

Extended Ramadan Issue

the call for **Nussrah** in Bangladesh

Vol 2, Issue 1
Jul/Aug'13
Ramadhan
1434

**America's Viceroy
Dan Mounbatten
Mozena
Plans for
Bangladesh**



Critique on page 29

**Egypt in Focus
What made
America turn
against
Morsi?**

*Party press release,
Q&A, analysis
and article
in pages 13-22*



**Election of
Masters
and Slaves**

Nussrah: the need of the time

Editorial page page 3, distributed leaflet on page 4



**Ramadan 1434
Message from
the Scholar Ata
Bin Khalil Abu
al-Rashtah**

*Page 7
Ramadan section 4-12*



**The Obligation of
Establishing the Khilafah**

**Classical
Scholars on
Khilafah**

*With scholarly
references on page 35*

**Hizb ut-Tahrir
Ameers**

**The Blessed
light from
Al- Aqsa**

Essay on page 54



Extended Ramadan Issue



Contents

Editorial: Election of Masters and Slaves; Nussrah, the need of the time	3
● Ramadan 1434	
Leaflet: In the Blessed Month, Hizb calls to establish the Khilafah	4
Message from the Scholar Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah regarding Ramadhan	7
Article: Victories in the month of Ramadhan	11
● Egypt in focus	
Press release: Army performs a coup against so-called imaginary Democracy	13
Q&A – Analysis: What made America turn against Morsi	15
Article: Coup highlights the problem with gradualism as a methodology	20
● Current affairs:	
Article: TICFA, Formalised Economic Slavery	23
2 Recent Press Releases of Bangladesh	27
America's Viceroy Dan 'Mountbatten' Mozena, dictates plans for Bangladesh	29
Leaflet: Syria – Hulagu's Destruction of Baghdad repeated in Qusair	33
● Khilafah	
What the classical scholars say about the Khilafah	35
History of the Khilafah in Bangladesh	42
Articles from the book ad-Dastoor 'Constitution for the Khilafah State'	47
● Ameer's section:	
Ameers of Hizb ut-Tahrir, The Blessed Light from Masjid al-Aqsa	54
Questions and answers	62
● Hizb ut Tahrir's global activity, picture reports:	
Khilafah Conference of Indonesia	67
Selection of recent activities from around the world	69
A Warm Call from Hizb ut-Tahrir	71

Abbreviations*

(saw)	sallallahu alaihi wa sallam
(swt)	subhanahu wa ta'ala
[TMQ]	translated meaning of Qur'an (surah, verse)

*Note that various conventions were used due to documents being taken from various party sources. Some Arabic has been retained where possible.



Editorial

Election of Masters and Slaves...

Nussrah, the need of the time



Full speed ahead! The kufr election process is now in over drive and all the signs point to an inevitable crash. Not a day passes without new headlines of destructive pro and anti-government manoeuvres. Even the arrival of the blessed month of Ramadan was not able to pause the mudslinging tirade between the criminal rulers of present and past and the violence and looting of their respective terrorist parties, AL and BNP. In the meantime, the tyrant Hasina has now earned a few more accolades: patron of anti-Islam protests (Shahbag), mass murderer of Ulema and ordinary Muslims (Shapla Chatter).

Our beloved Prophet (saw) warned us of the consequences of inaction in these circumstances, **'Nay, by Allah, you have to enjoin the good and forbid the wrong, and restrain the hand of the tyrant, and to force him on the truth and to confine him to the truth, otherwise Allah will be about to strike the hearts of some of you against others, then He will curse you as He cursed them'** [Reported by Abu Dawud and Tirmidhi]

Within the political medium, analyses are abound as to what may take place in the next few months; will AL buckle and give in to BNP pressure for a caretaker interim; will AL conduct its own election in the guise of an 'all-party' arrangement; will the army perform a coup after an excuse of breakdown of political decorum. However, their masters (USA and India) do not care which agent slave comes to power and how, so long as there is assurance of unflinching servitude. US Ambassador Mozena has already stipulated the future colonial plans for Bangladesh that will be the task sheet of the next government (see article, page 29). Likewise, India has uncharacteristically opened its arms to Khaleda, who pledged her indefatigable friendship to her neighbour.

Election politics has become a dreadful affair of secular slaves, posing as rulers and parties, and lying about caring for the people of Bangladesh. Clearly, these liars represent neither Islam nor Muslims.

In contrast, our rich history boasts of the personalities who brought and implemented Islam in Bangladesh (see essay, page 42). Furthermore, a recent survey conducted by the Pew Research Centre reiterated that Shariah was overwhelmingly the preferred rule of law of all Muslim countries (see results on the right), **with 82% favoured making shariah official law of Bangladesh.**

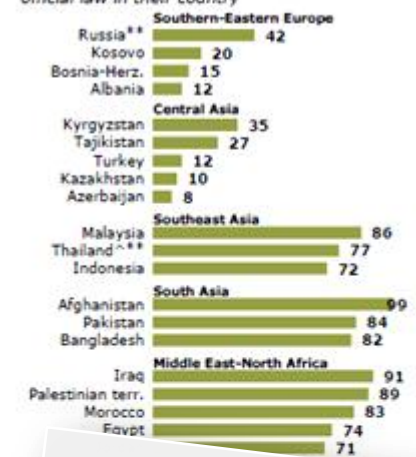
We have one simple message as aptly mentioned in a recent leaflet of ours:

"Oh Sincere Officers in the Army! [Oh people of Nussrah!]

How long will you remain silently seated in your barracks? The people of the country are sacrificing their fresh blood for the sake of Islam and they have rejected Hasina with full hatred. Instead of deaning the barrels of your guns sitting inside your barracks, come to the aid of the people and challenge the material power of Hasina by your material power. Meet force with force. Your duty is not to protect democracy, which in effect means protecting the throne of zalim Hasina, the agent of US-India, the killer of the people, the killer of your officers. Rather your duty is to protect Islam and the people from her tyranny. [Give us the nussrah.] Relieve the people from the ditches of the failed Awami-BNP politics by removing Hasina and transferring the authority to **Hizb ut-Tahrir** so that we may establish the Khilafah, whereby the Amir of the party, Sheikh Ata' ibn Khaleel Abu Ar-Rashta will assume the responsibility as the Khaleefah and unite the people of the country, unite the global Ummah, protect the honour of RasulAllah (SAW), punish the killers of Army officers and free the Army from US-Indian domination."

Support for Sharia

% of Muslims who favor making sharia the official law in their country



www.pewforum.org



Ramadan 1434

Leaflet by Hizb ut-Tahrir, Wilayah of Bangladesh

The following is a leaflet (translated from Bangla). Lacs of copies are being distributed in various cities, including Dhaka, throughout Ramadhan



In the Blessed Month of Ramadan, Hizb ut-Tahrir Calls upon the People and the Sincere Military Officers to Establish the Khilafah under the leadership of the Party

Alhamdulillah Rabbil A'lamin, that He (SWT) has made us witness the month of Ramadan again. In this blessed month in which the Qur'an was revealed, the gates of Jannah are opened and the shaiyateen are chained we, **Hizb ut-Tahrir**, make this call to the people and the sincere military officers who seek the Jannah, to reject the system of the shaiyateen i.e. the democratic system and Awami-BNP rule; and establish the ruling by the Qur'an and the Sunnah i.e. the Khilafah state. We will not talk about the evil, the corruption and the failures of Awami-BNP here. Everyone in the country is well aware of that, in fact victims of that. Rather we wish to remind all the Muslims about the obligation of ruling by Islam, for which Allah (SWT) revealed the Qur'an. Allah (SWT) says,

إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ بِالْحَقِّ لِتَحْكُمَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ بِمَا أَرَاكَ اللَّهُ

"Verily, We have sent down to you (O Muhammad) the Book (this Qur'an) in truth that you might rule between men by that which Allah has shown you..."

[An-Nisa: 105]

And He (SWT) says,

وَمَنْ لَمْ يَحْكَمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ

"...And whosoever does not rule by whatever Allah has revealed, such are the *Zalimun*." [Al-Ma'idah: 45]

So implementing the *Deen* through the Khilafah state is an integral part of Islam. The above *Ayat* and numerous other *Ayat* that talk about ruling leave no room for the Muslims to neglect this obligation and they will be sinful if they did that, even if they prayed and fasted.

The Khilafah is the saviour of the Muslims from the death of Jahiliyyah. RasulAllah (SAW) said, **"Whoever dies without having an oath of allegiance (Bay'ah) on his neck he would die the death of Jahiliyyah."** (Sahih Muslim)

The Khilafah is the protection of the Muslims from the plots and aggressions of the imperialists, US-Britain-India and others. Muhammad (SAW) said, **"Indeed, the Imam (Khaleefah) is the shield from behind whom you fight and protect yourselves."** (Sahih Muslim)



And the Khilafah is the only guarantee for the progress and prosperity of the country. Allah (SWT) says,

وَلَوْ أَنَّ أَهْلَ الْقُرَىٰ آمَنُوا وَاتَّقَوْا لَفَتَحْنَا عَلَيْهِم بَرَكَاتٍ مِّنَ السَّمَاءِ
وَالْأَرْضِ

“And if the people of the towns had believed and had the *Taqwa*, certainly, We should have opened for them blessings from the heaven and the earth...”

[Al-A'raf: 96]

Here, we wish to clarify to the Muslims the practical method which will lead to the establishment of the Khilafah and liberation from the oppression of Awami-BNP. The removal of the corrupt Awami-BNP regime will not come about through elections. It is only the advocates of the regime and the ones who wish to deceive the people who tell us that the way to change governments and systems is through democratic elections. They say it is the only way and the legitimate way, in order to secure the *kufr* regime from any changes regardless of who comes to power, even to the point that they say the people and the military should guard and guarantee the continuation of this process! If the people want change they should wait for their turn to vote in elections every five years. Even the Islamic groups have become affected by this falsehood so much so that they think Islam will be established in authority through elections. The truth is democratic elections are the way of guarding and guaranteeing the continuation of the corrupt regime, not achieving real change. Through elections either the corrupt Awami League comes to power or the corrupt BNP comes to power. In other words democratic elections only bring the corrupt ones in authority.

In order to bring real change to the country's fortunes through establishing the Khilafah, we need to emulate the Sunnah of RasulAllah (SAW) who established the first Islamic State. This was through a method other than elections. Once the Islamic state

was established, elections were a means for selecting the Khilafah, after the death of RasulAllah (SAW) and this is approved by Islam. But for removing the *kufr* regime and establishing Islam in authority in the first place, the method for that is other than elections. Muhammad (SAW) and His Sahabah (RA) established Islam in authority through an intellectual-political struggle against the chiefs of Quraysh, and creating public support for the Islamic Call. After that RasulAllah (SAW) approached various tribes and influentials who had the military power for *Nussrah* (material support). When He (SAW) achieved the *Nussrah* from the chiefs of Madina who had the military power i.e. the Ansar (RA), He took over the state authority and became the head of state in Madina. This is the Sunnah of RasulAllah (SAW). The

The Khilafah will be established and the country will be freed from the clutches of the corrupt and treacherous Awami-BNP rulers when the people and sincere military officers join hands with the Hizb in this noble work.

removal of the current regime by sincere military officers, and the transfer of authority to sincere and aware politicians who will establish Islam in authority is the Sunnah.

This is the way in which **Hizb ut-Tahrir** is working relentlessly to change the regime in the country headed by the Awami-BNP, which implements *kufr* ruling, economic, judicial and education systems etc and establish the Khilafah which implements Islamic ruling, economic, judicial and education systems etc. The Khilafah will be established and

the country will be freed from the clutches of the corrupt and treacherous Awami-BNP rulers when the people and sincere military officers join hands with the Hizb in this noble work. When the effort of the Hizb, and the effort of the people and the sincere officers under the leadership of the Hizb is combined then the fall of the current regime and return of the Khilafah will only be a matter of time, inshaAllah. **Hizb ut-Tahrir** has prepared the necessary materials to rule by Islam including a complete Islamic Constitution with 192 articles to implement in the Khilafah state immediately from the day of its establishment.



After having clarified the obligation of Khilafah and the practical method for establishing it, our call to the people is as follows:

1. Reject the rule of Awami-BNP and their secular system. Turn away from them completely. Do not wait for the elections to once again vote and bring either of them to power. It will only worsen your situation, not make it better; remember that over the last two decades the rule of each government has been worse than the previous one, which is due to their ruling by other than Islam.
2. Join with **Hizb ut-Tahrir** in struggling against the Hasina government and the current regime and working for establishing the Khilafah.
3. Demand from your fathers, uncles, sons, relatives and friends among the military officers to overthrow the Hasina government and the regime; and transfer authority to **Hizb ut-Tahrir** for establishing the Khilafah to rule by the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

And our call to the sincere officers in the military is as follows:

1. Fulfill your responsibility as Muslims. The duty to establish the Khilafah is upon your neck as much as any other Muslim; in fact it is even more as you hold the key to authority i.e. the material power.
2. Fulfill your oaths which you took to serve the people and the country. Your oath is not to guard the regime which oppresses the people and serves their enemies. So do not be the protectors of Hasina, the killer of army officers, the killer of the Ulama and pious Muslims.

3. Emulate the Sunnah of RasulAllah (SAW) and be the Ansar for establishing the second Khilafah State. With the help of the Ansar (RA), RasulAllah (SAW) established the first Islamic state in Madina and that state continued until 1342 Hijri (1924 CE). If you become the Ansar for the second Islamic state, Allah (SWT) will reward you in the same way as the first Ansar (RA), inshaAllah. Therefore overthrow the Hasina government immediately and transfer the authority to **Hizb ut-Tahrir** for establishing the Khilafah.

We end this call of ours by reminding all Muslims, the people and the sincere officers, of the accountability on the Day of Judgement for neglecting to fulfil the Islamic obligations and the reward for performing them. So respond to the command of Allah (SWT) to remove the current regime and establish the Khilafah as you responded to His command to fast in Ramadan.

((قُلْ اِذَا دُعِيَ النَّاسُ لِحُكْمِ رَبِّكَ فَآذِنْ ۗ وَذَكَرْتَ الرَّسَالَاتِ وَوَدَّعْتَهُنَّ صَدَقَةً * وَرَبُّكَ الْمَتَكَ صَفَاءً *
 وَجِيءَ يَوْمَئِذٍ بِحَمَلٍ كَثِيرٍ * مِمَّنْ يَتَّبِعُونَ اِلٰهًا سِوَا رَبِّكَ فَتَكْفُرُ * يَقُولُ يَا لَيْتَنِي
 قَدَّمْتُ لِحُكْمِ رَبِّي * فَيَوْمَئِذٍ لَا يُعَذِّبُ عَذَابَهُ أَحَدٌ * وَكَانَ يُوَفِّيهِمْ مَا عَاهَدُوا * قَدْ خَلَّى
 يَا أَيُّهَا النَّفْسُ الْمُطْمَئِنَّةُ * ارْجِعِي إِلَىٰ رَبِّكِ رَاضِيَةً مَّرْضِيَّةً * فَادْخُلِي
 فِي عِبَادِي * وَادْخُلِي جَنَّاتٍ))

“Nay! When the earth is ground to powder. And your Rabb comes with the angels in rows. And Hell will be brought near that Day; on that Day will man remember, but how will that remembrance (then) avail him? He will say: “Alas! Would that I had sent forth (good deeds) for (this) my life!” So on that Day none will punish as He will punish. And none will bind as He will bind. (It will be said to the pious:) “O (you) the one in (complete) rest and satisfaction! “Come back to your Rabb, well-pleased (yourself) and well-pleasing (unto Him)! “Enter you then among My (honoured) slaves. “And enter you My Paradise!” [Al-Fajr: 21-30]

Hizbut-Tahrir, Wilayah Bangladesh, 29 Sha’ban, 1434 / 08 July, 2013

www.khilafat.org | www.hizb-ut-tahrir.info

Facebook link of the Amir of Hizbut-Tahrir, Sheikh Ata’ bin Khalil Abu al-Rashta:

<https://www.facebook.com/ata.abualrashtah?ref=hl>



Ramadan 1434

Message of the Eminent Scholar Ata Bin Khalil Abu al-Rashtah regarding Ramadan 1434 AH

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Raheem

To the sincere brothers that carry the dawah....

To all the Muslims in all places of the world....

Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmat Allahu wa Barakatu....

The Almighty says:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُنِبَا عَنكُمُ الصِّيَامُ كَمَا كُنِبَا عَلَى الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِكُمْ ((
(لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَّقُونَ))

"O you who have believed, decreed upon you is fasting as it was decreed upon those before you that you may become righteous."

And the Glorified and Exalted says:

((قَمَنَ يَنْهَىٰ مَنكُمُ الشَّهْرَ فَلْيَصُمْهُ))

"So whoever sights [the new moon of] the month, let him fast it."

And the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, says in what was reported by al-Bukhari narrated from Abu Huraira (ra):

«صَوْمُوا لِرُؤْيَيْهِ وَأَفْطِرُوا لِرُؤْيَيْهِ، قَبْلَ عَمِي عَنكُمُ فَكَمِلُوا عِدَّةَ شَعْبَانَ»
«تَلَانِينَ»

"Fast when you see it, and break your fast when you see it, and if the weather is cloudy do calculate it (the months of Shaban and Shawwal) as thirty days."

And Muslim reported that Abu Huraira related, in another narration, that the Prophet (saw) said:

«صَوْمُوا لِرُؤْيَيْهِ وَأَفْطِرُوا لِرُؤْيَيْهِ، قَبْلَ عَمِي عَنكُمُ فَكَمِلُوا الْعِدَّةَ»

"Observe fast on sighting it (the new moon) and break (fast) on sighting it (the new moon), but if the sky is cloudy for you, then complete the number (of thirty)."

After investigation and checking the moon of the Blessed month of Ramadan on this night, the night of Tuesday, no valid sighting of the New Moon of Ramadan has taken place according to the Shari'ah requirements, therefore, tomorrow Tuesday is the continuation for the month of Sha'ban InshaAllah, making the day after tomorrow, Wednesday, the first day of the blessed month of Ramadan in the year of 1434 AH corresponding 10/07/2013.

We ask the Almighty that he accepts the fasting and qiyam of the Muslims and that Allah forgives us for





what we have committed of sin, as the Prophet (saw) said in what al-Bukhari and Muslim reported that Abu Huraira narrated:

«مَنْ صَامَ رَمَضَانَ، إِيمَانًا وَاحْتِسَابًا، غُفِرَ لَهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْبِهِ»

Allah's Prophet (saw) said: "Whoever fasts during Ramadan with faith and seeking his reward from Allah will have his past sins forgiven."

And in a different narration that Abu Hurayra (ra) related that the Prophet (saw):

«مَنْ قَامَ رَمَضَانَ إِيمَانًا وَاحْتِسَابًا، غُفِرَ لَهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْبِهِ»

"Whoever stands (in the voluntary night prayer of) Ramadan out of faith and in hope of reward, his previous sins will be forgiven."

Dear brothers, in the month of Sha'ban in the second hijri year, Allah Almighty made fasting the month of Ramadan obligatory. It is the month that the Quran was sent down

«شَهْرَ رَمَضَانَ الَّذِي أُنزِلَ فِيهِ الْقُرْآنُ هُدًى لِّلنَّاسِ وَبَيِّنَاتٍ مِّنَ الْهُدَى وَالْفُرْقَانِ»

"The month of Ramadhan [is that] in which was revealed the Qur'an, a guidance for the people and clear proofs of guidance and criterion."

It is the month that Allah honored the Ummah with distinct conquests and victories. The great Battle of Badr on the 17th of Ramadan was when the polytheists of Mecca were wholly defeated.... and other critical battles were in this blessed month, starting with the conquest of Mecca that was on 20 Ramadan al-Mubarak in the eighth Hijri year, to the Battle of al-Buwayb, (near modern day Kufa) that was Persian Yarmook, when the Muslims were victorious under the leadership of al-Muthanna on 14 Ramadan of the year 31 AH, then to the conquest of 'Amooriyah under the leadership of al-Mu'tasem on 17 Ramadan year 213 AH, and to the Battle of Ayn Jaloot when the Muslims defeated

the Tatars on 25 Ramadan year 658 AH to other victories in this blessed month....

And so fasting was indicated with the Holy Quran which shall not be affected by any falsehood ...And fasting was indicated with distinct conquest and victory.... And fasting was indicated with Jihad... Fasting was indicated with the implementation of Allah's Laws.... And everyone with clear vision and insight realizes that Allah Almighty's Laws cannot be separated from one another, whether they are acts of worship or Jihad or transactions or morals or conduct, or crimes and punishments.... For all of

these are the same problems and whoever ponders the verses of the Holy Quran finds that this is explicitly clarified. Likewise it is clear in these verses of fasting and what comes before and afterwards, in the following: Allah the Almighty revealed the verses of fasting in Surat al-Baqara, in the second part in the second quarter of it, which begins with His (swt) saying:

لَيْسَ الْبِرَّ أَنْ تُوَلُّوا وُجُوهَكُمْ قِبَلَ ((
الْمَشْرِقِ وَالْمَغْرِبِ وَلَكِنَّ الْبِرَّ مَنْ آمَنَ
بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالْكِتَابِ
وَالنَّبِيِّينَ))

"Righteousness is not that you turn your faces toward the east or the west, but [true] righteousness is [in] one who believes in Allah,

the Last Day, the angels, the Book, and the prophets..." up until His (swt) saying:

((أُولَئِكَ لَهُمْ تَصَدِيقٌ مِّمَّا كَسَبُوا وَاللَّهُ سَرِيعُ الْحِسَابِ))

"Those will have a share of what they have earned, and Allah is swift in account."

And by pondering these verses it becomes clear that they include laws of righteousness and faith, and of retribution, and commandment, and the verses of fasting, and of supplication... and the rulers and the consumption of unlawful wealth, and fighting in the name of Allah, and Hajj. For Allah's laws are all taken

It is the month that Allah honored the Ummah with distinct conquests and victories. The great Battle of Badr on the 17th of Ramadan... the conquest of Mecca on 20 Ramadan... the Battle of al-Buwayb (near modern day Kufa) that was Persian Yarmook on 14 Ramadan... the conquest of 'Amooriyah on 17 Ramadan ... the Battle of Ayn Jaloot on 25 Ramadan... other victories in this blessed month....



together, and there is no difference between one law and another or between one obligation and another, for the One who revealed the acts of worship is Him (swt) is the One who revealed the laws of transactions, punishments, politics and Jihad, and revealed the morals, provisions, clothing and others. And they are all equal in strength of how they should be implemented and observed, for the obligation in acts of worship is exactly like that of obligation in transactions, like that of obligation in punishments and obligation in the Bayah of the Khaleefah, Jihad and other Ahkam (laws), it is not permissible to separate them in any case, for Islam is one whole, that cannot be separated, and the call to Islam is one call to be implemented in the State, life and society. Therefore whoever separates the verses of Allah and calls for the separation between religion and life, or the separation between religion and politics; thereby has committed a great sin and heavy crime that will lead that person to humiliation in this life and to a painful torment in the Hereafter.

And in conclusion, Allah Almighty mentioned the act of supplication in between the verses of fasting in Surat al-Baqara, and the Almighty said:

وَإِذَا سَأَلَكَ عِبَادِي عَنِّي فَإِنِّي قَرِيبٌ
 أُجِيبُ دَعْوَةَ الدَّاعِ إِذَا دَعَانِ فَلْيَسْتَجِيبُوا
 لِي وَلْيُؤْمِنُوا بِي لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْشُدُونَ

"And when My servants ask you, [O Muhammad], concerning Me - indeed I am near. I respond to the invocation of the supplicant when he calls upon Me. So let them respond to Me [by obedience] and believe in Me that they may be [rightly] guided."

And the partition of the inseparable is proof of the magnificence of the Revealer, for Allah Almighty commanded the fast, then commanded the act of supplication, and then followed with verses of fasting

to show to greatness of the act of supplication, so increase supplication in Ramadan, for the Prophet (saw) said in the Hadith that was related by Ahmed narrated by Abu Hurayra:

ثَلَاثَةٌ لَا تُرَدُّ دَعْوَتُهُمْ: الْإِيمَانُ الْعَاقِلُ، وَالصَّائِمُ حَتَّى يَفْطِرَ، وَدَعْوَةُ الْمَطْلُومِ تُحْمَلُ عَلَى الْأَهْمَامِ، وَتَفْتَحُ لَهَا أَبْوَابَ السَّمَاوَاتِ، وَيَقُولُ الرَّبُّ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ: وَعِزِّي لِأَنْصُرْتَنِي وَكَلِمَةُ دَعْوَةِ حَيْرٍ

"The supplications of three people are not rejected: the supplication of a fasting person at the time of breaking fast, of a just ruler, and of a person who is wronged. Allah causes their supplications to rise above the clouds, and gates of heaven are opened for them, and Allah says, 'By My Majesty, I will help you, even if it is after a while.'"

And supplication was mentioned between the verses of fasting as proof for the insistence of supplication in the month of fasting and a statement of its merit and glad tidings of it being answered, for Allah is close and respondent. and likewise be the victors in the Hereafter, Allah willing, under Allah's shade on the Day of no shade except His Shade, and we ask Him that he accept our fasting in this blessed month, whose beginning is mercy, middle is forgiveness, and end is a shield from the Fire. And when next Ramadan arrives, there will be a

Righteous Khilafah on the way of the Prophethood that has honored us and returned the Ummah as the best Ummah.

كُنْتُمْ خَيْرَ أُمَّةٍ أُخْرِجَتْ لِلنَّاسِ تَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَتَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ
 (وَتُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ)

"You are the best nation produced [as an example] for mankind. You enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong and believe in Allah."

And the Khaleefah will be as the Prophet (saw) said,

And the final conclusion, as we must be protective of our fast so Allah may be pleased with us and forgive our sins, thus we should also be keen to work to resume the Islamic way of life with the establishment of the Righteous Khilafah so that we will be from the victors in this life with the implementation of Allah's Laws, under the banner of Allah's Messenger (saw), Rayat al Uqab, the banner

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله



«...إِنَّمَا الْإِمَامُ جُنْدٌ، يُفَاتَلُ مِنْ وَرَائِهِ، وَيَنْقَى بِهِ»

That the Khaleefah will have eradicated the tyrants in the land of al-Sham, and rescued its Muslims, the elderly, women and children, from the filth of the tyrants and oppressors... and that we be behind him to eliminate the tyrants from the land of Islam, and implement the laws of Islam, so that the strife in Egypt and besides Egypt that is a result from the absence of the implementation of Allah Almighty's Law... and then he will lead us to liberate Palestine, all of Palestine, from the filth of Jewish state to restore al-Quds, the land of Isra' and Mi'raj

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

Extracted by Muslim on the authority of Abu Huraira (ra).

of the Messenger of Allah (saw), will return honored and dignified by Islam, and by the army of Islam... And we will fight behind him to liberate Kashmir as well, and the rest of the occupied Islamic land, from

the Kaffir Imperialists, so that there will not remain an inch of Islamic land that is not shaded by the banner of Islam,

وَيَوْمَئِذٍ يَفْرَحُ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ * يَنْصُرُ اللَّهُ يَنْصُرُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الرَّحِيمُ

"And that day the believers will rejoice * In the victory of

Allah. He gives victory to whom He wills, and He is the Exalted in Might, the Merciful."

Wassalamu Alaykum wa-Rahmat Allahu wa Barakatu.

