grand narrative theory based on four key tenets: relativism, that truths (scientific, historic, psychological, natural, behavioural etc.) are social constructions depending especially on the power status manifested especially across race, class, gender and sexual orientation; scepticism, that objective knowledge of any kind is impossible (and language does not refer to a reality outside itself); indictment of logocentrism, that reason is a tool used by empowered groups to maintain their hegemony over

the oppressed; and liberation, which is achieved by deconstructing the metanarratives and categories used by the empowered, and by valuing authenticity, in the form of the emotions and experiences of the oppressed groups, over rational argument. According to Umberto Eco, postmodernism is “the sense that the past is restricting, smothering, blackmailing us”.

Among the Western academia postmodernism stirred up huge controversies not least because it cast doubt over the entire traditional Western hermeneutic model or interpretive approach to experience. The classical liberals accused postmodernism of unfettered relativism, in that it rejects the idea that even science is able to reliably distinguish truth from falsehood. According to an American rationalist philosopher, postmodernists: “...are responsible for the intellectual fad that made it respectable to be cynical about truth and facts”. The traditional Marxists accused postmodernism of a form of conservatism, in that a non-foundationalist political stance neither offers any perspective from which the existing order may be criticised, nor proposes any basis for the construction of an alternative social order. For the Marxists, the postmodernist undermining of the traditional class struggle, by the further division of the proletariat into intersectional groups, was an attempt at maintaining the liberal status quo.

Postmodernism has also been attacked in the Western academia due to the use of obscure language. According to critics, the postmodernist prioritization of word play over logic has resulted in a theory that is more literary than philosophical and that rarely, if ever, comes to empirically testable or rational conclusions merely because it is so difficult to be sure about what has actually been said. This has then left the text open to many diverse sorts of interpretation leading to irrationalism and logical inconsistency within their arguments. Naturally it has also resulted in tremendous difficulty to critique any of the works. According to the American philosopher John Searle: “Michel Foucault once characterized Derrida’s prose style to me as ‘*obscurantisme terroriste*’. The text is written so obscurely that you can’t figure out exactly what the thesis is (hence ‘*obscurantisme*’) and then when one criticizes this, the author says, ‘Vous m’avez mal compris; vous êtes idiot’ (hence ‘*terroriste*’).

The same problem has been highlighted in all the disciplines influenced by postmodernism. The following sentence from Judith Butler, a third wave feminist who personally rejects the term 'postmodernism' as too vague to be meaningful, illustrates this point perfectly: "The move from a structuralist account in which capital is understood to structure social relations in relatively homologous ways to a view of hegemony in which power relations are subject to repetition, convergence, and rearticulation brought the question of temporality into the thinking of structure, and marked a shift from a form of Althusserian theory that takes structural tonalities as theoretical objects to one in which the insights into the contingent possibility of structure inaugurate a renewed conception of hegemony as bound up with the contingent sites and strategies of the rearticulation of power."

The distinction between sensical and nonsensical has not only caused difficulty for outsiders, but also for the postmodernist in-group as made clear by the 'Sokal hoax' performed by Alan Sokal, a physics professor, in 1996. He submitted an article titled "Transgressing the Boundaries: Towards a Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity" to *Social Text*, a leading academic journal of postmodern culture studies. Without the slightest evidence or argument Sokal declared in the article that 'physical reality', not our *theories* of physical reality, but the reality itself, was as a social and linguistic construct. He further claimed that quantum gravity had progressive political implications, and that the 'morphogenetic field' could be a valid theory of quantum gravity. The article was published, and three weeks later Sokal revealed that it was a hoax. Afterwards Sokal said 'anyone who believes that the laws of physics are mere social conventions is invited to try transgressing those conventions from the windows of my apartment. I live on the twenty-first floor.' In recent years, Sokal style hoaxes have been repeated successfully with nonsensical articles being published even in peer review academic journals, making it clear that these areas of academic study have become playgrounds for frauds and that there is nothing that cannot be claimed as long as it appeals to the ideological preconceptions of the editors and uses the same kind of vague, incomprehensible language as the leading 'intellectuals'.

It is clear from this brief summary that postmodernism is an irrational, illogical and empirically untenable doctrine. More importantly, it is

fundamentally at odds with the Islamic Aqeedah. The theory emerged as a critique of the Enlightenment values, but failed both in understanding the fallacies of the Enlightenment philosophers, and in reaching any sorts of valid conclusions.

To begin with, Lyotard's 'incredulity toward metanarratives' could be seen as a metanarrative in itself. By postulating that postmodernity contains a universal scepticism toward metanarratives, 'universal scepticism' is in itself transformed into a contemporary metanarrative. The whole postmodern doctrine assumes and posits many 'beliefs', for example, regarding science, patriarchy, power relations, sexuality etc., and these constitute a metanarrative, thus self-contradicting the postmodern critique of the metanarrative (Postmodernism is "the theory of rejecting theories"). Similarly, if one is sceptical of such universals as 'truth', 'knowledge', 'right', or 'wrong', there remains no basis for accepting Lyotard's 'truth' that metanarratives have become untenable by technological progress. This reveals the logical inconsistency of postmodernism.

Another logical inconsistency is that while postmodernism claims universal scepticism toward all metanarratives, postmodern theorists were guided to a greater or lesser degree by the re-reading or redemption of Marx. Most of the French intellectuals (Derrida, Foucault, Lyotard, Barthes etc.) responsible for the theoretical inspiration of postmodernism worked within a broadly Marxist paradigm. These French intellectuals having been ardent supporters of Marx, Stalin and Mao, were apparently forced to undertake this transformation from Marxism to postmodernism after the horrors of the collectivisation schemes were revealed, and it became evident that the Marxist doctrine itself was a problem, not its implementation by an inefficient bureaucracy. Thus, this manoeuvring served as a basis for these theorists to maintain their prestige in intellectual circles without having to confront the horrifying outcomes of their theories. Marxist conceptions, though disguised amid incomprehensible language, are present throughout postmodernist works, and simply pointing out statements by postmodernist scholars claiming to be anti-Marxist is merely a fallacious circular argument.

This Marxist paradigm is central to the irrationality of Lyotard's 'truth' that metanarratives have become untenable by technological progress, in that, it fails to understand the defining components of a society, thereby, conflating two entirely different aspects of a society, namely, the materialistic outward aspect and the ideological aspect. The components of a society are the bases upon which permanent relationships between individuals are built and the factors that regulate these relationships. As such, the formation of a society rests upon the knowledge of what it contains in terms of thoughts and concepts, and what emanates from these in terms of sentiments and values. Following this is the knowledge of that which regulates the relationships in terms of systems and laws. It is evident that the material progress of a society has no relation to the formation of the society. Thus, the material progress of a society, based on scientific and technological progress, should be distinguished from the systems implemented over it, based on the thoughts and concepts that are held within the society. The reality of all historical and contemporary societies is that outward aspects, material progress based on scientific and technological progress, do not determine the systems that are applied on the people. And so, the basic differences between two societies are not dependent on differences in the degree of material progress, rather on the concepts and ideas that are held by the people. Summarily, the manifest means and styles employed by any metanarrative may transmute over time, but the thoughts, concepts, and consequently, the systems and laws continue in an independent fashion.

Further, if postmodernity is seen as a new age, the postulate that technological progress has led to increased scepticism towards metanarratives is falsified by the global rise of a call towards a single, united, ideological Islamic State, not only within Muslim countries, but also among the ever increasing number of Muslim converts in the highly developed North American and Western European countries. Similarly, the rise of the far-right conservative Christian movements, the election of Trump, Orbán and Johnson, and the vote on Brexit undermine Lyotard's incredulity postulate.

As for the postmodern argument that universal truths do not exist, knowledge of such truths is biased, and that such truths are merely subjective, created and contextual, it is inconsistent logically, scientifically and rationally.

By positing that people have stopped believing in metanarratives because such narratives marginalise minorities, Lyotard implicitly accepts the notion of a universal belief in justice. Universal truths exist irrespective of the language used to describe them. An objective universal truth is that only biological women are capable of giving birth. A similar truth is that the Sun rises from the East. Furthermore, the categorization of reality by language into two distinct binary forms – biological women vs biological men, or East vs West – does not in any manner reduce the authenticity of these two claims. For example, even if we were to assume, ignoring all available scientific data, that there are an infinite number of genders between the two extreme biological realities, i.e. a fluid gender spectrum, it does not negate the existence of the two extremes. To understand this, consider the example of day vs night: while it is true that the day gradually merges into night, and it is also true that the exact time at which the day transitions into night is indeterminate, it does not negate the fact that the 'day' is distinct and opposite to the 'night'. To 'deconstruct' the difference between day and night using subjective claims, or to dismiss this difference as a mere social construct is nothing but a logical fallacy and irrational.

In addition, the claim that the binary form of thinking by virtue of categorizing leads to the creation of value hierarchies, is itself problematic. The recognition of one extreme, say 'day', does not imply the inferiority of the other extreme, in this case 'night'. Similarly, the recognition of 'peace' does not necessarily imply the immorality of 'war'. Rather values emanate from the thoughts that are held by the people, and while peace may be desirable at some times, other times may necessitate war. An Islamic State may be inclined to establish peaceful trade relations in one period, while it may declare war in another period, considering both to be equally virtuous.

The core problem, due to which postmodernism rejects all sorts of objective knowledge, is its failure to distinguish reality from judgements on reality. The reality of any situation is not subject to disagreement among people, particularly if the reality is related to senses because different people who are able to sense the situation or object will be capable of knowing the objective reality of the situation or object. However, the judgements on reality will differ among people according to their viewpoint. While looking at situations or objects from a specific viewpoint is related to passing judgements

on them, seeing facts, as they are, is related to the senses and comprehension. Hence, it is possible for individuals to arrive at objective knowledge of reality despite maintaining an individual, cultural or ideological viewpoint on that reality.

Derrida's claim that categorising judgements or interpretations of reality privileges one concept and pushes out others to the margins is problematic. The postmodern argument is that due to the existence of an infinite number of interpretations of the world, the oppressors categorise such that they only choose those narratives that serve as tools of oppression while marginalising all other narratives. One problem with this is that while there may exist an infinite number of interpretations this does not necessarily imply that an equally infinite number of valid interpretations may be made. This means that among other factors, interpretations are constrained by whether they ensure the desired outcome in a specified time period and by the necessity of iteration over lengthier periods of time in a context defined by an individual, their family, community and broader society. The second problem, and this is the major error in Foucault's work, is that because the key postmodern narrative is of the oppressor versus the oppressed, it tends to reduce every human act to the pursuit of power. This, however, stems from an incomplete understanding of the value systems that motivate human behaviour. While it is true that people may pursue power, it is equally true that people also undertake actions in the pursuit of moral, spiritual or humanitarian values. Thus, it is wrong to assume that categorising, and hence, marginalising serves only as a means of consolidating power.

Additionally, this raises the question as to what postmodernism itself marginalises when it categorises everything into a power game played across race, class, gender and sexual orientation. Among others competence, genuine diversity (based on individual skill sets, as opposed to the imposition of group characteristics onto individuals), reasonable discourse, cooperation and moral, spiritual, humanitarian values are all marginalised and rendered meaningless by the postmodern categorisation.

Similarly, the argument that power is purely subjective based on language and concepts, and that the empowered create truths using language as a tool,

does not entirely stand in the face of rational investigation. This argument would imply that the European colonialism of India, or the trans-Atlantic slave trade were merely undertaken through the use of language. A mere superficial understanding of those eras reveals that this would be an incomplete understanding of the nature of colonial power relations which were instead primarily based on differences in the degree of military strength, ideological, political strength and economic power. It would be ignorant to assume that the British could have been removed from their colonial position in India simply by deconstructing their dominant narratives and substituting their 'Oriental – Occident' binary with new non-binary terminology. This weakness of deconstruction outside the realm of literary and philosophical works led to it being surpassed by the more politically engaged paradigms of 'cultural studies' and Foucault-inspired 'new historicism' (which, due to the reduction of all discursive practices to power relations, is also incorrect). Later on, Derrida tried to redress this weakness by writing widely on issues of justice, ethics, and politics. Even if we assume these are not mere free-plays of words, it is still evident that these theoretical abstractions regarding 'the political' remain detached from 'real' politics.

