

4 Editorial

Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatahu,

More than half a century after partition, Pakistan remains teetering on the brink of disaster while her rulers bow in subservience to the West, having forsaken the interests of this Ummah. This is despite the fact that many sacrificed their lives and wealth in the hope that Pakistan would be an Islamic State and despite the fact that Pakistan has been blessed with vast natural resources, occupies one of the most strategic locations in the world and possesses a strong military and resourceful population...

5 Quotation

"Without sacrificing our sovereignty and national honour and dignity, Pakistan is willing to go to any length in order to maintain friendly relations with its neighbours...we are convinced that without amicable solution to the thorny and longstanding Kashmir dispute the two countries cannot progress and develop to the desired extent." Musharraf, when it came to the issue of Kashmir in his speech...

5 Reference

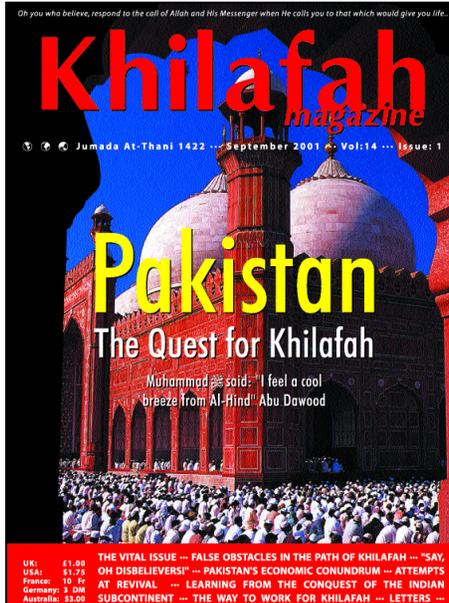
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8 The Vital Issue

In the month of Rabi al-Awwal, 13 AH, the Islamic State centred at Medina was plunged into the most serious crisis since its establishment...the death of the Prophet (saw). Having conquered the forces of Kufr, subjugated the elements of shirk and established a governing state; the Prophet (saw) passed away having completed his mission. The news of his death quickly spread to all parts of the city. On hearing it, some wept, some were dumbstruck and others refused to believe that the Messenger of Allah (saw) had died.

Amidst the confusion, several other critical issues arose. News reached the capital that large numbers of people had publicly refused to pay the Zakah. Others were rallying around an impostor prophet by the name of Musailima...



9 False Obstacles Put in the Path of Khilafah in Pakistan

The call for the resumption of the Islamic way of life by establishing the Khilafah State has reached all the Islamic lands. The discussion amongst the Ummah has moved on from, 'what is this Khilafah' and 'Khilafah is a dream,' to discussing more of the practical details of the Khilafah such as its ruling and economic systems. However, in the minds of some people, obstacles to the re-establishment of the Khilafah still remain.

11 "Say, Oh Disbelievers!"

At a banquet hosted in honour of President Musharraf on the occasion of the Agra Summit, President Musharraf said, *"We have been locked in mutual suspicion and hostility...we have paid a heavy price for it. We owe it to the future generations to do our utmost to pen a new chapter of goodwill and cooperation... We must not allow the past to dictate the future... We must overcome the burden of history. Other nations have done so. We must also do so."* We would like to ask, what is this "burden of history" that General Musharraf wishes to overcome?

12 Pakistan's Economic Conundrum

The economic situation of Pakistan in its present reality can be described as fragile, catastrophic or quite frankly dire. Legacies of corrupt bureaucrats and politicians have ridden the country of economic prosperity as a nation even though the enhancement in their own lifestyles has been astronomical. World Bank chief economist Nicholas Stern described the 1990s as the country's "lost decade" as political instability and corruption stalled the economy...

15 Attempts at Revival

In the forties, many Muslims in India decided to escape daily punishments and humiliations. Their motivation was Islam, and their goal was to create an Islamic land where they could worship their Lord and live safely. However, once they gave their blood to establish this home, problems were not far away.

Successive rulers applied un-Islamic rules and systems, which resulted in a host of problems. Because the newly imposed system was failing, the problems not only occurred in one field, but also ranged across a whole spectrum...

18 Learning from the Conquest of the Indian Subcontinent

Whenever the history of the Indian Subcontinent is discussed, it is hard not to mention Muhammad bin Qasim who destroyed the Sindi forces in order to spread the Islamic rule in that region. However, many forget to mention why the Khalifah sent him and whether the mission was unique or one that was being repeated across the globe. This article will paint the bigger picture of Islamic history in the Indian Subcontinent...