Your Brother,
Ata Bin Khalil Abu al-Rashtah,
Ameer of Hizb ut-Tahrir
30 Sha'aban 1434, 2013/07/09





Ramadan 1434

Victories in the Month of Ramadhan

In the history of Islam, Ramadhan witnessed many victories by fasting Muslim army led by Khilafah. Today, in the absence of Khilafah, subjects like Jihad have no part in the secular world order. Yet, in the life of the Muslims it plays one of the most significant roles since it was the means by which the Muslims spread Islam under the leadership of Khalifah, the Amir-ul-Muminin. Allah (swt) said in Surah Al-Baqarah *"Fighting is prescribed for you, though you dislike it"* [TMQ Al Baqarah: 216]. It is also narrated in Al-Tirmidhi on the authority of Muadh bin Jabal (ra.), that the Prophet Muhammad (saw) said, **"Shall I not tell you of the peak of the matter, its pillar, and its topmost part?"** I said: "Yes, O Messenger of Allah." He said: **"The peak of the matter is Islam; the pillar is prayer; and its topmost part is jihad."**

It was only through this Jihad that the Muslims reaped victories in conquests the world over. And significantly, many of those victories occurred in the month of Ramadhan. Some of the significant political and military events, which occurred during the holy month of Ramadhan, include:

- **First Legion the Prophet (saw)** made for Hamzah was in 4th Ramadhan, 1 Hijri (623 CE).
- **The Battle of Badr:** The great Battle of Badr' was the first battle between Muslims and Makkani idolaters occurred in 17th Ramadhan 2 Hijri (624 CE) where Muslims defeated the mushriks severely.
- **The Battle of the Ditch:** Muslims trained for this battle during Ramadan, though it occurred in the following month of Shawal of 5th Hijri (627 CE).
- **Opening of Makkah:** In 20th Ramadhan, 8 Hijri (630 CE), The Muslims led by The Prophet (pbuh) over-ran Makkah bloodlessly by marching into it with their ten thousand strong army. It was the greatest victory in Arab peninsula by which Allah (swt) honoured His (swt) Deen, His Messenger and the Muslims.
- **Battle of Tabuk:** The soldiers of Islam, under the leadership of the Prophet (pbuh), established a training and fighting camp in Tabuk during the month of Ramadhan in 8 Hijri (630 CE), so as to show the strength of the Muslims in the clash with the Byzantine army. Here the Muslims also gained the victory over the Byzantines without fighting.
- **Conquest of Rhodes:** It was an island in Meditterian sea which was conquered in 52 Hijri (674 CE) in the month of Ramadhan.
- **Opening of Al-Magreb Al Awsat (middle west):** It occurred in 2nd Ramadhan 82 Hijri (704 CE).
- **Killing of Dahir, King of Sind (India):** Muhammad bin Kasim, the commander of the Muslim army sent by Khalifah, conquered Sindh and killed its king Dahir in 7th Ramadhan 89 Hijri (711 CE).
- **Opening of Andalusia:** Muslims army of Khilafah, led by Tarek bin Ziyad, invaded Spanish southern frontier cities on the Andalusian coast defeating King Roderick on the battle that started on 27th Ramadhan, 92 Hijri (714 CE) and lasted for 7 days. Islam then ruled Spain for eight hundred years and spreads out through Europe.

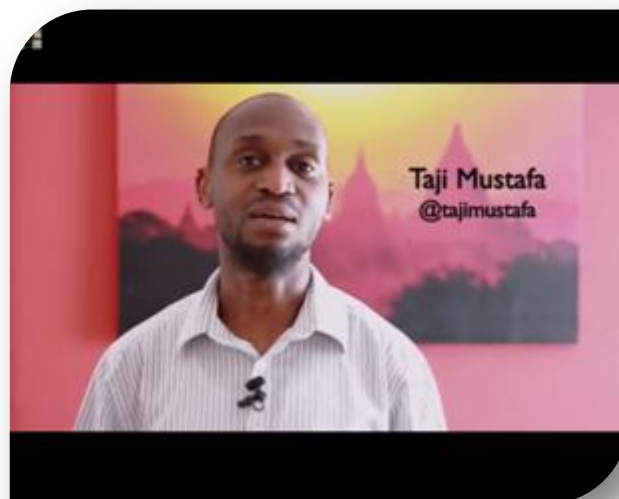


- **Balat Al-Shohada Battle:** It occurred in 1st Ramadhan 114 Hijri (732 CE). The battle was fought between an army of the Umayyad Khalifah and a massive army came from many places in Europe. Muslims fought better and were closer to the victory but finally withdrew after many of their leaders get killed.
- **Opening of Amouriah:** Conquering of this Greek city occurred in 6th Ramadhan, 222 Hijri (844 CE).
- **Taking back the city of Harem from crusaders:** Noor El Deen Zangi defeats the Christians crusaders in 9th Ramadhan, 559 Hijri (1181 CE) and recaptured the city.
- **Battle of Ain Jaloot:** The decisive battle between Muslim army and Mongols that finally stopped Mongols to advance more in Muslim lands. Muslim commander Qutuz

defeated the Mongols in Palestine on 24th Ramadhan, 658 Hijri (1260 CE).

- **Opening of Antakia:** Antakia (or Antioch) was a Roman city which was first conquered in 15 Hijri (637 CE) during the period of Khalifah Umar (ra.). Later crusader seized it in 1099 CE again. Then, Muslim re-captured it in 14th Ramadhan 666 Hijri (1288 CE).

Thus, clearly Allah (swt) has blessed the believers with many victories in the past in the blessed month of Ramadhan. Unfortunately, the situation of Muslims all over the world is now so miserable that many of them cannot even fast as they live under oppression of the kuffars or their agent rulers. Muslim army should hurry to establish the Khilfah in their land so that they can liberate the Muslims from the control of kuffars and can repeat those victories that their ancestors made.



Vlog of Taji Mustafa, Spokeman of Hizb ut-Tahrir UK (day 7 Ramadan 1434)

<http://www.hizb.org.uk/multimedia/banned-ramadan-for-under-18s-in-xinjiang-china>



Egypt in focus

Hizb ut-Tahrir Press Release on Coup in Egypt

**The Media Office
of Hizb ut-Tahrir
in Wilayah Egypt**

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
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
يَعْبُدُونَنِي لَا يُشْرِكُونَ بِي شَيْئًا وَمَن كَفَرَ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ ﴿٥٤﴾



Thursday, 25th Shaban 1434 AH

4/07/2013 CE

N0: PR13072

Press Release

The army performs a coup against the so-called imaginary Democracy

Yesterday evening on Wednesday 03/07/2013 General Abdul Fattah As-Sisi the Minister of Defence and war production announced what he called the 'Future map' for the country. The map includes the suspension of working in accordance to the constitution for a temporary time period, the dismissal of the elected president, holding of early presidential elections, for the head of the constitutional court to run the affairs of the country throughout the transitional period and until a new President is elected, and for the head of the constitutional high court to have the right to issue constitutional declarations throughout the transitional period. And he indicated that a government of 'National competencies' would be formed in addition to a committee that would look into all of the suggested constitutional alterations and an appeal to the high constitutional court to decide upon a law for parliamentary elections.

And in this way the army performed against the so-called supposed Democracy that came with Mursi as the 'Legitimate ruler' for the country as they claimed. And this coup took place under the excuse that the general leadership had refused: 'The abuse to the national and religious institutions of the State' in addition to the: 'intimidation and threatening of sections of the citizens'. So where are they positioned in respect to that Democracy that they have so often played lip service to? And especially after closing all of the Islamic television channels, arresting and hunting down hundreds from amongst the main figures from the Islamic wing?

And from all this it has been shown without doubt that those who hold the real and effective power throughout the last period were the army and that the President and his group represented no more than a puppet that was moved by the military establishment and behind it the head of disbelief America whenever they wanted. And it has also been established that it is not possible to bring Islam to the ruling via this democracy and its ballot boxes within its secular system. It is as if they did not learn from what happened to the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria and it is hoped that now and finally the callers to this methodology will consider and fully realise this reality and truth.

Continued on next page



Continued from previous page

America has exploited the bitter resentment of the Ummah to the callers of what they call 'Moderate Islam' to give a negative image of Islaam by illustrating their failing in relation to managing the nation's affairs and this is despite the fact that they did not implement Islaam and despite the fact that they did not hold the real authority in the land. So they used them for their benefit and then gave them this description leaving in their wake a notion of fleeing away from the rule of the 'Islamists' which affected a section from amongst the people.

So it is necessary for the Muslims to know that there is only one way to establish the rule of Islam and no other way. This is the path that the Messenger of Allah (saw) walked when he refused to take the rule that was deficient and incomplete and he refused to participate in a corrupt system that was in violation to Islam. Rather the way is to be patient and persevere until the Nussrah (support) comes in full and to work tirelessly within the Ummah to generate a public opinion amongst her based on a general awareness about the obligation to implement the Shar'a of Allah completely in the Khilafah State. This will happen by engaging in an intellectual clash through presenting the strong challenging Islamic thoughts to struggle against the thoughts of Kufr (disbelief), just as the Messenger of Allah (saw) himself. It will not happen by diluting the Islamic thoughts and attempting to make them fit with the Kufr un-Islamic thoughts. Political struggle is also required in addition to exposing the plans and conspiracies that are being plotted against Islam and the Muslims just as the Messenger of Allah (saw) did himself and it will not happen by way of flattery and walking side by side with all the despots and agents of the western disbelievers residing in our country from amongst the politicians, media personalities and those who claim to be thinkers. This is the way in which the public opinion for the Khilafah and the Shari'ah will be generated so that the sincere people from amongst the people of Nussrah (support) in the army can take sides and align themselves with this call. This is because they (the Army) are those who possess the real power as was proven by the declaration of Sisi however it is unfortunate that he gave his support to that which did not deserve it and had no right to be supported! And he gave up on those who had flattered him without having presented to him a real project that emanates from the Aqueedah (belief) of the Ummah.

We in Hizb ut Tahrir are like the leader that does not lie to its people. We repeat the invitation to everyone who wants to see Islam established firmly within the real Islamic State, the Khilafah State, to join us and work with us to establish it in accordance to the methodology that the Messenger of Allah (saw) proceeded upon. This is because this is the only way that will truly free the people of Egypt and all of the Muslim lands, and indeed the whole world in its entirety from oppression, fighting, bickering and hatred against one another. The people, Muslims and non-Muslims will live under the shade of this state of goodness, the Khilafah State, which had been the beacon of light for the earth, its blossoming flower and bright shining light for more than thirteen centuries.

Allah (swt) says:

"We desired to show kindness to those who were oppressed in the land and to make them leaders and make them inheritors"

(Al-Qasas, 28:5)

Sharif Zayed

Head of the Media Office of Hizb ut Tahrir, Wilayah of Egypt



*Egypt in focus,
Analysis Q&A to Hizb ut Tahrir*

What made America turn against Morsi

America is still reluctant to describe what happened in Egypt as a coup. Yet it encourages the roadmap announced by the new Interim authority. On 11/7/2013 AlJazeera.net reported a spokeswoman for the U.S. State Department saying: *"The roadmap drawn by the Provisional Authority for the next stage is encouraging"*.

Jen Psaki, the spokeswoman for the U.S. State Department, said that the rule of President Mohamed Morsi was "not democratic", as stated in the (Egyptian seventh day on 12/7/2013).

AlJazeera.Net also reported White House spokesman Jay Carney telling reporters on 11/07/2013 *"We assess how the authorities behave and how they deal with the current situation"*, in reference to the announcement on 3/7 2013 given by the defence minister and the army commander in Egypt Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, in removing Mohamed Morsi, and the appointment of Adli Mansour, President of the Constitutional Court as a transitional president.



Question So what made America turn against Morsi, despite supporting him from the beginning of his term? Why hasn't America described what happened as a coup, and continue to "assess" (the situation) until today! And what could result from all of that?

Answer The answer is explained by reviewing the following points:

1 - In the first round of the presidential elections held on 23-24 May 2012, Morsi was unable to win the elections (outright), where votes were distributed among several candidates. The second round took place on 16-17 June 2012 and Morsi was announced the winner with 51.73% (about 13 million votes) against Ahmed Shafiq with 48.27% (about 12 million votes). This means that almost a half of the voters did not want Morsi as their president, preferring one of the men of the former regime against which they rebelled.

It is worth mentioning that the announcement of the result of the presidential elections was delayed, indicating the presence of something behind the scenes. Then it was resolved by declaring the victory of Morsi over Ahmed Shafiq after Mohamed Morsi gave assurances to the Americans that he would abide by the treaties and conventions concluded by the former regime, primarily the Camp David treaty, a matter which is important to America, as evidenced by American statements before and after the elections. The U.S. Ambassador declared to the Kuwaiti newspaper, Al-Rai, published on 30/11/2012: *"The United States is committed to the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel and considers*



it crucial for peace and stability in the region, and for the prosperity of the people of Egypt and Israel in the first place. We also consider this treaty the foundation for peace-making efforts and stability in the whole region. We are of course pleased that the Government of Egypt has repeatedly expressed that it would honour all Egypt's international obligations", adding "We encourage Egypt and Israel to continue their direct discussions over the security situation in the Sinai and other issues of common interest; and we affirm that security in the Sinai is the most important first and foremost" - indicating that America and the Jewish entity were behind the Egyptian regime's campaign for months against the armed groups that call for jihad with the enemy.

2 - This is why America supported him and worked to keep him on his throne. The first thing he achieved for America's interests and for the security of the Jews is what he did for the cease-fire between the Jewish entity and the Hamas government in Gaza. It was a true ceasefire, to the point that Hamas put some of its members at the dividing line between them and the Jewish entity, to prevent any abuse or shots at the Jewish entity! America has praised what Morsi had done, in executing its policy regarding the subject of Gaza.

It also supported him at the issue of the constitutional resolution related to his immunity against the judiciary. That day, U.S. State Department spokeswoman Victoria Nuland defended the Egyptian president saying: *"President Morsi entered into discussions with the judiciary, with other stakeholders in Egypt. As I said, I think we don't yet know what the outcome of those is going to be, but that's a far cry from an autocrat just saying my way or the highway."* (The Middle East News Agency 27.11.2012).

Nuland was specifically denying the words of the protesters, who described the President Morsi as dictator or new Pharaoh of Egypt, defending him and the decisions he had taken.

America also backed him regarding the resolution of leadership in the country, so it removed some of the army commanders, led by the defense minister and army chief Hussein Tantawi and Chief of Staff Sami Annan, where Morsi issued a constitutional decree in

relation to this, and did not face any significant opposition.

It supported him on the subject of the Constitution, where the U.S. spokeswoman Nuland said that: *"Mrs. Clinton talked during her visit to Cairo and at her meeting with the Egyptian President Morsi about the importance of the issuance of the Constitution, which protects all the rights of all Egyptians"*, (Middle East 27/11/012). The American political influence on the rule of Morsi and on his opponents is clear.

Thus the Constitution was adopted by U.S. approval, which is a "revised" copy of the 1971 constitution of the former regime, after conducting a referendum in which 32.9% voted - a third of the people eligible to vote, whilst two-thirds boycotted it. The result of the referendum was 63.8% of the actual voting third accepted it! So the majority of the people were not happy with the Constitution, and nor with the president, or his decisions.

3 - America has tried to calm the situation and convince people of accepting the president and his decisions and the constitution so as to create stability of the regime, which it has maintained the survival of its hand after the revolution. However, the stability it sought was not achieved by Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood (on the grounds that they are the president's party and the largest organised party

It is worth mentioning that the announcement of the result of the presidential elections (May 2012) was delayed, indicating the presence of something behind the scenes. Then it was resolved by declaring, the victory of Morsi over Ahmed Shafiq after Morsi gave assurances to the Americans that he would abide by the treaties and conventions concluded by the former regime, primarily the Camp David treaty, a matter which is important to America, as evidenced by American statements before and after the elections.



after the abolition of the National Party). It expected they work to stabilize the situation, as the National Party did for the deposed president for 30 years. For America is concerned that Egypt will be a centre of stability for American influence, not stability for Egypt's sake. America wanted the stability of Egypt as a safe platform for its influence and its projects, but things were unstable.

What worsened the situation was the confusion brought by the Presidency over decision-making, and then retracting decisions under pressure; as well as arbitrary decision-making without consultation with his allies, without trying to convince them, without the process of testing views of the Street and without the creation of public opinion before taking any decision. Anarchy and attempts to carry out a revolution against the President continued throughout this year while he remained in office.

Then things were disrupted at his lengthy speech on 26.06.2013. For Dr Morsi looked shaky when he confessed that he committed mistakes. He did not identify them, but he was referring to the Constitutional Declaration on 22/11/2012 which incited people against him and encouraged them to call for his removal. In his last speech on 02/07/2013 Mohamed Morsi reiterated that he made mistakes, and some shortcomings happened from him, but that he was prepared to correct all of that, which suggested that he was accepting a compromise, after the army threatened him by giving 48 hours' notice. This means his removal was decided by the army and those behind the army, which is America, despite the fact that Morsi was supported by America for taking such decisions. But when the negative results (of these decisions) appeared America abandoned him

...Morsi reiterated that he made mistakes... which suggested that he was accepting a compromise, after the army threatened him by giving 48 hours' notice. This means his removal was decided by the army and those behind the army, which is America, despite the fact that Morsi was supported by America for taking such decisions. But when the negative results (of these decisions) appeared America abandoned him and left him to fall; it rather conspired against him, as it does with all of its agents who do not take a lesson!

and left him fall; it rather conspired against him, as it does with all of its agents who do not take a lesson!

4 - So we have seen America abandon him and disclaim his decisions. On 02/07/2013 CNN quoted senior officials in the U.S. administration saying that *"the U.S. Ambassador to Egypt Anne Patterson and other officials in the White House said that the claims brought by the Egyptians in their protests coincide to a large extent with the reforms demanded*

by Washington and its allies weeks ago." This is confirmed by what Reuters quoted from a statement by the White House on 02/07/2013: *"President Obama encouraged President Morsi to take steps to clarify that he responds to the demands of the demonstrators"*. Obama said: *"the current crisis can only be resolved through a political process."* This meant America's abandonment of Morsi and the search for a new political process. Nothing came in the statement that it supports the Egyptian elected president, but it asks him to respond to the demands of the demonstrators who were demanding the overthrow of the President! When the coup took place, it was announced that a meeting of President Obama with his senior advisers at the White House took place about what happened in Egypt, and he then said: *"The Egyptian armed forces should move quickly and responsibly to restore full power to a civilian government as soon*

as possible" (Reuters 03/07/2013). Obama did not condemn the coup; he did not even call it a military coup, nor demanded the return of Morsi after his removal, and nor to overturn the judiciary verdict of one year prison against the Prime Minister of Morsi and his removal from office! He rather demanded the return to power of a civilian government, any government other than the current one, indicating the approval of America of the coup and the removal of Morsi and his government. Indeed, the U.S.



administration declared, saying: *"He (meaning Morsi) did not listen to the voices of the people or respond to them"* (ibid.) just as the Egyptian army command said that *"President Mohamed Morsi did not meet the demands of the people."* It is known that the leadership of the Egyptian army is controlled by America, and almost the majority of U.S. aid amounting to one billion and half a year goes to the army.

5 - Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood did not realize these matters; rather it seems Dr Morsi was deceived by U.S. support after he agreed to follow its policies and maintain its interests and treaties held by the Egyptian republic system, especially the Camp David treaty. Where it removed the former leaders of the army and brought others and made them match with Morsi. So he imagined that America would not abandon him, where he was convinced that America wanted to let the so-called moderate or centrist Islamists reach power, and will remain supportive of them, as it happened in Turkey. He did not realize that America could give up any agent once used or finished off, if he could not achieve stability in governance of the country, and that it would bring another agent to maintain its influence, as it happened with his predecessor, Hosni Mubarak, who was most faithful to it - preparing his son Gamal to succeed him.

But when the popular movements surprised it, and it found him (Mubarak) too weak to address these moves and restore stability to Egypt so as to be a suitable environment for the continuation of American interests, it put him aside and rode the wave of popular movements.

This matter was repeated with Morsi. So when it found him unable to provide stability for its continued safe interests and influence without disturbance it threw him aside.

This was not a new matter, but had been apparent for some time. The website of "civil Egypt movement", which is a secular site, reported more than two months ago, i.e. on 22.04.2013 under the title 'American conditions for the approval of military intervention that do not appear as a military coup!' The website stated that *"a personality, whom we have reservations naming, has visited the United States in the past few days and returned after he conducted a round of interviews and extensive deliberations with the executives in the U.S. administration and the Pentagon and National Security, where the US position towards the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood was discussed."* The site mentioned that John Kerry, who attended the

meeting, spoke about an important role for the Egyptian army in controlling the events once the people came to the squares, and in preventing the outbreak of civil war between the different movements. Kerry then added, saying: he was shocked by the low capacity of the Muslim Brotherhood, and the confusion of their talk, which is not conducive to something. He confirmed that he trusts that the army will carry out its role at the right time. That personality mentioned: that talk was about the alternative to the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood and the situation of the army regarding the transition process ahead. The website quoted one influential in the Pentagon, who is a member of the American Brookings Institution, and he attended the meeting as saying: *"They concluded that even if Morsi was convinced that he must go, or he will leave willy-nilly, his supporters would not accept, and here comes the role of the Egyptians once again that they have to move in large numbers to support the military and demonstrate demanding the departure of Morsi."* These talks were published on 22/4/2013, more than two months before the coup. It is clear that America had orchestrated the coup since that day, and wanted to resolve matters in that way. The decisive moment was on 03/07/2013, and it declined from describing it as a coup. It however went on giving ambiguous and gradual statements, ranging from "assessing" the situation, and continues to "assess", and that Morsi is "undemocratic" and drawing a roadmap by the Provisional Authority "is encouraging," as stated in the question.

6 - The deposed president's supporters came out to the squares to protest. If they continued their protests and increased momentum, comprehensiveness and won the general public, this would be enough to embarrass the military administration and embarrass America, which might make it resort to respond to the movement of the Muslim Brotherhood. This is especially since they have trump cards in their hands; that are he is the president elected by the people, recognized by the Constitutional Court, the military, international institutions, the United States and all the countries. Moreover, he did not do any act that made him worthy of removal according to these countries' norms. He came to power by elections admitted to be fair and he was ousted by military force, a matter that gives them power and legitimacy in their actions, and attracts others with them.

Those who supported the coup and removed the President are in a critical situation from this angle, where they refuse the military rule and its intervention and insist on the electoral process, and



at the same time they support the change by the military! Therefore, the Muslim Brotherhood are able to cause the coup to fail and return to power, or at least to have the major and influential share in the new situation, especially if they incited the emotions. If however the deposed president's supporters accepted negotiations and concessions, they will lose significantly and they will regret it without avail, and their efforts would have been lost in vain in the corridors of politics and for the lack of awareness of its happenings!

7 - To conclude this answer with a real fact. It is said that the one that pleases the people with the wrath of Allah, Allah will let him to the people, where his situation will be disturbed and his relation with the people will worsen. This is quite perceived and obvious. Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood tried to please America, so they agreed to its projects and to the Camp David treaty that abandons Palestine, weakens Sinai and consents to the Jewish entity that usurps Palestine and recognizes it. Morsi gave up many of his slogans, announced the approval of the republican system and the secular, civil democratic government. He also swore on that when he was appointed as a president, leaving Islam and the rule of Islam behind his back. He did all of that to please America and to remain on a throne of twisted limbs. So he ended up in the loss of dunya and akhira, unless he repents and amends his matter. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said the truth:

"Whoever pleases the people with the wrath of Allah, Allah will let him to the people; and whoever angers the people for the pleasure of Allah, He will suffice him of the help of the people." Tirmidhi.

8 - The final conclusion is to remind that we have already advised Dr Morsi twice in two leaflets: the first on 25/06/2012, and the second on 13/08/2012, where we said in the first:

"... And then a pure advice for the sake Allah, the Almighty we deliver it to the new President in Egypt: Fear of Allah and return back from calling for a civil democratic state, with secular thought, methodology and passion. For indeed returning to the truth is a virtue, so as not to lose the whole dunya after you have lost most of it after the Military Council curtailed your authority and trimmed off your responsibilities ... In order you do not lose the akhira by pleasing America and the West through the civil democratic state, and by enraging the Lord of

America and the West through abstaining from the establishment of the Khilafah and the application of the shar' of Allah ... There is no doubt that you have read the hadeeth of the Messenger of Allah (saw)

"Whoever pleases the people with the wrath of Allah, Allah will let him to the people; and whoever angers the people for the pleasure of Allah, He will suffice him of the help of the people" Tirmidhi, and Abu Nu'aym in al-Hilya from Aayisha (ra).

This advice is exclusively for the sake of Allah The Almighty, where we do not want from you a reward or a gratitude, except preventing the gloating of the unbelievers, their agents and all the enemies of Islam when they laugh with their full mouths hearing that their project of the democratic civil state became advocated by Muslims, the Muslim Brotherhood; and indeed we belong to Allah, and to Him we return."

We said in the second: "And we conclude the statement by repeating the advice to the Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi, even if he did not take our first advice ... For we will not give up giving advice to every Muslim, especially if engaged in ruling. So we follow up the first advice with another, saying: Though the arms of America extend to the old and new political mediums, yet it is possible to cut them off; and to address the error of receiving them once is better than persisting in the error of receiving them time and time again. Indeed it is not good to deal with the American arms through courtship and seeking closeness ... Rather they have to be cut off and amputated, otherwise the result will be regret at a time of no avail! The Kenana of Allah in His land has strength and invincibility; and its precedence in history is remarkable. And whoever is with Allah truly he will not be defeated, for the verses of the Holy Quran speak of this, and the Egyptian president has read that in his recent speech:

"And Allah has command over His Affairs, but most people do not know"

Yes, Allah (swt) said the truth,

"And who is more true than Allah in speaking"

Have we proclaimed the truth! O our Lord, bear witness!

Have we proclaimed the truth! O our Lord, bear witness!

Have we proclaimed the truth! O our Lord, bear witness!

From the Ameer's section of www.hiz-ut-tahrir.info

3 Ramadan 1434, 12 July 2013



Egypt in focus

Problem with gradualism: Egypt's military coup highlights the problem with this methodology

Until the overthrow of President Morsi in Egypt this week, many supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) approach would point at the great successes of the Muslim Brotherhood since its inception.

The Muslim Brotherhood's method of returning to a wholly Islamic system and establishing Khilafah has been termed gradualism. *"Gradualism here refers to preparing people ideologically, psychologically, morally, and socially to accept and adopt the application of the Shariah in all aspects of life, and to finding lawful alternatives for the forbidden principles upon which many associations have been founded for so long."* (Yusuf al Qardawi, OnIslam.com). This argument is predicated on the principle that Islam was not revealed to Prophet Muhammed (saw) in its entirety at the advent of Islam, therefore any aspect can be used as evidence for this methodology. In particular examples of prayer, fasting and the prohibition of alcohol are used. So Allah (swt) gave people the Shariah step by step and likewise if it is to be reintroduced, that is how it should be done. Human beings then decide how and when the Shariah is to be implemented.

The institutions of Egypt did not fall when Hosni Mubarak fell, and Morsi faced opposition from the country's judiciary, media and police. He

was not able to reform these institutions. The country faced an unprecedented economic crisis which he was ill equipped to tackle. His secular political opponents were dismissive of his democratic credentials and his quasi-Islamic political opponents were dismissive of his Islamic credentials. Progress would have challenged the most experienced and talented political leader with the institutions of state on his side. His failure was predictable. So what of the "gradual" approach? There are conceptual and Islamic legislative flaws.

1. The Misunderstanding of the purpose of politics in Islam.

The purpose of politics is to tend to the affairs of people. Islam sets forth political and economic principles and detailed rules to address societal problems.

Egypt faces a critical economic crisis as well as problems with security, political corruption and sectarianism. By looking towards capitalist economic solutions (such as an IMF loan and structural reform) to address Egypt's economic turmoil, the government

ingrained the view that capitalism has the correct ideas to turn the Egyptian economy around. If Islam will not work in a crisis, when will it work?