Further, Derrida's proposition that all truth related claims made using language are secondary and derivate runs into a logical inconsistency. By attempting to define an alternative theory explaining the relationship between representation and reality, Derrida, at least implicitly, argues that his account is more verisimilar vis-a-vis the way things really are, and that the leading competing accounts are less representative of reality. Thus, Derrida, whose philosophy attempts to unmask, deconstruct and eliminate the last remnants of Western metaphysics, may also be viewed as its consummate practitioner.

A more brutal reflection of the postmodern relativism is that when unbounded scepticism is considered the norm, it may end up trivializing the unbearable suffering that natural forces or oppressive, totalitarian regimes have unleashed over humanity. The havoc wreaked by tornadoes, hurricanes and earthquakes is undoubtedly irrefutable, as are the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps, the Soviet gulags, and the Guantanamo Bay prison. In this regard, pain is perhaps one of the most fundamental objective realities.

While postmodernism insists on the absence of facts, it remains a theoretical abstraction as it is impossible for any individual to adopt a radical stance of relativism regarding all aspects of life. In any case, their physical bodies tend to accept the constraints of several undeniable facts. It is evident that denial of biological truths does not in any case amount to an undermining of even the most basic biological truth i.e. ﴿كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ﴾ **“Every soul has to taste death”**(Al-Ankaboot:57). Similarly, proposing that the theoretical explanations of empirical observations of natural laws are merely subjective does not render the sceptic with the ability to transgress even the basic laws, for example, the gravitational pull of the Earth.

Further, the postmodernist argument that reason and logic is a tool of oppression is hypocritical, because postmodernists tend to support their theories with arguments. If every discourse is a tool of oppression in the never ending power game, postmodernism itself becomes a tool of oppression.

Even more threatening is the fact that if reason is simply construed as a tool of oppression, then two people or groups who disagree have no common grounds to resolve their differences – after all there is no objective truth for them even to be right or wrong about. This was highlighted by Lyotard in his equating of “consensus” with “terror”. For Lyotard, the very idea of uncoerced, rational accord is a fantasy. In the words of Nietzsche, “where there is no truth, there is only power”. This provides an alarming insight into the excessive postmodern obsession with power relations. By reducing every human motivation to a pursuit of power, it appears that postmodernism tends to justify its own use of power. A truly postmodern society would breakdown into multiple competing, narratives, with no means of agreeing on reality, thus, it appears that the only way toward any semblance of order would be through a brute display of power. It is also apparent that postmodernism has been deeply inspired by the theories of Friedrich Nietzsche, Martin Heidegger, Maurice Blanchot, and Paul de Man—all of whom either prefigured or succumbed to the proverbial intellectual ‘fascination with fascism’.

The political manifestation of postmodernism as identity or identitarian politics is deeply erroneous, misleading and self-contradictory. As discussed previously, it arises from the need of dismantling metanarratives and replacing

them with localized subjective narratives, thus, forming political positions based on the interests and perspectives of social groups with which people identify: race, gender, identity, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, disability, religion, culture, language and dialect. This developed in the latter part of the 20th century during the Civil Rights Movement and has particularly strengthened since the 1980s.

The defining feature of identity politics is its preference for subjectivist, standpoint epistemology over any sort of rational or scientific epistemology because reason and science are merely assumed to be tools used for the endless perpetuation of tyranny. This is also indicative of the Marxist framework within which postmodernism operates. If it is understood that reality is merely reflected onto the brain, it naturally follows that only a subjectivist approach should be adopted to deal with all problems that arise. However, instead of dividing society between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, as Marx did, postmodernism has divided society into many different segments on the basis of lived experiences.

Such a fragmentation of society is deeply problematic in that it tends to fracture broad based solidarity on any issue. For instance, the vital issue to be dealt with in Muslim countries is the overthrow of the current regimes and the reestablishment of the Islamic Khilafah. However, if society were to be fragmented into numerous groups, each practically pitted against the other, a broad based support for the Khilafah would be very difficult to amass and the result would be total political inaction.

Further, a subjectivist epistemological approach claims that only those associated with a particular identity – the in-group - are authorized, by virtue of their lived experiences, to talk about their matters, and that others – the out-group – cannot ever understand these issues. This approach is problematic and inherently contradictory. If the out-group, say men, take up and talk about the issues of women, they are accused of colonizing the space of women. On the other hand, if men ignore the issues of women they are accused of marginalizing women. This form of identity politics is deeply narcissistic and also serves to further isolate various identities.

The deepest inherent contradiction within the identity politics framework is the issue of essentialism vs nonessentialism. Postmodernism holds that identities are produced as a result of discourse between the oppressors and the oppressed, such as white vs black, heterosexual vs homosexual, male vs female, and so these identities are stereotypical essentialized social constructs. However, in forming identity based political or social groups – for the purpose of contrasting binaries in order to remove tyranny – postmodernism itself falls prey to essentialism. Thus, identity politics is itself what it seeks to overthrow. The intersectionality movement has discovered this flaw within identity politics and posits multiple intersecting identities for each individual. However, a completely non-essentialist approach is incompatible with any meaningful form of political activity. All that the intersectionality movement has achieved is a sort of victimhood competition among various ‘marginalised’ groups.

Another problem with the oppressor vs oppressed framework is that people who do not subscribe to or act according to the postmodern metanarrative, are automatically labelled ‘oppressors’. Unsurprisingly, reproducing and contrasting these binaries within this framework, and constantly bashing the ‘oppressors’ has resulted in their adopting identity politics as well, for example, the emergence of white identity politics at the far-right end of the political spectrum and the embrace of the ‘right to difference’ by the European New Right as a justification for racial separatism.

Thus, it is clear that the postmodern rejection of truths, objective knowledge, and reason remains a theoretical abstraction and is not conducive for political action. After all, if even, according to Foucault, emancipation is a trap laid by the forces of ‘governmentality’ to inscribe the ‘subject’ in the clutches of ‘power-knowledge’, there is no point in trying to contest power that is present everywhere.

The rejection of reason by postmodernism stems from their understanding that the Enlightenment was responsible for the introduction of reason within human discourses. However, the fundamental error is not the introduction of reason, but its misappropriation in matters that are well outside the purview of reason. This failure in recognising the fundamental error resulted because they were misguided by the popular modernist narrative, according to which,

Enlightenment heralded a new Age of Reason, liberating people from the myths and superstitions of the past. With this definition of the Enlightenment in mind, it was only natural for postmodernist scholars to criticize the use of reason to the extent that they deemed reason to be the source for all the catastrophes of the modern age. However, this is a deeply narcissistic Euro-centrist narrative for it claims that prior to the Enlightenment, all cultures were merely based on irrational beliefs, myths and superstitions. This is an incorrect judgement for humans have always been rational beings.

The actual error i.e. the misappropriation of reason in matters that are well outside its purview, manifested in the Enlightenment philosophers decreeing that sovereignty belongs to the people and that they are not permitted to submit to the sovereignty of another. This is the cornerstone of the Western modern civilization and the real source for all its problems because people are not qualified to be their own sovereign. Rather sovereignty must reside with the One who created people because He alone knows the purpose of their existence, and alone has perfect knowledge of human nature (fitrah). Because humans are limited, they have an imperfect understanding of the purpose of their existence, as well as an imperfect understanding of their own innate nature (fitrah). It follows that the people must discover, in a rational manner, who created them, and then acknowledge the sovereignty of their Creator by following his commands in the individual and collective sphere. Therefore, reason and intellect must be exercised in determining the existence of a Creator, and then in comprehending the commands that He has provided us with through His Messengers. The postmodernist scholars, thus, failed in even understanding the Enlightenment values, let alone in proposing valid solutions to the problems emanating from those values.

When postmodernism is studied in depth, its need for a deceiving, rhetorical language also becomes evident. It is clear that anyone possessing the truth will attempt to explain it in as clear a manner as possible. It is intellectual dishonesty to obscure ideas with incomprehensible language. However, postmodern theorists have deliberately used inaccessible language within their texts that is barely understandable by anyone who is not thoroughly immersed into its literature. This serves two major purposes: First, this 'private lingo' appears to bestow great prestige on these intellectuals. Second, it serves to

protect postmodern texts from external scrutiny. Thus, by using such language postmodernists attempt to conceal the fact that most of their theories are either irrational, illogical, antiscientific, or if accurate, nothing more than a monosyllabic truism.

From an objective Islamic standpoint, it is apparent that postmodernism is a flawed and erroneous concept. Islam is a complete ideology (or metanarrative), and the validity of Islam for all times and places is an issue that is part of the Aqeedah of a Muslim. Since Islam is the final Deen prescribed by Allah SWT for all mankind, therefore not believing in its validity for any period in time after the Prophet Muhammad SAW implies the denial of Allah SWT as the Legislator. This denial for any reason takes one out of the folds of Islam because not only is it a defiance of the essence of Islam, which is to worship Allah SWT in entirety but also a limitation on Allah SWT as the only Legislator for all times and places.

Islam has recognized that universal truths exist, and that we are able to obtain objective knowledge regarding those truths. Islam also accepts rational discourse as a means of propagating the message of the truth. This is reflected in the fact that Islam made the rational acceptance of its Aqeedah a condition for embracing it. The Messengers of Allah SWT recognised the existence of a single Creator on the basis of rational evidences, and used the same rational evidences to call others towards the truth. This is witnessed in the story of Ibrahim AS when he saw a star and took it for his Lord, but when the star disappeared he realised that the star could not be his Lord. He then saw the moon, and took it for his Lord, but when the moon disappeared he realised that the moon could not be his Lord. He then took the sun for his Lord, but when the sun disappeared he realised that the sun could not be his Lord. This made him realise that the star, the moon and the sun were limited and dependent, and that the true Creator could neither be limited nor dependent. He then recognised that Allah SWT was the Creator of the star, the moon, the sun and everything within the universe, and that He SWT was Eternal and Independent. The Quran uses the same rational epistemological approach towards determining the existence of the Creator: ﴿إِنَّ فِي خَلْقِ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَاخْتِلَافِ اللَّيْلِ وَالنَّهَارِ لَآيَاتٍ لِّأُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ﴾ **Behold! In the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alteration of night and day, these are indeed signs for men of**

understanding.”(Al-Imran:190) Ibrahim AS also used the objective knowledge of universal truths in calling others towards a common rational grounds from where to proceed: ﴿الَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِي حَاجَّ إِبْرَاهِيمَ فِي رَبِّهِ أَنْ آتَاهُ اللَّهُ الْمُلْكَ إِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ رَبِّيَ الَّذِي يُحْيِي وَيُمِيتُ قَالَ أَنَا أَحْيِي وَأُمِيتُ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْتِي بِالشَّمْسِ مِنَ الْمَشْرِقِ فَأْتِ بِهَا مِنَ الْمَغْرِبِ فَبُهِتَ الَّذِي كَفَرَ وَاللَّهُ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الظَّالِمِينَ﴾ **“Have you not considered the one who argued with Abraham about his Lord [merely] because Allah had given him kingship? When Abraham said, "My Lord is the one who gives life and causes death," he said, "I give life and cause death." Abraham said, "Indeed, Allah brings up the sun from the east, so bring it up from the west." So the disbeliever was overwhelmed [by astonishment], and Allah does not guide the wrongdoing people.”**(Al-Baqrah:258) This is also emblematic of the superior method of Islam, in that, it directly employs a clear and simple understanding of reality in response to those who attempt to misconstrue it via weak and deceiving language games.