20 The Way to Work for Khilafah

It has today become an indisputable reality that this Ummah yearns for the return of the Islamic Khilafah. She has witnessed much that solidifies this desire. Today, we find that Allah (swt) has brought back the desire in the hearts of the Muslims and this Ummah to return to the rule of Islam. Amongst them are those who are willing to dedicate their time and effort for the service of Islam. This article seeks to explain how such people can work for Islam and work for its noble aims.

Knowledge before action

Hazzam bin Hakeem narrated from his uncle from the Messenger of Allah (saw) who said: "You are in a time of many jurisprudents (fuqaha), few speakers/lecturers, many who give and few who ask; so action in this time is better than knowledge. There will soon come a time of few jurisprudents, many speakers, many who beg and few who give; so knowledge in this time is better than action..."

22 Letters

Dear Sister/Brother,

After becoming very interested and astonished by the recent discoveries I made through Islam these past two years, I have become committed to wanting to live my life in total adherence to the laws of Allah (swt) Insha-Allah.

22 Events Diary

Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatahu,

More than half a century after partition, Pakistan remains teetering on the brink of disaster while her rulers bow in subservience to the West, having forsaken the interests of this Ummah. This is despite the fact that many sacrificed their lives and wealth in the hope that Pakistan would be an Islamic State and despite the fact that Pakistan has been blessed with vast natural resources, occupies one of the most strategic locations in the world and possesses a strong military and resourceful population.

Since the days of Muhammad bin Qasim, when the army of the Khilafah conquered India, the sons of this Ummah have made much sacrifice for Islam in the Indian sub-continent in their attempts to establish Allah's (swt) deen and maintain it in supremacy on the earth. More recently, and all praise is to Allah (swt), attempts to resurrect the Islamic Khilafah after it was viciously destroyed at the hands of the Kuffar have gained momentum.

The perception that Pakistan, or any of the Muslim countries for that matter, is destined to remain on the brink of disaster, intellectually and economically declined, drowned in corruption and with criminal rulers at the helm of ruling is a false one. Indeed, the whole Islamic Ummah has tremendous potential. In human resources, the Islamic Ummah is 1.4 billion - a quarter of the world's population. In natural resources, the Islamic lands are the richest lands in the world with the resources in different regions complementary to one another. The Islamic lands enjoy control over the most strategic locations in the world. In addition the Islamic Ummah and the Islamic Khilafah have a track record of world leadership for over one thousand years. Even more important than all of this is that the Islamic Ummah has the greatest message for humanity: the message of Islam.

That is why even in these dark days without a Khalifah to guard the interests of this Ummah and foil the plans of the Kuffar, the sincere masses from amongst this Ummah remain an obstacle to the treacherous plans of the colonialists and their agents from the ranks of the Muslim rulers.

The Muslims remain capable of removing this Munkar, removing these rulers, erasing these flimsy entities that keep them divided and moulding them into a single state. In order to do this they must respond to the commands of Allah (swt) by shaking off the humiliation and the capitulation and surrender to those transgressing rulers, to the Kufri

states and the Kufri systems. Muslims, wherever they may be, must rush to work hand-in-hand with those who have devoted themselves to the re-establishment of the Khilafah and the restoration of the rule by that which Allah (swt) has revealed, so that they can save themselves from the sin of inaction towards the hegemony of the Kuffar, the existence of these oppressive rulers, and the existence of the Kufri systems which they implement upon them.

The Ummah must restore together with those already working, the Khilafah State, the rule by that which Allah (swt) has revealed so that may the enemies of the Muslims may be destroyed and so that they once again become the leaders and policy makers of the world.

Throughout Pakistan, and indeed throughout the entire Muslim World, the quest for Khilafah gains momentum with each dawning day. The Muslim Ummah of a certainty will unify this body in one State which will work to take care of the affairs of the world and its people, drawing a political policy for the world based on the guidance and light of Islam till the voice of the Muadhin is heard with Allahu-Akbar resonating upon the whole earth.

So raise your determination, and motivate your sense of honour towards your Deen and Ummah, and let not the mass of Kufri and its influence cause you dismay, for this stage is nearly over, and the line illustrating the work of those working for Khilafah is increasing at an astonishing rate, and their steps towards victory become closer and closer everyday. So aid the cause of Allah (swt) and Allah (swt) aid you.

The Noble Messenger of Allah (saw) said, "I feel a cool breeze from Al-Hind" [Abu Dawood]

Dr Imran Wabeed

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Translation of the Qur'an

It should be perfectly clear that the Qur'an is only authentic in its original language, Arabic. Since perfect translation of the Qur'an is impossible, the term 'Translation of the Meaning of the Qur'an (TMQ)' has been used, as the result is only a crude meaning of the Arabic text.

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SW7 4UB



President General Pervez Musharraf said on Tuesday 14th August while addressing a colourful flag-hoisting ceremony in front of President House to mark 55th Independence Day of Pakistan, "I am thankful to Allah Almighty for providing me with the opportunity to lead the process of rebuilding Pakistan with the help of my dedicated colleagues and with the support of people of Pakistan...."