The idea that problems can be solved with non-Islamic solutions in order for Islam to be eventually implemented is flawed. Confidence is built in Islamic solutions by seeing that they work, not that they can be abandoned in times of crisis. Any problem that is solved by referring to something other than Islam simply enforces the view that Islam is not really required, practical or desirable.

2. Gradualism enforces the belief that Islam is devoid of solutions.

Rather than this ideological view that Islam can solve the nations problems, the “Islamic” policy ideas were often counterintuitive and made problems worse.

The Egyptian government were seen to provide cheap electricity to Gaza while Cairo suffered power cuts; liberalisation of the Rafah border crossing was blamed for worsening security in Sinai and northern Egypt and the murder of Shia in their homes was widely reported and met with silence from the government. As the year went on, there were shortages of bread, petrol, electricity, water and unemployment rose while security deteriorated. The Egyptian government did not implement a single economic solution based on Islamic thought, yet they managed to give the impression that Islam had caused economic collapse. The Egyptian government did not implement a single policy to strengthen the unity of the country and the acceptance of minorities based on Islamic thought, yet they managed to allow the impression that Islam had caused sectarianism. If their view of the gradual political implementation of Islam is a decision on when during your gradualism to ban alcohol and flog fornicators, they should not have taken power.

The Prophet Muhammad (saw) said: *“The son of Adam has no better right than that he would have a house wherein he may live, a piece of clothe whereby he may hide his nakedness and a piece of bread and some water.”* (Tirmidhi)

The Egyptian government failed to achieve these basic rights for the people of Egypt. When were they planning to get to this with their gradual methodology?

3. Being locked into a “fait accompli”.

After the fall of Mubarak, Egyptian society was divided regarding what system should govern the country. Rather than settling this question, Morsi carried on within the existing paradigm and constraints. So in reality, an American controlled secular system remained largely intact. Muslims came to power but Islam did not come to power. Subsequently, we saw ongoing political crisis as a divided society become even more polarised. This was a natural consequence of not settling that fundamental question. As a result, Morsi was locked into a “lose-lose” reality, where all problems and challenges are blamed on Morsi and his “Islamisation”, whilst he has no power or ability to really bring about

The Prophet Muhammad (saw) said: *“The son of Adam has no better right than that he would have a house wherein he may live, a piece of clothe whereby he may hide his nakedness and a piece of bread and some water.”* (Tirmidhi)

The Egyptian government failed to achieve these basic rights for the people of Egypt. When were they planning to get to this with their gradual methodology?

Islamic solutions outside of the current system and its failures.

In reality, his inability to rule by Islam from the first instance, has created a fait accompli – which unravelled last week, leading to his removal military coup and the subsequent claim that Islam is unfit for governance. A better case against Islam could not have been made by liberals and anti-islamic forces in Egypt!



4. Gradualism creates a trust deficit.

It was well known in Egypt that many supporters of the MB were hoping for the establishment of Khilafah with the knowledge that the current regime was not trying to achieve that.

The knowledge that your ultimate political objectives are very different from your current political policies ensures that you always operate under an air of suspicion. This characterised the last year of MB rule in Egypt as they were constantly accused of covert “Islamisation,” even when their policies were overtly secular.

So gradualism in government implies deception.

5. The Qur’an specifically warns about the partial implementation of Allah’s (swt) systems.

Those to whom We have given the Book rejoice at what has been revealed to you: but there are among

the clans those who reject a part thereof. Say: “I am commanded to worship Allah, and not to join partners with Him. Unto Him do I call, and unto Him is my return. (Surah Ar-Rad 13:36)

This ayah is in response to some of the tribes around Madinah at the time of the Prophet (saw) who had not accepted Islam. It advises the Prophet (saw) to confirm to them that He (saw) believes in all that has been revealed to him and to worship Allah (swt) therefore in all things. The surah goes on:

Thus have We revealed it (the Qur’an), a code of judgement in the Arabic tongue. If you should follow their desires after all the knowledge you have been given, you shall have none to protect or shield you from God. (Surah Ar-Rad 13:37)

It was well known in Egypt that many supporters of the MB were hoping for the establishment of Khilafah with the knowledge that the current regime was not trying to achieve that.

Often Allah (swt) makes an example for the Muslims of previous nations so that we can learn from the mistakes in the past. An Islamic political party should call in the current era for the comprehensive implementation of Islamic systems and the solutions that emanate from them. The implementation requires the general support of the people and those with power in any state (eg the army). There should be no deception that if placed in power, the constitution will be an Islamic one and the solutions will all be from Islam. If that is not to the liking of the people or the military without many compromises, then it is not the correct time to take power.

We made this covenant with the Children of Israel: “Worship none but God; show kindness to parents and kinsfolk and to the orphans and the poor; speak kindly to all people; attend regularly to your prayers and pay the obligatory

charity.” But, except for a few, you turned away and paid no heed. We made a covenant with you that you shall not shed your own blood or drive yourselves out of your own homeland. You acknowledged all that and bore witness to it. Yet there you are slaying yourselves, and driving some of your

own people out of their homes, collaborating against them in sin and injustice. Had they come to you as captives you would have ransomed them. Their expulsion is indeed forbidden to you. Do you, then, believe in some parts of the Scriptures and deny others? Those of you who do this will have nothing for their reward other than ignominy in this life and, on the Day of Resurrection they shall be committed to a most grievous penalty. For Allah is not unmindful of what you do (Surah al Baqarah 2:84-85)



Demonstration organised by Hizb ut-Tahrir, Wilayat Egypt



Current affairs:

TICFA: Formalised Economic Slavery

The Bangladeshi government gave a go ahead to the Trade and Investment Cooperation Framework Agreement (TICFA) at the cabinet meeting held on June 17, 2013 with the Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina presiding over the meeting. “Because of the agreement, the US will not be able to take one-sided decisions from now”, claimed cabinet secretary Md. Mosharraf Hossain Bhuiyan at the press briefing after the cabinet meeting. However, a deeper look at the TICFA deal – though it has not been revealed in full by either of the two governments for public debate- gives us a totally different picture.

Different Effects of the TICFA deal:

Both Bangladesh and the US have kept mum about the details of the TICFA deal except for some vague statements like it is going to open up a window of opportunity for Bangladesh and it would be a big step forward towards economic development and so on. It must be mentioned here that India and China has not signed the TICFA deal with the US. Here, we unravel the US agenda behind this deal as well as showing the consequences of such deals.

Intellectual Property Rights (IPR):

According to this deal, Bangladesh has to abide by the IPR rules. Even though the deal mentions that both sides would have to abide by the IPR rules, this makes little sense as Bangladesh hardly has any patents to her name. This would not only affect but also destroy the agricultural, pharmaceutical and Information Technology (IT) sectors of the country among many others. The pharmaceutical sector currently enjoys a World Trade Organization (WTO) exemption from patents act, which would be in force until 2016 and is likely to be extended. However, once the TICFA deal is signed and takes effect, this would not apply to bilateral trade with the US. Therefore, the Bangladeshi pharmaceutical and computer sector will be in ruins by having to pay for patent, copyright, and license fees to American companies. Inflation would follow suit, making life more difficult for the common people.

Agriculture:

Implementing the patent laws will bring a crisis for our agriculture and wildlife as well. Animals and plants in many countries including Bangladesh are patented by multinational companies. If patent law is implemented in the agricultural sector then the farmers will not be allowed to produce, accumulate, preserve, and reproduce seeds. The patent law will make the multinational companies richer and devastate the people and the country. Because of the increased prices in agricultural products, it is likely that the country will face a food crisis. Moreover, this would open up the market for the American companies that sell agricultural products, to monopolize the Bangladeshi market and in the process make them capable of forcing the government to reduce subsidies to the agricultural sector.

Service Sector

This treaty will have adverse effects on our service sector, which comprises the largest part of our economy. As a developed economy, USA has excelled at service sector businesses. Once the TICFA deal is signed, Bangladeshis would lose their jobs to US nationals. Moreover, US financial service providers will gradually hold sway over Bangladesh’s financial sector, elbowing out local businesses. It is worth mentioning here that already due to the WTO regulations Bangladesh had to allow foreign



companies in the service sector, which resulted in their dominance in the financial and telecommunications sector. If the Americans were given further privilege then we would see American companies filling up all those businesses eliminating local ones. This may also result in American media giants making a massive footprint in the local arena. In the long run, Bangladesh will lose vital tax revenues since profit earned will be subject to tax exemption.

Economy would become Prone to Crisis:

With the easy entry of the American companies into the Bangladeshi economy, especially in the financial sector, the country's economy would become intensively integrated to the global economy making it prone to crisis whenever the global economy is in crisis. When the financial crisis hit the US in 2006-07, it had severe repercussions in Europe as the numerous financial institutions were engaged in business in both Europe and America and could not avoid the effect on them. Greece has been a severe victim of the crisis that had its origins in the US. In the aftermath of the crisis, they have now effectively lost any form of economic sovereignty. It would not be strange for Bangladesh to face the same fate.

Others:

a. TICFA would also require Bangladesh to allow trade unions at her industries. Given the regular spate of unrest during the last few years especially in the Ready Made Garments (RMG) industry, this is likely to add insult to injury. While it is true that the Bangladeshi RMG workers are exploited by their owners in cahoots with the government, the TICFA deal is not the remedy.

b. With any kind of trade restrictions lifted, American companies would find it lucrative to invest more in Bangladesh. This is very likely to happen in the oil, gas and petroleum exploration and extraction sector, consolidating their already existing stranglehold over

the country's mineral resources and leaving no room for the country to develop expertise in the field.

c. The TICFA deal includes commitments from the participating countries to follow the path of privatization. TICFA would force the Bangladeshi government to speed up privatizing government industries, which would then be annihilated by the US companies. There are numerous examples already in Bangladesh where local companies have been practically devoured by the Multi National Companies (MNCs) either through unfair competition or through acquisition. Coca Cola had purchased Indian brands Maaza and Thums Up without the existence of such a deal, then it is left to the imagination to consider what more could happen if there is such a deal!

the TICFA deal essentially means that it would serve as the US policy tool whereby they will formally dictate all business, industry and investment related policies of Bangladesh.

In short, the TICFA deal essentially means that it would serve as the US policy tool whereby they will formally dictate all business, industry and investment related policies of Bangladesh. US business and investment proposals will get priority in Bangladesh. Bangladesh will be forced to source major products and services from USA and pay huge sums in royalties to US corporations. In cases of crimes as Occidental's

burning the country's gas worth millions of dollars, the Council will safeguard the interests of US corporations denying the rights of the common people.

The American Agenda:

What the visionless and corrupt rulers of the country fail to understand is that the US has an agenda in getting the TICFA processed. For many years, the US had been happy to have trade involvement in Bangladesh only in the form of energy companies like Chevron, Occidental, etc; but now, the US aims at taking the Bangladeshi economy by the scruff of the neck and to be in a position to dictate it. This has been prompted by several reasons:

Firstly, the Indian dominance in the Bangladeshi economy both in the form of personnel and products



is not something the US is particularly too comfortable with. For example, the entrance of Airtel in the telecommunications sector has given India a hold over one of the most sensitive aspects of the country, i.e. the information flow.

Secondly, given the global financial downturn, it needs to open up more countries for its companies to invade in order to recover an economy that is already in a crisis. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have greatly weakened the American economy from which they need to find a way out.

Finally and perhaps most importantly, TICFA also complements America's new strategic focus on the Asia-Pacific region with an eye on the Bay of Bengal. It would be a vital supply line for any future American military base with American companies like ConocoPhillips dominating the mineral reserves in the Bay of Bengal. The TICFA deal comes on the heels of a series of military-to-military cooperation dialogues between the two countries under the guise of 'Partnership Dialogue'. It would be naïve to assume that TICFA is not related to that. Particularly the timing and the interest shown by the US regarding the deal testifies to that. "I do not want to make any comments on the issue as it is a political decision to be made by both the governments in Dhaka and Washington," said Nasiruddin Chowdhury, first vice-president of Bangladesh Garments Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMEA), quite correctly underlining the political aspect of the so called economy-only deal.

The Islamic View on TICFA:

Islam has a collection of all the systems required to run a state including the foreign policy. The embodiment of the Islamic systems is in the form of the Khilafah state. There are clearly laid out rules for treaties in Islam. In the limited scope of this article, we would only like to address the major aspects of these Islamic criteria in signing treaties that are relevant to TICFA.

1. According to Islam, international agreements must enhance the cause of Islam and the interests of the Ummah. Islam does not allow signing of a treaty that puts the enemies of Islam at an advantageous

position over the Muslims, as is the case with this treaty that is being signed at the behest of the Americans. This would make the Bangladeshi economy more and more dependent on the US. In effect, it would put the economic sovereignty of the country at stake, cripple the economy and destroy our industries whatever little we have. This is a master-slave deal to say the least. Allah swt says:

"...And never will Allah allow the disbelievers a way (to dominate) over the believers." [An-Nisa: 141]

This ayah implies that Muslims cannot sign any deal that gives the enemies of Islam authority over the Muslims. This is exactly what is going to happen with the TICFA deal as has already been exposed. Therefore, Islam clearly prohibits signing of any such deal.

"...And never will Allah allow the disbelievers a way (to dominate) over the believers." [An-Nisa: 141]

2. Moreover, Islam does not permit signing treaties with countries that are at war with Muslims. America is a country that is at war with the Muslims across the world under the guise of 'War on Terror'. Not only that, America currently

occupies the Muslim lands of Iraq and Afghanistan. According to the foreign policy of Islam, it falls within the category of a belligerent state that has imperialist designs over Bangladesh and with which there can be no treaty.

3. The treaty has to be the result of free will, untainted with cheating or duress. In this case, the US government has been constantly pressurizing the Bangladesh government to sign the treaty. The American ambassador Dan W Mozena has been at the forefront of intimidating the government to give a go ahead with the deal. He has been threatening to cancel the Generalized System of Preference (GSP) facility if TICFA was not signed. This is a clear evidence of compulsion.

Islamic solution to the Economy:

Our spineless and incompetent rulers hide their incompetency by giving flimsy arguments like 'we are going to benefit from this deal', 'Our economy is going to leap forward', etc., when it is clear that such deals only aggravates our economic plight. This is because these rulers are incapable of managing the economy and they only follow the dictates of



imperialist organizations like the WTO and IMF. For forty years now, they have made a mess with our economy where they have been the only beneficiaries at the cost of the common people. It is therefore very natural for them to sign these deals that go against the interest of the masses of the country.

On the contrary, Islam has laid out an economic system that ensures a planned industrialization process takes place so that mass employment is generated. Shutting down big industries and striking deals with the colonialists that subjugate the economy is totally out of the question. In contrast, the TICFA deal is a step backwards in the process of industrialization of the country.

Instead of relying on Foreign Direct Investments (FDI), which is rather, Foreign Direct Intervention on the economy, the Khilafah state upon its establishment would fund her industrialization process in three main ways:

- I. Direct Investments - this makes sense where achieving profits would be difficult if left to the private sector, such as shipbuilding, space research or operating railway systems. Therefore, the Khilafah should operate these or subsidize their operations.
- II. Work in collaboration with the private sector – this would be on projects where there is a potential commercial value to the project or government involvement is required to make the project work such as oil, gas or other mineral exploration.
- III. Provide Incentives for the private sector to take on projects - this is by giving contracts to the private sector industries to manufacture heavy machineries,

automobiles, etc or by providing loans/grants/subsidies to industries that process raw materials for instance, or provide free land for construction projects such as weapons manufacturers.

The funds necessary for Industrialization would be managed from the sources defined by the Shariah, i.e. the public property that includes mineral resources. This would be adequate for Bangladesh to carry out her industrialization process given the huge

reserves of mineral resources that we have. Apart from this the private sector would be encouraged to invest in industries that are a prerequisite for development and are in line with the industrial vision of the state. Only through the implementation of the Islamic economic system and the Islamic Industrial policy can we envision economic prosperity for Bangladesh.

Conclusion:

On June 5, 1795 C.E, America

signed an agreement with the Uthmani Khilafah state to pay taxes that amounted to 642,000 gold dollars and an annual payment of 12,000 Othmani gold Lira to the Khilafah State for ensuring the safe passage of the American ship through the Mediterranean sea. This is the only agreement that America has ever signed in a language other than its own. Ironically, today's agreements are not only unequal but also humiliating. Only the Khilafah state-upon its reestablishment- would be able to restore the dignity of the ummah by only signing deals that take the state to the position of a leading state in the globe.

(For detailed outline on the Islamic economic system, view books 'The Economic System of Islam' by Sheikh Taqiuddin An Nabhani & 'Funds in the Khilafah State' by Abdul Qadeem Zalloom. We plan to come up shortly with 'The Islamic Industrial Policy for Bangladesh.')

On June 5, 1795 C.E, America signed an agreement with the Uthmani Khilafah state to pay taxes that amounted to 642,000 gold dollars and an annual payment of 12,000 Othmani gold Lira to the Khilafah State for ensuring the safe passage of American ships through the



Press release on the TICFA issue

The Media Office
of Hizb ut-Tahrir,
Wilayah
Bangladesh

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
﴿ وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ
الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَىٰ لَهُمْ وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُم مِّن مَّوَدِّعِهِمْ أُوْلَئِكَ
يَتَّبِعُونَ مَا يَشَاءُونَ وَيَتْرَكُونَ مَا يَنْهَىٰ عَنْهُمُ اللَّهُ وَأُوْلَئِكَ هُمُ الصَّابِرُونَ ﴾



Ref : 1434-08/2

Friday, 19 Sha'ban, 1434 AH

28-06-2013 CE

Press Release

Signing the Trade and Investment Co-operation Framework Agreement with the US is Against the Interests of the Country and contradicts Islam

Speakers at public meetings organized by **Hizb ut-Tahrir** today outside mosques in Dhaka, Chittagong and Sylhet said the Hasina government's decision to sign the Trade and Investment Co-operation Framework Agreement (TICFA) with the United States is against the interests of the country and contradicts Islam. Sheikh Hasina approved the signing of the agreement at a cabinet meeting on 17th June (2013). After the decision, the Cabinet Secretary commented that trade and investment related issues will be settled through discussions in the Council to be set up under the agreement. Speakers said essentially this means that after it's signing TICFA will be a US policy tool whereby they will formally dictate all business, industry and investment related policies of Bangladesh. US business and investment proposals will get priority in Bangladesh. Bangladesh will be forced to source major products and services from USA and pay huge sums in royalties to US corporations. In cases of crimes like Occidental's burning the country's gas worth millions of dollars, the Council will safeguard the interests of US corporations denying the rights of the Ummah.

Speakers said Hasina has pursued policies against Islam and disregarding Islam ever since she has come to power and therefore she did not hesitate in approving this agreement which contradicts Islam. Islam has provided detailed rules and conditions for international treaties. The Qur'an and the Sunnah do not permit any agreement which subordinates the Muslims to the disbelieving states and establishes their authority in Muslims lands. Allah (SWT) says,

وَلَنْ يَجْعَلَ اللَّهُ لِلْكَافِرِينَ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ سَبِيلًا

"...And never will Allah allow the disbelievers a way (to dominate) over the believers."

[Surah An-Nisa : 141]

According to Islam, international agreements must enhance the cause of Islam and the interests of the Ummah. Treaties that increase the strengths of the disbelievers are prohibited. Moreover treaties cannot be signed with an actual belligerent disbelieving state such as the crusader America which is engaged in war against Islam and the Muslims. Therefore, TICFA is a prohibited treaty from the point of view of Islam and Muslims have a duty to reject it.

Finally the speakers said both the Awami League and BNP are ready to do anything for power including shaking hands with criminal US governments whose hands are soaked with the blood of innocent Muslims. They urged all sincere Muslims to reject TICFA, reject the current corrupt ruling regime and work for establishing the Khilafah. Only the sincere leadership of the Khilafah state guided by the Qur'an and the Sunnah will secure the interests of the Ummah.

The Media Office of Hizb ut-Tahrir
Wilayah Bangladesh



Press release on the issue of abduction of the party Spokeman in Pakistan

The Media Office
of Hizb ut-Tahrir,
Wilayah
Bangladesh

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنكُمْ وَكَرَّمُوا الْغَنِيَّةَ لِيَسْتَحْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَحْلَفَ
الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِهِمْ وَلِيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَىٰ لَهُمْ وَلِيُبَدِّلَنَّهُم مِّن بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا
يَعْبُدُونَنِي لَا يُشْرِكُونَ بِي شَيْئًا وَمَن كَفَرَ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ ﴿١٠٠﴾



Ref : 1434-08/1

Thursday, 11 Sha'ban, 1434 AH

20-06-2013 CE

Press Release

Hizb ut-Tahrir Sent a Delegation to the Pakistan High Commission as Part of a Global Campaign against the Abduction of Naveed Butt, the Official Spokesman of the Party in Pakistan

Hizb ut-Tahrir, Wilayah Bangladesh, sent a five member delegation to the Pakistan High Commission in Bangladesh today in order to submit a letter from **Hizb ut-Tahrir, Wilayah Pakistan**, to the tyrant of Pakistan, General Kayani, at whose behest the Pak agencies abducted Mr Naveed Butt more than a year ago, on 11 May 2012. Initially the officials of the High Commission were unwilling to meet the delegation. However the delegation insisted that the High Commissioner meet with them and listen to the truth. At the end the High Commissioner appointed the Deputy Secretary, Mr Ashraf to meet the delegation. The head of the delegation conveyed a strong condemnation of the year-long abduction of Naveed Butt, and that till today his whereabouts is unknown. Neither his family has been informed about where he is being kept nor has he been presented before a court, despite court orders. The tyrant Kayani, who is the real ruler in PK, resorted to the means of abduction, which is a means used only by lowly criminals, solely due to the stance taken by Naveed Butt and **Hizb ut-Tahrir** against his disgraceful submission to the Americans and betrayal of the Muslims of Pakistan. The Deputy Secretary listened to the delegation without any reply and agreed to forward the letter from **Hizb ut-Tahrir, Wilayah Pakistan**, to his government.

In the letter to Kayani the party demanded immediate release of Naveed Butt. Moreover it warned Kayani of an impending punishment which will be applied upon him by the soon to be established, Khilafah state, in case he failed to release Naveed Butt, in addition to his other crimes against Islam and the Ummah. Finally the party gave a stern message to Kayani not to underestimate the warning, in the following words,

“Lest you underestimate the value of our warning, it is best for you that you consider your own precarious situation carefully.

Firstly, consider your messages that you send to **Hizb ut-Tahrir** through your thugs and your spies, calling the Hizb to lighten its words against you, offering in return that you will lighten your oppression against the Hizb and even release Naveed! Did you consider how your repeated, emphatic messages only confirm your precarious situation? Your messages reveal that our words of truth have besieged you, for you are aware, as we are aware, that Islam's commands are heeded deeply and widely by the Muslim officers over whom the Americans installed you. Or do you not know how they speak of you and your masters, openly in the barracks and messes, as well as the high regard they have for Islam and its Khilafah?

Continued on next page



Continued from last page

Secondly, consider the immense pressure upon you from America to be in the front line against the call for the Khilafah and the party of this call, the Hizb. Did you not notice how this pressure has increased to great degrees in recent times? Know that this pressure is because of the realization of your masters that, the Khilafah is indeed near, with the signs of its impending return sensed throughout the Islamic Lands, whether in Pakistan or Syria or any other place. InshaaAllah it is not long now before the eminent statesman, Ata ibn Khilaleel Abu Ar-Rashta, the Ameer of **Hizb ut-Tahrir** deals with you as a Khaleefah for all the Muslims. And remember, of all the tyrants in the Muslim World, your situation is one of the most precarious, for you find yourself in the lands of the seventh largest armed forces in the world, Pakistan, a Muslim army whom are grandsons of Khalid, Salahudeen and Muhammad bin Qassim. Moreover, when tyrants fall or fail in their services to the West, their Western masters willingly abandon them to their fate, so that they are wrenched out by the Ummah from the sewer or the gutter or any other lowly place!

Thirdly, O tyrant of Pakistan, despite the evidences to the contrary, if you think you're immune to the winds of change, consider that your peers amongst the tyrants and Pharaohs thought of themselves as if they are immortals on the earth and gods other than Allah (swt). However, they were met by what Allah ordained for them. And from them is the one who is waiting now for his blackened misfortune, which he will see soon.

((إِنَّ اللَّهَ بِأَعْيُنِنَا))

“Verily, Allah will accomplish his purpose. Indeed Allah has set a measure for all things.” [Surah al-Talaaq 65:3]

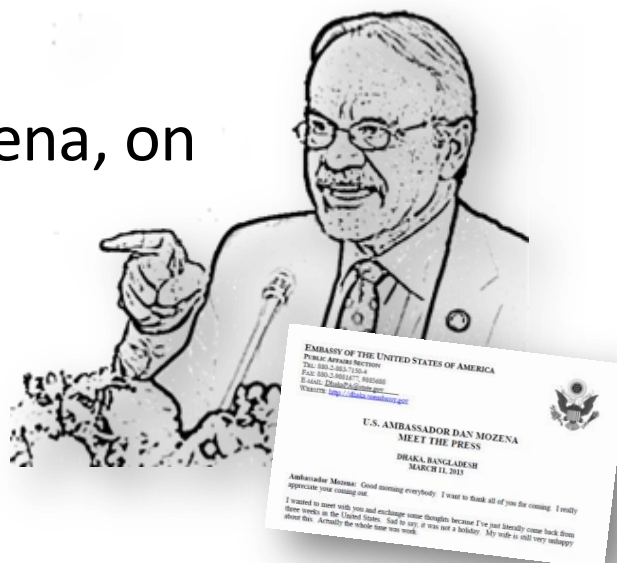
**The Media Office of Hizb ut-Tahrir
Wilayah Bangladesh**



Delegation of Members of Hizb ut-Tahrir, Wilayah Bangladesh, at the Pakistan Embassy in Dhaka delivering protest



America's Viceroy, Dan 'Mountbatten' Mozena, on US Plans for Bangladesh



The last US Ambassador to Bangladesh, James Moriarty, was very discreet with discharging his duties and avoided the media spotlight when applying America's wicked plans. He was the evil mastermind behind the criminals Hasina, Khaleda, and their allies, but like his fictional namesake, he remained elusive. In contrast, Dan Mozena has been openly vociferous about the America's plans for the future of Bangladesh. After his return to the country from his visits to his masters, he held a press conference where he candidly laid out the colonial plans that US had for Bangladesh. Here we present a gist of his speech together with the real implications behind his words....

Experts? That is a euphemism for agents who dance to the tune of US foreign policy

“ ... I attended a conference ... and the whole conference was on Bangladesh challenges and opportunities of engagement in Bangladesh. All these experts from Bangladesh and from all over America and all over the world had flown in. It was a big deal. It was a real big deal.

Consultations? In reality they are instructions. It has subsequently become obvious that TICFA and GSP are issues that are being used as carrot-and-stick to control AL and BNP and thus the election outcome

... I had three solid days of consultations. I went to the United States Trade Representative and there we discussed TICFA, and we discussed the GSP review process and all of those steps. Maybe in questions and answers we can come back to that...

... I went to the Pentagon and went all over that massive building talking to different people about America's military to military engagement with Bangladesh.

Undoubtedly, US will ensure that BD government serves the interests of America, and not the other way around

After that I went to Hawaii, oh my goodness, I suffered greatly in wonderful Hawaii. I went to a two-day conference sponsored by the Pacific Command on the region. I have to tell you, Bangladesh was represented there by Rear Admiral Sarwar, who is the head of the Bangladesh Coast Guard, and by the commander of SWADS, Makbul, Commodore Makbul. And do you know, of all these delegations, maybe 20 delegations from all over Asia, who do you think got the gold star for participation in that conference? Go ahead, make a guess... Bangladesh got the gold star for participation in that conference. I really am proud.

Such names will be noted so that the Muslims can deal with them under the Khilafah

It would be foolish to think that you get a gold star from USA without being a dutiful slave, and by that make your master proud!