Islam also rejects identity politics as distinctions made on the basis of race, ethnicity, language etc. are invalid, and all Muslims are considered one united body with one ideology. Political parties within the Khilafah would not hold separate ‘identities’ rather all such parties would be based solely on the Islamic Aqeedah. This is because the evidence for establishing political parties also clearly explains the goals of such parties. ﴿وَلَتَكُنَّ مِّنكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ﴾ **“And let there be [arising] from you a nation (a band of people) inviting to [all that is] good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and those will be the successful.”**(Al-Imran:104) Thus, political parties must enjoin the Ma’ruf and prohibit the Munkar. The establishment of parties that carry out something prohibited such as the spread of un-Islamic ideas is prohibited and will be prevented by the State.

The subjectivist postmodern approach towards issues of different cultures is also rejected by Islam, for Islam is a universal message. ﴿قُلْ يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنِّي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ إِلَيْكُمْ جَمِيعًا الَّذِي لَهُ مُلْكُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ﴾ **“Say (O Muhammad): ‘O mankind! Verily, I am sent to you all as the Messenger of Allah - to Whom belongs the dominion of the heavens and the earth.’**(Al-A’raaf:158) And Messenger of Allah (saw) said, **“كَانَ النَّبِيُّ يُبْعَثُ إِلَى قَوْمِهِ خَاصَّةً، وَبُعِثْتُ إِلَى النَّاسِ عَامَّةً”** **“Every Prophet was sent to his nation only but I have been sent to all mankind.”**(Bukhari). This

form of epistemology holds that each of the different political identity groups are correct according to their own subjective interpretation of reality. This is a great error for Islam marks a clear distinction between the truth and falsehood, and Muslims must accept this distinction. Whereas Islam allows Dhimmis to follow their own religions, this does not mean that Islam allows Muslims to consider other world views as correct even for others.

Postmodernism is yet another incorrect theory that has emerged from the Western philosophers after they divorced religion (deen) from the world (duniya). It is clear that postmodernism is invalid in its basic and core ideas. It must be rejected in its entirety, along with the entire edifice of thinking that has been constructed upon its basic ideas. The Enlightenment values also need to be rejected and dismantled. In conclusion, what is required is the establishment of a State where civilization is based solely on the basis of the commands of the Creator and not on incoherent theories espoused by irrational people.

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Three Lessons for the People of Power, in the Muslim World, from Biden's 2023 State of the Union Address

Musab Umair, Pakistan

On 7 February 2023, US President, Joe Biden, delivered his annual State of the Union Address. It contained important lessons for the leadership of the Islamic Ummah.

Indeed, it is upon the leadership of the Islamic Ummah to continuously monitor, study and develop stances, towards major developments, events and addresses, regarding the international scenario. It is a requirement of the Deen of Islam because it is a global Deen, whose dominance must be established. Thus, the Prophet (saw) commented on the accession to the throne of Persia. In following the example of the Prophet (saw), Abu Bakr (ra) took a stance over the superpower rivalry, between Persia and Rome, even before the establishment of the Islamic State. The vision of the Islamic people of power is of a global reach. It precedes the Dawah to Islam, and Jihad to remove material obstacles, in the way of the spread of Islam.

So what lessons can we learn, from the State of the Union address of President Joe Biden?

Lesson 1: US China rivalry

In contrast to the heavy mention of China, in last year's State of the Union address, China had reduced mention this year. Commenting on the downing of the Chinese balloon, Biden stated, "as we made clear last week, if China threatens our sovereignty, we will act to protect our country. And we did." Thus, Biden asserted his strong man reputation to the US electorate. He also indicated progress in the aggressive containment of China within its region. Indeed, the US has built India as a rival, set Japan upon the path of aggressive militarization and bolstered the anti-Chinese stance of Taiwan.

The lesson for the people of power in the Muslim World, is that Biden has withdrawn from the Muslim World, to refocus on China. Previously, US demands to “do more,” came with financial support. Now the US demands to “do more,” are to be done at the financial expense of the Muslim World.

The lesson for the people of power in Pakistan is that the US is now backing India heavily. In order for India to rise, Pakistan is to be curtailed. The curtailing includes embroiling Pakistan in a wasteful conflict, with the Taliban in Afghanistan. Persistent alliance with the US is driving Pakistan towards greater harm.

Lesson 2: US Economic Crisis

At a time of a collapse, or near collapse, of the global capitalist economic order, Biden attempted to reassure his electorate of progress on the economic front. Biden indicated that the economic misery is behind the US, saying, “two years ago, our economy was reeling.” However, in reality, it is still reeling. The US public remains in hardship, with economy as a key concern. Overall, 75% of Americans say strengthening the economy should be a top priority this year, according to a new Pew Research Center [survey](#) conducted between 18-24 January, 2023. 60% consider reducing health care costs as a priority, whilst 49% consider improving the job situation as a priority. The American public continues to express negative views of national economic conditions. Just 21% rate economic conditions as excellent or good.

The lesson for the people of power in the Muslim World, is that the US is itself in a fragile economic situation. It can no longer spend lavishly on its interests in the Muslim World. It will delegate to the local regimes, and insist they pay from the pockets of the Muslims. It turns a blind eye to the rising anger on the Muslim street, against the rulers for their economic failure, and will not bail them out.

Indeed, the likelihood of change in the Muslim World has increased. Anger against the rulers is now outweighing fear, of their brutal tyranny. In this situation, the regimes are stuck between being heavy handed, which worsens

the anger, and leaving alone, which creates space for revolutionary, radical change.

Lesson 3: US Political Fragmentation

Biden mentioned the deep bipartisan divide in American politics, between the Republican and Democrat parties, whilst portraying it as being behind him. He stated, “we’re often told that Democrats and Republicans can’t work together,” whilst adding, “Democrats and Republicans came together.” However, despite Biden’s claim, American politics is deeply divided on party lines, crippling its decision making, including decisions over the Muslim World.

On the domestic front, states controlled by Democrats legislated laws against oil companies, while states such as Texas, which is controlled by Republicans, included green industrial companies on their blacklist. States controlled by the Republicans ensured the spread of a culture against immigration and immigrants, to incite their white American electorate, whilst states controlled by Democrats, spread the culture of welcoming immigrants, to bolster their immigrant electorate. Deep bipartisan conflict also continues over the right to bear arms and abortion.

In foreign relations, the division cripples US decision making. Previously, the contacts of former US Secretary of State, John Kerry, a Democrat, undermined the Trump administration’s pressure tactics against Iran. Recently, the Republicans provoked Saudi Arabia into reducing oil production, which weakened the pressure of the Biden administration upon Russia.

The lesson for the people of power in the Muslim World, is that the US is reducing in its global effectiveness, due to the bipartisan conflict. It is leaving a vacuum in the Muslim World. That vacuum cannot be filled by the current Muslim political medium. The current rulers and politicians are blind imitators of the Western economic and political order. They are incapable of independent thinking. That is why they appear stranded, abandoned and at a loss, in these, difficult days. The US has withdrawn from them, whilst they face crises on all fronts. Moreover, the Western treatments to the problems, that

they had faith in, are worsening the situation. They need out-of-the-box solutions, but their personal interests, in the current order, prevent them from making real change. This vacuum remains to be utilized, for real change in the Muslim World.

So, let the people of power consider these three lessons, carefully. It is clear that the US is weaker than before, as are the rulers of the Muslims. There is a vacuum in leadership. Now, this vacuum can only be filled by a new generation of politicians and rulers. They are those leaders who do not consider themselves subordinate to the ailing US. They consider their Deen is superior, whose superiority cannot be surpassed. They consider politics as looking after the affairs of the Islamic Ummah, domestically and internationally, by the Islamic Shariah rulings. They alone can rescue the entire world from the deep abyss that the US dug for it, in its greed and arrogance.

If the people of power have learned their lessons, they will withdraw their support from the old and failed political medium, in order to establish a new political medium, that of the Khilafah (Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood. It is then that the Islamic Ummah will return to its glory, whilst the weakness of the so-called major powers of the world, will be fully revealed.

﴿وَسَيَعْلَمُ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا أَيَّ مُنْقَلَبٍ يَنْقَلِبُونَ﴾

**“The wrongdoers will come to know what ‘evil’ end they will meet.” [TMQ
Surah Ash-Shu’ara 26:227]**

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Speech of the Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir, Eminent Scholar Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah, for the Occasion of the 102nd Hijri Anniversary of the Destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate)

(Translated from Arabic)

Praise be to Allah, and blessings and prayers be upon the Messenger of Allah, his family, his Companions (ra), and those who followed him,

To the Islamic Ummah, in general... and to the Dawah carriers for the reestablishment of the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate), in particular...

Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatahu,

On this day, the 28th of Rajab in the year 1342 AH, corresponding to 3rd March in the year 1924 CE, that is, 102 Hijri years ago, the colonialist kuffar, led by Britain at the time, in collaboration with the Arab and Turkish traitors, were able to abolish the Khilafah state. Mustafa Kemal committed the crime of open kufr, by abolishing the Khilafah in Istanbul, whilst besieging the Khaleefah (Caliph), exiling him in the early hours of that day. So it was. This painful affliction occurred, with the destruction of the Khilafah, within the Muslim Lands... It was an obligation upon the Ummah to fight the one who commits open kufr with the sword, as narrated in the agreed upon hadith, of the Messenger (saw), on the authority of Ubadah ibn al-Samit (ra), «وَأَنْ لَا تُنَازِعَ الْأَمَرَ» **“And that we do not dispute about authority with those in power, unless you see an open kufr, regarding which you have a clear evidence before Allah.”** [Bukhari and Muslim] However, the Ummah did nothing to tremble that criminal and his aides, such that he and his collaborators would be turned into losers. Rather, the response was weak and did not amount to anything near that!

It was then that the history of the Ummah darkened. Previously, the Khilafah was the Ummah’s state, standing upon truth and justice yet now the

Ummah has over fifty fragments as states, with severe harm from their rulers. Even the earthquake of Syria and Turkey, in the middle of this Hijri month of Rajab, could not remove their division, restoring unity as one state. Instead, they persisted as torn fragments, before and after the earthquake, whilst they did not take heed! Allah (swt) said, **﴿أَوَلَا يَرَوْنَ أَنَّهُمْ يُفْتَنُونَ فِي كُلِّ عَامٍ مَرَّةً أَوْ مَرَّتَيْنِ ثُمَّ لَا يَتُوبُونَ وَلَا هُمْ يَذَكَّرُونَ﴾** **“Do they not see that they are tried once or twice every year? Yet they neither repent nor do they take heed.”** [TMQ Surah At-Tawbah 9:126].

Nevertheless, the calamity of this earthquake revealed that Islam is constant in the depths of Muslims. When they were rescuing their brothers from under the rubble, the Muslims chanted takbeer. The takbeer did not cease upon their tongues, particularly when they were saving an infant, whose mother had given birth to her, and then died under the rubble... or the one who is covered by rubble, whilst his hand is seen holding prayer beads, with which he was glorifying Allah (swt)... or while they were trying to get a woman out from under the demolished building, the woman asked for her head to be covered, before being taken out, so that her hair will not be exposed... or when the one who called out from under the rubble to get him out, first asked for water for wudu (ablution) before Salah, so that he does not miss the time of prayer... then the one they are trying to save from the midst of the rubble, and they find him reciting from Surat Al-Baqarah within the Quran... or that girl who they are trying to get out, who expresses her sadness because she could not pray that day... And during all of that, the takbeer resounded, Allahu Akbar... These are the Muslims. May Allah (swt) have mercy on every Muslim who died during the earthquake. May they be among the martyrs of the Hereafter, by the Permission of Allah (swt). May Allah (swt) heal the wounded, with a cure that leaves no disease behind... May Allah (swt) help every Muslim who survived. May Allah (swt) grant for him a good life, that he spends in obedience to Allah (swt) and His Messenger (saw)...