These empty words come at a time when the economic situation in Pakistan is getting from bad to worse. Musharraf's warped sense of 'rebuilding Pakistan' is in fact further colonising the country. It is ironic that he celebrates the 'independence' of Pakistan yet implements policies which make it increasingly dependent on the West. Pakistan has already paid \$12 for every \$1 borrowed and still the mountain of foreign debt stands close to \$40 billion not to mention the \$20 billion domestic debt which brings the total debt liability to \$60 billion, the equivalent of the GDP of the whole country. Despite being faced with this stark reality the Musharraf regime has done nothing to reverse the dire situation, in fact his Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz has recently announced that he will be running to the Paris club for another 'package' under the instruction of the IMF. Musharraf's process of 'rebuilding' also includes increasing gas prices, plans to increase the cost of living by raising the GST (General Sales Tax), and opening the way for western multinationals to own our vital assets by privatising important elements of the economy such as Pakistan State Oil (PSO), Karachi Electric Supply Corporation (KESC) and WAPDA.

Although the General rode to power on the basis that Nawaz Sharif withdrew the Pakistani army from Kargil, he has even withdrawn a further two miles from the Line of Control. He has decreased the defence budget while India has increased its budget by 13.8%. His government has even in principle accepted to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) even though both America and India refuse flatly to sign it. The Pakistani Foreign office spokesman Riaz Muhammed Khan said, "In principle we do not have any problems with this treaty". The US even plans to use Pakistan to assist the Indian military build up through the laying of a pipeline across Pakistan to supply gas from Iran to meet the energy needs of Indian industries.

When it came to the issue of Kashmir Musharraf said in his speech, "without sacrificing our sovereignty and national honour and dignity, Pakistan is willing to go to any length in order to maintain friendly relations with its neighbours...we are convinced that without amicable solution to the thorny and longstanding Kashmir dispute the two countries cannot progress and develop to the desired extent."

He has accepted to make peace with the butchers who recently destroyed a mosque in the village of Asind in the state of Rajasthan; the Mushrikeen placed the idol of 'Hanuman' or the Monkey-god in the remaining ruins of the demolished Mosque and following this they burnt four copies of the Qur'an. These are the people that he wishes the Muslims of Pakistan to have 'friendly' relations with.

Musharraf should realise that giving true thanks to Allah (swt) is to follow His (swt) commands not the commands of America. Allah Azza wa jal has warned humanity from disobeying Him and worshipping the Shaytan.

أَلَمْ أَعْهَدْ إِلَيْكُمْ يَا بَنِي آدَمَ أَنْ لَا تَعْبُدُوا الشَّيْطَانَ
إِنَّهُ لَكُمْ عَدُوٌّ مُبِينٌ، وَأَنْ اعْبُدُونِي هَذَا صِرَاطٌ
مُسْتَقِيمٌ، وَلَقَدْ أَضَلَّ مِنْكُمْ جِبِلًّا كَثِيرًا أَفَلَمْ تَكُونُوا
تَعْقِلُونَ 62-60

"Did I not ordain on you O children of Adam that you should not worship Shaitan; Verily he is a plain enemy to you. And that: you shall worship Me; this is the straight path? And indeed he did lead astray a great multitude of you. Did you not then understand?" [TMQ Ya-Sin: 60-62]

Abdul-Hamid Jassat

Reference

Abu Hurayra said: 'The Messenger (saw) promised us the conquest of India. If I was to come across that I will spend my soul and my wealth. If I am killed then I am among the best of martyrs, and if I return then I am Abu Hurayra the freed' [Ahmad, An-Nisa'i, Al-Hakim]

It is narrated by Ali (ra) who was the Khaleefah of the time that he once stood to deliver a speech when one of the Arab influentials, al'Asha'th ibnu Qays, objected at the existence of many non-Arab Muslims surrounding him (Ali). So Ali replied that these non-Arab Muslims are more active for this deen than the Arabs and then he narrated a Hadith that he heard the Messenger of Allah (saw) which emphasised that "they" will force this deen on you in the same way that you exerted the truth on them.

Zayd bin Thaabit (ra) and Ibn Mas'ood reported that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said, "Three things purify the heart of a Muslim: the sincerity in working for the sake of Allaah, taking up the task of advising the rulers, and not departing from the group of Muslims."