Instead read...

- *extremism and terrorism = Islam, khilafah and calling for them*
- *maritime security = our (US) regional strategic interests*
- *international peacekeeping operations = making BD military into mercenaries for our (US) dirty work*
- *humanitarian assistance and disaster relief = convenient excuses to come in with our (USA) army and intervene*

Then I spent a whole day of consultations at the Pacific Command. I'm talking about mil-mil engagement to counter violent extremism, to counter terrorism, maritime security, international peacekeeping operations, and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. So I met the number two commander of Pacific Command, Number one, Admiral Locklear, was out of town. I met all the three stars, four stars...



... So people asked about Shahbagh ... People would say, "Tell us about Shahbagh. What's Shahbagh?" So I said Shahbagh is an example of people peacefully manifesting the most basic right, to express their views publicly. I said this is an important part of democracy...

America will continue to cherry pick the movements that they will support. In other words, the ones that mirror secular/atheist ideals and values that contradict Islam

... But that's not the big story... The big story ... is the bilateral relationship between America and Bangladesh. And I explained everywhere I went, the same message, a powerful message. I said the relationship between America and Bangladesh has never, never, never been broader or deeper or stronger than it is today. And I'm going to read you a dictionary definition, because there's so much confusion over a very simple word. That word is the word "excellent"... The stream of American VVIP and VIP visitors to Bangladesh is unending. It is unprecedented. There has never, never, never been this kind of engagement coming from America. This is how you judge a relationship... They're coming to Bangladesh because it matters. ...

USA has never had it so good; a compliant government that is ready to bend over backwards to serve. Of course this will also be the case with the new regime post election

... We've had the Secretary of the U.S. Navy. The Secretary of State you all remember that. We've had the four star Commander of the U.S. Pacific Command, four star Commander of the Pacific Fleet, three star 7th Fleet Commander, three star U.S. Army Pacific Commander, two stars, one stars. You name it, non-stop. That's just the military side...

BD will see much more of these colonialists dictating their agenda

... Bigger is the civilian side ... [Firstly] We have successfully set up what will be round two of the Security Dialogue between America and Bangladesh... Round two will be in Washington. It will be headed by Andrew Shapiro, the Assistant Secretary of State for Political/Military Affairs ... The Bangladesh side is sending a powerful team to America headed by Mustafa Kamal, but people from AFD and Home and all the other ministries will go, too, to discuss various aspects of our security relationship...

Security & Partnership Dialogue: sets of instructions for BD Govt and BD Military to implement. These will facilitate US strategic plans for the Asian Subcontinent and South Asia region

Secondly, we're cementing the Partnership Dialogue. When Clinton was here ... she and Dipu Moni signed this agreement to establish a Partnership Dialogue. The first Partnership Dialogue was held in Washington in September. And this next one will be May 27-28 here in Dhaka. Wendy Sherman ... [will] lead our delegation and Foreign Secretary Shahid, will be her counterpart. So we're defining that agenda to have a good, strong agenda, to keep giving direction, strategic direction to our partnership....

Clearly "our" means the USA and at the detriment of BD





...The third element would be the second-ever **military-to-military conference**. Last year that was also in September, the end of September in Hawaii at **PACOM, Pacific Command**. This year that's going to be in Dhaka. This is more of a middle level, working level engagement of laying out all the detail for five years of working together on military-to-military affairs. Laying out training and all those kinds of things.



... all three of those are coming together very nicely. Full steam ahead on that...

We talked about further strengthening the SWADS. I call them the Bangladesh Navy SEALs. More things there...

Another area -- I'm listing the areas where I've been working, where I did work and continue to work to elevate this relationship. That's regional integration. The whole idea is called the Indo-Pacific Corridor. So we talked about how America can partner with Bangladesh in improving that corridor ... Some of you know, I was just down in Benapole, down in Jessore... to try to lay in a plan ... And we're coming up with ideas of how to partner with Bangladesh to improve inter-regional integration. ... Some would go west to India, and some would go east. You go east to Burma. You turn left, you're in Kunming. You turn right, you're in Singapore and the world. That's my vision of the Indo-Pacific Corridor. And other countries would use the corridor too, but Bangladesh -- Don't you see this Bangladesh? But the way to build the Indo-Pacific Corridor, you must go to Benapole and... The Padma Bridge will be built. ... That's my vision... But that means connectivity. Connectivity means Indo-Pacific Corridor.

But still people want to engage in Bangladesh. Why, you might wonder? It's the seventh largest country in the world. You heard me talk about that. And it's a moderate and a secular and a tolerant and a democratic alternative to violent extremism... That matters.

The FBI now has a rotating presence here... Let's have someone come for a two year tour or a three year tour like me ..., and you get to know people, people get to know you. And you [FBI] can be more effective. So they agreed. So that's what we're going to do... but with a Bangladeshi or two to help. They have one now... They want to address cyber security. Then you have all the industries of Bangladesh channeling into this corridor and feeding west and feeding east ...

”

"FBI... be more effective" ...! And just in case there is anyone that tries to organise some protest or resistance (such as Hizb ut-Tahrir)... the FBI (as a permanent additional measure) will be at hand to direct Bangladesh's security agencies to spoil any opposition to US and to mute all objection...

PACOM: BD Military will effectively continue to be under the command of this section of the US military might

In the future America will rely less on its US Navy SEALs for its military activities in the region. Hence the need for 'further strengthening' SWADS which is set to be an extension of SEALs

With the need for bolstering US strategic fencing off of China and Russia, "regional intergration" becomes crucial. Pakistan and Bangladesh would add to India to this end; a line of US control stretching from Central Asia, through the Asian Subcontinent, and ending in South Asia

These terms and others will be used increasingly as friendlier words to hide the evil US agenda of using Bangladesh as a conduit to increasing US hegemony in the region

US would like to continue to project Bangladesh as an American success story (colony), these ideas will ensure that there are no future threats from extremism (i.e. ISLAM)



Current affairs:

Leaflet by Hizb ut-Tahrir distributed widely including in the Middle East

The Tyrant of ash-Sham, the Iranian Regime and its Hizb in Lebanon... Repeat Hulagu's Destruction of Baghdad in Qusair!

Approximately seven centuries ago in the year 656 AH, Hulagu Khan destroyed Baghdad after a severe siege. People were massacred in large numbers, houses and mosques were demolished, books and libraries were burned, and crops and livestock were destroyed. The Tigris River, penetrating Baghdad, was witness to this destruction as its water was diluted with human blood and the ink from books. Today stripped from any humility before Allah, His Messenger or even the believers, tyrants indulge in Muslims' blood in Qusair.

The tyrant of ash-Sham strikes Qusair with lethal explosives and competing with him is Hizb 'Iran' (Hezbollah) with its missiles and launchers, the latter of which is indirectly but directly lead by Iran through human interference and logistic support in the form of trucks and airplanes. The attack on the area of Qusair and its orchards has been on-going for days, even weeks now, expanding to its houses and mosques; and neither people nor trees and stones are spared from the tyrant and his henchmen's bombings. This time it is the 'Asi River which runs through Qusair, whose water is witness to the effects of the bombing, killing and destruction.

All of this is to please America and its allies and the Jewish state and its henchmen who want to keep Bashar to protect the interest of the colonialist Kuffar and the yahood. This will go on so long as it will take them to groom a new agent to replace another agent. Meanwhile the tyrant, the Iranian regime and its party assure them: I am hastening, America, so you can be pleased with me!

These brutal attacks were given the green light by America, assuming that more killing in the land of

ash-Sham will cause them to accept the American initiatives. Therefore America is producing for them another agent to replace his predecessor by holding conferences and negotiations under the title of "peaceful solutions". America rebuilds the secular system after face-changes, because it understands that the direction of the people of Ash-Sham is Islam. In doing so America has instructed its front and rear battle lines to use all means of killing and destruction including all sorts of massacres to force people into subordination to their commands and plots. And these are the monstrous attacks!





It is possible for the Muslim to comprehend the malice of the tyrant of ash-Sham against the Muslims and Islam, since he proudly declares his system is a secular regime in opposition to Allah, His Messenger and the believers. But Hizb 'Iran' and its Hizb in Lebanon speak of Islam and Islamically. So how can they participate with secularism rather compete with him in killing Muslims, bombing their mosques and killing their women and children? If they are believers, do they not recite the words of their Lord?

تَعْلُونَ لِمَا تَقُولُونَ لِمَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا بِهَا

"O you who believe! Why do you say what you do not do?"

(As-Saff, 61:2)

Or are they an example of those described by Allah as:

يَكْتُمُونَ بِمَا أُعْلِمُوا وَاللَّهُ قَلْبِهِمْ فِي لَيْسَ مَا يَقُولُونَ

"...saying with their mouths what was not in their hearts. And Allah knows best what they are hiding."

(Al-Imran, 3:167)

We have become witness to the paradoxes that are staunchly rejected by the sane mind making the blood boil in one's veins in those with vision and insight, whereas the Jewish entity that violated Palestine and the Golan Heights bomb vital facilities in Syria. However the Syrian regime responds with bombing the elderly, women and children in Syria! Meanwhile Hizb 'Iran' proclaims to assist the Syrian regime of ridding the Golan Heights from the yahood when it actually assists the tyrant in destroying Qusair and seizing it from the purity of Islam and its people! Iran used to threaten the Zionist entity with retaliation instead it threatens Qusair and others in



ash- Sham, while calm and peaceful with the Zionist entity which violated Palestine and the Golan Heights!

Qusair is being bombed from all directions with the enemies of Allah and His Prophet gathering against it: the Sham's tyrant who is proud of the secularists and the hypocrites who speak with their tongues of which is not in their hearts. They speak of Islam, while concealing their spite towards the people of Islam. Meanwhile all of them rush to destroy Qusair including its inhabitants, plants and even rocks!

All the while, regimes' armies do not mobilize to rescue Qusair nor are they affected by Allah's saying:

التَّحْسُرُ كَمَا فَعَلُوا الَّذِينَ فِي اسْتَحْسَرُوا وَكَمْ وَإِنْ

"If Allah helps you, no one can vanquish you."

(Al-Imran, 3:160)

Rather they observe the bombing and destruction while counting the martyrs and injured, are not concerned by the screams of the orphans and bereaved mothers. In fact they seem to be waiting with unparalleled patience for Qusair and others in Sham to be obliterated. Heartbreakingly these armies are stationed in their barracks obeying the ruler in his treachery, open transgression and injustice. These armies obey regimes that praise America, spilling the precious Muslim blood to satisfy America and its allies. Is there no honorable man amongst these armies, that Allah will show him the truth and guide his heart? To topple these treacherous regimes and proceed as the commander of his unit or battalion to rescue his people and brethren? Is there no such man?

Nevertheless, there are lions in Qusair resisting the continuous bombings in which tyrants utilize all types of weapons that reach them via America's frontlines: Russia and Iran. They resist with weapons which do not amount to a tenth of what the enemy is using. But with hearts of great conviction and tongues speaking the truth, they declare: Either victory or martyrdom to repel the aggression against our religion, our honour, our houses and ourselves! Lions in the face of surrounding tyrants! Lions at a time when mice have roared the lion's roar! The lions of Qusair will be victorious Inshallah in their dunya (life) and the Hereafter! Whatever befalls the



believer is good and the reward is for the God-fearing.

Indeed the curse of Qusair will reach the tyrants of ash-Sham and the Iranian regime and its Hizb in Lebanon. Indeed the sacred blood that was spilled will haunt them in their beds in the darkest of the night and throughout the day until the command of Allah is sent down, and can no longer be withstood. Even if they destroyed Qusair, they will attain but humiliation in this dunya (life) and severe torture if they knew,

بَعْلَمُونَ كَلَّوْا لَوْ أَكْبَرُ الْآخِرَةَ وَلَعَذَابُ الْآخِرَةِ فِي الْآخِرَةِ اللَّهُ قَدَّافَهُمْ

"So Allah made them taste disgrace in the life of this world and the punishment of the Next World is far worse if they only knew."

(Az-Zumar, 39:26)

They will be destroyed like their adherents before them! Hulagu and his adherents were expelled after they thought they had defeated the Khilafah in Baghdad and Hulagu had already deemed himself victorious until he himself was destroyed. But the Khilafah returned and peaked from anew in Cairo and Istanbul,

شَهِدَاءَ مِنْكُمْ وَيَتَّخِذُ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ اللَّهُ وَلِيَعْلَمَ الْكُلِّ شَيْءٍ بِمَا نَدَّوْا لَهَا النَّجْمَ وَيَلْتَكِ الظَّالِمِينَ يُحِبُّ لَأِ وَاللَّهِ

"We deal out such days to people turn by turn, so that Allah will know those who have iman and can gather martyrs from among you – Allah does not love wrongdoers"

(Al-Imran, 3:140)

Hizb ut Tahrir reiterates the words of truth (Haqq) that the Messenger of Allah صلى الله عليه وسلم said to Ka'ab bin 'Ujra many centuries ago in a Hadith Sahih extracted by al-Hakim in al Mustadrak Ala Assaheain:

إِمْرَأَةً وَمَا قَالَ: «السُّقَّاءُ إِمْرَأَةٌ مِنْ عَجْرَةَ بْنِ كَعْبٍ بِنَا اللَّهُ أَعْدَانُكَ؟ بَسْتُونَ وَكَلَّا يَهْدِي بَهْتُونَ لَأِ بَعْرِي مِنْ بَكُونِ أَمْرَاءَ» قَالَ السُّقَّاءُ؟ مَنِّي وَالْبَيْتِ قَوْلُكَ ظَلَمْتُمْ، عَلَى وَأَعْلَانَهُمْ بِكَرْبِهِمْ صَدَقْتُمْ فَمَنْ بَسْتِي، بَعْتُهُمْ وَلَمْ بِكَرْبِهِمْ بَصَدَقْتُمْ لَمْ وَمَنْ حَوَّسِي، عَلَى بَرْدُونَ وَكَلَّا مِدْهُمْ وَلَسْتُ «حَوَّسِي عَلَى وَسَبْرْدُونَ مِنْهُمْ وَأَنَا مَنِّي قَوْلُكَ ظَلَمْتُمْ عَلَى

"O Ka'ab Bin 'Ujrah, may Allah give us refuge from the ruling of Al-Sufaha." They said: "Oh Messenger of Allah: What is the ruling of 'Al-Sufaha'?" He said: "Rulers who will be after me. They do not follow my guidance, and they do not implement my Sunnah. The one who follows their lies, and helps them in their oppression, he is not from me, and I am not from him, and he will not be permitted into my Hawd (basin). And the one who did not believe their lies, and did not help them in their oppression, he is from me, and I am from him, and he will be permitted into my Hawd (basin)." This Hadith has been extracted by many Sahabah.

Whoever supports an unjust ruler and authenticates his lies, regardless of the Islamic legal school he follows, be he Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, Hanbali, Zaydi, Ja'fari or Ibadi, the Hadith of the Messenger of Allah صلى الله عليه وسلم applies to him:

«حَوَّسِي عَلَى بَرْدُونَ وَكَلَّا مِدْهُمْ وَلَسْتُ مَنِّي لَبَسُوا قَوْلُكَ»

"He is not from me, and I am not from him, and he will not be permitted into my Hawd (basin),"

as a clarification of the graveness of this sin. Therefore Hizb ut Tahrir believes in the ayah of Allah,

الْمُسْلِمِينَ سَمَّكُمُ هُوَ

"He named you Muslims"

(Al-Hajj, 22:78)

speaks the truth, and does not fear none other than Allah with the help of the Almighty.

Hizb ut Tahrir addresses those who aided and still aid the tyrant of ash-Sham to restore their goodness and repent their wrongful deeds. We ask them to show remorse before the time comes when remorse will no longer be accepted, nor will their repentance be accepted. Will they then be deterred?

سَهْدٌ وَهُوَ السَّمْعُ الْقَى أَوْ قَلْبٌ لَهُ كَانَ لِمَنْ لَذِكْرَى ذَلِكَ فِي إِنْ

"There is a reminder in that for anyone who has a heart, or who listens well, having seen the evidence."

(Qaaf, 50:37)



Khilafah

What the Classical Scholars say about the Khilafah

This is a compilation of comments by classical scholars on the issue of *khilafah*. By no means an exhaustive list, it is a selection of scholarly commentary which highlights the obligation and importance of the *Khilafah*. All quotes are fully referenced and the original Arabic text, along with a translation, is provided.

This compilation (abridged version) shows how the greatest minds of this *ummah*, the best of its scholars, saw the issue of *khilafah* as absolutely critical, referring to it as being, “from the necessities of the *shari’a* that simply cannot be left” (al-Ghazali), “from the greatest interests of the Muslims and greatest pillars of the *deen*” (al-Amidi), “a pillar from the pillars of the *deen*” (al-Qurtubi), “one of the greatest obligations of the *deen*” (Ibn Taymiyya), “the most important of obligations” (al-Haskafi), among other like statements.

Our scholars remind us in these quotes about how the *sahaba* gave this issue of *khilafah* such an importance that they delayed the burial of the best of creation, the Prophet (saw), due to being engaged with it. They also emphasise the great dangers of not having the *khilafah*, something we have seen, and continue to see, first-hand since its destruction in the early 20th century, since when the *ummah* has witnessed its darkest days.

We hope this compilation serves as a reminder to all Muslims about the most important nature of the obligation of *khilafah* and the need, in turn, to exert utmost effort and work for its re-establishment as a means to fulfill our due to Allah, the exalted, as shown to us by His Messenger (saw).

“الإمامة موضوعة لخلافة النبوة في حراسة الدين وسياسة الدنيا، وعقدتها لمن يقوم بما في الأمة واجب بالإجماع...”

“The word *imamah*¹ denotes the succession (*khilafah*) of prophethood in the protection of the *deen* and the management of the worldly affairs, and its contracting to the one who fulfils it in the *ummah* is an obligation by consensus...”

Imam al-Mawardi [d. 450 AH],
(*Al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyyah*, p.56)

establishing the *imam* who would appoint for them judges and ministers, secure their frontiers, mobilise their armies, divide the *fay*, and give justice to the oppressed from the oppressors; and they said that the way of contracting the *imamah* for the *ummah* is by their choice through exertion of effort.”

Abd al-Qahir al-Baghdadi [d. 429 AH],
(*Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, p.340)

“وقالوا في الركن الثاني عشر للصفاء إلى الخلافة والإمامة أن الإمامة فرض واجب على الأمة لأجل إقامة الإمام بنصب لهم القضاة والأمناء ونسبهم وتفرغهم وغزى جيوشهم ونسبهم لهم، بينهم ويتنصف مظلومهم من ظلمهم وتأييداً بأن طريق عقد الإمامة للإمام في هذه الأمة الاختيار بالاجتهاد.”

“They (scholars of *ahl al-sunnah*) said regarding the *khilafah* and *imamah* that the *Imamah* is an obligation obligated on the *ummah* to the end of

اتفق جميع أهل السنة، وجميع المرحضة، وجميع الشيعة، وجميع الخوارج على وجوب الإمامة، وأن الأمة واجب عليها الاتياد لإمام عادل، يقم فيهم أحكام الله، ويسوسهم بأحكام الشريعة التي أنشأها رسول الله حاشا التحذات من الخوارج فأقيم قائلاً: لا يلزم الناس فرض الإمامة، وإنما عليهم أن يتعاملوا الحق بينهم.”

“All of *ahl ul-sunnah* agreed, as did all the *murji’a*, all the *shi’a*, and all the *khawarij* upon the obligation of the *Imamah*, and that it is obligatory on the *ummah* to submit to a just *imam*, who establishes



upon them the *ahkam* of Allah, and manages their affairs by the *ahkam* of the *shari'a* with which the Messenger of Allah (saw) came; except only the *najadat* from the *khawarij* who said: the people are not obliged with the *imamah*, rather what is upon them is to mutually practice the what is correct between them."

Ibn Hazm [d. 456 AH]

(*Al-Fasl fi Milal wa 'l-Ahwa' wa 'l-Nihal*, 4:87)

"الإمامة رياسة تامّة، وزعامة عامة، تتعلق بالخاصة والعامة، في مهمات الدين والدنيا. مهمتها حفظ الحدود، ورياسة الرعية، وإقامة الدعوة بالحجة والسيف، وكف الخيف والحيف، والانتصاف للمظلومين من الظالمين، واستيفاء الحقوق من المعتدين، وإغناؤها على المستحقين... أما أصحاب رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وسلم - وأولوا البدار إلى نصب الإمام حقا: تركوا لسب الشاغلي به تجهيز رسول الله ودفنه، محافة أن تغشاهم هاجمة عمدة."

"The *Imamah* is a complete authority and general leadership over all the people in all important religious and temporal affairs. Its roles includes the defense of the territory of *dar al-Islam*, looking after the interests of the community, establishing the Islamic *da'wah* by providing evidence and proof and by the sword, restraining deviation and inequity, providing help and support to the oppressed against transgressors and recovering dues from those who refuse to fulfill them and providing them to those who were deprived of them...the companions of the Messenger of Allah (saw) saw that moving swiftly to appoint the *imam* was the right thing to do; thus they left the preparation of the Prophet's burial because of being engaged in this task, fearing lest a tribulation encompass them."

Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwayni [d. 478 AH]

(*Ghiyath al-Umam fi Tiyath al-Dhulam*, 1:22-23)

"بيان أن السلطان ضروري في نظام الدنيا، ونظام الدنيا ضروري في نظام الدين، ونظام الدين ضروري في الفوز بسعادة الآخرة وهو مقصود الأنبياء قطعاً فكان وجوب نصب الإمام من ضرورات الشرع الذي لا سبيل إلى تركه فاعلم ذلك."

"Hence it is clear that an executive authority (*sultan*) is necessary for the organisation of the *dunya*, and the organisation of the *dunya* is necessary for the organisation of the *deen*, and the organisation of the *deen* is necessary for success in the hereafter and that is the objective of the prophets without doubt. Therefore the obligation of appointing an *imam* is from the necessities of the *shari'a* that simply cannot be left, so know this."

"If the *Imamah* becomes void so too would the delegation (of authority). The judges would dissolve and join the ranks of the people. Proper legal disposal of rights with respect of life, blood, honour and wealth would be prevented, and application of the *shari'a* would end in all these important matters."

Imam al-Ghazali [d. 505 AH]

(*Al-Iqtisad fi al-'Itiqad*: 199 & *Fada'ih al-Batinah*: 105 respectively)

"والمسلمون لا بد لهم من إمام يقوم بتنفيذ أحكامهم وإقامة حدودهم وسد ثغورهم وتجهيز جيوشهم وأخذ صدقاتهم وتبخر الثغرة والتلصقة وتضاع الطرق وإقامة الجمع والأعياد وتطعم المزارعات الواقعة بين العباد وقبول الشهادات القائمة على الحقول وتوزيع الصغار والسعائر التي لا أولياء لهم وقسمة الغنائم."

"The Muslims must have an Imam, who carries out the implementation of their *ahkam*, the maintaining of their *hudud*, the guarding of their frontiers, the equipping of their armies, the receiving of their alms [*zakat*], the subjugation of those who rebel, thieves and highway robbers, the establishment of *jumu'a* and the two 'Eids, the settlement of disputes which take place amongst people, the receiving of evidence based on legal rights, the facilitation of the marriage of the young men and women who have no guardians, and the distribution of the booty."

Imam al-Nasafi [d. 537AH]

(*Al-Aqa'id al-Nasafiyyah*, p.354)

"وما قريت وفاة أبي بكر فقال: تشاوروا في هذا الأمر. ثم وصف عمر بن الخطاب وعهد إليه واستقر الأمر عليه، وما دار في قلبه ولا في قلب أحد أنه يجيز علم الأرض من إمامه، وما قريت وفاة عمر جعل الأمر شورى بين ستة، وكان الاتفاق على عثمان رضي الله عنه، وبعد ذلك الاتفاق على علي رضي الله عنه، فدل ذلك كله على أن الصحابة رضوان الله عليهم وهم الصناديق الأولى كانوا على بكرة أبيهم متفقين على أنه لا بد من إمام...فلذلك الإجماع على هذا الوجه دليل قاطع على وجوب الإمامة."

"When the death of Abu Bakr (ra) neared he said (to the *sahaba*), "Consult amongst yourselves about this matter (of *khilafah*)". He then described the attributes of Umar (praising him) and chose him as successor. It did not occur to his heart, or that of anyone else, in the least, that it is permissible for there to be no *imam*. When the death of Umar (ra) neared he made the matter one of consultation between six, and they consented upon Uthman (ra), and after that upon Ali. All of this indicates that the *sahabah* (ra), the first and best of the Muslims, consented that having an *imam* was necessary...This



type of consensus is a definitive evidence for the obligation of the *imamah*.”

Imam al-Shahrastani [d.548 AH]
(*Nihayat al-Iqdam fi 'Ilm al-Kalam*, 1:268)

فإنما نصب الإمام من أهم مصالح المسلمين وأكبرهم عند الدين فيكون واجباً حيث عرف بالسمع أن ذلك مفروض للشرع...²

“Hence, appointing the Imam is from the most important interests of the Muslim and the greatest pillars of the *deen*. It is obligatory insofar as it is known by text that it is indicated upon as such by the revelation...”

Imam Sayf al-Din al-Amidi [d. 631 AH]
(*Ghayat al-Muram fi 'Ilm al-Kalam*, p.366)

عنه الآية أصل في نصب إمام وخليفة يسمع له ويطاق لتجتمع به الكلمة وتتفاد به أحكام الخليفة ولا خلاف في وجوب ذلك بين الأمة ولا بين الأمة إلا ما روي عن الأئمة حيث كان عن الشريعة اسم وكذلك كان من قال فقيهه واتبعه على رأيه ومنعه.³

وأجمعت الصحابة على تقديم الصديق بعد الاختلاف وقع بين المهاجرين والأنصار في سقفة بني ساعدة في الصعيه حتى قالت الأنصار: ما أمر ومنكم أمره فتذهبهم أبو بكر وعمر والمهاجرون عن ذلك وقالوا لهم: إن العرب لا تتبين إلا خلفاء النبي من قريشه، ورووا لهم الخبر في ذلك، فترجعوا وأطاعوا لقريشه. فلو كان فرض الإمامة غير واجب لا في قريشه ولا في غيرهم لما سافت هذه المناظرة والمخاطبة عليه، ولقال قائل: إنها ليست بواجبة لا في قريشه ولا في غيرهم، فما لتتزوجكم وجه ولا ثلاثة في أمر ليس واجب ثم إن الصديق رضي الله عنه ما حضرته الوفاة عهد إلى عمر في الإمامة ولم يقل له أحد هذا أمر غير واجب علينا ولا علينا نذل على وجوبها وأنها ركن من أركان الدين الذي به قويم للمسلمين، واحمد لله رب العالمين.⁴

“This ayah is an evidence for the appointment of an *imam* and *khalifah*. He is listened to and obeyed, for the word is united through him, and the *ahkam* (laws) of the *khalifah* are implemented through him, and there is no difference of opinion regarding the obligation of that between the *ummah*, nor between the scholars, except what is narrated from al-Asamm (lit. the deaf), who was indeed deaf with regards to the *shari’a*, as were all those held his opinion and who followed it.”

“The *sahaba* all agreed on electing Abu Bakr (ra) after the difference that occurred between the *muhajireen* and *ansar* in the courtyard of Bani Sai’da, in which the *ansar* said, “One amir from us and one from you.” Abu Bakr, Umar and the *muhajireen* countered this, saying, “The Arabs will not submit to anyone other than Quraysh,” and they related narrations on this matter, so the *ansar*

retracted and accepted. Had the *imamah* not been obligatory, neither in Quraysh nor in other than them, this discussion and debate would not have taken place at all, and someone would have said, “It is not obligatory, neither in Quraysh nor anyone else. Your disagreement has no basis or benefit, since the matter is not obligatory.” Further, when death neared Abu Bakr (ra), he chose Umar (ra) for the *imamah* and no one said to him, “This matter was not obligatory upon us or on you.” All of this indicates that it [the *khilafah*] is obligatory and is a pillar from the pillars of the *deen* by which the strength of the Muslims is realised, and all praise belongs to Allah, Lord of the Words.”