These are the Muslims, whilst those are the rulers in Muslim Lands. They are indeed poles apart. This gaping disparity occurred during these 102 Hijri years, since the momentous calamity of the abolition of the Khilafah! Then, exploiting the demise of the Khilafah, the colonialist kuffar inflicted another agonizing affliction. They gave the Jews a state in the Blessed Land, the

destination of the Israa (night journey), and the origin of the Miraaj (ascent) of the Messenger of Allah (saw). They then provided them with the means for survival. The foremost of those means is to protect its security through the agent rulers that surround it. So they were defeated at the hands of the Jews, in every war that broke out, until they granted the Jewish state an image, other than the characteristic with which Allah (swt) described them: ﴿وَضُرِبَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ الدُّلَّةُ وَالْمَسْكَنَةُ﴾ **“They were stricken with disgrace and misery”** [TMQ Surah Al Baqarah 2: 61]. And the rulers were not satisfied with that alone. Instead, they exerted all efforts to transform the issue from the removal of the Jewish entity, to negotiation with it, with the plea that it would withdraw from just some of what it occupied in 1967!

Moreover, the state of the Jews was, and still is committing the most heinous crimes in Palestine. The massacre in Jenin, on 26 January 2023, bears witness to that. The army of the Jewish entity, with large and heavily armed forces, stormed the Jenin camp, and carried out a massacre in which nine martyrs were martyred. During that time, carried out the most extreme crimes by killing, demolishing the walls over the wounded, and trampling over with bulldozers. Then it continued in its aggression against Nablus, raiding Aqabat Jaber Camp, killing and wounding, resulting in martyrs and wounded... and all of this occurred without the rulers in Muslim Lands mobilizing to rescue them. Instead, the most exemplary of them was the one who offered his mediation between the criminal and the victim upon whom the crime was committed. May Allah destroy them; how are they deluded? And how do they do more than that while they are rushing to commit the crime of normalization with the Jews? After the rulers of Egypt led this march of humiliation and disgrace, the PLO and then the rulers of Jordan, the UAE, Bahrain and Morocco respectively, all followed suite. And here Sudan follows them in the crime as the President of Sudan, Al-Burhan, met Jewish Foreign Minister Eli Cohen in Khartoum on 2 February 2023 to discuss the normalization of relations! None of them cares for the humiliation that surrounds them. ﴿سَيُصِيبُ الَّذِينَ أَجْرَمُوا صَغَارٌ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَعَذَابٌ شَدِيدٌ بِمَا كَانُوا يَمْكُرُونَ﴾ **“The wicked will soon be overwhelmed by humiliation from Allah, and a severe punishment for their evil plots.”** [TMQ Surah Al-Anaam 6:124].

It is indeed strange that with every escalation, or every crime committed, by the Jewish entity, its leaders are, the day before or on the day, in the arms of the Arab rulers, or on a visit to them. Before the crime upon Jenin, Netanyahu was a guest in the palace of the Jordanian regime! During the crime upon Jenin, the Palestine Authority was coordinating security with Jews, by its own admission because it claimed that it would stop the security coordination, after the crime. So, it was! However, what is most surprising, and strange, is that when one of the heroes of Palestine defended his land and its people, killing seven Jews in the Al-Quds operation, after the massacre in Jenin, the rulers in the Muslim countries rushed to condemn! The foreign ministries of Turkey, the UAE, Jordan and Egypt, all condemned the Al-Quds operation in press statements!

Now, it is not only Palestine that was stabbed in the back by these rulers but they also conceded or surrendered, other pure regions of the land of Islam. Kashmir was forcibly annexed by the Hindu mushrikeen, to their state, whilst the rulers of Pakistan remain silent... the Rohingya Muslims are being slaughtered in Myanmar (Burma), whilst the rulers of Bangladesh are as if they are sleeping, without seeing... then there is East Turkistan, in which China is committing massacres, whilst the current states in the Muslim Lands are maintain a silence like the silence of the graves. Whenever they do speak out, regarding the massacring, they claim that it is an internal matter for China! ﴿كَبُرَتْ كَلِمَةً تَخْرُجُ مِنْ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ إِنَّ يَقُولُونَ إِلَّا كَذِبًا﴾ **“What a terrible claim that comes out of their mouths! They say nothing but lies.”** [TMQ Surah Al-Kahf 18:5].

Then the colonialist kuffar were not satisfied with the disgrace that they inflicted on the Ummah. Instead they violated its belief. So the lowly extremist burned a copy of the Noble Qur’an in front of the Turkish embassy building, in Stockholm, on Saturday 21 January 2023, after the Swedish authorities allowed that... Then their crimes continued to the burning of the Noble Qur’an in The Hague and then in Copenhagen on Friday, 27 January 2023. Subsequently, we watched as Al-Azhar, through its Al-Azhar Observer for Combating Extremism, issued a strongly worded statement condemning and demanding to stand in the face of attempts to violate religious sanctities. There is no doubt that the ‘Ulema of Al-Azhar know that the response to the burning of the Noble Qur’an is not mere verbal condemnation, rather the armies must be mobilized in

support of the Book of Allah (swt) and His Deen. Burning the Noble Qur'an is a declaration of war against the Islamic Ummah and its belief. Therefore, the response is a war that makes a fear-inducing example of them, to deter others. Allah (swt) said, ﴿فَإِمَّا تَثَقَفْتُمُ فِي الْحَرْبِ فَشَرِّدْ بِهِمْ مَنْ خَلَفَهُمْ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَدْكُرُونَ﴾ **"If you ever encounter them in battle, make a fearsome example of them, so perhaps those who would follow them may be deterred."** [TMQ Surah Al-Anfaal 8: 57].

O Muslims: Aggression against Muslims is not confronted with embellished words for the sake of appearances, empty speech that neither benefits nor satisfies the need. Instead the aggression is repelled by the edge of the sword, with blows that make the enemy forget the whispers of Satan. This is what the Muslims were upon when they had a Khilafah, and the course of events during their rule speaks volumes of that. This is a proven fact that no one with vision and insight can deny. Its examples exist in the history of Muslims which have been transmitted in "The Beginning and the End" by Ibn Katheer, "The Conquest of the Lands" by Al-Baladhuri, "The History" by Ibn Khaldun and "The History of Islam" by Al-Dhahabi, amongst other sources. I now quote to you, from them,

"Then came the year 87 after Hijrah... within it Qutayba ibn Muslim opened Poykent, which is one of the districts of Bukhara... and it was not midday until Allah (swt) granted victory to them... The one who attacked the Muslims was a one-eyed man, from among them. When he was captured, he said, "I ransom myself with five thousand Chinese garments, whose worth is thousands of thousands." So the commanders advised Qutayba to accept that from him. Qutayba said, **"No, by Allah, you will never strike fear in a Muslim again."** **Then he ordered regarding him and his neck was struck..."**

"Then came the year 90 after Hijrah... within it Raja Dahir, the ruler of Sindh, attacked a ship carrying Muslim women, and took them captive. So the Khaleefah sent a message to his waali (governor) to take revenge on that oppressor. Thus Muhammad bin Al-Qasim led an army and **saved the Muslim women, took revenge on that tyrant ruler and conquered the land of Sindh."**

"Then came the year 223 after Hijrah, and the Byzantine King went out to the Muslim Lands, killing and capturing the people of Zabtara. A woman called

out, “O Mu’tasim, where are you.” This call reached the Khaleefah al-Mu’tasim, who answered, “At your service.” He personally led an army and avenged the woman. He asked which of the lands of the Byzantines was the greatest. He was told that it was Amorium, which was “near Ankara.” So he conquered it.”

“Then came the year 582 after Hijrah... within it Arnat (Raynald), the occupier of Al-Karak, treacherously blockaded the road, for a large caravan of Hujjaj (pilgrims), that came from Egypt whom he killed and captured. Thus Sultan Salah ud-Din prepared for war. He requested soldiers from the country. He vowed that if he was victorious over Arnat, he would kill him. So Allah made him victorious in the year 583 after Hijrah, in the Battle of Hattin, in the middle of Rabi’ Al-Akhar. **Then Salah Al-Din killed Arnat, by his own hand, as a punishment for his treachery and blockading the roads.** It was then that the liberation of Al-Aqsa took place, on the 27th of Rajab, 583 after Hijrah.”

“Then in 1307 after Hijrah, in 1890 CE, the author of a script, which slandered the Messenger of Allah (saw), tried to show it as a play, in one of the theaters in Paris. When the Khaleefah Abdul Hamid learned of this, he summoned the French ambassador in Istanbul and deliberately met him in military uniform. Then he threatened him that if it was shown, the Ottoman State would announce the severing of relations with France, in a state of war. He addressed him in a harsh tone, saying, **“I am the Khaleefah of the Muslims... I will turn the world on your heads, if you do not stop this play.”** France responded by preventing the play from being shown...”

The colonialist kuffar were aware, at the time, that any violation of the sanctities of Islam, and Muslims, would be met with the cutting of tongues and the breaking of limbs... Today, the Noble Quran, the Messenger (saw) and the Muslim Lands are attacked, whilst the aggression is not avenged! This is only because there is no Imam, a Khaleefah Rashid (Rightly Guided Caliph), who protects the Ummah from the evil of enemies. It is narrated in the authentic agreed upon hadith, that he (saw) said, « **إِنَّمَا الْإِمَامُ جُنَّةٌ، يُفَاعَلُ مِنْ وَرَائِهِ، وَيَتَّقَى بِهِ،** » **“The Imam alone is a shield, behind whom fighting is engaged in, and by whom protection is sought.”** [Bukhari and Muslim]

In conclusion, I repeat my appeal to you, O people of power and protection... You are the only ones who can heal the Ummah's heart from its enemies, the enemies of your Deen. You are the only ones who can end the humiliation that has reached the Muslims in their lands... So arise to perform your duty, may Allah (swt) bless you. Arise to grant our Nussrah (Support), Nussrah for Hizb ut Tahrir to establish the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate). It is not the only way for victory in terms of the current reality. Instead, it is because it is a great obligation of the first degree. Firstly, whosoever does not work while he is able to establish the Khilafah, and establish the Khaleefah who deserves the Bayah (pledge), then his sin is as great as if he had died a death of pre-Islam (Jahilliyah), evidencing the severity of the sin as he (saw) said, «مَاتَ مِيتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً» **“And whoever dies without having a pledge of allegiance on his neck, he dies a death of Jahilliyah (pre-Islam).”** [Muslim]. Secondly, Muslims undertook the pledge Bayah to the Khaleefah, before they undertook preparation of the Messenger of Allah (saw) for his burial and carrying out the obligation of his burial. All of that is due to the importance of the Khalifah. Thirdly, Umar (ra) on the day of his death, set a time limit, of three days and no more, for electing a Khaleefah from among the six who were given the glad tidings of Paradise. If no agreement was reached regarding the Khaleefah, within that period, then the dissenter was to be killed. This was within a gathering of the Companions (ra) about whom no evil was reported. Thus, it was a unanimous Consensus of the Companions (ra). However, as for us, “many multiples of three days” have passed over us! Indeed, the establishment of the Khilafah is a great matter.