Ali ibn Abu Talib (ra) narrated Allah's Messenger

(peace be upon him) said, "If anyone recites the Qur'an, learns it by heart, declares what is lawful in it to be lawful and what is unlawful in it to be unlawful, Allah will bring him into Paradise and make him the intercessor for ten of his family all of whom have deserved Hell." [Ahmad, Tirmidhi, Ibn Majah and Darimi]

Imam Ahmed recorded from Tanim ad-Dari that he said, I heard the Messenger of Allah saying "This matter (Islam) will keep spreading as far as the night and day reach, until Allah will not leave a house made of mud or fur, but will make this Deen enter it, whilst bringing might to a mighty person (a Muslim) and humiliation to a disgraced person (the one who rejects Islam). Might with which Allah (swt) elevates Islam (and its people) and disgrace with which Allah (swt) humiliates disbelief (and its people)."

Thawbaan reported that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "Allah made the eastern and western parts of the earth draw near for me (to see), and the rule of my Ummah will extend as far as I saw." [Muslim, Abu Dawood]

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said, "Give glad-tidings to this Ummah of honour, establishment upon the earth, help and victory, and pre-eminence of the deen. Whosoever does an action of the Hereafter for a worldly motive, will have no portion of the Hereafter." [Al-Hakim and Ahmad]

The Second Khaleefah of the Muslims and the devoted companion of Allah's messenger, Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "We are People whom Allah made proud and respectable because of Islam; if we ever take pride in anything other than Islam Allah will humiliate us with that same thing."

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said, "There will remain a group of my Ummah adhering to the truth, and those who forsake them or oppose them will not harm them until the day of Resurrection." [Bukhari and Muslim]

Thawban reported that the messenger of Allah (saw) said: "Two groups of my ummah Allah has protected from the Hellfire: a group that will conquer India and a group that will be with 'Isa ibnu Maryam." [Ahmad and An-Nisa'i]

Muhammad (saw) said: 'I feel a cool breeze (refreshment) from Al-Hindh (muslims of India)' [Abu Dawud]

Pakistan's privatisation drive - IMF driven plan to consolidate foreign stranglehold



On 12 August 2001, the World Bank criticised the performance of WAPDA and KESC, two leading lights of the Pakistani energy-providing sector. These two areas have amongst other industries been earmarked for privatisation as stated by the Privatisation Commission (PC).

On September 28, 2000 the Pakistani Government established the legality of the Privatisation Commission, with the sole aim to implement a strategy of privatising key sectors of the Pakistani economy such as oil, gas, power, telecoms, banking and finance and others. Since then, the Government of Pakistan has raised the price of many tariffs including the gas tariff, where increases were made ranging from 14% to 50%.

One would think that such increases would go some way to alleviating the poverty of the people, or to build the infrastructure of the economy. However, the reality is that 90% of the revenue raised (at least 15bn Rupees) will go to debt reser-ving. The remainder will go to improving the financial status of such utilities, such that they can be sold to the Kuffar in the name of further debt reduction. Hence, not only is the Ummah asked to increase utilities payments, but these payments will not benefit the country at all, and in the long run the Ummah will lose these utilities to foreign multinationals completely.

This is the real agenda which the IMF has set for Pakistan - the selling of the key assets of the state such that what little semblance of economic independence Pakistan has left remaining is to be completely eradicated.

The Khilafah State will not hand over the Ummah's assets in this manner. In fact, the Khalifah will Insha Allah eject these foreign multinational such as Shell Oil and National Power, which seek to take authority over our economic activi-

ties.
 وَنَجْعَلُ اللَّهُ لِلْمُحْسِنِينَ سَبِيلًا ۝ ۱۴۱

"And never will Allah allow the kafir a way (sabeel) over the believers" [TMQ An-Nisa: 141]

Jilani Gulam

Agra - Paving the Road to Darkness



So Musharraf has returned from his pilgrimage to Agra after visiting his friend Vajpayee and performing tawaf around the grave of Gandhi.

It should be clear that it is the Americans who wish for the solution to the Kashmir issue to go ahead. Thus far Musharraf has proved a dedicated hound to this end. Prior to Agra his government went to great lengths to prepare the people of Pakistan to follow him in his betrayal. So we saw him make Jihad illegal in Kashmir, convince the people that economically Pakistan cannot sustain the fighting in Kashmir (though he continues to raise taxes and privatise industries in order to pay back his \$40 billion IMF and World Bank debt), increase the influx of Indian culture via new cable channels and even declare himself President. All of this was to legitimise the discussion over normalising relations in the eyes of his people and in the world arena.

Yet the self-declared President, once hailed as a war hero for his campaigns against India, returned from India without an agreement. So can it be said that the Agra summit failed?

Musharraf does not think so, he told a two-day Corps Commanders meeting held in Rawalpindi that although the Agra summit was inconclusive it could not be termed a failure and in fact called it a considerable success. He claimed that both parties recognised that Kashmir is the vital issue that requires solving. So the vital issue of Musharraf's is to give away Muslim land, not to establish Khilafah. He also said the Atal Behari Vajpayee deserved all praise (as opposed to Allah [swt]) for conced-

ing that Kashmir was an unresolved issue that requires a peaceful solution.