Imam al-Qurtubi [d. 671]
(*Al-Jami’ li Ahkam al-Qur’an*, 1:264-265)

وأجمعت على أنه يجب على المسلمين نصب خليفة يوجبه بالشرع لا بالعقل...⁵

وإذا أخرجوا دونه صلى الله عليه وسلم من يوم الاثنين إلى ليلة الأربعاء لم يترد غير الثلاثة للانتقال بأمربيعة يكون لهم إمام ورجعون إلى قوله إن اختلوا في شيء من أمور تجهيزه ودفنه ودفنواون لأمره فلا يرد في النزاع واختلاف الكلمة وكان هذا أهم الأمر والله أعلم.⁶

“They (the scholars) consented that it is an obligation upon the Muslims to appoint a *khalifah*, and that its obligation is by revelation, not reason”.

“And they (the *sahaba*) only delayed his (saw) burial from the day of Monday till the night of Wednesday, the end of the day of Tuesday, because of being occupied with the matter of the *bay’ah* so that there would be for them an *imam* to return to his decision if they differed in any matter of the funeral and burial, and so they would obey his command, so that dispute and disunity does not occur, and this was the most important of matters, and Allah knows best.”

Imam an-Nawawi [d. 676 AH]
(*Sharh Sahih Muslim*, 12:205 & 7:36 respectively)



يحب أن يعرف أن ولاية أمر الناس من أعظم واجبات الدين على لا قيام للدين ولا تقديراً إلا بها. فإن بني آدم لا تتم مصلحتهم إلا بالاجتماع خاصة بعضهم إلى بعض، ولا بد لهم عند الاجتماع من رأس حتى قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: «إنما خرج ثلاثة في سفر فليؤموا أحدهم». يروى أبو داود من حديث أبي سعيد وأبي هريرة... فيوجب صلى الله عليه وسلم تأمر الواحد في الاجتماع القليل العارض في السفر، تنبيهاً بذلك على سائر أنواع الاجتماع.

ولأن الله تعالى أوجب الأمر بالعرف والشيء عن الشرك، ولا يتم ذلك إلا بقوة وإمارة. وكذلك سائر ما أوجبه من العبادة والعدل وإقامة الحج والجمع والأعياد ونفس المظالم وإقامة الحدود لا تتم إلا بالقوة والإمارة ولهذا روي: «أن السلطان ظل الله في الأرض» ويقال: «ستون سنة من إمام جائر تسلمح من ليلة واحدة بلا سلطان». والشجرة تين ذلك ولهذا كان السلف - كالفنيل بن عياش وأحمد بن حنبل وغيرهما - يقولون: لو كان لنا دعوة مجابة لدعونا بها للسلطان».

“It is imperative to know that the office in charge of governing the people is one of the greatest obligations of the *deen*. Nay, there is no establishment of the *deen* or the *dunya* except by it. The interests of humans are not achieved except by social interaction due to their need of one another, and this social interaction necessarily requires a head, such that the Prophet (saw) said, “If three go out in travel, let them make one of them the leader” (Abu Dawud)...so he (saw) obligated making one a leader in a small and temporary social interaction in travel, drawing attention by this to all other types of social interaction.

Further, (appointing a leader is obligatory) because Allah has obligated enjoining the good and forbidding the evil, and this is not executed except through a power and authority. The same applies to other obligations such as *jihad*, establishing justice, organising the *hajj*, *ju mu’a* and the *eids*, assisting the oppressed, implementing the *hudud*; none of these are able to be executed except by a power and authority. For this reason, it has been narrated that, “The *sultan* is the shade of Allah on Earth”, and it is said, “Sixty years of an oppressive *imam* is better than one night without any leader,” and experience substantiates this. Thus did the *salaf* – such as al-Fadl ibn ‘Iyad and Ahmad ibn Hanbal – used to say, “If we had on *du’a* guaranteed to be answered, we would supplicate for the *sultan*.”

Ibn Taymiyyah [d. 728 AH]
(*Al-Siyasah al-Shar’iyyah*, p.129)

نصب الإمام عندنا واجب علينا معاً...إياه تواتر إجماع المسلمين في الصدر الأول بعد وفاة النبي امتناع حلو الوقت عن إمام حتى قال أبو بكر رضي الله عنه في خطبة ألا إن عهدنا قد مات ولا بد لنا من من يقوم به فيأخذ الكل إلى قيوه وركبوا له نعم الأشياء وهو دفين رسول الله ولم يزل الناس على ذلك في كل عصر إلى زماننا هذا من نصب إمام متى في كل عصر.

“Our position on appointing the *Imam* is that it is obligatory by text...the consensus of the Muslims of the first generation after the passing of the Prophet (saw) to avoid being in a state of not having an *imam* has reached us by concurrent narration (*tawatur*). This was emphatic to the extent that Abu Bakr (ra) said in his sermon, “Behold, Muhammad (saw) has passed away, and it is necessary for this *deen* to have someone to lead and implement it,” so the companions all moved swiftly to accept him and leave for him to decide about the most important matter, namely, the burial of the Messenger of Allah (saw). The Muslims have remained on this position in every age up till this time of ours, in appointing an *imam* who is followed.”

Imam ‘Adud al-Din al-Iji [d. 756 AH]
(*Al-Mawaqif fi ‘Ilm al-Kalam*, 3:579-580)

تم الإجماع على أن نصب الإمام واجب وإنما الخلاف في أنه هل يجب على الله تعالى أو على الخلق بدليل سمعي أو عقلي. ولقد ثبت أنه يجب على الخلق معاً، لقوله عليه السلام: ((من مات ولم يعرف إمام زمانه مات ميتة جاهلية)) ولأن الأمة قد جعلوا لهم المهتمات بعد وفاة النبي عليه السلام نصب الإمام حتى تقوم على الدين، وكذا بعد موت كل إمام، ولأن كثيراً من الواجبات الشرعية يتوقف عليها.

“There is (scholarly) consensus on the appointment of an *imam* being obligatory. The difference of opinion is only on the question of whether the obligation is on Allah or man, and whether is it by textual or rational evidence.2 The correct position is that it is obligatory upon man by the text, due to his saying (saw), ‘Whosoever dies not knowing the *Imam* of his time dies the death of *jahilliyah*’, and because the *Ummah* (the companions) made the appointing of the *Imam* the most concerning of important matters after the death of the Prophet (saw) to the extent that they gave it priority over the burial; similarly after the death of every *imam*, and also because many of the other *shari’a* obligations depend upon it.”

Imam al-Taftazani [d. 792AH]
(*Sharh al- Aqa’id al-Nasafiyyah*, p.353-354)

إن نصب الإمام واجب قد عرف وجوبه في الشرع بإجماع الصحابة والتابعين، لأن أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عند وفاته باتوا إلى بيعة أبي بكر رضي الله عنه وتسليم النظر إليه في أمورهم. وكذا في كل عصر من بعد ذلك. ولم تترك الناس قريشاً في عصر من الأمصار. واستقر ذلك إجماعاً دالاً على وجوب نصب الإمام.

“Indeed the appointment of the *Imam* is an obligation, whose obligatory nature is known in the



revelation by the consensus of the *sahaba* and the *tabi'een*, because the companions of the Messenger (saw) rushed to the *bay'ah* of Abu Bakr (ra) and to submit the management of their affairs to him upon his (saw) death. Similarly in each age after that; the people were never left in anarchy in any era, and this persisted to be the case by a consensus indicative of the obligation of appointing an *imam*."

Ibn Khaldun [d. 808 AH]

(*Al-Muqaddimah*, Chapter III, Section 26, 2nd para.)

إعلم أيضاً أن الصحابة رضوان الله عليهم أجمعوا على أن تنصب الإمام بعد انقراض زمن النبوة واجب، بل جعلوه أهم الواجبات حيث اشتغلوا به عن دفن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم.

"Know that the *sahabah*, Allah be pleased with them, consented that selecting the *Imam* after the end of the era of prophethood was an obligation. Indeed they made it the most important of obligations as they were busy with it (giving it priority) over the burial of the Messenger of Allah (saw)."

Imam Ibn Hajar al-Haytami [d. 974 AH]

(*Al-Sawaa'iq al-Muhriqah*, 1:25)

يجب على الناس نصب إمام يقوم بمصالحهم، تنفيذ أحكامهم وإقامة حدودهم وسد نفوذهم وتجهيز جيوشهم وأخذ سدائهم أن دفعوا وهم للعلية والتفصية وتقاطع الطرق وقطع المزارعات الواقعة بين الخصوم ونسبة العالم وغير ذلك لإجماع الصحابة بعد وفاة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم على تنصيبه حتى جعلوه أهم الواجبات، وتقدموا على دفن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم ولم يزل الناس في كل عصر على ذلك.

"It is obligatory on the people to appoint an *imam* who looks after their interests – such as implementing the *ahkam*, executing the *hudud*, defending the frontiers, preparing the armies, collecting the *zakat* to distribute it, subjugating rebels, thieves and brigands, resolving disputes that arise amongst people, dividing the booty and the like – due to the consensus of the companions after the death of the Prophet (saw) on appointing him, to the extent that they considered it the most important of obligations and prioritised it over his (saw) burial, and the Muslims have remained on this (appointing an *imam*) in every age."

Imam Shams al-Din al-Ramli (d. 1004 AH)

(*Ghayat al-Bayan fi Sharah Zabd ibn Raslan*, 1:15)

نصب الإمام الأعظم على المسلمين فرض كفاية.

"Appointing the greater *imam* (the *khalifah*) upon the Muslims is an obligation of sufficiency."

Mansur ibn Yunus al-Buhuti [d. 1051 AH]

(*Kashshaf al-Qinaa' 'an Matn al-Iqnaa'*, 6:158)

الذكرى استحقاق تصرف عام على الأمام وتلقيه في علم الكلام، ونصبه أهم الواجبات (أي من أهمها ليقرب كثير من الواجبات الشرعية عليه)، فلما تقدموا على دفن صاحب المعجزات (صلى الله عليه وسلم - تولى يوم الاثنين ودفن يوم الثلاثاء أو ليلة الأربعاء أو يوم الأربعاء) عن المواهب، وهذه السنة بالية إلى الآن لم يفتن خليفة حتى يولى غيره.

"The major *imamah* (*khalifah*) is the right of general disposal over the people. Its study is in scholastic theology and establishing it is the most important of obligations [it is of the most important obligations because the fulfillment of so many other *shari'a* obligations depends on it]. For this reason did they (the *sahaba*) give it priority over the burial of the Prophet (saw) [He (saw) passed away on Monday and was buried on the day of Tuesday or the night of Wednesday or its day (according to the different narrations), and this *sunnah* remains till this day such that the *khalifah* is not buried until another is appointed]."

Imam al-Haskafi [d. 1088 AH]

Ibn Abidin [d. 1252 AH]

(*Radd al-Muhtar 'ala al-Durr al-Mukhtar*, 1: 548)

أعلم أنه يجب أن يكون في جماعة المسلمين خليفة لمصالح لا تتم إلا بوجوده...

"Know that it is obligatory for there to be in the *jama'a* of the Muslims a *khalifah* for interests that simply cannot be fulfilled except with his presence..."

Shah Waliullah al-Dehlawi [d. 1152 AH]

(*Hujjat Allahi al-Baligha*, 2:229)

إن الصحابة لما مات رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم تقدموا أمر الإمامة ومبايعة الإمام على كل شيء، حتى إنهم اشتغلوا بذلك عن تجهيزه صلى الله عليه وسلم... ثم من أعظم الأداة على وجوب نصب الأئمة وبطلان البيعة لهم ما أخرجه أحمد والترمذي وابن حبان في صحيحه من حديث الحارث الأشعري باللفظ من مات وليس عليه إمام جماعة فإن موته مرة جاهلية يرواه الحاكم من حديث ابن عمر ومن حديث معوية يرواه البيهقي من حديث ابن عباس.

"When the Prophet (saw) passed away, the companions (ra) prioritised the matter of the political leadership (the *imamah*) and pledging



alliance to an *imam* over everything else, to the extent that

they were busy with it (giving it priority) over the funeral preparations of the Prophet (saw)...From the strongest evidences for the obligation of appointing an *imam* and pledging allegiance to him is what Ahmad, al-Tirmidhi, ibn Khuzayma and ibn Hibban in his *sahih* extracted of the hadith of al-Harith al-Ash'ari in the wording (that the Prophet (saw) said), "Whosoever dies whilst not having over him an *imam* of the *jama'ah*, then indeed his death is the death of *jahilliya*." Al-Hakim also narrated it from Ibn 'Umar and Mu'awiya and al-Bazzar narrated it from Ibn Abbas."

Imam al-Shawkani (d. 1250 AH)

(*Al-Sayl al-Jarrar al-Mutadaffiq 'ala Hada'iq al-Azhar*, 1:936)

Notes

1 *Imamah* and *khilafah* are synonymous terms, both referring to the political leadership of all Muslims entrusted with the duty of implementing Islam. *Imam* and *khalifah* are also synonymous, referring to the person in whom this leadership is manifest, or in modern parlance, the head of state in the *khilafah*.

2 To understand what is being referred to here one must note that whilst all the scholars - barring literally a handful whose opinion carries no weight - held the appointment of a *khalifah* to be an

اتفق الأئمة رحمهم الله تعالى على: أن الإمامة فرض وأنه لا بد للمسلمين من إمام يقيم شعائر الدين ويتصرف للظالمين من الظالمين وعلى أنه لا يجوز أن يكون على المسلمين في وقت واحد في جميع الدنيا إمامان لا متفقان ولا مفترقان وعلى أن الأمة من قریش وأنه يجوز للإمام أن يستخلف."

"The Imams (of the four *madhabs*: Abu Hanifa, Malik, Shaf'i, Ahmad) - may Allah have mercy on them - all consented that the *Imamah* is an obligation, and that the Muslims must appoint an *imam* who would implement the rites of the *deen*, and give the oppressed justice against the oppressors, and they agreed that it is not permitted that there be over the Muslims, at any one time, two *imams*, in agreement or discord, and that the *imams* are from Quraysh and that is permitted for the *imam* to choose a successor."

Imam al-Juzayri [d. 1360 AH]

(*Al-Fiqh 'ala al-Mathahib al-Arba'a*, 5:416.)

obligation, there was disagreement as to the nature of this obligation: is it established on the basis of revelation or reason, and is the obligation on Allah or man? The majority held that the obligation was on man and on the basis of the revelation. This is the correct position. Others held that the obligation was on the basis of the mind and was on Allah, or that it was on the basis of the mind but on man.

References

- Abu Nu'aym, Ahmad, *Hilyat al-'Awliya' wa Tabaqat al-Asfiya'*, al-Sa'ada: Egypt, 1974.
- al-Amidi, Sayf al-Din, *Ghayat al-Muram fi 'Ilm al-Kalam*, al-Majlis al-'Aa'la: Cairo.
- al-Baghda di, Abd al-Qahir, *al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, Dar al-Afaq al-Jadida: Beirut, 1977.
- al-Buhuti, ibn Yusuf, *Kashshaf al-Qinaa' 'an Matn al-Iqnaa'*, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya: Beirut.
- al-Dehlawi, Shah Waliullah, *Hujjat Allahi al-Baligha*, Dar al-Jeel: Beirut, 2005.
- al-Juwayni, Abul-Ma'ali, *Ghiyath al-Umam fi Tiyath al-Dhulam*, Maktabat Imam al-Haramayn, 1980.
- al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid, *al-Iqtisad fi al-'Itiqad*, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya: Beirut, 2004.
- al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid, *Fada'ih al-Batiniyya*, Mu'assasa Dar al-Kutub al-Thaqafiyya: Kuwait.
- al-Haytami, Ibn Hajar, *al-Sawa'iq al-Muhriqah*, Mu'assat al-Risala: Beirut: 1997.
- al-Ijji, Adud al-Din, *al-Mawaqif fi Ilm al-Kalam*, Dar al-Jeel: Beirut, 1997.
- al-Juzayri, Abd al-Rahman, *al-Fiqh 'ala al-Mathahib al-Arba'a*, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya: Beirut, 2003.
- al-Mawardi, Abu al-Hasan, *Ahkam al-Sultaniyya wa al-Wilayat al-Diniyya*, Dar al-Hadith: Cairo.
- al-Nawawi, Yahya ibn Sharaf, *Sharh Sahih Muslim*, Dar Ihya' al-Turath al-Arabi: Beirut: 1971
- al-Qurtubi, Abu Abdallah, *al-Jami' li Ahkam al-Qur'an*, Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya: Cairo, 1964.
- al-Ramli, Shams al-Din, *Ghayat al-Bayan fi Sharah Zabd ibn Raslan*, Dar al-Ma'rifa: Beirut.
- al-Shahrastani, Abul-Fath, *Nihayat al-Iqdam fi 'Ilm al-Kalam*, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya: Beirut, 2004.
- al-Shawkani, Muhammad, *al-Sayl al-Jarrar al-Mutadaffiq 'ala Hada'iq al-Azhar*, Dar Ibn Hazm.
- al-Taftazani, Sa'd al-Din, *Sharh Aqa'id al-Nasafiyya*, Maktabat al-Bushra: Karachi, 2011.
- Ibn Abidin, Muhammad Amin, *Radd al-Muhtar 'ala al-Durr al-Mukhtar*, Dar al-Fikr: Beirut, 1992.
- Ibn Hazm, Abu Muhammad, *al-Fasl fi Milal wa 'l-Ahwaa' wa 'l-Nihal*, Maktabat al-Khaniji: Cairo
- Ibn Khaldun, Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad, *al-Muqaddimah*, al-Dar al-Bada', 2005.
- Ibn Taymiyyah, Taqi al-Din, *al-Siyasah al-Shar'iyyah*, Wizarat al-Shu'un: Riyadh, 1997.



Khilafah

Khilafah in the Indian Subcontinent & Bangladesh

Whenever the issue of establishing Khilafah in Bangladesh and neighboring region is raised, some people find it strange as if historically this land was never under the Khilafah rule, had no connection with 'central' Khilafah and hence the Khilafah is completely alien to Bangladesh. Another misconception related to this idea is: Bangladesh (or historical Bengal) was mostly ruled by indigenous people, driven by nationalistic zeal, who were not interested to become a part of 'central' Khilafah at all. This essay will show how erroneous these concepts are, as the fact is that this land was opened by the army of the Khilafah just like other lands in this sub-continent, and it was ruled by rulers of the Khalifah, or his regional Walis (governors), who were concerned enough to express their allegiance (baya'a) to the Khalifah and used to issue coins in the name of Khalifah. Moreover, some of those rulers did not have local origins, rather they were Muslims who came from outside this area, though they ran the local administration with local people.

Since the opening of Bengal in 1203/1204 CE by Ikhtiar Uddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiar Khilji, Islamic rule started in this land. All successive rulers in Bengal, with few exceptions, considered themselves either as a local ruler under the Khalifah's Wali in Delhi or as an independent Sultan of Bengal directly under the Khalifah. This is proved by their practice of attaching the name of either the Delhi Sultan or the Abbasid Khalifah in all their coins and by constant mentioning of their title as 'Helper of the Commander of Faithful (or Khalifah)'. They felt the need to do this as they viewed this land as part of the Khilafah. As Bengal was first opened under the instruction of Delhi Sultan so before entering into the matter of how the Khilafah ruled Bangladesh, we need to first discuss how the Khilafah ruled this subcontinent.

Islam and Khilafah in Indian Subcontinent:

Historical records prove that Muslim traders used to visit the coast of Malabar in south-eastern part of India and specifically Kerala state since the time of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). The first fragrance of Islam reached this sub-continent through those Arab

... the first Muslim of Hindustan was a King named 'Cheraman Varma Perumal' who was the last King of Perumal Dynasty of Chera Kingdom comprising the current Kerala state. He heard about the Prophet (pbuh) from Arab traders, then converted into Islam and then went to Makka to visit the Prophet (pbuh).

traders, though it was not the 'official way' of propagating Islam. Many of us may not know that the first Muslim of Hindustan was a King named 'Cheraman Varma Perumal' who was the last King of Perumal Dynasty of Chera Kingdom comprising the current Kerala state. He heard about the Prophet (pbuh) from Arab traders, then converted into Islam and then went to Makka to visit the Prophet (pbuh). The famous historian Imam Tabari mentioned in his 'Firdausul Hikam' that 'Cheraman Perumal called



on the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and stayed with him for seventeen days, then returned to Kerala'. A narration in the hadith book named Mustadrak lil Hakim also pointed to this event where it says 'A Hindu King offered Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) a jar of ginger and he distributed it to his followers piece by piece'. Historical narrations indicate that this incident took place before the Hijrah when the Prophet (pbuh) lived in Makka. The King then took the name 'Tajuddin' and left Makka with a companion of the Prophet (pbuh) named Malik ibn Dinar (ra), but on his way back to Kerala the King died in Oman and he was buried there. His companions came back to Kerala with the companion of the Prophet (pbuh) and they built 11 mosques in that area. The mosque was named as 'Cheraman-Malik Mosque' which still exists in Kerala with original structure and is known as the first mosque in the sub-continent. The people of that area who converted to Islam used to be known as 'Mopla' in that region. History does not say much about this event and its further advance, but it can be understood that it did not spread further as Islam cannot be fully propagated and established in a region in this voluntary way without direct backing of the Islamic state.

After the time of the Prophet (pbuh) the 2nd Khalifah, Umar (ra), sent an expedition towards Sindh area which did not progress much further. During the 3rd Khalifah, Uthman (ra) instructed his governor in Iraq to send some spies to the border region of Hindustan to collect information on that area for further expeditions. The informer sent negative news and so, the plan could not advance any more that time, but by 652 CE some areas near the northern border of the Indian subcontinent were conquered. During the 4th Khalifah, Ali (ra) sent an expedition to that area in 660 CE under Harith ibn Murra al-Abdi, who conquered some areas near Sindh, though he was killed later. Then, Khalifah Muawiya (ra) sent an expedition in 666 CE to the same area between present day Kabul and Multan and appointed a governor to rule there near the Hindustan border. So it is clear that the expedition towards the Indian subcontinent started from the very beginning of the Islamic Khilafah in Medina. Despite all these efforts, none of these expeditions could reach within the

boundary of Sindh or Hind as Allah reserved this victory for someone else.

During the Khilafat of Walid bin Abdul Malik, the attempt of conquering Sindh and the way to open the Indian sub-continent found its success. In the years before 711 CE, Muslim traders were sailing in the Indian Ocean from Ceylon near the coast of Sindh. However, the ship was looted and the Muslims were captured and imprisoned. The news reached the capital of the Islamic Khilafah state. When the Khalifah al-Walid b. 'Abdul Malik heard about this, he sent a message to Hajjaj bin Yusuf, the Wali (governor) of Baghdad to demand apologies from the ruler of Sindh and to rescue the Muslims. He sent two consecutive expeditions both of which failed. Then, an army was dispatched led by one of the most brilliant sons of this Ummah named Muhammad b. Qasim al-Thaqafi, the opener of Bilad al Hind at the age of only 17. When his army reached Debal (near modern day Karachi), Muhammad b. Qasim presented his demands to Raja Dahir. The Raja rejected these demand and thus was inevitably defeated by the Muslims and his Kingdom was captured. After this, Muhammad b. Qasim followed up his initial success with further encounters. The Islamic Army, driven by the Islamic Aqeedah, penetrated as far as Multan. Within three years, by 714 CE, the whole of Sindh and lower Punjab were brought under the rule of the Islamic Khilafah and he implemented Islam in the conquered territories as a governor of the State. His conquest of Sindh and Punjab enabled further Islamic expansion into the Indian subcontinent. After his death, the Khalifah appointed a few more governors over that region one after another. It was during the time of Khalifah Hisham b. 'Abdul Malik from 724 to 743 CE that the Khilafah State conquered the regions of Kashmir and Kangra and during 754-75 under the 'Abbasid Khalifah Abu Ja'far Al-Mansur, Kandahar was opened and efforts were made to consolidate and spread the frontiers of the Khilafah state in the Indian subcontinent. It was between 786 and 809 CE, during the Khilafah of Harun ar-Rashid that the Islamic Army extended the frontiers of Sindh westwards into Gujarat. These victories continued till 871 CE and after that the region suffered some internal conflict until it was reunified again under Ghazni sultans in 977 CE.



Ghazni Sultan Sabuktgin (977-997) reunified all the conquered areas in that region and then started an expedition towards India and captured some of its area. But the expeditions inside the Indian subcontinent reached a peak during the era of his son, famously known as Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (997-1030). He led 17 successful expeditions inside India from 1001 to 1026 CE in which he conquered areas from North-eastern India to the Southern coast of Gujrat. His expeditions broke the resistance of the Mushrik army of Indian idol worshippers and this paved the way for the subsequent Muslim rulers to establish Islamic rule in the area. It is important to note that Sultan Sabuktgin and Sultan Mahmud both showed allegiance to the present Abbasid Khalifah Al-Qadir Billah and in return the Islamic State recognized them as the legitimate Wali (governor) of the Khilafah over the newly opened lands and encouraged them in their conquests. The Islamic State also assigned the title 'Nasir-ud-Dowla' for Sultan Sabuktgin and the title 'Yamin-ad-Dowla' and 'Amin-ul-Millat' for Sultan Mahmud. Thus, there is little doubt that all their victories and ruling in Indian subcontinent was under the guidance and rule of the Khilafah.

After the Ghaznavids became weak, another Muslim ruler Shihabuddin Ghuri took the authority of Ghazna and most of the regions of current Pakistan within the years 1175 to 1186 CE. He then started his expedition inside India and conquered Azmir in 1192 CE by defeating Prithviraj, the most powerful King of India at that time. He appointed his general Kutubuddin Aybek as the ruler of India who conquered Delhi and some other areas by 1193 CE. Muhammad Ghuri became the sultan of Ghazni, Ghur and Delhi by the year 1203 CE. After his death in 1206, his appointed ruler for India Kutubuddin Aybek took the position of the Sultan of Delhi who ruled till 1210. He was the first Sultan of Indian subcontinent and founder of Mamluk Sultanate that continued till 1290. After his death in 1210, his assistant Shamsuddin Iltutmish became the next sultan from 1211 to 1236. He is believed to be the most pious and successful sultan in India. He was eager to receive the recognition from Abbasid Khilafah to legitimise his rule over India. In February 1229 CE, he received the investiture and robes of honor through the messenger from Abbasid Khalifah Mustanzir

Billah that recognized him as a legitimate ruler over India and honored him with the title 'Sultan-e-Azam'. He decorated Delhi and arranged a big festival to celebrate this event. He then started to issue coins in Arabic containing the Kalema and the name of the Islamic State on one side and his own name on the opposite side with the title "Nasir-e-Amir-ul-Muminin' (Helper of the Commander of Faithful). The subsequent rulers after him continued to issue coins with the name of the Abbasid Khalifah to show their allegiance to him even after the death of the last Abbasid Khalifah in 1258 CE during the Mongol attack on Baghdad.

When the Mamluk rule became weak, the Khalzi dynasty took authority over India in 1290 CE which continued till 1320. The title used by the last Khalzi sultan Qutub Uddin Mubarak Shah (1316-1320) includes the sentence 'Yamin al-khilafat nasir amir-ul-muminin' (right hand of the Khilafat and helper of the commander of faithful), thus illustrating their allegiance to Khilafah.