O Soldiers of Allah: We realize that angels will not come down from the sky to establish a Khilafah for us. Rather, Allah (swt) will only send down angels to help us, if we work diligently to establish the Khilafah. It is a promise confirmed in the Book of Allah, ﴿وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ ۗ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ ۗ﴾ **“Allah has promised those of you who believe, and do good deeds, that He will certainly grant them succession in authority in the land, as He did for those before them.”** [TMQ Surah An-Nur 24:55]. It is a glad tidings of glory, after this oppressive rule, in the hadith of the Messenger of Allah (swt), «ثُمَّ تَكُونُ مُلْكًا جَبْرِيَّةً فَتَكُونُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ تَكُونَ ثُمَّ يَرْفَعَهَا إِذَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَرْفَعَهَا ثُمَّ تَكُونُ» **“...And then there will be an oppressive rule as long as Allah wished it to be and then He will end it when He wishes to end it and**

then there will be a Khilafah (Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood.” Then he (saw) was silent. [Extracted by Ahmad]. We also realize that the enemies of Islam consider the re-establishment of the Khilafah impossible. They repeat the saying of their supporters, from amongst those who mock, ﴿غَرَّ هَؤُلَاءِ دِينُهُمْ﴾ **“their Deen has deceived them.”** [TMQ Surah Al-Anfal 8:49]. However, just as that saying was a curse on those who said it previously, for Allah granted glory to His Deen and gave victory to His people, it is a curse on those who say it today, for Allah, All Mighty, Most Wise, is with His sincere servants who work diligently, without departing from their hearts and limbs, the Speech of Allah (swt), ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ بِأَلْعُ أَمْرِهِ قَدْ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدْرًا﴾ **“Certainly, Allah achieves His Affair. Allah has made a determination for everything.”** [TMQ Surah At-Talaq 65:3]. With each passing day, they are getting closer to this Qadr “determination,” by the Permission of Allah (swt). ﴿وَيَقُولُونَ مَتَى هُوَ قُلْ عَسَى أَنْ يَكُونَ قَرِيبًا﴾ **“They ask, “When will that be?” Say, “Perhaps it is soon!”**” [TMQ Surah Al-Israa 17:51].

Wa Alaikum Assalaam wa Rahmutallahi wa Barakaatahu

Your Brother, Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah,

28 Rajab 1444 AH

Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir

19 February 2023 CE

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Can the establishment of Khilafah in Pakistan result in another world war?

Shahzad Shaikh

There are some people, especially those amongst the ruling elite, who think that if Pakistan becomes the Khilafah state, the whole world will attack Pakistan. So the establishment of the Khilafah state in Pakistan will commence another world war. The major argument behind this thought is that the current world order, which is being led by the US, does not even allow any voice of dissent.

We saw at the start of this millennium, how America reacted against Iraq. She forces crippling sanctions against Iran, North Korea and now even against Russia because of the conflict in Ukraine. Although these are the states which are not radically challenging the current world order, rather want to secure a respectable place in international politics and arena according to their size, but still the US, does not like it and so does not allow them to move on the path to get what they want.

So we can imagine how strongly and severely the US and the rest of the western world will respond when the Khilafah state will be announced which will challenge the current world order not just to secure a respectable place, rather she will demolish the current western world order and establish a new world order, the Islamic order.

There is no doubt that America and the rest of the western world will strongly react to the establishment of the Khilafah state, because since the destruction of the Khilafah state in 1924, they ensured that it should not be returned in any case. They have tried to ensure that no one should be given an opportunity in the political arena of the Muslim world to work for the restoration of the khilafah state. But despite placing the most brutal regimes over the necks of the Muslims, the call for the establishment of the Khilafah state is not only being able to set its foot firmly in almost every corner of the Muslim world, rather it has become the demand of the Ummah. So one thing is

very clear that despite having all the tools to erase, quash, and subjugate the call for the Khilafah, the colonialist and their puppet regimes have not been able to achieve their objective, because this call is the call of Allah (swt), and Allah (swt) has promised us through His Messenger (saw) that it will be established once again on the method of the Prophethood.

Also we have witnessed in the last two decades that the US imposed a world war on the Muslims of Afghanistan. Why we say that it was a world war? On one side it was America along with NATO and the military and intelligence support of puppet rulers over the Muslims, and on the other side, there were the Muslims of Afghanistan only. Afghanistan did not have a proper military at all, but still Muslims with light weapons did not allow the rest of the world to consolidate their occupation, rather at the end, they left Afghanistan in utter humiliation. This one example is enough to assert that if after the establishment of Khilafah, the whole world imposes a world war on it, they won't be able to defeat or even compete with the Khilafah state in Pakistan.

After the establishment of Khilafah, Kuffar won't be able to wage a world war over the Khilafah state. In February 2012, defence secretary of America, Robert Gates said in front of West Point cadets, that it would be unwise for the United States to ever fight another war like Iraq or Afghanistan, and that the chances of carrying out a change of government in that fashion again were slim. "In my opinion, any future defense secretary who advises the president to again send a big American land army into Asia or into the Middle East or Africa should 'have his head examined,' as General MacArthur so delicately put it," Mr. Gates told an assembly of Army cadets here.

So in light of the above statement, if America would not send any army to Asia, Middle East or Africa, even to fight small groups, then how will America and the rest of the world even dare to attack the Khilafah state established in Pakistan, a country already having the sixth largest military in the world with proven nuclear capability along with effective delivery systems in shape of ballistic and cruise missiles? Not to ignore that beside this powerful military, the Khilafah state will have hundreds of thousands of Mujahideens as well.

We see that today America is not engaging Russia in Ukraine directly, rather fighting a proxy war against Russia. Although Russia is in no position to disrupt international trade, but still supply chains have been disrupting so much that European people are demanding the end of war in Ukraine because of soaring cost of fuel and other commodities. In comparison to Russia, Pakistan is situated adjacent to Persian Gulf, and trade ships across west to east pass in front of it through the Arabian Sea. So the world cannot take such a big risk of disturbing the whole international trade.

But despite all these odds, even if the west tries to invade Pakistan, she will not be able to do so. Remember the invasion of Afghanistan. America could not invade Afghanistan without the help of neighboring countries like Pakistan. Because Afghanistan did not have any strategic or tactical weapons, America transferred her military to Afghanistan very easily and established supply routes through the neighboring countries without any danger or difficulty. But in case of Pakistan, America will not have the same luxury as was the case during the invasion of Afghanistan. Pakistan will easily be able to prevent any American attempt to invade her if she tries to take the help of any neighboring region because of her tactical nuclear weapons. So, just as today, America is reluctant to directly involve in Ukrainian conflict because of the Russian nuclear weapons, similarly America will not dare to attack nuclear equipped Khilafah in Pakistan.

Today Pakistan has a compromised leadership which wants to obey the US and her international order in any case. This behavior encourages the US to dictate and if required to attack as she is assured that she will not face any resistance from Pakistan despite having sixth largest and ninth strongest army in the world. The US only attacks a country where it believes that country is a slave to the world order and is ready to be hunted like an easy prey. Wherever the US is assured that the opponent will respond, or rather may take the initiative of attack, the US never dares to attack such a country. Remember the Peoples Republic of China was enacted in 1949. At that time the US was already in severe competition with the USSR, and it was completely against the interest of the US to allow the establishment of another Communist country. However, what was the reason that the US did not even dare to attack China although she was very weak because of the previous internal rifts and foreign occupation? This was because US knew that now China had a leadership which followed a

specific ideology, and that ideology will enable the Chinese state to adequately respond to the US aggression. Similarly, if Pakistan becomes a Khilafah state, a state based on the ideology of Islam, the US won't dare to attack.

So it is a delusion that if we re-establish Khilafah in Pakistan, the entire world will attack on us, and a world war will commence. They, the Kuffar, want to sow a seed of fear in our hearts so that we do not strive for the re-establishment of Khilafah in Pakistan, and that the American hegemony continues in our region as it does in the other parts of the world. After the misadventures in Iraq and Afghanistan, by no means, America will ever dare to attack a nuclear armed Khilafah state. So, we must put our trust in Allah (swt), and work hard by joining our days with nights for the restoration of Khilafah on the method of the Prophethood.

﴿إِنْ يَنْصُرْكُمُ اللَّهُ فَلَا غَالِبَ لَكُمْ ۖ وَإِنْ يَخْذُلْكُمْ فَمَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَنْصُرْكُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ ۗ وَعَلَى اللَّهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ﴾

“If Allah helps you none shall prevail over you; if He forsakes you then who can help you? It is in Allah that the believers should put their trust.”(Al-Imran, 3:160)

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Q&A: Does the Rejection of the Meaning (Dirayah) of the Hadith Affects the Narration (Riwayah) of the Hadith?

(Translated from Arabic)

To: Nizar Steitieh

Question:

Assalam Alaikum Wa Rahmatullah Wa Barakatuh

May Allah (swt) grant you victory and steadfastness in carrying the Banner.

Does the Rejection of the Meaning (Dirayah) of the Hadith Affects the Narration (Riwayah) of the Hadith?

In other words, if it is proven that a particular Hadith is rejected in meaning, does that lead to defamation in one of its narrators, whether it was the last narrator who conveyed the Hadith (khabar) or the first who communicated what he witnessed or heard?

Jazak Allah Khair

Answer:

Acceptance of the Khabar Ahad is only taken after fulfilling the conditions for its authenticity in terms of narration (riwayah) and meaning (dirayah).

1- As for completing the conditions of the narration (riwayah), it is when the chain of transmission of the Hadith is authentic, i.e. the Hadith from its beginning to its end. The conditions of authenticity apply on its men, i.e. the narrator of the Hadith must be a Muslim, mature, sane, just, truthful,

controlling what he hears, memorizing it from time he carried it to the time of relating it...etc., and this is what makes the Hadith authentic as a narration (riwayah).

2- As for completing the conditions for its authenticity in terms of meaning (dirayah), that is so, as long as the text of the Hadith does not contradict what is stronger than it from a verse or a Mutawatir or Mashhoor Hadith.

This means that if one of the narrators is weak or is ignorant in the chain of transmitters (sanad)...etc., then its narration (riwayah) is rejected.

But if there is no contention regarding the men of the chain of narration, but only its text contradicts what is stronger than it, then it is rejected in meaning (dirayah)

Therefore, the rejection of the meaning does not indicate that one of the narrators is weak or defamed...etc. If something similar was present in one of the chains of narrators, the Hadith would have been rejected as a narration.

The rejection of the meaning means that the men of the chain of narration have nothing to contend about, but the text (matn) contradicts that which is stronger than it.

It is stated in the book, The Islamic Personality Volume 1, (English edition p. 153 / Arabic edition p.188):

(The issue is that if a Hadith contradicts what was mentioned in the Qur'an, which is definite in meaning, then the Hadith is rejected, in meaning i.e., text (matn), because its meaning contradicts the Qur'an.

This is like what was narrated on the authority of Fatimah bint Qais who said:

«طَلَّقَنِي زَوْجِي ثَلَاثًا عَلَى عَهْدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ فَأَنْبِئْتُ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ فَلَمْ يَجْعَلْ لِي سَكَنًا وَلَا نَفَقَةً»

“My husband divorced me thrice during the time of the Messenger of Allah (saw), so I went to the Prophet (saw) and he did not give me a residence or a provision” This Hadith is rejected because it contradicts the Qur’an, as it contradicts the Allah’s (swt) saying:

(أَسْكِنُوهُنَّ مِنْ حَيْثُ سَكَنْتُمْ مِّنْ وَّجْدِكُمْ)

“Lodge them [in a section] of where you dwell out of your means” [At-Talaq: 6]

In this instance, the Hadith is rejected because it contradicted the Qur'an's definite text and definite meaning.

But if the Hadith does not contradict the Qur’an by including things that the Qur’an did not mention, or in addition to what is in the Qur’an, then the Hadith is taken into consideration and the Qur’an is taken into consideration.

And it is not said that we are sufficed with the Qur’an and what is mentioned in the Qur’an because Allah (swt) commanded following both of them and belief is obligatory in both of them.

It was stated in the book, The Islamic Personality Volume 3, (Arabic p. 90-91):

(Conditions for accepting Khabar Al-Ahad: Khabar Al-Ahad is accepted if it fulfills its conditions in terms of narration and meaning. As for the conditions for accepting the narration, the narrator of the Hadith must be a Muslim, mature, sane, just, truthful, controlling what he hears, memorizing it from the time of carrying it to the time of relating it.