Pakistani Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar told US Assistant Secretary of State Christina Rocca "Though the summit ended in a deadlock, it was not a failure," he continued "The summit brought the two countries closer and helped them in understanding each other. The result-oriented talks process would continue," Sattar said.

This final statement is key. A final resolution to Jammu and Kashmir is a very delicate and pain staking affair, one that could never be resolved in a single meeting, this is why Musharraf plans to meet Vajpayee at the UN General Assembly session in New York this coming September, to continue the discussions on the peace process.

The foundations of treachery have been laid. Both Parties have acquiesced to hold multiple further meetings to come to a final solution. A Hindu newspaper reported Indian Foreign Secretary Chokila Iyer had indicated on Saturday 11th August that the next India-Pakistan summit would be held either by the end of this year or early next year.

Both leaders are dedicated to realising their nefarious scheme. The Ummah of Muhammad (saw) must make no mistake. The plans of the enemy (the USA, India and Musharraf) are not ripe but they are ripening. Ultimately the fitnah will not disappear until a true ruler is appointed, a Khalifah for the Muslims to represent them with Ar-Raya, the banner of Islam, one who shall destroy the road to the surrender of land rather than pave it, one who will not make jihad illegal where Allah (swt) the Supreme obliged it, who will implement every Shar'i commandment instead of only the easy and acceptable.

Allah (swt) has told us in an ayat of Qur'an the noble reasons the Muslims fight for and of the weakness of the plans of his enemy:

الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ الطَّاغُوتِ فَقَاتِلُوا أَوْلِيَاءَ الشَّيْطَانِ إِنَّ كَيْدَ الشَّيْطَانِ كَانَ ضَعِيفًا ۝ ۷۶

"Those who believe, fight in the

Cause of Allah, and those who disbelieve fight in the cause of Taghut (all false gods). So fight you against the friends of Shaitan; ever feeble indeed is the plot of Shaitan" [TMQ An-Nisa: 76]

Baber Qureshi

Israel's belligerence intensifies whilst Arafat calls for a halt to Intifida



"We can't allow to pay ... with the blood of our people and the blood of our citizens for some illusion of stability or restraint in the Middle East." Ra'anan Gissin, adviser to Israeli Prime Minister

In response to the Palestinian suicide bomb attack in east al-Quds that killed 16 people, Israeli warplanes blitzed Palestinian police headquarters in the West Bank and tanks moved into the Gaza Strip. The Palestinian headquarters in al-Quds was also shut down.

It is clear that the Israelis have no intention of peace in the region; they know too well that they are at a state of war with the Muslims and will always be at a state of war, till one of them is victorious. The 'illusion of peace' referred to by Gissin is an attack on the American plan for the region.

America's insistence on implementing a cease-fire plan drawn up by the Mitchell committee, headed by former U.S. Senator George Mitchell, has come up against stiff opposition from the Israeli government, as it is clear that this will lead to America being the power in the region.

It seems that the only obstacle to a physical American presence in this land is the Israeli government! Arafat will by all accounts subdue himself and the PLO to the demands of America in her quest to become the godfather in the region, for nothing but a pat on the back and a coffee in the White House!

The Muslims know that it is the sincere leader who will stand and defend the Muslims and lead the Muslims in fulfilling Allah (swt)'s

command:

وَقَاتِلُوهُمْ حَتَّى لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةً وَيَكُونَ الدِّينُ كُلَّهُ لِلَّهِ
فَإِنِ انْتَهَوْا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ بِمَا يَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيرٌ (الأنفال: 39)

"And fight them until there is no more Tumult or oppression and their prevails justice and faith in Allah altogether and everywhere, but if they cease, verily Allah Doth see all that they do." [TMQ Al-Anfal:39]

Sidik Auckbur

Musharraf's failure to rekindle Akbar's Deen-il-ihai



Despite efforts to rekindle the deen-il-ihai of Akbar, the recent summit in India highlights the real feeling of the Hindus when they decided to purify Gandhi's shrine with holy water from the Ganges and cow's urine, saying that Musharraf's visit had made it impure. The failure of the summit was due to the Vajpayee government's inability to mobilise public opinion for normalisation, even though they tried their best to arrange the summit in Agra, arranged open access to the media for Musharraf to try and hide the images of Kargil.