After the Khalzi dynasty became weak, Tughlak dynasty (1320-1414) took the authority of sultanate who ruled it till 1414. From Tughlak dynasty, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak (1325-1351) revived the direct connection with capital of the Khilafah. He found it important to get the recognition from Khilafah to become a legitimate ruler and stopped Jumma and Eid prayers until he achieved the recognition because, according to some Shariah opinions, Jumma and Eid prayers could only be performed under the legitimate ruler of Dar-ul Islam. He considered some sultans before him as usurpers as they did not have this recognition. He made correspondence with the Abbasid Khalifah in Mishar Al-Mustaqfi Billah and got his recognition. Khalifah also gave him the title 'sultan-as-Salatin'. Then he issue coin under the name of Khalifah. His next ruler Firoz Shah tughlak(1351-1388) followed the same path and he too received the recognition from Khalifah in Mishar along with the title 'Syed-us-Salatin'. The Khalifah also sent him various gifts like robes of honor, banners, ring, swords etc. In his autobiography 'Futuh-at-e-Firozshahi', he mentioned this issue with great honor and said that 'the Sultanate is properly run if it is recognized by the



Dar-ul-Khilafat of the uncle of the Prophet (pbuh) i.e. Abbasid Khilafah”.

After the Tughlak dynasty became weak, some internal conflicts weakened the state until Mughal emperors appeared in the scene in 1526 CE. Babur, who originated from Central Asia, took over Delhi in 1526 and became the first of the Mughal rulers. The Mughals ruled India strongly from 1526-1707 CE and weakly from 1707-1757 CE. Though, Mughal rulers assumed the title ‘emperor’ and cared less for the Ottoman Khilafat unlike the Muslim sultans over India before them, nevertheless, they still showed deep respect to the contemporary Ottoman Khalifahs, which is evident from their correspondence with them. After the death of Babur in 1530 CE, his son Humayun (1530-1556 CE) came to power. Humayun wrote a letter to Ottoman Sultan ‘Suleiman the Magnificent’ where he mentioned the later as ‘possessor of the dignity of the Khilafat’. His next Mughal ruler Jahangir (1605-1627 CE) and Shahjahan (1627-1658 CE) also maintained warm relations with the Ottomans though they did not express any official obedience to it. They offered an Ottoman-Mughal-Uzbek alliance to weaken the Safavids of Iran. When Mughal emperors weakened considerably, some of them expressed their allegiance to the Ottoman Khilafat. The Mughal emperor Jahandar Shah (1712-1713 CE) and Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719 CE) clearly recognized the rule of Ottomans as the Khilafah. Thus, it can be said that from the first era to the last era of Mughal emperors, they considered Ottoman Khalifahs as the true and only Khilafah, though in between there were some short periods, including during Akbar’s time, when they deviated from this.

After the Mughals became weak, dominance of British East India Company over India increased by capturing areas previously under the Mughals. The brave Muslim ruler Tipu Sultan (1782-1799 CE) of Mysore stood up to fight the British. He frustrated the British and their expansion policy several times. He sent an envoy to the Ottoman Khalifah Abdul Hamid-I to get the recognition from the Khalifah as an independent Sultan and to help him with the Khilafah’s army against the British East India Company. In 1787, he sent another big delegation to the Ottoman Khalifah Selim-III, requesting help from

him. Sultan accorded permission to Tipu to assume the title of an independent sultanate under the Khilafah and gifted him letters, Khillats, and swords. But, he expressed his inability to send Khilafah’s army to help Tipu as at that time the Ottoman state itself was in crisis due to its engagement in war with Austria and Russia.

Thus, contrary to how the Orientalists portray the history of India, we must realise that it was a Wilayah of the Khilafah. Due to negligence of some of the Khilafah it was unsupervised in some periods and left to run by itself. However the ahkam shariah were applied by the rulers and it was part of Dar al-Islam until the British colonised it.

Admittedly, some of the Muslim rulers of India misapplied some of the Islamic rules and committed some injustices. However under their rule the Indian sub-continent remained part of Dar al-Islam (land of Islam) as the Islamic system was implemented. The court records, which still exist in some of the major cities, show that there was no other source of law referred to other than the Islamic Shariah. Misapplication does not nullify a Khalifah’s rule as well as a Wali’s (governor) or an Amil’s (mayor) position. It is true that the Khilafah became negligent in their responsibilities of inquiring about the Wilayah (provinces) and directly appointing and removing the governors, it became a norm for them to accept whoever came to power in different provinces rather than directly selecting them. Nevertheless the fact that they accepted them means that their authority was validated by the Khalifah.

The Muslim historians like Ibn Kathir al-Damishqi (died 774 AH) in his famous work al-Bidayah wan-Nihaya mentioned India as part of Dar al-Islam, he also quoted some ahadith about its conquest. Abu Huraira (ra) narrated: “My true friend, Allah’s Messenger (saw) said, **“The armies of this Ummah will be sent to Sindh and India.”** [Ahmad]

Islam and Khilafah in Bengal:

It is within the context of the history of the Khilafah in the Indian Subcontinent that we can find the links with Khilafah in Bengal. Bengal was first opened by a young man named Ikhtiar Uddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiar Khilji who originally belonged to Turkish



Khalji tribe of northern Afganistan. He started as a small jaigirdar in the south eastern corner of current Mirzapur district during the time of Muhammad Ghuri (1175-1206 CE) as a Sultan over Ghazni and Delhi, and Kutubuddin Aybek (1192-1210 CE) as his viceroy in Delhi. Ikhtiar uddin then extended his area by capturing some neighboring territories by which he attracted the notice of Delhi's ruler Kutubuddin Aybek who sent him Khilat (robe of honor) and letter of encouragement. This encouraged Ikhtiar uddin to extend his authority further towards the east and by 1202 CE he conquered Bihar. In 1203 CE, Ikhtiar Uddin met Kutubuddin Aybek who conferred 'many rewards and favors on Ikhtiar uddin and entrusted the rule of the country of Lakhnawati (Bengal) to him, and nominated him for the duty of conquering it'. Accordingly, Ikhtiar uddin advanced to conquer the Bengal which was ruled by a powerful King Lakhshman Sen who was staying at that time in a city Nadia near Ganga River. Ikhtiar uddin followed an unusual path to fool the King and attacked Nadia by dividing his army in small groups through the western border of present day Bangladesh which was a dense jungle that time. Ikhtiar advanced so swiftly that when he reached the palace of the King he had only 17 horsemen with him while the rest of his army was following behind. He and his 17 soldiers killed guards of the palaces and hearing this, King Lakhshman Sen cowardly fled Nadia through the backdoor. By this, Nadia easily came under control of Ikhtiar uddin. He stayed in Nadia for three days and consolidated his power there. Then he advanced towards Lakhnawati (Goura) and conquered it and made it his capital to establish the Islamic rule in Bengal. The area of Lakhnawati in the then Bengal stretched from Teesta and Kortoa river in the East, Padma river in the South, Dinajpur and Rangpur in the North and to Bihar in the west. He established a fully fledged Islamic administration in Lakhnawati and also established two cantonment towns near Rangpur and Dinajpur. Thus, a large part of current Bangladesh was ruled by the Islamic rule of Ikhtiar Uddin. Four years later he advanced towards Tibet with an ambition to conquer it but the natural challenges and the obstacles put by the Kings of neighboring areas in his way to Tibet made this expedition a total loss for him. Most of his soldiers died in the way and he returned in Lakhnawati with only 100 soldiers and

later he died in 1206 CE. However, by this time he completed his main task of establishing a firm state under Islamic rule in Lakhnawati or Bengal. He showed allegiance to Sultan Muhammad Ghuri by issuing coins in his name and by mentioning him in his Khutbahs. Thus, he ruled Bengal as an appointed ruler of the sultan or Wali of the Khalifah in the Indian subcontinent. After the death of Ikhtiar Uddin, four more rulers succeeded him in Lakhnawati till 1227 CE, who were companions of Ikhtiar uddin. The last of them was Gias Uddin Iwaz Khilji (1212-1227 CE) who initially issued coins in the name of the Delhi Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish and later issued coin with the Kalema and the Name of Abbasid Khalifah Al-Nasir Al Din-Allah along with his own name as 'Nasir Amir-ul-Muminin' (helper of Amir ul Muminin). It indicates that he was initially under the Delhi Sultan and later he tried to be an independent sultan in Bengal under the Abbasid Khalifah by issuing the name of Khalifah on coins, therefore bypassing the name of the Delhi Sultan.

After establishing the first Islamic rule in Bengal at the hands of Ikhtiar Uddin in 1203/1204 CE till the end of Sultani period in Bengal in 1538, with the exception of a very few rulers, the coins of all the others are found to contain the first kalema and the inscription of the Sultan's proclamation as 'helpers of Islam and Muslim'. More importantly, all those Sultans in Bengal linked their rule with the global Islamic Khalifah. Thus, beginning with Gias uddin Iwaz Khilji (1212-1227 CE), many of the sultans in Bengal described themselves on their coins as "Nasir Amir ul Muminin' (helper of the commander of faithful) or 'Yamin Khilfat Allah' (right hand of the Khalifat). Sultan Mugith Uddin Yazbuk (1246-1258 CE) even started the practice of inscribing the name of last Abbasid Khalifah Al-Mustasim which continued to be done till the time of Sultan Gias al Din Bahadur Shah (1310-1328 CE) even after the death of Khalifah. Gias al Din Bahadur Shah also issued coins in the name of Delhi Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak who sultanate was recognized by the Abbasid Khalifah and thus Gias al Din Bahadur Shah ruled Bengal as an obedient ruler of the legitimate Wali (of the Khalifah) in Delhi. Ilyas Shahi Sultans dropped the name of Abbasid Khalifah from their coins but continued to describe themselves as 'helper of the commander of faithful or Khalifah'. Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (1415-1431



CE) at first inscribed the name of the first four Khulafah on his coins and also described himself as the “Helper of the Commander of Faithful”, but later on he assumed the title of Khalifah in his coins. This title of Khalifah was borne by all the succeeding Sultans till the Abyssinian ruler Nasir al din Mahmud Shah (1489-1490). Ala al-din Husain Shah (1493-1519 CE), founder of the Arab dynasty, called himself ‘Khalifah of Allah by proof and evidence’ and also inscribed the name of first four Khalifah on some of his coins.

The famous Islamic scholar Hafez ibn Hazar Asqalani wrote that one of the Sultan of Bengal Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (1415-1431) sent gifts and presents to Mamluk Sultan Al-Ashraf Barsbay of Egypt and asked him to manage a letter of nomination from the Abbasid Khalifah there. In response, a formal letter of nomination together with a robe of honor was sent to him through two messengers in the year 1440 CE. The sultan put on this robe and sent a letter of acknowledgement together with gifts for Khalifah. But, astonishingly this same Sultan assumed the title ‘Khalifah’ for himself in later days. This trend was followed by subsequent sultans of Bengal after him till 1538 CE.

The reason for using the title ‘Khalifah’ directly by the Sultans after 1400 CE might be due to their confusion regarding whether any effective Khalifah existed in the world after the death of last Abbasid Khalifah in Baghdad. Although, the Sultan of Egypt later revived the Abbasid Khalifah by reinstalling an Abbasid man in that post but there was confusion about his acceptance. So, it is possible that remote Sultans like those in Bengal tried to solve this gap by using the title of Khalifah directly for themselves. Though it shows their lacking in understanding the matter of the Khalifah, but it at least prove that they felt the need of association with this term ‘Khalifah’, somehow without which their ruling was not legitimate.

Thus, during the Sultani period in Bengal from 1205 to 1538 CE, all the rulers in Bengal thought themselves either as a local ruler under the Khalifah of Delhi or as an independent Sultan of Bengal directly under the Khalifah. This is proved by their

inclination to attach the name of either Delhi sultan or Abbasid Khalifah in all their coins and by constant mentioning of their title as ‘Helper of the Commander of Faithful or Khalifah’. They felt the need to do this as they viewed this land as part of centre/capital of Khalifah.

The end of Sultani rule brought the independent Afghan rule (1539-1575 CE), Mughal rule (1576-1717 CE) and Nababi rule (1717-1757). During this period relation of Khalifah with the ruler of Bengal is not clear. However, regardless of the relation with Khalifah, the rulers were Islamic and they lands were ruled by Islam as per their capacity. The last of them was Nabab Shiraj-al-Daula, who lost the war in Polashi in 23rd June 1757 CE at the hands of the British East India company. This defeat was not due to a lack of bravery, but through the treachery of his General Mir Jafar Ali Khan. By this, Islamic rule over Bengal ended with the defeat and murder of Nabab Shiraj al Doula and the installation of the puppet Nabab Mir Jafar under Robert Clive’s superintendence. English political authority had been established in Bengal by ending the Islamic rule here.

In conclusion, the premise that Khalifah had not existed in this region is incorrect. In contrast there was a vibrant Islamic rule, albeit with periods of misrule, but nothing like the Kufri rule that the Ummah in the Subcontinent suffers today. It is ironic that the puppet ruling continues till date in Bangladesh with new faces of Mir Jafar.

Sources:

1. History of Muslims in Bengal (Vol-1A & Vol-1B) – Dr. M. M. Ali
2. History of Bengal (1203-1757) – Dr. A. Karim
3. History of Bengal: Sultani Period – Dr. A. Karim
4. Rulers of Muslim Bengal – Dr. Askar Ibn Shaikh
5. History of Muslim Rule in Indian Subcontinent – Dr. A. Karim
6. Foundation of Muslim Rule in India – A. M. Habibullah
7. History of Muslim Rule in India – A. K. M. Abdul Alim
8. Futuhat-e-Firozshahi – Bangladesh Asiatic Society
9. wikipedia



Khilafah

Explanation of Articles from the book *ad-Dastoor* (by Hizb ut-Tahrir)

Constitution of the Khilafah State

Indeed, the most horrific of innovations, considered to be the peak of all deviations in this day and age, is that of the rule by other than what Allah has revealed, and of following the ways of the nations of Kufr and the people of aberration, who have appointed themselves as a god to the exclusion of Allah, legislating for people the systems of life and determining for them the principles of behaviour. Despite the fact that Allah (swt) has honoured the Muslims with the best Message and the most perfect Deen, current rulers in muslim lands imposed legislation for the Ummah, as a carbon copy of the capitalist West, which Allah (swt) never ordered. Not only such minds are no longer capable of envisaging the Islamic way of life, but they also ruled out the possibility of a state rising on the basis of Islam. Meanwhile, others are attempting to harmonise between the Truth and falsehood and mix darkness with the Light.

*Motivated by the sense of duty, we herewith put forward to the Muslims, through a serialised publication, extracted from the book 'A draft constitution for the Khilafah State' by Hizb-ut Tahrir, * in the hope that it may enlighten the minds which the painful reality had dominated or those which had been smitten by the capitalist West.*

Article 18

There are four types of rulers: the *Khalifah*, the delegated assistant, the governor, and the worker (*'amil*), and whoever falls under the same rule. As for anyone else, they are not considered rulers, but rather employees.

Article 19

It is not permitted for anyone to be in charge of ruling or any action considered to be from the ruling unless they are male, free, adult, sane, just, capable of carrying out the responsibility, and it is not permitted for anyone other than a Muslim.

Details on the above articles are explained in the following pages.



Article 18

There are four types of rulers: the *Khalifah*, the delegated assistant, the governor, and the worker (*'amil*), and whoever falls under the same rule. As for anyone else, they are not considered rulers, but rather employees.

The ruler in the article is the one holding authority who is responsible for governing the affairs, irrespective of whether the governance was for the whole State or for a part of it. Through deduction from the *Shari'ah* rules, the ones who are made responsible for governing the affairs, establishing the laws and are to be obeyed with respect to their implementation of the laws are these four: the *Khalifah*, the assistant (delegate minister), the governor, and the *Amil*; and they are to be obeyed due to their position of rule.

With regards to the *Khalifah*, he is the man who is given the pledge by the *Ummah* (nation) to establish the *Deen* (religion) as their representative, and so he establishes the *hudud*, implements the laws, and carries out the *Jihad*, and he is owed obedience: ***"Whoever gives the pledge of allegiance to the Imam giving him the grasp of his hand and the fruit of his heart should obey him if possible, and if another comes to dispute with him (over authority) strike the neck of the latter"*** (reported by Muslim through 'Abd Allah b. 'Amru b. al-'As).

As for the delegate minister, he is the assistant who assists the *Khalifah* in running the governing of the affairs; in other words the general, continuous binding governorship. The evidence for this is that he is the one in a position of rule who must be obeyed in the issues that the *Khalifah* charged him with or requested him to assist him in carrying out the affairs. Ahmad reported with a good chain from Aisha (ra) that she said: the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said ***"Whoever Allah (swt) places in a position of responsibility in any issue from the affairs of the Muslims, while wanting good for him will give him an honest minister, such that if he forgets he will remind him, and if he remembers he will assist him"***

As for the governor, he is the man who the *Khalifah* gives authority to over one of the governorates of the State. The evidence that he is in a position of ruling who must be obeyed is what is reported by Muslim from Auf Bin Malik al-Ashja'i who said that he heard the Messenger of Allah ﷺ say ***"...whoever has a governor appointed over him whom he sees doing something from the sins against Allah, then hate what he does in terms of sins, but should not remove his hand from obedience"***. In another narration by Muslim the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said ***"if you see something from your governors that you hate, and then hate his action, and do not remove your hand from obedience"***.

As for the *'Amil* he is the one who the *Khalifah* puts in charge of, or his representative, a village, town or part of a governorate. His work is like that of the governor except that he is ruling over a part of the governorate and not the whole of it and accordingly he is a ruler who must be obeyed like the governor, because he is a leader coming either from the *Khalifah* or the governor. Al-Bukhari reported from Anas b. Malik who said that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said ***"Listen and obey even if a black slave whose head is like a raisin is placed in authority over you"***. Muslim reported from Umm al-Husayn who said that she heard the Prophet ﷺ give a sermon in the farewell pilgrimage where he said ***"and even if a slave is appointed over you, who leads you by the Book of Allah, then listen to him and obey"***.

With respect to the expression "and whoever falls under the same rule", this means the *Madhalim* judge and the judge of judges if he is given the authority to appoint and remove the *Madhalim* judge, as well as the powers of the judges in *Madhalim*, since the judge of *Madhalim* is from the rule as is the subject of article 78.



Article 19

It is not permitted for anyone to be in charge of ruling or any action considered to be from the ruling unless they are male, free, adult, sane, just, capable of carrying out the responsibility, and it is not permitted for anyone other than a Muslim.

Allah (swt) has decisively prohibited for a disbeliever to be a ruler over the Muslims, as Allah (swt) says **“Allah will never grant to the disbelievers a way over the believers.”** (TMQ 4:141), and to make the disbeliever a ruler over the Muslims is to grant him a way over them, and Allah (swt) categorically forbade that through His (swt) use of the letter “never” which is an indication that the prohibition of the disbeliever having a way over the Muslims, in other words for the disbeliever to be a ruler over them, is a decisive prohibition and so it conveys that it has been made *haram*. Additionally, Allah (swt) made it a condition that the witness for the return to one’s wife after divorce has to be Muslim; Allah (swt) says **“Then when they are about to attain their term appointed, either take them back in a good manner or part with them in a good manner. And take as witness two just persons from among you”** (TMQ 65:2), and the understanding taken is not to take from other than among you. Also, the witness in debts has to be a Muslim; Allah (swt) says **“And get two witnesses out of your own men”** (TMQ 2:282); in other words not from men other than yours. So if a condition for witness in these two issues is that they must be Muslim, then by greater reasoning it is a condition for the ruler to be Muslim. Also, ruling is the implementation of the *Shari’ah* rules and the judgments of the judiciary, and they are ordered to judge according to the *Shari’ah*, so accordingly it is a condition that they are Muslim. The rulers are those who are charged with authority, and when Allah (swt) ordered the obedience to them and that issues related to security and fear be referred to them, it is made a condition that those charged with authority must be Muslims; Allah (swt) says **“Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority from you”** (TMQ 4:59) and **“When there comes to them some matter touching (public) safety or fear, they make it known (among the people); if only they had referred it to the Messenger or to those charged with authority among them”** (TMQ 4:83). He (swt)

said **“from you”** in other words not from other than you, and **“among them”** in other words not from other than them. These verses indicate that it is a prerequisite that the one who has authority must be Muslim.

The fact that the Quran did not mention the one in authority except that it was accompanied with a mention that they were Muslims confirms that it is a prerequisite for the ruler to be Muslim. Also, the ruler has complete obedience from the Muslims and the Muslim is not charged with obeying the disbeliever, since he is commanded by the text only to obey the Muslim who holds the authority; Allah (swt) says **“Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority from you”** (TMQ 4:59), so the fact that it was ordered to obey those in authority from the Muslims and not other than them is another indication that it is not obligatory to obey the disbeliever who has authority and there is no ruler without obedience. It cannot be argued that the Muslim is charged with obeying the department manager if they were a disbeliever, since he is not a person of authority but rather he is a civil employee, so obedience to him is due to the command of the person of authority to obey the department manager, and the discussion is about the obedience to one of authority and not the employee. Due to this it would not be correct for someone to be in authority over the Muslims unless he is Muslim, and it is not correct for him to be a disbeliever, so accordingly it is absolutely not permitted for the ruler to be a disbeliever.

As for the condition that the ruler be male, it is due to what was narrated by Abu Bakrah saying **“When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ was informed that the daughter of Kisra had been given the reign over the Persians he said “A people who appoint a woman over their command will never succeed”** (reported by al-Bukhari). The notification of the Prophet ﷺ of the negation of success for whoever commissions a



woman in authority over them is a prohibition of her assignment, since it is from the forms of request. And the fact that this notification came as a censure is an indication that the prohibition is decisive, and accordingly commissioning a woman to the ruling is *haram* (forbidden) and it is from this evidence that this condition of ruling is derived.

As for the condition that the ruler be just, this is because Allah (swt) made it a prerequisite that the witness be just; Allah (swt) says **“And take as witness two just persons from among you”** (TMQ 65:2), and so the one who is more significant than the witness, such as the ruler, must by greater reasoning also be just. That is because if the just character has been made a condition for the witness then for it to be a condition for the ruler is of a higher priority.

As for the condition of being free, that is because the slave does not possess the independence of conduct for himself, so how can he undertake the governing of other peoples' affairs. Also, the issue of being enslaved means that the time of the slave belongs to his master.

As for the condition of being an adult, this is because it is not permitted for the ruler to be a child, due to what was reported by Abu Dawud from 'Ali Bin Abi Talib (ra) who said that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said **“The pen has been raised from three: from the child until they come of age, from the one asleep until they awake and from the insane until they recover”**, and it come with another wording **“The pen has been raised from three: from the insane whose rationality is gone until he revives, from the one asleep until he awakes and from the child until he attains puberty”**. And the pen being raised means that it is not correct that he acts independently in his affairs, and he is not responsible according to the *Shari'ah*, and so accordingly it is not correct that he could be the *Khalifah* or anything else below him from the positions of ruling since he does not possess the right to act independently. Another evidence for the absence of permission for a child to be the *Khalifah* is what has been reported in al-Bukhari **“from Abi Aqil Zuhra Bin Ma'bad, from his grandfather 'Abd Allah Bin Hisham, and he was in the era of the Prophet ﷺ. His mother Zainab bint Hamid took him to the Messenger of Allah and said: O Messenger of Allah! Take the pledge of allegiance**

from him, and so the Prophet ﷺ said He is small, and stroked his head and prayed for him”. Therefore if the pledge of a child is not necessary and he is not obliged to give the pledge to the *Khalifah*, then by greater reasoning it is not permitted for him to be the *Khalifah*.

With respect to the condition of being sane, this is because it is not correct for him to be insane, due to the words of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ **“The pen has been raised from three”** in which he mentioned **“the insane whose rationality is gone until he revives”**. From the meaning of the raising of the pen is that he is not responsible, since rationality is the focus of responsibility and a condition for the correctness of any transactions. The actions of the *Khalifah* are with regards to the law and implementing the *Shari'ah* injunctions, and so it would not be correct for him to be insane since it is not correct for the insane person to act independently with regards to his own affairs, so therefore by greater reasoning it stands that it would not be correct for him to have authority over the people's affairs.

As for the condition that he should be capable of carrying out the responsibility, this is from what is necessitated from the pledge with respect to the *Khalifah* and necessitated from the contract of appointment of anyone other than the *Khalifah* from the assistants and governors and workers (*'Ummal*), since the one who is incapable is not capable of upholding the affairs of the subjects by the Book and the *Sunnah* which he had given the pledge upon or agreed upon according to the contract of appointment.

From the various evidences to prove this:

1 – Muslim reported from Abu Dharr who said **“I said: O Messenger of Allah, will you not appoint me? So he put his hand on my shoulder and he said: O Abu Dharr, you are weak, and it is an amanah (trust), and on the Day of Judgement it will be a disgrace and a regret except (for those) who take it by its right and perform its duties correctly”**

So this explains the issue by taking it by its right and performing what is upon him from it; in other words to be capable of it, and the indication which is decisive is that the Messenger ﷺ said who takes it and is not capable – **“and on the Day of Judgement**



it will be a disgrace and a regret except (for those) who take it”.

2 – Al-Bukhari reported from Abu Hurayrah that the Messenger ﷺ said **"If the trust is betrayed and neglected, then expect the coming of the Hour". The man further asked about the trust and how it can be wasted or betrayed. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: "When the matter is entrusted to those who are unqualified to implement its duties, and then wait for the Hour"**

So this narration indicates the decisive prohibition for the responsibility to be placed with those who

are incapable. The decisive indication (*qarina*) is wasting the trust and it is from the signs of the Day of Judgement; all this to indicate the great sin for the responsibility to be entrusted to whoever is not capable to fulfil it.

As for how the capability should be defined, this requires examination since it could be connected to bodily or mental illness etc., and for that reason it is left undefined for the *Madhalim* court to confirm that, for example, the candidates for the *Khalifah* fulfil the necessary requirements.



Screenshot of the Central Media Office website of Hizb ut-Tahrir <http://hizb-ut-tahrir.info>



Ameer's section

The blessed light that originated from Masjid al-Aqsa

The departure of the caravan of Hizb ut-Tahrir

It is only the will of Allah (swt) that we are living in the era of the end of times. This is the era which has been surrounded by such a dark night of Kufr that anyone in their right mind would only be shocked to witness it. The land of Allah (swt) is devoid of the rule of Allah (swt), whilst transgression and oppression is rampant everywhere. But by the Will of Allah (swt), this dark night will end one day; the sun of that day will rise with the re-establishment of Khilafah, bringing glad tidings for those who work restlessly to please their Lord. This call for Khilafah, which once disappeared, is now on the lips of every other person. This is the forgotten call that has reemerged. Alhamdulillah, with the will of Allah (swt), the flag bearers of the call for Khilafah are those who have the ability to run this state. They are the people who have not found many supporters, even among their close ones, and yet even their enemy acknowledges their steadfastness and perseverance. And now the time has come for the sun of Khilafah to rip apart all the obstacles of darkness and bring a bright dawn!

Indeed in every path there are milestones and when those walking on a path can relate the beginning of their call, with the beginning of the call of the Prophet (saw); when they are satisfied that their actions are like that of the Prophet (saw) then they have every right to be hopeful that if Allah (swt) willed, they would achieve what the Prophet (saw) achieved i.e. the establishment of the Islamic State; they have every right to be hopeful that Allah (swt) would grant them His promise i.e. the establishment of Khilafah-e-Rashida upon the methodology of the Prophet (saw).

Indeed, there can be no bigger blessing for us if Allah (swt) chooses Hizb ut Tahrir as that group of Muslims for whom there is His promised victory. We hope and pray for the status and honour that every god fearing Mu'min desires for.