The scholars of Usul and the scholars of the science of Hadith have explained the conditions of the narration in details, and they explained the history of the men of Hadith and its narrators, each narrator, and if they have the qualities mentioned above in details. As for the conditions for accepting Khabar Al-Ahad in terms of meaning, it must not contradict what is stronger than it, in terms of verses or a Mutawaatir or Mashoor Hadith, such as what was narrated on the authority of Fatimah bint Qais that she said:

«طَلَّقَنِي رَوْحِي ثَلَاثًا فَلَمْ يَجْعَلْ لِي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ سُكْنِي وَلَا نَفَقَةً»

“My husband divorced me thrice during the time of the Messenger of Allah, (saw) so I went to the Prophet (saw) and he did not give me a residence or a provision” [Extracted by Muslim]. This Hadith contradicts the saying of the Allah (swt):

(أَسْكِنُوهُنَّ مِنْ حَيْثُ سَكَنْتُمْ مِّنْ وَّجْدِكُمْ)

“Lodge them [in a section] of where you dwell out of your means” [At-Talaq: 6].

Therefore, it must be rejected, and it is not permissible to act upon it...

I hope that this is sufficient and Allah Knows Best, He is Most Wise.

Your Brother,
Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah
30 Shawwal 1443 AH
30/5/2022 CE

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Q&A: Clashes Between Security Forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan on Both Sides of the Durand Line

(Translated from Arabic)

Question:

Attacks or clashes occur from time to time between the security forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan, on both sides of the Durand Line, whilst dozens of people lose their lives in these attacks between the two countries. Border tensions between the two countries have escalated since the Taliban seized power in Afghanistan in mid-August 2021. What are the causes for this? Are there local or foreign causes?

Answer:

To clarify these causes, we review the following:

Firstly: The historical and geographical reality of Afghanistan and Pakistan:

1- In 1893, an agreement was concluded between the Foreign Secretary of British India at the time, Sir Mortimer Durand, and the Emir of Afghanistan, Emir Abdur Rahman Khan, to draw the border, which was called the Durand Line, at a length of 2,640 kilometers between Afghanistan and Pakistan, extending from the northeast to the southwest. These border demarcations were then later adopted as the official borders of Pakistan and Afghanistan, whilst the Pashtun tribes were partitioned across both sides of the line. Note that the border area between them is inhabited by Muslims who belong to the Pashtun. Pashtun are considered the largest majority in Afghanistan, as they constitute over forty percent of the population, whilst all the rulers of Afghanistan for around two centuries have been from among Pashtun. In

addition, the Pashtun are the second largest majority in Pakistan, after Punjabis.

However, Afghanistan refused to recognize this line, especially since Britain at that time did not take into account the demographic, ethnic and tribal structure of the region, around the Durand Line, which was drawn artificially, on 12 November 1893, taking into account only British colonialist interests. Like many before them, the British struggled to control the frontier regions, where the tribes in the mountains were unruly. They refused to be ruled by both the Persians and the rulers in India, who tried to expand. Britain suffered a humiliating military defeat in Afghanistan, during its aggression between 1839 and 1842. Then Britain again launched an invasion in 1878, but withdrew after two years. However, it gained political influence over the rulers of Afghanistan, who signed the Gandamak Agreement in 1879, according to which Afghanistan lost vast lands to the British colonialism, that came to rule the Islamic Indian Subcontinent. The rulers of Afghanistan accepted Britain's supervision of Afghan foreign relations. Moreover, they limited their foreign relations by it, in exchange for a financial subsidy provided by Britain to Afghanistan...

2- Around the mid-twentieth century, Britain controlled both countries, Afghanistan and Pakistan, and their policies. Its control continued until the collapse of British influence through military coups in Pakistan, that America engineered. British influence in Afghanistan feel too, after the end of the monarchy, followed by the domination of the Russians, during the era of the Soviet Union, and their occupation, at the end of the year 1979. However, the Russians suffered terrible defeat and left Afghanistan, humiliated. America began working to replace Russia and extend its influence, through both Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, which both follow America. Then the first Taliban government was established in 1996. America overthrew it with its invasion of 2001, and its subsequent occupation of Afghanistan. However, after having occupied the country for twenty years, America came to be humiliated and militarily defeated in 2021, so the Taliban took power again, on August 15, 2021.

Secondly: The recent clashes between Afghanistan and Pakistan:

1- When the Taliban movement became the ruler in Kabul, after America's withdrawal in August 2021, according to the Doha Agreement, it began to loudly reject the border measures undertaken by Pakistan. Border provocations became the dominant situation between the two parties, on both sides of the actual border demarcation. These borders were heated at times, with severe restrictions on Afghan refugees and Pashtun families, who used to move freely across the border, without being intercepted, in the past. Matters escalated to becoming accompanied by clashes, incurring victims, to open the borders and allow the movement of people and goods. Then, Pakistan increased the restrictions and imposed an entry visa on the Afghans for the first time in history. These tensions have been exacerbated by Pakistan's erection of a border fence, over three meters high. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent on constructing hundreds of kilometers of border fencing, all under the pretext of regulating the movement of both goods and people, as well as protection from "terrorists." Thus, the fence was one of the causes of the tense situation, and the occurrence of clashes in the border area, between the two countries. Then, the Taliban government prevented Pakistan's armed forces from continuing to erect the fence along the border between the two countries, for about 2,700 km, after it had completed about 90% of it. The government of Ashraf Ghani had agreed to the fencing before it fell. However, the Taliban government confronted Pakistan's armed forces, whenever the latter attempted to complete the erection of the fence, which led to clashes between the two parties in different border areas, resulting in deaths and injuries to both sides. The situation there was expressed by the tribal leader in the southern province of Khost, Mina Gul Zadran, by saying, "The stance of the Taliban movement is consistent with the nature of the tribes living on both sides of the border, as it is not possible to erect a fence between the people of one clan, united by one tribe, customs, religion and gathering. There are family ties between both sides. Therefore, the tribes were not satisfied from the beginning with the construction of the fence, but they were unable to do anything. The government of Ashraf Ghani agreed with Pakistan about the fence, but the Taliban movement knows the importance of the tribes with regards to it and it is it that derived all its strength from these tribes..." ([The New Arab, 19 April 2022](#)).

2- Thus, matters worsened between the two countries, especially when Pakistan accused the ruling Taliban movement of not preventing the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) movement, from attacking the Pakistan Army. Then Pakistan bombed sites inside Afghanistan claiming that they belonged to the TTP movement, and the disputes between the two parties intensified. Then the Taliban accused Pakistan of still being an air corridor for American aircraft that bombed Afghanistan, as in the raid that killed Al-Qaeda leader Ayman Al-Zawahiri in Kabul. It was reported that **“The Taliban's acting defence minister said on Sunday that Pakistan had allowed U.S. drones to use its airspace to access Afghanistan, which Pakistan's foreign minister denied. Pakistani authorities have previously denied involvement in or advanced knowledge of a drone strike the United States said it carried out in Kabul in July that killed al Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri. Afghan Acting Minister of Defence Mullah Mohammad Yaqoob told a news conference in Kabul that American drones had been entering Afghanistan via Pakistan.”** ([Reuters, 28 August 2022](#)).

3- The interests of Pakistan have been subject to attacks, whether domestically or within Afghanistan, from the TTP movement. The Pakistani armed forces began attacking the movement's sites inside Afghanistan. The forces launched air strikes, targeting the provinces of Khost and Kunar in eastern Afghanistan, in April 2022, with a death toll of 47 people. These were in response to attacks originating from the border regions with Afghanistan, that targeted Pakistani soil, killing seven Pakistani soldiers in the Waziristan region, at the hands of gunmen, that were moving inside Afghan territory, with ease and without hindrance. The Taliban government warned the Pakistani government that it will not remain silent, and will respond strongly, if such attacks were repeated. Although a cease-fire agreement was brokered between the TTP movement and the government of Pakistan on June 2, 2022, in Kabul, with the mediation of the Afghan government, the agreement was subject to a crack when Pakistan killed one of the leaders of the movement, along with three of his aides in August 2022. Pakistan considered TTP responsible for the Army Public School (APS) massacre, in which 132 school children were killed in 2014. Other operations followed from both sides... The latest clashes took place on 15 December 2022 when at least sixteen Pakistani civilians were injured, as fighting broke out between Pakistani and Afghan border forces, for the second time in less than a week, near the Chaman-Spin Boldak border crossing, one of

the busiest crossings and a major trade route, which remained closed for a week. High-ranking military and civilian officials from the two countries held a meeting at the crossing upon the Pakistan-Afghanistan Friendship Gate on 20 December 2022, to discuss mechanisms and efforts to establish peace and stability on the borders of the two countries, against the backdrop of these tensions in the border regions between the two countries, including firing and numerous reciprocal attacks, between the forces of the two parties. Pakistan closed its crossings temporarily during those days. However, the meeting failed and did not achieve any tangible results!

Third: The motive for these clashes, and the cause of the heated tension between the two countries:

The answer to this mandates considering two important matters: the pressure upon, and provocation of, the Taliban, from Pakistan, and from America, as follows:

1- Pressure and provocation from the regime in Pakistan:

a- In terms of provocation against the Afghans on its borders, Pakistan is harassing the Afghans and preventing them from ease of movement, bombing inside Afghanistan, erecting the border fence and imposing it as a fait accompli, whilst severely strengthening border and security facilities. All of these Pakistani provocations push the ruling Taliban movement in Afghanistan to respond, so the Taliban respond to the bombing with artillery, and dismantle some parts of the border fence, erected by the Pakistani armed forces. This creates immense friction, vehemence and tension, which keeps both sides with fingers on triggers.

b- Similarly, the Pakistani armed forces' war against the Pashtuns in Pakistan, and other measures, such as moving the border line into Afghanistan and having severe restrictions on Afghan refugees and Pashtun families, who used to move freely across the border without being intercepted by anyone in the past. Matters escalated to becoming accompanied by clashes, incurring victims, in order to open the borders and allow the movement of people and

goods. Then Pakistan increased the restrictions and imposed an entry visa on the Afghans for the first time in history...

c- This tension was increased by the fact that the Pakistani regime facilitated an air corridor for American aircraft that bombed targets inside Afghanistan, as in the raid that claimed the life of Al-Qaeda leader Ayman Al-Zawahiri in Kabul, as stated above in the statement of Mullah Mohammed Yaqoub.

2- Pressure from America upon the Taliban regime:

a- Ensuring that there is no international recognition of the Taliban's rule in Afghanistan and that it is considered a de facto rule only, the US stipulated numerous conditions to provide international recognition. International recognition became a weapon against the Taliban rule. It must adhere to international conditions, such as the involvement of a handful of Afghan secularists and former American agents in governance, and such as those related to women's rights, with fabricated claims and attacking the Taliban movement in this regard...

b- Withholding the funds of Afghanistan deposited abroad and preventing the new government from obtaining that money, and even spending part of it in non-governmental ways, i.e. to weaken the rule of the Taliban movement, including pressure with demands and attempts to establish civil society organizations in Afghanistan, linked to the West.

c- The United States wants India to focus on China by securing India's borders from Pakistan's side. This requires keeping Pakistan preoccupied with border incidents with Afghanistan. Whilst this front between Pakistan and Afghanistan does not subside, the Pakistani front towards India settles down, leaving India to devote itself to its front with China...

3- The linkage of this pressure upon the Taliban, on the part of both America and Pakistan. This is especially since Pakistan is now living under a regime that is highly loyal to America, after the Shahbaz Sharif regime assumed power in Pakistan, on 11 April 2022. Therefore, the regime in Pakistan does not carry out international relations and foreign policy, except within the limits of

American requirements... By linking all of this together, the following becomes clear:

a- America concluded a peace agreement with the Taliban in 2020 in Doha, the capital of Qatar, wherein the Taliban movement pledged in the name of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan that, “Afghan soil will not be used against the security of the United States and its allies...” and that it “will prevent any group or individual in Afghanistan from threatening the security of the United States and its allies, and will prevent them from recruiting, training, and fundraising and will not host them” and that, “The United States and the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan which is not recognized by the United States as a state and is known as the Taliban seek positive relations with each other.”