Meanwhile the government in Pakistan has been bending backward to instigate a cultural normalisation since it patronised the Hindu festival of Basant and moved to mobilise opinion for it even outside the Punjab. This was followed by the Punjabi conference where it was stated that 'Pakistan was not made for reciting Quran.' Exchanges of liberals promoting Indian culture and western liberal values, pop concerts arranged in India for Junoon and for Lucky Ali in Pakistan, open licences to cable channels to promote Indian culture, PTV airing Indian songs, along with omission of verses and ahadith from the syllabi on the pretext that the Hindus and the Muslims share the same culture.

The same slogan was used by Akbar when he introduced Kufir and innovation on the pretext of the principle of suhl-i khul 'peace with all. He suspended Jizya, allowed marriages

to Mushrik women, destroyed tawheed by mixing the haq (truth) of Islam with the shirk of Hinduism. However we saw that once the Hindus became powerful they began to persecute the Muslims. Mujaddid alf al-thani Shiekh Ahmad Sirhindhi, in one of his letters to mobilise the Muslims wrote 'the non Muslims in India are without any hesitation demolishing mosques like in Karkhet and in its place a very big Hindu temple has been erected.' We have seen exactly the same scenario with regard to Babri mosque and the Hindu desire to build a Ram temple in its place. The thousands that got massacred in the creation of Pakistan and the thousands that have been killed in Kashmir bear testimony to how the Hindus really perceive us.

Just as Mujjadid alf al-thani stood up to the innovation of deen-il-ihai we must stand up to Musharraf's efforts to rekindle it in the name of normalisation and commit treason against the Islamic Ummah, its martyrs, and her deen. Once India becomes our partner it will not look after us as Musharraf declares but we will see the pre-1947 situation arise again, which will culminate in economic and political colonisation. We must rather work to implement the Islamic Khilafah system, the raison d'etre for Pakistan's establishment, which will not only protect the Muslims and liberate Kashmir, Palestine, Bosnia, and Kosovo but regain Muslim land in India and Spain.

هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظَاهِرَهُ
عَلَّمَ الدِّينَ. كُلُّهُ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ (التوبة: 33)

"It is he who sent the messenger with the deen of truth and the guidance so that it may dominate all other ways of life even if the musbriks detest it." [TMQ Al-Taubah: 33]

Abu Muaz, Pakistan

Hamza Haz Got It So Wrong



The new Indonesian Vice President, Hamzah Haz, said in 1999 that no woman was fit to head the world's leading Muslim nation as this was in contradiction to what

Islam had ordered. Now, he has been elected deputy to its first female president - the same woman he blocked two years ago.

So are we missing something? Did Ms Megawati Sukarnoputri suddenly become Mr Megawati Sukarnoputri? Surely this is not another example of pragmatic politics which marks out the paid politician like a flashing neon light - flash - I'm corrupt, - flash - I sold out? Alas it is. In Technicolor detail Mr Haz showed his real hues and became the Vice President to a woman he slated only two years previously.

Allah (swt) changes His rules for no one, least of all Mr Haz. Islam's prohibition to be ruled by a women stands. Al-Bukhari reported on the authority of Abi-Bakra, that when the Messenger of Allah (saw) heard that the people of Persia had appointed the daughter of Chosroes as their leader, he (saw) said "People who appoint a woman as their leader will never succeed."

Megawati and Haz's plan to revive the nation of Indonesia has a marked resemblance to the nailed butterfly. It may look pretty but is in fact stone dead, destined never to get off the ground. To be Vice President of an archipelago of over 16,000 islands, proved to be too irresistible for the principles of the 61 year old Hamza Haz.

Dilpazier Aslam

Pakistan's crystal clear foreign policy - but for whose benefit?

If we were to ask you to picture a battalion of Muslim soldiers travelling many thousands of miles to fight, braving the harsh weather conditions and feeling a sense of duty in doing so, one would maybe think about the inspiring narrations concerning the Tabuk expedition or other similar battles. If we were to add to this that the reality of this expedition was not underpinned by a desire to worship Allah (swt), by spreading the message of Islam and defending the Muslims, maybe we would begin to think of a Muslim country flexing its muscles and in the process instilling the un-Islamic nationalistic pride that Islam condemned. If we were to show the full

picture as Muslim soldiers being ordered to fight for British interests under the command of a UN mission which is on the ground a fight to control a lucrative diamond market, we may think a mistake had been made by the army command structure. Yet sending 400 Pakistani soldiers to Sierra Leone and then reinforcing them with another 400 is clearly not considered a mistake, but a sign of a confused foreign policy, or an indication of none existing at all.

Surely the Muslim armies must be provided with tasks that befit their skills. The Islamic army acts to remove the physical barriers that stand in the way of the acceptance to Islam of the Kuffar (disbelievers). A crystal clear foreign policy can only be achieved through the Khilafah State's establishment, once it is brought back the world will realise the true gem whose absence has left only darkness and corruption.