This article is a humble attempt to compile some of the aspects of the life of Sheikh Scholar Taqiuddin an-Nabahani (rahimahu Allah) – the founder of Hizb ut Tahrir. Additionally, this article relates of Scholar Abdul Qadeem Zallum (rahimahu Allah) who helped in building the party and was the best successor of Sheikh Scholar Taqiuddin an-Nabahani (rahimahu Allah); as well throwing light on some of the aspects of the life of the respected jurist Sheikh Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah who is successor of Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum (rahimahu Allah), and is thus the current global leader of the party, under whose leadership we strive for the victory from Allah (swt).





I. The Founder of Hizb ut Tahrir

Sheikh Taqiuddin an-Nabahani (rahimahu Allah)

Taqiuddin bin Ibrahim bin Mustafa bin Ismail bin Yusuf an-Nabahani (founder of Hizb ut Tahrir) belonged to Bani Nabahan and he came from a village by the name of Ajzam in Haifa in Northern Palestine. Sheikh an-Nabahani was born in the village of Ajzam in 1332 Hijri or 1914 CE. His family was known for knowledge, practice of Deen and Taqwa. His father, Sheikh Ibrahim, was a jurist and a scholar of 'Uloom e Sharai in the Ministry of Ma'arif (Knowledge and Arts). His mother was also an expert in 'Uloom e Sharai,' which she obtained from her father Sheikh Yusuf an-Nabahani.

Different narrations mention his maternal grandfather Sheikh Yusuf Nabahani in these words: Yusuf bin Ismail bin Yusuf bin Hassan bin Mohammad Al Nabahani Al Shafii' – his kunya (nickname) was 'Abu al Mahasin' and he was a poet, Sufi and a literary person. He was considered amongst one of the best judges of his time. He served as a judge in the area of Jenin affiliated with Nablus. Afterwards, he transferred to Istanbul where he served as a judge in the area of Kavi Sanjaq in Mosul. Then he was appointed as the head of the royal court in Al-Azqya and Al-Quds. And then he took charge of the Court of Rights of Beirut. He has authored forty-eight books.

Sheikh Taqiuddin's Islamic personality is to a great extent an outcome of his family background. Therefore, he memorized Holy Qur'an at the age of 13 years. He was greatly inspired by his maternal grandfather's knowledge and awareness and he acquired from this ocean of knowledge, as much as he could. From the very beginning, he acquired political awareness especially from those political movements which his grandfather initiated in favor of the Ottoman Caliphate. The Sheikh benefited greatly from the jurisprudence related arguments that were organized by his grandfather Sheikh Yusuf. It was during these conventions that he caught the attention of his grandfather. Therefore, Sheikh Yusuf convinced Sheikh Taqi's father to send him to Al Azhar University to attain knowledge of 'Uloom e Sharaii'.

Attainment of Knowledge:

Sheikh Taqi received admission in the eighth grade in Al Azhar University in 1928 and cleared the exam with distinction in the same year. He was awarded with the certificate of 'Shuhada Al Ghurba'. After this

he received admission in the science college which was affiliated with Al Azhar University at that time. He used to keep attending the knowledge conventions of those scholars about whom his grandfather guided him e.g. Sheikh Mohammad Al Khizar Hussain (rahimahu Allah). In the old method of teaching, it was allowed for the students to attend such circles. Sheikh an-Nabahani always remained a prominent student even though he undertook the tasks of studying in Science College and attending knowledge conventions simultaneously. His contemporaries and teachers used to envy him because of his deep thought, learned opinions and his convincing arguments, which he presented in the debates held in Cairo and other Islamic lands.

Sheikh obtained these degrees: Intermediate from Al Azhar University, Shahada tal Ghurba from Al Azhar, graduation in Arabic language and literature from Cairo, Dar al' Uloom, degree of judgeship from Ma'had al 'Aala – an institute of sharai' courts affiliated with Al Azhar and Shahada tal 'Alamiah in sharia' from Al Azhar (masters degree) in 1932 CE.

Offices held by Sheikh:

Sheikh served in the Sharai' education department of the Ministry of Al-Ma'arif until 1938 CE. Then he was promoted and was transferred to the Sharai' Court and was selected as attorney in the Central Court of Haifa. After that he was promoted to the rank of Assistant Judge. Then he served as the judge of the Court of Ramallah until 1948 CE. After the occupation of Palestine by the Jews, he migrated to Syria but then returned to Palestine in the same year and was appointed the judge of Sharai' court of Al-Quds. Then he served as the judge of Sharia' of High Court till 1950 CE. Afterwards, he resigned from the post of judge and became a teacher at 'Uloom e Islamia College in Oman. The Sheikh (rahimahu Allah) was an ocean of knowledge; he was a master in every branch





of knowledge. He was a great Mujtahid and Muhadith.

Books by Sheikh Taqi:

- i. Systems of Islam
- ii. Structuring of a Party
- iii. Concepts of Hizb ut Tahrir
- iv. The Economic System in Islam
- v. The Social System in Islam
- vi. The Ruling System in Islam
- vii. The Constitution (The Khilafah State)
- viii. Introduction to the Constitution (the Preamble)
- ix. The Islamic State
- x. Islamic Personality (Three Volumes)
- xi. Political Concepts of Hizb ut Tahrir
- xii. Political Thoughts
- xiii. A Warm Call
- xiv. Khilafah
- xv. Thinking
- xvi. Presence of Mind
- xvii. Departure Point
- xviii. Entering Society
- xix. Lislah e Misr
- xx. Al Ittefaqiyat as Saniya al Mastiya al Surya wal Yamnia
- xxi. Hal Qadeeh Falasteen 'ala Tareeqa tal Amreekya wal Engleezia
- xxii. Nazrya al Faragh al Syasi Hol Mashroo' Eezan Hawar

And there are hundreds of other intellectual, political and economic articles as well.

When the publication of his books and articles were banned; consequently, he published some books under the name of other members of Hizb such as:

- i. Exemplary Economic Policy
- ii. Refutation of Marxist Communism
- iii. How the Khilafah was Destroyed
- iv. The Rules of Evidences in Islam
- v. The Punishment System of Islam
- vi. Rules of Salah
- vii. Islamic Thought

Before founding Hizb, he wrote two books: Anqaz Falasteen (The Rescue of Palestine) and Risla tal 'Arab (Letter to the Arabs).

His Character and Qualities

Zuhair Kahala, a teacher who was also head of the administration at Islamic Science College, was an employee of the college during the period in which Sheikh Taqiuddin started working in college. He narrates, "*The Sheikh was an intelligent, noble and pure hearted man. He had a sincere, dignified and powerful personality. The presence of a Jewish entity*

in the heart of Muslim ummah saddened as well infuriated him."

He was of medium-height, stocky in build, brilliantly active, dynamic man and an articulate debater. He was exemplary in presenting his arguments. He never compromised on what he believed to be Haq. His beard was medium in length with graying hair in it. His personality reflected awe and his conversation influenced others. His arguments used to make others dumbfounded. He strongly disliked aimless struggle, personal attacks and deviation from the interests of Ummah. He despised the fact that people get lost in their personal lives. He was always worried about the Ummah's well being. He was the epitome of this saying of Prophet ﷺ and the meaning of which is: ((منهم ف ليس)) "Whosoever does not concern himself in taking care of the matters of Muslims is not one of them." He used to repeat this hadith again and again and presented it as evidence. He would express his sorrow on the fact that Imam Ghazali (ra), author of the book Ahya al Uloom, kept himself busy in writing books during the time of crusaders' attacks.

Establishment of Hizb ut Tahrir and its journey:

Sheikh Taqiuddin analyzed the parties, movements and organizations that came into being after 4th Hijri deeply and with great effort. He keenly observed their styles, thoughts, penetration and the causes of failure. As the Sheikh considered the existence of a Hizb to be imperative for the re-establishment of Khilafah, he, thus, studied these parties with this motive. After the abolition of the Khilafah at the hands of the criminal Mustafa Kamal Ataturk, Muslims could not re-establish Khilafah, even in the presence of so many Islamic movements. The occupation by "Israel" in 1948 of Palestinian land and the helplessness of Arabs in front of the Jewish entity with the aid of British sponsored governments of Jordan, Egypt and Iraq, proved to be catalysts for the emotions of Sheikh Taqiuddin. Thus, he started analyzing the causes that would eventually result in the revival of Muslims. At first, Sheikh resorted to revive Ummah and wrote two books: Anqaz Falasteen (The Rescue of Palestine) and Risla tal 'Arab (Letter to the Arabs). Both of these books were published in 1950; these books dealt with only thought, 'Aqeeda and the real message of Ummah i.e. message of Islam stating that it is only Islam based upon which Arabs should seek revival. The message of Arab nationalists differed greatly from the Sheikh's message. The message that Arab nationalists propagated actually widened the distance between Ummah and real message of Islam,



whilst engaging it in various western concepts which were opposed to its 'Aqeeda and values. Then the Sheikh scrutinized those concepts, which were the driving force for the Arab nationalists and analyzed all the suggestions that were presented to him in this regard. But he was not satisfied with any of the suggestions.

Before reaching any decision, he contacted all of the scholars that he knew and those he met in Egypt. He presented all these scholars with the idea of creating a political party in order to revive the Muslim Ummah and restore its past glory. For this purpose, he traveled across the land of Palestine and presented the renowned scholars and intellectuals with this thought that had captivated his mind and heart. He arranged seminars for this purpose and summoned scholars from the length and breadth of Palestine. In these seminars, he debated with scholars on the correct methodology for revival and would convey to participants that they were headed the wrong way and their efforts would bear no fruit. The participants of these seminars mostly used to be the office bearers of various Islamic, political and nationalist parties. Also, he undertook detailed conversations on various political issues in the mosques of Al Aqsa, Al Khalil and other areas upon different occasions. He used to explain the reality of the Arab League during these addresses stating clearly that it is a product of western colonialism and this is one of many tools of the West, with its help of which they have kept Islamic lands under their control. The Sheikh would expose the political conspiracies of the West and would tear down the facade from the anti-Islam and anti-Muslim plans of the West. He would arouse the sense of responsibility among Muslims and invite them to create a party purely based upon Islam.

Sheikh Taqiuddin stood as a candidate in the election of House of Representatives; which was an advisory committee only. But due to his strict opinion, political activity, serious struggle towards the establishment of a party based on Islam and strict adherence to Islam, the government caused the results of the elections to be unfavourable for the Sheikh.

But it did neither deter the Sheikh from his political activity nor could it weaken his resolve rather he continued with his activities of contacts and debates. His activities resulted in the successful convincing of renowned scholars, judges and political thinkers for the establishment of a political party. Then he presented these high profile people with the framework and thoughts that became the cultural heritage of the Hizb. Some scholars and thinkers accepted his thoughts and provided their consent,

thus, his political activities for the establishment of Hizb reached their pinnacle.

The blessed city of Al Quds was the place where foundations for the Hizb were laid; where he was serving in the Supreme Court. At that time, he contacted many important personalities like Sheikh Ahmad Da'oor of Qalqeela, Sayyadan Nimr of Egypt, Daud Hamdan of Ramallah, Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum of Al Khalil (Hebron), Adil al Nabulsi, Ghanim Abdu, Munir Shaqeer, Sheikh As'ad Bewiz Tamimi, etc.

In the beginning, the meetings, held among the founders, were unorganized and were held on a need basis. Mostly, these meetings were held in Al Quds or Al Khalil where the topic of inviting new people to join the Hizb was debated. The center of debates used to be the important Islamic topics necessary for the glory of Ummah. This trend continued till the end of 1952, when these people vowed to establish a political party.

On November 17, 1952, five founding members of Hizb requested the Interior Ministry of Jordan for a formal no-objection certificate in order to establish a political party.

These members were:

1. Taqiuddin an-Nabahani: President
2. Daud Hamdan: Vice-President and Secretary
3. Ghanim Abdu: Treasurer
4. Adil Al Nabulsi: Member
5. Munir Shaqeer: Member

Afterwards, Hizb completed all the legal formalities that were required in the Ottoman law regarding the formation of parties. The Hizb headquarters was located in Al Quds and all the steps taken by this party were correct according to the Ottoman law.

In the publication of 'Basic Ruling System and the Administration Conditions' from Hizb in Issue No. 176 of Al Sareeh Newspaper dated March 14, 1953; Hizb ut Tahrir became a legal party on the said date, corresponding to Jamad ul Awal 28, 1372 Hijri. Thus, on this day, the Hizb was instated with the right to undertake party activities that were according to the Ottoman law of the time.

However, the government asked for all the five founding members and interrogated them and arrested four of them. On Rajab 7, 1372 Hijri corresponding to March 23, 1953, through a statement, the government banned the party and ordered its founders to stop any activities that they are undertaking. On April 1, the banners and posters



pasted at its office in Al Quds were removed as part of an implementation of government orders.

However, Sheikh Taqi did not give any significance to this ban and continued his work. He kept propagating the message for which the Hizb was founded. Daud Hamdan and Nimr Misri separated themselves from the leadership role in 1956 and they were replaced by Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum and Sheikh Ahmad Da'oor. These exalted scholars then became the leaders of Hizb and fulfilled their responsibility towards this blessed call.

The Hizb started collective culturing of people in the congregational areas of Al Aqsa mosque in order to revive the Islamic way of life. Due to their amazing activities, the government of time resorted to cheap tactics, so that Hizb might not be able to form themselves into a party and a strong organization. In wake of these circumstances, Sheikh Taqi, left this area near the end of 1953 and twice was not allowed to return.

Sheikh Taqi left for Syria in November 1953, where he was arrested by the Syrian government and was exiled to Lebanon, whilst the Lebanese government did not allow him to enter their land. However, when he asked for permission from the officer in charge at the police station in the valley of Al Hareer to call his friend, the officer permitted him. Sheikh Nabahani called his friend Mufti Sheikh Hassan Al 'Ala and told him of the situation. Sheikh Al 'Ala immediately took action and threatened the Lebanese officers that if they did not let Sheikh Taqi enter the country, he will spread the news that the so called democratic government was not allowing an exalted scholar to enter their land. The Lebanese authorities yielded to this threat and allowed Sheikh Taqi entrance.

Sheikh Taqi indulged himself in the propagation of his thoughts after coming to Lebanon and did not face any notable obstacles in his work till 1958. When the Lebanese government sensed the danger his thoughts posed, they started to tighten their grip on the Sheikh, therefore, Sheikh secretly moved to Tripoli, Lebanon, from Beirut. One of his trusted friends has told us that the Sheikh used to dedicate most of his time to the activities of reading and writing. He used to stay in touch with the world news through radio and issue brilliant political statements. He was pious just as his name meant – Taqi: Pious. He always kept his tongue under control and his gaze low. He was never heard as being abusive towards any Muslim, he was never heard of humiliating anyone, especially those Dai' of Islam who differed with him in Ijtihad.

In Iraq, the Sheikh focused special attention to attain Nussrah. For this purpose, Sheikh himself traveled to Iraq many times with Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum, who was there due to some critical contacts including people like Abdul Salam Arif etc. Amongst these travels included that last journey in which he was arrested in Iraq and was severely persecuted; physically and mentally. But his interrogator failed to obtain their desired information from the Sheikh. He just kept on repeating these words, that he was an old man whose sole purpose to visit Iraq was for treatment. Indeed, Sheikh went there for the treatment of the ailing Ummah i.e. Khilafah. When the Iraqi authorities could not extract any information, out of desperation, they broke his arm and deported him out of their country, whilst he was covered with blood as a result of severe torture. And just when he was deported, Jordanian Intelligence informed Iraqi Intelligence that this prisoner was actually Sheikh Taqi who was greatly required by the Iraqi Intelligence. But, Alhamdulillah, time was not on their side anymore and Sheikh had gone quite a distance from that place by then.

Sheikh Taqi was absolutely steadfast in his commitment for the establishment of Hizb and was about to reach his desired destination, when he was called for the eternal world.

This great Ummah bid farewell to Sheikh Taqi on Saturday, at Fajar dated 01 Muharram 1398 AH or 11 December 1977 CE. He was indeed a great leader, an ocean of knowledge, undoubtedly the greatest jurist of modern times, revivalist of Islamic thought, the greatest intellectual of 20th century, a true Mujtahid and an exemplary scholar. The Sheikh was buried in Al Ozaayi' cemetery in Beirut. The Sheikh himself could not enjoy the fruit of the efforts that he started and dedicated his life to it. He could not see the Khilafah State for which the Hizb was founded. But he entrusted this responsibility to his successor, a companion, exemplary scholar Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum and met his Creator. Although, the Sheikh could not witness the re-establishment of the state with his own eyes, but his efforts bore fruit and Hizb spread in different parts of the world and his thoughts received acceptance from people all around the globe. Tens of millions people adopted his thoughts and those who had been mentored by him reached every nook and corner of the world. Even today, the dungeons of oppressors of the world are filled with people who carry and call the thoughts propagated by the Sheikh.



ii. The Successor for the Leadership of Hizb Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum (rahimahu Allah)



His name is **Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Bin Yusuf Bin Yunis Bin Ibrahim Al Sheikh Zallum** and he was a renowned scholar. He was born in the city of Al Khalil (Hebron) in 1342 Hijri or 1924 CE. His family was known for the practice of Deen. His father was a Hafiz el Qur'an and even during the last years of his life, he would be occupied with the recitation of the Holy Qur'an. His father was a teacher during the time of the Uthmani Khilafah.

His father's paternal uncle, Abdul Ghaffar Yunis Zallum, was a mufti in Al Khalil during the time of the Uthmani Khilafah. The Zallum family is one of the families that are trustees of the Ibrahim Mosque and thus, this family is one of the servants of Yaqoob (as). This family is entrusted with the responsibility of hoisting the Islamic flag at the minbar on Fridays and various occasions.

The Uthmani Khilafah used to entrust the renowned families of Al Khalil with the responsibility of taking care of the Ibrahim Mosque and these families used to feel honour and pride in undertaking this responsibility.

The first fifteen years of the life of Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum were spent in the city of Al Khalil. He acquired the basic education from the Ibrahim Madrassah of Al Khalil and afterwards, his father sent him to Al Azhar so that he may become an expert in Islamic jurisprudence. So, at the age of 15, he left for Al Azhar in Cairo. It was 1939 CE/1361 Hijri when he acquired his first degree from Al Azhar – Shahada tal Ahliya tal-oola (Highest degree). In 1947 CE/1366 Hijri he obtained the degree of Al 'Aliya Li Kuliya tal Sharia' from Al Azhar and then in 1949 CE, 1368 Hijri, he obtained Shahada tal 'Alamiya and specialized in Judiciary which is equivalent to the Ph.D. of modern times.

He organized a group of Muslims during the Israel-Palestine war and left Egypt for Palestine for the purpose of Jihad. But on reaching there, he came to know that the war had been stopped and a ceasefire agreement had taken place. Therefore, his purpose of Jihad could not be met in Palestine. The Sheikh was held dearly in Al Azhar University and was called 'Mulk' (King). He was always a prominent student. He enrolled in the occupation of teaching upon his return to Al Khalil in 1949 CE. He was associated with the Madarassah of Bethlehem for two years. He then shifted to Al Khalil in 1951 CE and became a teacher at Madrassah Usama bin Ma'aqiz.

In the year 1952 CE, Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum had his interaction with Sheikh Taqi which gave way to continuous debates and arguments, with respect to the topic of a Hizb at Al Quds; thus he used to travel constantly to this blessed city for this purpose. Sheikh Zallum joined Hizb from the day the party started its work and in the year 1956, he became a part of the leadership of the Hizb. He was a great orator and people used to love him. On Fridays, he used to preach in the Ibrahim Yusufiya Mosque and a great crowd would gather to listen to him. Then after Friday prayers, he used to preach in Ibrahim Mosque where people would also gather to listen to him in great numbers. The Sheikh was nominated as a candidate in the election for House of Representatives in 1954. Similarly, he was a candidate in 1956 but the state rigged the elections and he was declared unsuccessful. He was arrested and was imprisoned in Al Jaffer Al Saharawi where he spent many years, before finally being released with the help of Allah (swt).

May Allah (swt) have mercy on him; he was the right hand of the founding leader. He was an arrow in the quiver of the founder; he used to trust him for high profile expeditions. He never showed any hesitation and always preferred Dawah over his family and luxuries of this temporary world. One day he is found in Turkey, the other day he is present in Iraq, the next day it was Egypt and then to Jordan and Lebanon, so on and so forth. Wherever he was demanded, he used to accompany the Ameer to speak the truth. The expedition of Iraq was a very crucial one and only a true daring man could undertake this responsibility.



The Ameer bestowed him with this duty and he accepted the responsibility, under the supervision of Ameer and fulfilled his obligation in a brilliant manner.

At the time of death of the founding leader, the duty of this Dawah was rested upon his shoulders. He carried the burden of this struggle and the Dawah progressed in leaps and bounds. The style of Dawah became clearer, its area of action greatly widened that it reached Central Asia and South East Asia. The echo of this message was even heard in Europe as well.

During the time of this esteemed scholar, the fitna of the Nakitheen (the faction which broke their oath) emerged. Some people were influenced by the whispers of the devils and took advantage of the Sheikh's patience. These people committed a breach of oath; one night, they conspired to lead the party caravan astray and give a fatal blow to the party. It was only with the blessing of Allah (swt) and then with the insightful intellect and perseverance of the Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum that the Hizb was saved from any irreparable damage; rather the Hizb emerged from this crisis stronger and those conspirators achieved nothing but humiliation.

This unwavering scholar continued to be the leader and flag bearer of Dawah till the age of 80 when his intuition about his impending death made him take a decision about this work for which he spent two thirds of his life – 25 years in the capacity of a right hand of the Ameer and almost 25 years in the capacity of Ameer himself. He wanted a satisfactory fulfillment of his responsibility; therefore, he decided to resign from the leadership position and hold elections for the next Ameer which is exactly what had happened. On Monday, Muharram 14, 1424 Hijri or March 17, 2003 CE he himself resigned from the leadership and within a few days after the election of the new Ameer, his soul departed to the eternal world.

Thus, this great ocean of knowledge, the Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir, Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum, met his Creator at the age of 80 on Tuesday night dated Safar 27, 1424 Hijri corresponding to April 29, 2003 CE, Inna Lillahi wa Inna Ilaihi Raji'un. On his death, the number of people that came for condolence in Al Khalil – Abu Gharbiya Al Sha'rawi was an unprecedented sight. People came from various cities and villages. Poets and writers wrote poetry and prose about his life. Condolence messages were

received from all over the world on telephone and radio. Numerous condolence messages were received from Sudan, Kuwait, Europe, Indonesia, America, Jordan, Egypt, and other countries. At the same time, a huge crowd gathered in Beirut, Lebanon and Amman, Jordan.

The Sheikh (raheemullah) was a courageous and bold man when it came to the matter of Deen. He never cared for any reprimand in this regard. He was an extremely active person, who neither tired of his efforts nor despaired. He was an embodiment of disposition and high morals. He kept himself at a great distance from anything that was Haram. He was extremely tolerant, patient and gracious. His close friends mention that he used to stay awake at nights for worship and would weep while reciting the ayat of Allah (swt). He was extremely steadfast and firm in Dawah. He lived his life in obscurity, oppressive rulers relentlessly pursued him till the moment he died and left this temporary world. Only Allah (swt) can grant him his reward for his struggle. May Allah (swt) shower him with his countless blessings, Ameen.

The following are his books and booklets published by Hizb ut Tahrir during his time:

- i. Funds in the Khilafah State
- ii. Addition to the Book: The Ruling System of Islam
- iii. Democracy is a Kufr System
- iv. Sharai' Ruling regarding Cloning and Organ Transplant
- v. Methodology of Hizb ut Tahrir to Bring Change
- vi. Hizb ut Tahrir
- vii. American Campaign to Destroy Islam
- viii. The Crusade Attack by George Bush on Muslims
- ix. The Crisis of the Stock Market and Related Islamic Ruling
- x. The Clash of Civilizations is Inevitable



III. The Achiever of Nussrah for Khilafah *(inshAllah)*

Ata Abu al-Rashtah, the Great Scholar of Islamic Jurisprudence

The Current Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir

On Safar 11, 1424 Hijri or April 13, 2003 CE, the head of Deewan al Mazaalim of Hizb ut Tahrir announced the appointment of a renowned jurist, scholar and engineer Ata Abu Rashtah Abu Yaseen as the Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir at whose hands, we hope, that Allah (swt) will bring victory for the Muslims under his leadership. Dawah has certainly climaxed to its peak and the work has been well organized administratively. He has capitalized greatly on the capabilities of Shabab.

Some aspects of the life of Ata Abu al-Rashtah

Ata bin Khalil bin Ahmad bin Abdul Qadir Alkhateeb was born in 1362 Hijri corresponding to 1943 CE in a village Ra'ana of the city of Al Khalil in Palestine. He belonged to a very religious family. In his childhood, he saw with his own eyes the pain of Palestinian people and occupation of Palestine by Jews with the help of Britain and treacherous Arab leaders. This occupation forced his family to move to a refugee camp near Al Khalil.

He acquired his basic and middle level education in the same camp. Then he obtained his matriculation degree from the school named Al Hussain Bin Ali in Al Khalil in 1959 CE. Then he cleared the examination of Al Saniya al 'Ama (as per Egyptian syllabus) in 1960 CE from the institute Al Ibrahimi of Al Quds Shareef. After that he attained admission into the Engineering College of Cairo University in the academic year of 1960/61 and graduated in the year of 1966. He served as an engineer in many Arab countries after completing his education. He has authored a book about Civil Engineering titled Al Wast Fi Hisab Al Kimiyat O Maraqaatal Mabani wat Taraq.

He joined Hizb ut Tahrir whilst he was a middle school student during the mid 1950's. He suffered persecution and imprisonment in the dungeons of the oppressor as punishment for raising the words of truth. He performed all the organizational and institutional duties in the administrative structure. He served as a Daris, Mushrif, Naqeeb of Mahliyya, Member of Wilayah, Mo'atamad, Member of the Office of the Representative of Ameer. On Safar 11, 1424 Hijri corresponding to April 13, 2003 he took charge as the Ameer of the party. He is ever praying

to Allah (swt) that He may help him in discharging his duties graciously.

The following is a list of the Islamic books written by him:

- Tafseer of Surah e Baqarah 'Al Teeseer Fi Asool at Tafseer'
- Drasat Fi Asool ul Fiqa – Teeser at Wusool Ilal Asool
- And following are the booklets authored by him:
- Economic Crisis, Its Reality and Its Solution from the Islamic Perspective
- The New Crusades in the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf
- Industrial Policy and Industrialization of the State
- During his time, the following books have been published by the Hizb
- The Essential Elements of the Islamic Nafsiyya
- Political Issues – Occupied Islamic Lands
- Addition to the book: Islamic Concepts
- The Basis of the Education Policy of Khilafah State
- Institutions of the Khilafah State

He is ever praying to Allah Almighty that He grant him the courage to discharge his duties in a manner that Allah (swt) and His Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم would be pleased with; he is ever praying that Allah (swt) bestow upon the Ummah the state of Khilafah through his hands; our Lord is All Hearing and will answer our prayers.

The steps taken by him during his time include the warm call made to Muslims on Rajab 28, 1426 Hijri corresponding to September 2, 2005 CE with relevance to the painful incident of abolition of Khilafah 84 years ago. This appeal was initiated in





Indonesia, and then it was made on the shores of Pacific Ocean in the East as well as on the shores of Atlantic Ocean in the West at the Friday prayers. This call affected the Ummah greatly. Additionally, he has been actively raising his voice for the Truth continuously at various conferences, seminars and conventions of Hizb ut Tahrir.

The early years of his leadership are full of khair and we pray to Allah (swt) that He may increase His barakah in his leadership. There are clear signs of imminent Nussrah under his leadership with the Will of Allah (swt). We look to him hopefully and we pray that Allah (swt) decrees His victory during his time, Ameen.