However, despite all this, the land of Afghanistan is still subject to American attacks, irrespective of the Doha Agreement. America announced through its president, Joe Biden, on [1 August 2022](#), as stated on the official US White House administration site, that “the United States successfully concluded an airstrike in Kabul, Afghanistan, that killed the emir of al Qaeda, Ayman al-Zawahiri,” just as stated in Mullah Muhammad Yaqoub’s statement above. All of this indicates that America is still operating in Afghanistan through its intelligence, spies and agents, who have not been eliminated. As for Pakistan, it is still under American influence, as America starts from there and coordinates with Pakistan to work in Afghanistan.

b- This all also indicates that the border clashes between Afghanistan and Pakistan were encouraged and incited by America. Its purpose is to distract Pakistan, within its border clashes, so that India can focus on China. Its purpose is also to pressurize the Taliban, especially the Haqqani network within the Taliban movement, which has been tied to several attacks in Afghanistan, some of which are against American and NATO forces. This is to force Taliban to accept either some international agreements or ideas, or their surrender to America.

Fourthly: In conclusion, America and those who deal with it as agents and followers are the head of corruption in Muslim countries. America and its followers do not observe either the protection or the covenant of the believer.

Allah (swt) said, ﴿هُمُ الْعَدُوُّ فَاحْذَرُهُمْ﴾ **“they are the enemy, so beware of them.”** [TMQ Surah Al-Munafiqoon 63:4]. Therefore, it is surprising to see from the Taliban government, that its officials in Qatar meet with American officials, despite all of this. This is even though America is lurking in the circles for Afghanistan and for all Muslims. America does not respect its pledges. It froze Afghanistan’s funds in violation of the Doha Agreement. It violated the sanctity of its lands and airspace... Thus are the colonialist kafir countries, for kufr is a single creed... They have neither covenant nor pact...

The affairs of Muslims will not be reformed except by what reformed them at the beginning: the ruling by all that Allah (swt) has revealed, through the Khilafah (Caliphate) on the Method of the Prophethood, which makes a fearsome example of the kuffar. Allah (swt) said, ﴿فَإِمَّا تَنْفِقْنَهُمْ فِي الْحَرْبِ فَسَرُدْ بِهِمْ﴾ **“If you ever encounter them in battle, make a fearsome example of them, so perhaps those who would follow them may be deterred.”** [TMQ Surah Al-Anfaal 8:57]. It is a Khilafah whose constitution is Islam, from the Book of Allah (swt) and the Sunnah of His Messenger (saw) and what they both guide towards, within the Unanimous Consensus (Ijma’a) of the Companions (ra) and Shariah Qiyas (Analogy). It is not a man-made constitution, whether it was the 1964 monarchy constitution, from the reign of King Muhammad Zahir Shah of Afghanistan, whose rule ended in 1973, whose partial introduction the Taliban announced, through the statement of the Minister of Justice on 28 September 2021 (Al-Jazeera, Anatolia and [VOA](#), 28 September 2021), or whether it was one of the man-made constitutions enforced in any of the other Muslim countries. All of this is contrary to what Allah (swt) has commanded. Allah (swt) said, ﴿وَأَنْ أَحْكَمْ بَيْنَهُمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ وَاحْذَرُهُمْ أَنْ يُقْبِنُوكَ عَنْ بَعْضِ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْكَ فَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ أَنْ يُصِيبَهُمْ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ وَاحْذَرُهُمْ أَنْ يُقْبِنُوكَ عَنْ بَعْضِ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْكَ فَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ أَنْ يُصِيبَهُمْ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ﴾ **“And rule over them by all that Allah has revealed, and do not follow their desires. And beware, so they do not lure you away from even some of all that Allah has revealed to you. If they turn away, then know that it is Allah’s Will to repay them for some of their sins.”** [TMQ Surah Al-Maaidah 5:49]. What afflicts Muslim countries in terms of calamities and Fitnahs, and the ambitions of the kuffar colonializing Muslim countries, all of this is due to this Ummah’s distance from ruling by all that Allah (swt) has revealed as a Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate) State on the Method of the

Prophethood. This matter is not unknown. Instead, it is known and felt by every reasoning person with vision and insight.

As for both Afghanistan and Pakistan, which America has preoccupied within these clashes and disputes, without paying heed to the crime of fighting between Muslims, and without paying attention to the real enemies, America and India, which ignite these clashes, and exploit them, to achieve their nefarious designs... they must both further deepen the Islamic brotherly ties between them. They must both cut off any connection they have with the head of kufr, America, and the rest of the disbelieving colonialist states that covet our lands. And they must both respond with Nussrah for those working to re-establish the Khilafah, so Islam and the Muslims will be glorified, whilst kufr and the kuffar will be humiliated. Allah (swt) said, **﴿وَيَوْمَئِذٍ يُفْرِحُ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ * بِنَصْرِ اللَّهِ﴾** **“And on that day the believers will rejoice (4) at the victory willed by Allah. He gives victory to whoever He wills. For He is the Almighty, Most Merciful (5).”** [TMQ Surah Ar-Rum 30: 4-5].

6 Rajab 1444 AH

28 January 2023 CE

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Q&A: Japan's New Defense Strategy

(Translated from Arabic)

Question:

Japan has adopted a new defense strategy that it announced a few days ago, and this new strategy includes a significant increase in military spending. Does this indicate that Japan is regaining its military strength as it was before World War II? And what are its goals? Are they autonomous decisions or are they under foreign influence, particularly America?

Answer:

Yes, the Japanese government adopted a new defense strategy and approved legal amendments. On 16/12/2022, the government of Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida approved three defense documents; the first is the Japan's National Security Strategy, the second is the National Defense Strategy, and the third is the Defense Buildup Program. To say the least, Japan is turning the page after World War II and demolishing the state of defeat in which it lived through for the past seven decades, and now it is unleashing the restoration of its military strength. In order to understand the actual goals, we review the following:

First: Among the articles of this strategy:

1- According to this strategy, Japan announced the termination of the articles of the Japanese constitution that was drawn up by America during its occupation of Japan and has been in force since 1947. That constitution stipulated the deprivation Japan of military power and prevention from any military action outside its borders. Although the new Japanese strategy only mentions conditional "counter-attack" and excludes pre-emptive war, but it is the first time that Japan shakes off the prohibition of foreign military actions. This strategy includes doubling the size of Japan's military spending from 1% of GDP, which is the previous ceiling, to 2% (similar to the spending of NATO countries) by the year 2027, and this represents 10% of government spending

(Al-Jazeera Net, 16/12/2022). Therefore, Japan positions itself as the third country in the world in terms of military spending after America and China.

2- This strategy also calls for preparation for the "worst scenario" in light of what it called "the most severe and complex security environment" since the end of World War II, and facing external threats. This requires the purchase of a large number (500) of American intercontinental missiles Tomahawk and SM-6, so that Japan is ready to respond to any long-range attacks.

3- Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution stipulates that "the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the state and any acts of aggression or threat of violence as a means of settling international disputes. In order to achieve this, no land, sea, air or other forces are possessed of military forces, and the state does not recognize its right to fight wars". This article has been revoked because Japan stands in front of a new war policy that requires wide internal transformations from war spending, military industrialization, and building an actual army that brings to mind the overwhelming military power of Japan in the period prior to World War II.

4- Ending the policy of peaceful coexistence adopted by Japan with its neighbours and with other international powers, the new amendments included the right of Japanese forces to launch counterstrikes against countries considered hostile. The new strategy included something like confronting the "evil trinity", even if it did not call it that, which is represented by China first, which it called "Japan's greatest strategic challenge" and secondly North Korea, which it called "a serious and imminent threat to Japan today", and thirdly Russia, which it harshly criticized for its "willingness to use force to achieve its own security goals, as is the case in Ukraine ... and its military activities in the region of Asia and the Pacific, as well as its strategic cooperation with China ... and this "constitutes a major concern in the field of security." (France 24, 16/12/2022)

Second: In view of the international positions on this strategy, the following is evident:

1- China has strongly opposed and formally protested the strategy. [The new Japanese strategy, even before its official announcement, aroused the displeasure of Beijing, which constantly talks about brutal Japanese militarism in the first half of the twentieth century, of which China was one of its victims. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Wang Wenbin said on Friday, "The Japanese side ignores facts, deviates from its commitment to China-Japan relations and the common understandings between the two countries, and groundlessly discredits China. China resolutely opposes this..." (France 24, 16/12/2022)].

2- North Korea fiercely denounced the Japanese plan. [A spokesman for the North Korean Foreign Ministry said, "Japan... adopted a new security strategy formulating the possession of the capability for preemptive attack on other countries..." An official stamp on the new Japanese line of aggression has radically changed the security environment in East Asia. "The spokesman warned that Tokyo will realize that this is "a very dangerous and foolish action". (Sky News Arabic, 20/12/2022)].

3- As for America, [Washington welcomed this strategy. White House National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan said that "Japan's goal of significantly increasing its defense investments will strengthen and modernize the US-Japanese alliance" (France 24, 16/12/2022)], and US Secretary of Defense, Lloyd Austin, welcomed Japan's release of its updated strategy documents. Austin stressed [the important alignment between Japan's national defense strategy and the vision and priorities set out in the US National Defense Strategy. (Al-Sharq Al-Awsat 12/17/2022)], and [President Joe Biden said that his country stands by "Japan at this critical moment, and our alliance cornerstone of a free and open Indo-Pacific." The White House considered that Japan's new defense plan aims to strengthen the military alliance with the United States. (Al Jazeera Net, 16/12/2022)].

Third: This is the new strategic plan for Japanese defense, by scrutinizing it, we find the following:

1- Japan's adoption of a new defense strategy, which was announced on 16/12/2022, was not surprising, although it was a major event that ended more

than seven decades of Japanese weakness. The Japanese Ministry of Defense had published on 22/7/2022 titled the White Paper and it showed the defense policies that must be followed to respond to international challenges. The White Paper report ended that situation presenting Japan's vision of the threats it faces, such as China's growing military power and the dangers of the latter launching a war on Taiwan, the dangers of Chinese military cooperation with Russia, the dangers of China, Russia and North Korea igniting a war in Asia, and the emphasis of this Ministry of Defense paper on the importance of increasing military spending to confront these threats and investing in military technology and the need to build a multidimensional military force that includes space is evidence that Japan's ambitions are high and may rise to shaking off the dust of defeat in World War II, and the need for Japan to catch up with competition in the Pacific region, including the South China Sea, where the islands are disputed between China and Japan.

2- Prior to that, former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe was a major architect behind Japan's initiative to reach a joint Japanese-American strategy, focusing on the Indian and Pacific Oceans together, to counter the rise of Chinese influence. The initiative adopted by America included US-Japanese cooperation, as well as with the rest of the allies in trade, investments, and joint cooperation for navigational security in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and the involvement of both Australia and India in that initiative. (Al-Arabiya, 8/11/2017).

3- Therefore, it is evident from this new Japanese strategy and the ones before it that Japan is starting from today the restoration of its military power, shaking off the dust of the past, and preparing to fight in Asia. Despite the fact that Japan has always been a major country and has special consideration in Asia, it was the dominant country in the region during the early years of World War II, sweeping through China, Korea, and the islands in the ocean and others in Asia, just as Germany's armies were sweeping through Europe before both sides were defeated and Japan was struck with nuclear attacks, which is the only one as of today, when American jets dropped two nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 and killed more than 200,000 people instantly. Japan announced its surrender in August 15, 1945, a week after the

dropping of these bombs. The Allies, led by America, entered and occupied Japan.

4- In view of the ancient imperial history of Japan, the restoration of Japanese militarism stimulates sentiments of greatness among the Japanese and is widely welcomed by the Japanese people. However, the long period of being distanced from militarism in Japan and the presence of large US military bases after the withdrawal of the Allies from Japan in 1952 until today, all of this makes Japan's motives to restore its military power not entirely internal.