وَقَاتِلُوهُمْ حَتَّى لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةً وَيَكُونَ الدِّينُ كُلَّهُ لِلَّهِ
فَإِنِ انْتَهَوْا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ بِمَا يَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيرٌ (الأنفال: 39)

"And fight them until there is no more Fitna (corruption) and the Deen will be for Allah alone" [TMQ Al-Anfal: 39]

Yusuf Patel

The Vital Issue

In the month of Rabi al-Awwal, 13 AH, the Islamic State centred at Medina was plunged into the most serious crisis since its establishment...the death of the Prophet (saw). Having conquered the forces of Kufr, subjugated the elements of shirk and established a governing state; the Prophet (saw) passed away having completed his mission. The news of his death quickly spread to all parts of the city. On hearing it, some wept, some were dumbstruck and others refused to believe that the Messenger of Allah (saw) had died.

Amidst the confusion, several other critical issues arose. News reached the capital that large numbers of people had publicly refused to pay the Zakah. Others were rallying around an impostor prophet by the name of Musailima. On the borders of the state far to the North the armies of the Roman Empire were preparing to fight while the army of Jihad, having just been given its orders to march, had encamped outside Medina. Within this atmosphere of unrest another issue, perhaps the most critical of all still remained to be solved; the burial of the Prophet (saw).

It was at this most serious of junctures that the most outstanding personalities of the Islamic State, the Sahabah, took control.

The Ansar of Medina had gathered in the saqifa of Banu Sa'ida, to discuss the issue of ruling and government after the Prophet (saw). Abu Bakr (ra), along with Umar bin al-Khattab (ra) and Abu Ubaidah (ra) made their way to the meeting place. A long and fierce debate then ensued which continued beyond two nights. At its conclusion the Sahabah who had gathered decided that Abu Bakr (ra) be given the bay'ah and chosen as Khalifah for the Ummah. Thus, the successor to ruling and implementation of Shari'ah was chosen. The critical issue to note is that during these three days and two nights of discussion all the other problems that the Ummah faced were still in existence. However the Sahabah (ra) prioritised the selection of a Khalifah as the most critical issue. Following Abu Bakr's (ra) appointment, units were organised to fight against the false prophet, those refusing to pay the Zakah were punished, the army of Jihad was dispatched to deal with the

Romans and the Prophet's (saw) body was buried.

It is vital that the actions the Sahabah took at this time are closely examined, for the Ijma' of the Sahabah indicates a Shari'ah rule for us. What they were faced with was a collection of issues which all required solving. All the issues were either Fard to carry out or were hudood to be implemented; neither could be delayed. Thus the burial of a body is Fard, the punishment of those who refuse to pay Zakah is obligatory, Jihad must continue and impostor prophets attacking the foundation of the Islamic State must be dealt with. However, the action prioritised above these actions was the selection of a Khalifah.

Rasoolallah (saw) had in fact already commanded what the Muslims should do upon his death and had laid down the hukm regarding the issue of rule. His (saw) hadith recorded in the Sahih of al-Bukhari states, "And after me there will be no more prophets, but there will be Khulafah, and they will be many". The Sahabah asked, "What do you order us regarding them". He (saw) replied, "Fulfil the Bay'ah to them, one after one." Rasoolallah (saw) also emphasised the obligatory nature of this bay'ah. The Sahih of Muslim narrates, the Prophet (saw) said, "Whoso dies whilst there was no Bay'ah (pledge of allegiance) on his neck, he dies the death of jahiliyyah (ignorance)." Thus the Prophet (saw) made it compulsory on every Muslim to have the pledge of allegiance to a Khalifah.

It is this bay'ah that the Sahabah sought to establish. They immersed themselves in this work and gave it the priority it deserved. That is, being the most important issue above other issues, even over the burial of the Prophet (saw) himself. For it is by the establishment of the ruling system of Allah (swt) that the Shari'ah is implemented, the Hudood is enforced, the rights are upheld and the Deen is made dominant.

This idea has remained with the Muslim

Ummah throughout its history. Wherever Islam spread, the rule of Allah (swt) was implemented and the bay'ah to the Khalifah was maintained. After the age of colonialism

when the Ummah was given an opportunity to assert itself, to implement a law, to profess a belief, it was always Islam. Thus the hundreds of millions in the Indo-Pak subcontinent who were roused, did so in the name of Islam, did so behind the slogan, Pakistan ka matlab kya? La ilaaha illallah! What is the meaning of Pakistan? There is no God but Allah!

It was the desire to re-establish an Islamic ruling authority, to restore the Shari'ah, and to implement the Deen that moved the masses, that led to the sacrifices, that convinced millions to migrate. Their goal was one, a land where a Mu'min could live under the shade of the Shari'ah.