The piety of this exalted Ameer is exemplary. He is passionate about his mission and always concerned about fulfilling his obligations in a gracious manner. He has proved his capabilities while he held many offices in the administration of Hizb ut-Tahrir and fulfilled his obligations in the best possible manner. Some of the noteworthy services rendered by him include the ones that he did when held the offices of Representative, Mo'atamad and Assistant to the previous Ameer. This is the reason why he is fully aware of the responsibilities that he carries as the Ameer and perceives them rightly. He monitors all the activities actively, therefore, the Shabab feel his presence in everything that they do; no matter how small or huge the task. This is the way how he is utilizing the full potential of Shabab.

This is the summary of the journey Hizb ut Tahrir that departed from the Al Aqsa Mosque in the mid 1950's;

the caravan had just one basic goal in their mind i.e. the re-establishment of Khilafah Rashida. The leader of this caravan was the great scholar Sheikh Taqiuddin Nabahani who continued to lead this caravan till his death. He remained the leader of the party for 25 years. The renowned scholar Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum took charge of the leadership of the party in 1977 after the death of the founding Ameer. During his time, the Dawah of Hizb ut Tahrir flourished greatly. The number of the members of the party increased. The party reached many countries of the world. Thus, Hizb ut Tahrir succeeded in making thousands of people a part of the party. This great scholar left us at the age of 80 after serving as the Ameer of the party for 25 years. After him, another esteemed and qualified scholar, an established expert of jurisprudence, Ata Abu al-Rashtah became the global leader of the caravan of Hizb ut Tahrir. He is working diligently to harvest the benefits sowed during the time of his predecessors.

Such beautiful words have been spoken by a Shab about these three great personalities:

They were three individuals, Allah (swt) chose them for three different purposes:

The first laid the foundation and organized.

The second motivated and the Dawah flourished.

The third has prayed for the Nussrah and Allah (swt) will answer his prayers, Ameen.

Source: [el-Waie Magazine – August & September 2006 Issue 234+235](#)





Ameer's section

Question & Answers



These are just a sample of the answers of the Scholar and Ameer of Hizb ut-Tahrir, Ata bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah, to questions asked on his facebook page

1. Regarding Hizb ut Tahrir and the Syrian Revolution

Question:

Greetings to the Scholar Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah from Mamoun Shehadeh, journalist and political analyst. **I would like to ask you, what were the motivating factors that made Hizb ut Tahrir involve itself in the Syrian revolution and why did it not do so in other places?**

Answer:

Wa Alaikum us Salaam Wa Rahmatullah Wa Barakaatuhu

Our work my dear brother is the same and it does not change in every place that we are able to work. Our work is carrying the Dawah for the resumption of the Islamic way of life via the establishment of the Rightly Guided Khilafah in accordance to the methodology that the Messenger of Allah (saw) demonstrated to us from the time that he was tasked with the mission in Makkah Al-Mukarramah until he established the State in Al-Madeenah Al-Munawarah. So we make contact with the Ummah to call them to the Haqq (truth) and that the Khilafah is a great Fard that it is obligatory for them to work towards. We interact with the Ummah upon this, working with it and through it to accomplish this matter. In addition we make contact with the people of power and request their support to establish the Khilafah and we advise them not to waste their efforts in vain by finding it sufficient to change people without changing the entire man-made secular system.

Rather they need to exert their efforts, strengths and sacrifices to change the man-made system from its roots with its rulers and laws, and establish the Khilafah.

We make this matter clear to them comprehensively just as it has come in Islam, so the one who responds positively to us we direct him with the correct direction whilst the one who does not respond

cannot be coerced into it but rather we make Duaa for him to be guided.

This is what we did before the revolutions, what we do during them and what we will do afterwards. However the revolutions provided a wider range for the people to listen to the word of truth without them fearing the security agencies like the situation had been before when the people would keep their distance from us fearing the security agencies. For this reason it is noticeable today to see the people surrounding themselves around us and turning towards us and the presence of a strong active movement of interaction between us and them. And as such it is noticeable that the scope of the Dawah that we carry has widened and increased from before because the fear barrier has been removed from the people.

And it is because of this that you have noticed the strength of our movement and its increase in the Ummah more than it had been previously noticeable. This is not because we were not working before but rather because the people before the revolutions had been fearful to move in our direction out of fear from the security apparatus which would pursue us and all those whom we made contact with. So this created a hindrance to our work and placed a barrier in front of the people if they wanted to approach us.

And it is important to make known that the strength of our work is not noticeable in the areas of revolutions alone but rather it can be noticed in



other regions and occasionally it can have greater momentum there than in the regions of revolutions. Perhaps you have seen or heard of our activities in Pakistan for example where the strength is clear and on par or similar to what is noticed in Syria. This is despite the absence of a revolution in Pakistan at the present time.

In conclusion, our work was present before the revolution but it widened in a way that caught the attention during the revolution and specifically in Syria. This is because the barrier of fear had collapsed in the face of the people uprising against oppression and tyranny.

This is what is new in this matter but we had been working before the revolutions, through them and after them.

However if you meant by the wording 'involvement in the revolution' that we now have a military wing,

then this is an error and this does not exist. We do not have a military wing attached to us either in the past or anytime after. This is because we are a political party whose ideology is Islam that does not perform any material actions in the stage of Dawah. Rather it only requests the support from the people of power so they can establish the state just as that which happened with the Messenger of Allah (saw) in the second Bayah (pledge) of Al-Aqabah. And it is hoped that this will be realised soon.

((قَدْرًا نَبِيِّهِ يَكْفُرُ اللَّهُ جَعَلَ قَدْ أَمْرًا تَالِيًا لِلَّهِ إِنَّ))

"Indeed Allah will surely accomplish His purpose: Verily, for all things has Allah appointed a due proportion."

Your brother,
Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah

30 Sha'aban 1434
2013/07/19

2. Regarding the Extent of State Involvement in Economics and Taxes

Question:

As-Salaamu Alaikum to our honourable Sheikh may Allah keep you safe and sound, from Anis Labidi. **I want to know the extent of the involvement of the Islamic State's authority in economics as a whole and then the extent of its authority in the enforcement of taxes (Daraa'ib). (And how are taxes regulated in general according to the Fiqhi understanding?)**

Answer:

Wa Alaikum Assalaam Wa Rahmatullah Wa Baraakatuhu,

Your question regarding the involvement of the State in the Economy and taxation...

1. In relation to the involvement of the State in the economy accordingly the Economic System in Islam has specified the obligations of the State and its rights in addition to the obligations and rights of the people according to the Shari'ah rules which regulate the responsibilities or powers of both the one responsible for the people's affairs and those being cared for (the people). And because the Islamic Economic System has a major affect in relation to properties in terms of the means of ownership and expenditure. Therefore Islam has specified (or defined) these properties, maintained and safeguarded them from any aggression. So there are individual properties, State properties and public properties and none of these infringe upon another.

Therefore, the design of state involvement displayed in the current day where private property is seized and turned into public or state property, or the public property is turned into private property like the giving of petroleum and mineral concessions to the local and foreign private sector, all of the above is not permitted in Islam. Rather each remains within the limits of its ownership: The individuals in their private ownership, the state in regards to its ownership like those of the Ghanaa'im (spoils) and Kharaaj, and the Ummah in regards to its ownership like those related to petrol, minerals and energy resources... As such the pattern of state involvement that is known within the economic systems in our current age does not exist in the Islamic State.

2. As for taxes (*dara'ib*) then in accordance to Islam there are no taxes that are taken from the people as the Prophet (saw) used to manage the affairs of the people and it has not been proven that he (saw) enforced taxes upon the people and there are no reports whatsoever to indicate that he ever did. And



when he (saw) learnt that those on the borders of the State took taxes upon the goods that entered the lands he forbade that. It has been reported from 'Uqbah Bin 'Aamir that he heard the Messenger of Allah (saw) saying:

"مَكْسِرُ صَاحِبِ الْحِجَّةِ يَدْخُلُ لَا"

"He who imposes maks (custom duty) would not enter paradise" recorded by Ahmad and verified as Saheeh by Al-Haakim.

The Saahib Al-Maks is the person who takes taxes upon trade. This indicates the forbiddance of taking taxes according to the connotation defined by the West. In addition the Messenger of Allah (saw) said in a Hadeeth that is agreed upon narrated by Abu Bakrah:

"فِي هَذَا يَوْمِكُمْ كَحُرْمَةِ حَرَامٍ عَلَيْكُمْ وَأَعْرَاضِكُمْ وَأَمْوَالِكُمْ يَمَاءَكُمْ إِنْ
هَذَا شَهْرِكُمْ فِي هَذَا بَلَدِكُمْ"

"Verily your blood, wealth (property) and honours are Haraam (to infringe upon) like the inviolability (Hurmah) of this day of yours, in this land of yours in this month of yours..."

And this Hadeeth is 'Aamm (general) and it includes within its meaning every person which includes the State and the taking of taxes means the taking of the wealth (monies) of the Muslims against their will which indicates its inadmissibility.

However there is an exclusive case in which the Shar'a has approved of them and permitted to take wealth according to its measured requirement without excess and it is only taken from the wealthy from the surplus of their wealth.

This case is when spending has been obliged upon the Bait ul-Maal (State Treasury) and the Muslims and there are not sufficient funds in the Bait ul-Maal and as such is taken from the surplus wealth of the rich in accordance to the amount that needs to be spent in order to meet it.

However if the spending is obliged upon the Bait ul-Maal alone and not upon the Muslims, then money is not taken for this from the Muslims if the funds in the Bait ul-Maal are insufficient, rather the need is (still required to be) spent upon it from the Bait ul-Maal.

So for example fulfilling the fundamental (basic) needs of the poor in terms of food, shelter and clothing, this is obligatory upon the State to be taken from the Bait ul-Maal just as it is Waajib (obligatory) upon the Muslims. He (saw) said:

"اللَّهُ زِمَةٌ مِنْهُمْ بَرِحَتْ فَقَدْ جَانِحَ أَمْرٌ فِيهِمْ أَصْبَحَ عَرَضِيهِ أَهْلٌ وَأَيَّمَا
تَعَالَى"

"In any local community, if a person becomes hungry amongst them then Allah has nothing to do with them." (Recorded by Ahmad and narrated by Ibn 'Umar (ra))

So if there are insufficient funds to meet the basic fundamental needs of the poor in the Bait ul-Maal, then the amount required to meet these needs is taken from the rich without any increase above that.

And in the case of Al-Jihaad for example, it is also Fard (obligatory) upon the State and the Muslims due to the saying of Allah (swt):

((اللَّهُ سَيِّدٌ فِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ يَأْمُرُكُمْ وَجَاهِدُوا))

"And make Jihaad with your wealth and lives in the way of Allah."

And His statement (swt):

((مَنْ أَنْفَسِيهِ يَأْمُرُ بِهِمُ اللَّهُ سَيِّدٌ فِي الْمَجَاهِدِينَ))

"And those who make Jihaad in the way of Allah with their wealth and their lives."

Therefore meeting the needs of Al-Jihaad is treated in the same manner (as described in the first example).

And in this way it is understood that taxes are non-existent in Islam with the exception of this case in which it is obligatory for two conditions to be met:

First: That it is obligatory upon the Bait ul-Maal and upon the Muslims established by explicit (Sareeh) Shari'ah evidences.

Second: That there are not sufficient funds in the Bait ul-Maal to meet their needs.

So in this circumstance alone is the amount required to meet the need taken from the surplus wealth of the rich without any increase. And in regards to the surplus (*faa'id*) we mean that which is above the typical food of the rich, his clothing, housing, servants, wives and what he rides/drives to meet his needs, and all that is like this in accordance to the typical situation of those like him. This is because Allah (swt) said:

((الْقَوُّ قُلٌّ يَنْفِقُونَ مَاذَا وَيَسْأَلُونَكَ))

"And they ask you what they ought to spend. Say: "That which is beyond your needs" [Al-Baqarah: 219]

Al-'Afwa means that which does not require effort to spend which means what is over his requirements according to what is known to be typical from those like him. And the Messenger of Allah (saw) said:

"عَنِّي ظَهَرَ عَنِ كَأَنَّ مَا الصَّدَقَةِ أَفْضَلُ"



"The best Sadaqah is that which is spent from the back of the richness (Zahri Ghina)." Agreed upon by way of Hakeem Bin Hizaam and Abu Hurairah. And the meaning of 'the back of the rich(ness)' (Zahri Ghina) is any increase upon his known (typical) requirements of what is known (bil-ma'rouf).

And in conclusion there are no taxes in Islam except for this case and it can only be taken to meet the amount required to meet the need without any increase and it is not taken except from the back of

the richness and this case rarely occurred throughout the Islamic history because the permanent resources of the State that Islam has explained were sufficient. However if required it is permitted to take the taxes according to the explanation provided above.

Your brother,

Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah

01 Sha'aban 1434

2013/06/10

3. The Inadmissibility of Relying upon Astronomical Calculations to Confirm the Start of the Month

Question:

As-Salaamu Alaikum, I have read a question and answer about the inadmissibility of relying upon astronomical calculations to confirm the start of the month and Baarakallahu Feekum. However one point remains that I would like to be explained. It is that some have taken the use of astronomical calculations to negate the validity of a moon sighting meaning that if the correct calculation states that the Hilaal (new moon) will not be born and then someone appears giving witness to having seen it, then they will not take his testimony and witness and consider that he has imagined something that he thought was the new moon and as a result his testimony is rejected. And I have read a story from the Islamic history about similar situations in which the testimony and witnessing was rejected. This is the opinion stated by the Imaam and Qaadi (Judge) Taqi ud Deen Ali Bin Abdul Kaafi As-Sabki Ad-Dimashqi (the author of the book: *Al-Ibhaaj Fee Sharh Al-Minhaaj Fee Usool il Fiqh*) and this opinion has been quoted along with some situations or incidents in his book: *Al-Alam Al-Manthoor Fee Ithbaat Ash-Shohoor*. And it has happened in preceding years that the astronomers have announced the new moon has not been born until sunset and then announced the confirmation of the beginning of the month in the evening of the same day. I ask you to benefit us in this matter, Baarakallahu Feekum and let the victory proceed upon your hands. From Omair Mohd

Answer:

Wa Alaikum assalaam Wa Rahmatullahi Wa Barakaatuhu,

My previous answer about relying upon the (actual) sighting (of the new moon) and not relying upon astronomical calculations is clear and comprehensive in dealing with the Mas'alah (issue) by the permission of Allah. However you say that you have read this and as such I say:

Dear brother, in regards to the fasting and the breaking of fast then the evidences are clear in indicating that the Ru'yah (sighting) is the Sabab (cause) for the fasting (Sawm) and the breaking of the fast (Fitr):

((الرُّؤْيَاهُ وَالْفِطْرُ وَالرُّؤْيَاهُ صَوْمًا))

"Fast at its sighting and break the fast at its sighting."

This is just as we made clear in the answer that we issued previously.

As for the use of calculations for negation, then Allah (swt) has resolved this matter for us by making the witnessing of the month the Sabab (cause/reason) for the fasting and the Messenger of Allah (saw) has made clear to us that this witnessing is the Ru'yah (sighting)...

As for confirming the validity of the statement of the witnessing then this is the task of the Qaadi (Judge). Therefore he asks the witness and discusses with him and makes sure of the soundness of his eyesight and his vision in addition to those who were around him. I.e. he uses all that it is possible to confirm the validity of the testimony according to his human



capabilities. And the story of that Qaadi (judge) who discussed with the witness after having given testimony to the sighting... Then the Judge through examination saw that the witness had a hair upon his eye and so he removed it and then asked the witness where the Hilaal (new moon) is, but he was no longer able to see it!

As for including the calculation into the subject of the birth of the month (new moon) or the non-birth of it, then the matter is not understood in this way. This is because we do not fast based upon the reality of the month but rather in accordance to its sighting and the Saheeh Ahaadeeth in regards to this are many including the Hadeeth recorded by Al-Bukhaari who said: Adam told us, Shu'bah told us that Muhammad bin Ziyaad said: We heard Abu Hurairah (ra) saying: The Prophet (saw) said, or (he said) Abul Qasim (saw) said:

سِتْعَانِ عِدَّةً فَاتْمَلُوا عَلَيْكُمْ عَمِّي نَقِيًا لِرُؤْيَيْهِ، وَأَفْطِرُوا لِرُؤْيَيْهِ صَوْمًا))
(ثلاثين)

"Fast at its sighting and break the fast at its sighting and if it is obscured (from your sight) then complete thirty days of Sha'baan."

This means that the new moon could be present but it is concealed by the clouds so that we do not see it and as such we complete the period of thirty days.

Therefore my dear brother, it is obligatory to stop at the text which has specified the sighting.

In regards to this issue I am reminded of the story of that meeting which was held by the 'Islamic Conference' or the 'Ulamaa of Muslims' or something similar, in Morocco some years ago. In this meeting some suggested that they should fly on a plane in the thirtieth night so that it is possible to see the moon

without the obscurity of the clouds and so that there would be no obstacle in the way that would prevent the sighting of the Hilaal (new moon)!

Verily Allah (swt) has put down Asbaab (reasons/causes) for the acts of Ibaadah (worship) so commit to them and we should not make the matter more complicated upon ourselves and as a result make it difficult. Allah (swt) has intended ease for us:

((الْيَسْرَ يَكْمُ يَرِيدُ وَكَأَنَّ الْيَسْرَ يَكْمُ اللَّهُ يَرِيدُ))

"Allah intends ease for you and does not intend hardship for you."

And the ease comes through following the Shari'ah rules as presented in Islam.

Additionally there is another matter to be mentioned and that is that the astronomers differ in regards to the number of hours that need to pass by upon the birth of the new moon until it is seen after the sunset. As such it could be said according to calculations that it is not possible to see it or that it can be seen in this place but not another or that it could remain for two minutes here after the sunset whilst in another place it could remain for 15 minutes and so on...

Therefore involving calculations whether to affirm or negate the sighting of the new moon represents a complicating of matters that Allah (swt) has not commanded us with. Indeed, rather the texts are explicit and clear and do not accept alternative interpretation.

Your brother,

Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah

**03 Sha'aban 1434
2013/06/12**

These and other answers to questions are accessible from the Ameer's Facebook page.





Hizb ut-Tahrir's Global Activity

Khilafah Conference Indonesia

Held on 12 May 2013 in Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta, Indonesia.

Attended by over **120,000** including a global panel of speakers (Hizb ut-Tahrir representatives) from tens of Muslim countries

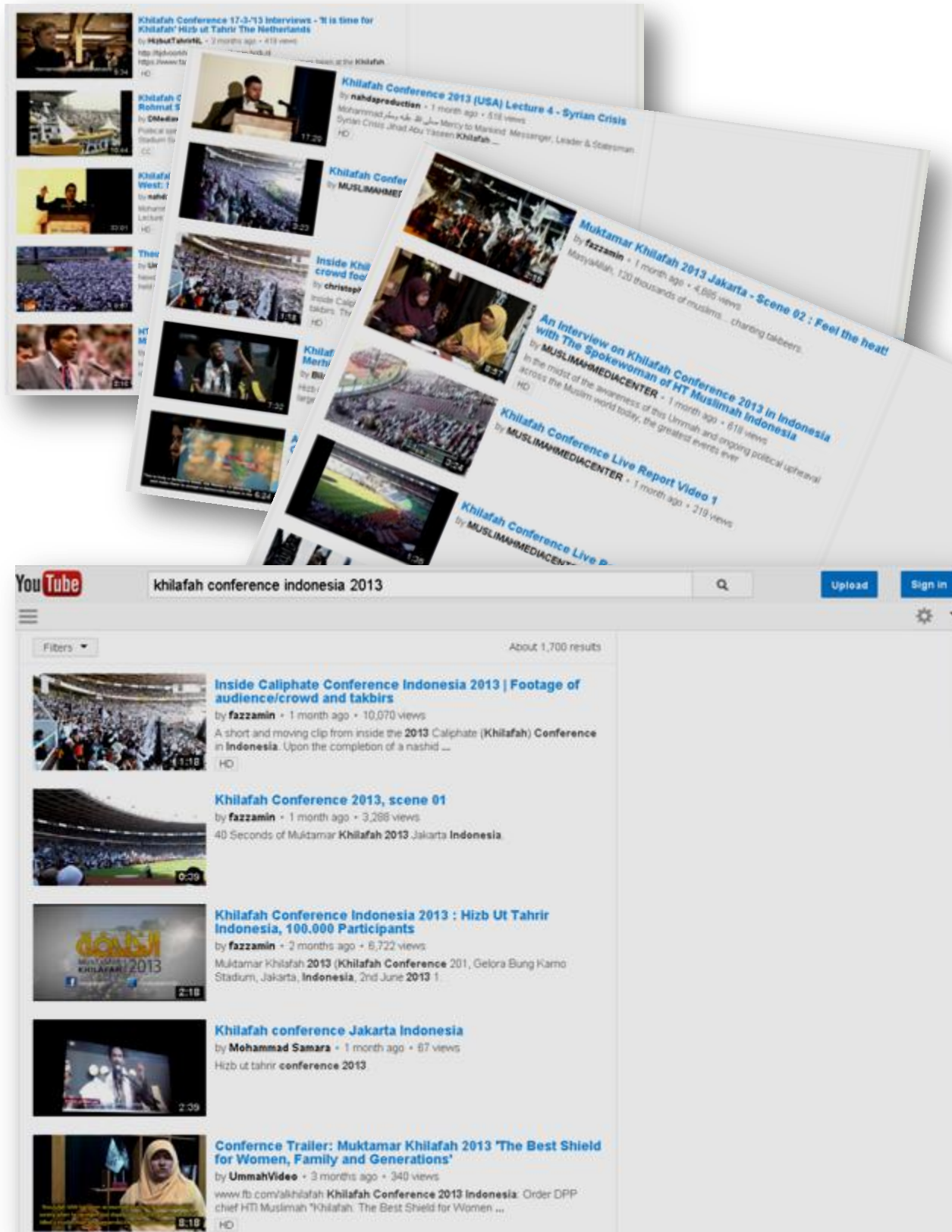
Pictures of the conference





Videos of the conference

The sheer volume of video clips of the conference, and what is related, is difficult to share here in the limited space of this magazine. We ask the readers to kindly access the videos from youtube.com. Below is a screen shot of some of the clips that can be accessed.





Other recent activities by Hizb ut-Tahrir

Hizb ut Tahrir Launches a Campaign and Women's Seminar

One year on - Who will Save the Rohingya Muslim Women and Children?

Women's Seminar

Sunday, 7th July 2013
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Dewan Sebaguna, Infrastructure University Kuala Lumpur,
Bangi, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

To Reserve Seats contact:
seminar.rohingya.info@gmail.com
+60192450690
<http://www.facebook.com/WomenForKhilafah>
@WomenForKhilafa
Website: <http://women.hizb-ut-tahrir.info>



recent activities (2013) continued



Anti -Asad demonstration, Hizb ut-Tahrir, Wilayat Syria



Protests against Tyrants of Bangladesh: Khilafah will soon Avenge Your Crimes, Hizb ut-Tahrir - Wilayat Pakistan



Hizb ut Tahrir East Africa Successfully Holds Two Economic Conferences in Mombasa



Conference: Muhammad (saw) Messenger of Allah, Hizb ut-Tahrir, America



Tunisia Women's conference "Khilafah is the protector of Islam", Hizb ut-Tahrir, Wilayat Tunisia



Conference on the Fard of Khilafah Hizb ut-Tahrir, Wilayat Jordan



Khilafah Conference Hizb ut-Tahrir, Wilayat Tunisia



Women demonstrate Hizb ut-Tahrir, Palestine



A Warm Call to the People of Power & Force

We direct this call to the people of rank and decorations, to the officers & commanders, to the captains and soldiers in the forests of the Muslims lands and all those who carry the da'wah to their religion, we say:

Oh! The people of power & force, is it that you invite Allah's wrath or that you provide Nusrah to the deen of Allah (swt)? Would you rather pledge your allegiance to your rulers or comply with the deen of Allah? Don't you have the excellent examples of Sa'ad ibn Ma'adh, Usaid ibn Hudair and As'ad ibn Zurarah? Do you not vie for the Jannah who expanse is like the heavens & earth and which has been prepared for those who are mindful & fearful of Allah? What happens to your zeal & enthusiasm for Islam when you see the honour of Muslim women violated by the lout Kuffar who humiliate the book of your Master, does this not infuriate you? Is there not one among you who is angered by all this and stands up to provide Nusrah to those who work fir the Khilafah? Are you not concerned that you will stand right in front of your Creator and your present rulers will not be in a position to save you from His wrath, neither will your ranks & military honour that you hold so dear to your chest. Even the wealth of your rulers of which you are so possessive & proud will be able to save your on the day of Judgement. Would you not move & mobilise and realize that it just a matter of your life- if it is utilised in the path of Allah- its sole owner-so that you enjoy the company of the master of the martyrs and the hoors- or it this life may be used up at the service of these treacherous rulers and this soon to be over world and thus become the source of misery and sorrows on the day of the judgement. May Allah save us from such an end. Have fear of Allah for this Ummah and your soul and demonstrate to Allah what will please Him and grant you His forgiveness for your past sins before you come to face the inevitable death and say:

"Until, when death comes to one of them (those who join partners with Allah), he says: "My Lord! Send me back, "So that I may do good in that which I have left behind!" No! It is but a word that he speaks; and behind them is Barzakh (a barrier) until the Day when they will be resurrected. Then, when the Trumpet is blown, there will be no kinship among them that Day, nor will they ask of one another." [TMQ al-Mu'minoun: 99-101]

Oh the soldiers in the armies! Oh the people of power & force! These are times to firm up your determination and resolve, the Ummah is looking up to you for your stand, the world is suffering under the treacherous daws of kufr and the yoke of capitalism and is awaiting the moment to turn aside these systems of oppression and the declaration of the second Khilafah al Rashidah on the method of the Prophethood. If your respond positively to this call-on this occasion of the destruction of the khilafah, great honour awaits you in this world as those who formed the khilafah and provided Nusrah to those who worked for it. But if you turned away from this call and failed to provide



Nusrah, then remember that Allah (swt) Himself protected His messengers before and He (swt) alone shall provide Nusrah to those who are His allies. He (swt) shall then choose you for His wrath and evident loss & misery. He (swt) says:

"O you who believe! Whoever from among you turns back from his religion (Islâm), Allah will bring a people whom He will love and they will love Him; humble towards the believers, stern towards the disbelievers, fighting in the way of Allah, and never fear the blame of the blamers. That is the Grace of Allah which He bestows on whom He wills. And Allah is All-Sufficient for His creatures' needs, All-Knower." [TMQ al-Maidah: 54]

Ibn Katheer (r.a) said: **"Anyone who turned away from providing Nusrah to Allah's deen and from firmly establishing the Sharee'ah, then Allah (swt) shall bring another set of people who are better than them and of more power & strength."**

In the end we say that we are treading this path of guidance from Allah (swt) and have complete hope & faith to accomplish our objective with the blessings of Allah (swt) We direct this call to the all the Muslims-men & women- to share this concern with us, because this is the mission of the times where it is not permissible for anyone to ignore this duty or shy away from it. We also repeat our call to the soldiers and tell them: This is by Allah, the moment where you are losing out- this moment when Allah (swt) has opened the trade of Jannah for you. So show up your best to Allah (swt) and provide Nusrah to the deen of Allah in order that you have your share of the honour in this world and the hereafter. We pray to Allah (swt) to open your hearts to this vital issue and to provide for this Ummah the honour of the Nusrah for this deen and declaration of the khilafah, He (swt) hears all and He (swt) responds to prayers.

"O you who believe! Answer Allah (by obeying Him) and (His) Messenger when he [saw] calls you to that which will give you life, and know that Allah comes in between a person and his heart (i.e. He prevents an evil person to decide anything). And verily, to Him you shall (all) be gathered."
[TMQ al-Anfal: 24]