5- Perhaps the immediate American statements in support of Japan's adoption of a new policy for its army and military alliances and its view of regional risks indicate beyond any doubt that Japan's militarization is the cornerstone of the United States' strategy to address the Chinese dangers in particular with China. America is moving its armies to China's surroundings, causing unrest and provocation around Taiwan, and is preparing for war with China, as announced by US President Biden when asked if America would participate directly in the war if China launched an attack on Taiwan, and he said: Yes.

6- Likewise, what was observed of provocation by the former President Trump's administration of North Korea, in addition to its incitement of the Japanese military's restoration, as the American president addressed the Japanese as the "warrior nation," prior to his visit to Japan in 2017: [...Trump was speaking before he began on Friday his long and sensitive first tour as president to Asia. The visit, which includes especially Japan and South Korea, is dominated by the North Korean nuclear threat file. Trump told Fox News, "Japan is a warrior nation, and I tell China and I tell everyone else that listens, I mean, you're gonna have yourself a big problem with Japan pretty soon if you allow this to continue with North Korea," (Marsad News - International Affairs - Friday - November 03, 2017)]. Thus, he threatens China that Japan can take military action against North Korea, as if he was speaking on its behalf! Likewise, the re-militarization of Japan, although it is a Japanese need in light of the new conditions in East Asia, yet it is considered a fully-fledged American plan. Japan has become the central country in the American vision to confront China.

Fourth: Now we can shed light on the answer to the last part of the question, i.e.: Are they autonomous decisions from Japan or are they under foreign influence, especially from America? Examining what is mentioned above, the following becomes apparent:

1- Japan has a long history of victories over China, as China represented the vast horizon of Japanese colonialism before America and the rest of the European colonial countries prevented it, in the sense that some of the Japanese history remnants remain full of victories still alive today and are represented in Chinese demands from Japan to apologize and compensate for crimes throughout history. Also, from an angle that is no less important, the Japanese economy, which is the third in the world after America and China, is able to spend on a policy of comprehensive confrontation with China, including the huge Japanese capabilities in industry and technology, which makes Japan able even alone to confront China if it restores its military strength.

2- But America wants it to do so within the framework of an alliance led by America so that the Japanese policy remains part of the comprehensive American plan and the tendency of power in Japan does not move to bring its memory back to the stage of enmity with America, especially

when America attacked it with nuclear weapons, as Japan has a long history of conflict with America... For all of this, America wants to be in control of all the details of the new Japanese strategy, when Tokyo re-militarizes itself so that this strategy remains in the face of China without going beyond it to remember America's nuclear attack on it! This American view of reviving Japanese militarism as the cornerstone of confronting China in Asia is similar to a similar strategy led by America to revive German militarism in order to place it in confrontation with Russia in Eastern Europe.

3- Despite all this and that, Japan was late in restoring its militarism, just like Germany. It is true that these people are active, but became used to leisure when trade and finance controlled their thinking, and dignity and pride took a step back, their leaders lost their desire for war and influence. Until Japan, as well as Germany, followed America and Europe, not much different from the vassals!

Thus, Japan (as well as Germany) was delayed in re-building their military by seven decades or more until America pushed them to do so. But because these peoples have a significant amount of vitality, the building of these countries for their military power, which can quickly turn into nuclear power, will make these countries in the not-too-distant future, sense its power and greatness once again, which will create problems even for America itself, and the conflict between them will become severe. Therefore, America is following this military strategy in Japan and Germany with watchful eyes!

Fifth: The one who contemplates the reality of the states that they call superpowers today, finds that they do not value goodness or justice, for goodness according to them is what satisfies their desires even if it is evil for others. Justice according to them is what makes them win the causes of others and dominate them even if it is excessive injustice to them. So, the scales of values for them are far from goodness and justice, as if history repeats itself when the Persians and Romans ruled the world without goodness or justice, then Islam came with the truth of goodness and justice, with the clear path, its day like its night, illuminating the world, and so came truth and falsehood vanished. Today's matters are like yesterday's, they will not be reformed except in the way they were reformed in the beginning, by re-establishing the Khilafah (Caliphate) on the method of the Prophethood, and may this happen soon, Allah willing, after this tyrannical kingship, as in the saying of the Prophet (saw): «**ثُمَّ تَكُونُ مُلْكًا جَبْرِيَّةً فَتَكُونُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ تَكُونَ ثُمَّ يَرْفَعَهَا إِذَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَرْفَعَهَا ثُمَّ تَكُونُ خِلَافَةً ...**» **“Then there will be a tyrannical monarchy. It will be among you as long as Allah intends, and then Allah will take it away if He so wills. Then there will be a Caliphate in accordance with the prophetic method.”** Then he (saw) was silent. [Extracted by Ahmad and At-Tayalsi]. The Mighty and Strong is Most Truthful.

(وَاللَّهُ غَالِبٌ عَلَىٰ أَمْرِهِ وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ)

“And Allah is predominant over His affair, but most of the people do not know” [Yusuf: 21]

30 Jumada Al-Awwal 1444 AH

24/12/2022 CE

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Condolences from Hizb ut Tahrir, to the Martyrs of the Earthquakes, that Afflicted Turkey and Syria

Allah (swt) said, **أُولَئِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ * وَأَنَا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ** "Who, when faced with a disaster, say, **“Surely to Allah we belong, and to Him we will all return.”** [156] They are the ones who will receive Allah’s blessings and mercy. And it is they who are rightly guided. [157]" [TMQ Surah 2:156-157]

To the dear brothers and sisters, to the Da’wah carriers in Turkey and Syria, and to the Da’wah carriers in general...

To the patient and constant families in Turkey and Syria, and to the Islamic Ummah in general...

Hizb ut Tahrir offers condolences to the martyrs of the earthquakes that afflicted Turkey and Syria. It asks Allah (swt) to record them, with Him, as martyrs of the Aakhira (Hereafter), confirming the agreed upon hadith, on the authority of Abu Hurairah (ra), that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said, **الشُّهَدَاءُ ... خَمْسَةٌ الْمَطْعُونُ وَالْمَبْطُونُ وَالْغَرِقُ وَصَاحِبُ الْهَدْمِ وَالشَّهِيدُ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ** "The martyrs are of five kinds: the plague stricken; the stricken by gut ailment, the drowned, the crushed and the one who dies fighting in the Path of Allah." [Bukhari and Muslim]. The crushed means the one who dies under the rubble of demolition.

We pray to Allah, the Blessed and Most High, to grant a speedy recovery to the wounded and the afflicted, such that it is a speedy and complete recovery, that leaves no trace of injury or disease behind.

We ask Allah (swt) that those who survived the calamity, go on to live a good life, spending it in obedience to Allah (swt) and in obedience to His Messenger (saw).

The calamity of this earthquake revealed that Islam is constant within the deep essence of Muslims. When they were rescuing their brothers from under

the rubble, the Muslims chanted takbeer. The takbeer did not cease upon their tongues, particularly when they were saving an infant, whose mother gave birth to her, and then died under the rubble, in Gaziantep, in Afrin District ... or while they were trying to get a woman out from under the demolished building in Jindires, the woman asked for her head to be covered, before being taken out, so that her hair will not be exposed... or when the one who called out from under the rubble in the city of Kahramanmaraş to get him out, first asked for water for wudu (ablution) before Salah, so that he does not miss the time of prayer... And during all of that, the takbeer resounded, Allahu Akbar.. Allahu Akbar.. Allahu Akbar..

The believer is not like other people, for he knows that the Decree (Qadaa') of Allah (swt) is final. He knows the Decree came to pass because of a wisdom that Allah (swt) Alone knows. Therefore, the believer is patient with what afflicts him, seeking the Pleasure (Ridwaan) of his Lord (swt), as the Messenger of Allah (saw) said, narrated by Sohaib (ra), **عَجَبًا لِأَمْرِ الْمُؤْمِنِ إِنَّ أَمْرَهُ كُلَّهُ خَيْرٌ وَلَيْسَ ذَلِكَ لِأَحَدٍ إِلَّا لِلْمُؤْمِنِ إِنْ أَصَابَتْهُ سَرَاءٌ شَكَرَ فَكَانَ خَيْرًا لَهُ وَإِنْ أَصَابَتْهُ ضَرَاءٌ صَبَرَ فَكَانَ خَيْرًا لَهُ** "How astonishing are the ways of a believer! There is good in every affair of his. This is not the case with anyone but the believer. If happiness befalls the believer, he thanks Allah (swt), thus there is a good for him in it. If the believer is afflicted by harm and is patient, there is a good for him in it." [Muslim]

Calamities appear and fall upon Muslim countries. No country of ours is devoid of afflictions: earthquakes and floods, drought and barrenness, wars and fighting, poverty and hunger... Although the known natural disasters are within the domain of divine Decree (Qadaa'), taking the necessary precautions and proper care for Muslims, without negligence, is obligatory for the state that takes care of their affairs.. If the Muslims had a Khilafah state, it would unify them and their affairs. It would console them in their misfortunes. It would lift their burdens and take care of their affairs. It would take their hands to all that is good. It would have discharged its duty, with no need for the aid of other than the Muslims.

May Allah (swt) have mercy on our dead. May Allah (swt) heal our wounded. May Allah (swt) be the Guardian of the survivors of this calamity...

We conclude with that which we began with... Allah (swt) said, **الَّذِينَ إِذَا أَصَابَتْهُمُ مُصِيبَةٌ قَالُوا إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ * أُولَئِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ صَلَوَاتٌ مِنْ رَبِّهِمْ وَرَحْمَةٌ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُهْتَدُونَ** “Who, when faced with a disaster, say, “Surely to Allah we belong, and to Him we will all return.” [156] They are the ones who will receive Allah’s blessings and mercy. And it is they who are rightly guided. [157]” [TMQ Surah 2:156-157]. Surely, to Allah we belong, and to Him we will all return.

**18, Rajab 1444 AH
9 February 2023 AD**

**Your brother
Ata bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah
Amir of Hizb ut Tahrir**

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NUSSRAH

Nussrah is the Hukm Shar'i upon which the political future of the Muslim Ummah depends. It is through Nussrah that a state will be established which will end the chain of treacheries faced by the Ummah, beginning ruling by all that Allah (swt) has revealed, unifying the entire Ummah under a single state and spreading the message of Islam to the world through Dawah and Jihad.

The divine evidence of Nussrah is established in the Seerah of RasulAllah (saw). When the society of Makkah became rigid before the message of Islam, Allah (swt) ordered RasulAllah (saw) to present himself to various tribes, to seek their Nussrah. After the death of his (saw) uncle Abu Talib, RasulAllah (saw) started contacting various Arab tribes. The leaders of the tribes of Madinah, the Aus and Khazraj, accepted Islam and gave Nussrah to him (saw).

Through the Nussrah of the Second Pledge of Aqabah, the first Islamic State was established. So, the leaders of Aus and Khazraj were named as Ansar, to be remembered by this honored title until the end of the life of this world.

Today, the need of the hour is that sincere officers in the armed forces of Pakistan follow the footsteps of their Ansaar brothers, granting Nussrah for the re-establishment of the ruling by all that Allah (swt) has revealed. They must uproot the Kufr capitalist democratic system and pledge allegiance to a Khaleefah Rashid for the implementation of the Quran and Sunnah, fulfilling the glad tidings of RasulAllah (saw) when he (saw) said, **ثُمَّ تَكُونُ مُلْكًا جَبْرِيَّةً فَتَكُونُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ تَكُونَ ثُمَّ يَرْفَعَهَا إِذَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَرْفَعَهَا ثُمَّ تَكُونُ خِلَافَةً عَلَىٰ مِنْهَاجِ النَّبُوءَةِ ثُمَّ سَكَتَ** "Then there will be a forceful rule and it will remain for as long as Allah wills it to remain. Then He will raise it when He wills to raise it. Then there will be a Khilafah upon the Method of Prophethood." Then he (saw) became silent." (Ahmad).