That aspiration today still remains unfulfilled. In its place are a host of issues, problems and calamities that affect the Muslim Ummah, globally and locally. In government the rule of Allah (swt) is replaced with the rule of Insaan, economically our lands lie chained to debt, militarily our vast arms gather dust while our brothers and sisters are butchered. Once again the Ummah questions itself. What issue should we pursue? What problem should we solve first? Where does the solution lie? We are in fact at that critical juncture faced by our predecessors, the Sahabah (ra). The guidance given to them applies to us today, the rule given to them applies to us today, and the actions undertaken by them apply to us today, to re-establish the Khilafah. The lack of the rule of Allah (swt) is indeed the most critical issue, for in its absence, Kufr reigns supreme. In order to arrest this situation, lead this Ummah to revival and fulfil our Fard, the re-establishment of the Khilafah is the vital issue.

The struggle and sacrifice that the Muslim Ummah has undertaken throughout its history, recent as well as distant, is a testament to her desire to live by Islam, is a proof of her unshakeable Iman and is a confirmation of her attachment to Islam. The tragedies in Bosnia, Palestine and Kashmir, and the reactions of this Ummah speak for themselves. Just as the Muslims were unwilling to live under a British

False Obstacles

Put in the Path of the Establishment of Khilafah in Pakistan

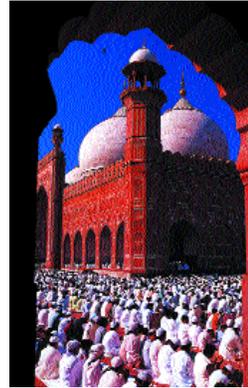
Raj they were unwilling to live under a Hindu Raj. They knew that they were not a slave nation but a ruling nation.

Thus today, despite having suffered bitter disappointment from the rulers of Pakistan, despite having humiliation and disgrace forced upon them, the Muslims mightily resist. They resist compromise in Kashmir, they resist the spread of secularism and they resist the melt-down of their morals. They work hard to maintain their identity, pass on their values and re-establish their law. They need only the spark of truth, to once again refocus their activity, rejuvenate their souls and direct their energy. The spark of truth that ignited the sands of the Arabian Desert 1400 years ago has, by the will of Allah (swt), still been preserved. It exists in the hearts and minds of all those who love Allah (swt) and his Messenger (saw). It is what will make this Ummah realise the urgency of the Khilafah, the necessity of its re-establishment and the obligation of working for it.

The Khilafah is the promise of Allah (swt), the order of his Messenger (saw) and the example of the Sahabah (ra). It is the necessity of the time. It is the requirement of this Ummah. It is the Vital Issue.

Imam Ahmed narrated in his Musnad, the Prophet (saw) said, "Bring glad tidings to this Ummah, she will have the power, the pride, the Deen, the victory and the authority on Earth. So he who worked to reap the rewards in this life rather than the hereafter, he would have no reward in the hereafter."

Hassan Mujtaba



The call for the resumption of the Islamic way of life by establishing the Khilafah State has reached all the Islamic lands. The discussion amongst the Ummah has moved on from, 'what is this Khilafah' and 'Khilafah is a dream,' to discussing more of the practical details of the Khilafah such as its ruling and economic systems. However, in the minds of some people, obstacles to the re-establishment of the Khilafah still remain. This article will examine two of the most common arguments put forward as obstacles in the way of establishing the Khilafah.

A characteristic of many Islamic lands, Pakistan included, is the high level of corruption that occurs in day-to-day life. Principally, the main exponents of this corruption are the secular elites, rulers and their entourage that rule the Islamic lands on behalf of their masters in the West. This corruption takes the form of nepotism and patronage in appointing state officials and judges by awarding government contracts to certain friends and companies. It is also manifest in the vast amounts of wealth squandered by our leaders in using the Ummah's money for personal use. The Bhutto and Sharif dynasties, which amassed millions of rupees when in power, spring to mind. It has been reported that during the rule of Bhutto and Sharif, the annual cost to run the Prime Minister and President's residences exceeded \$40 million. Some people argue that the corruption in Pakistan is not restricted to the rulers and elites, but that corruption, bribery and cheating are such a normal part of life that corruption

is endemic and inherent amongst the people of Pakistan. They continue to argue that with the level of corruption so high, there is no hope of establishing Khilafah in Pakistan.

A deeper look at the 'corruption' that exists in Pakistan will put this subject into context and offer a more plausible explanation than that the people of Pakistan are inherently corrupt. Typically, a common form of corruption faced by people will be experienced when arriving at the airport. The airport or customs official may demand 100 rupees or a £10 note to let you through, or a larger sum of money will be asked, on the basis that you are carrying some 'illegal' goods. An oft-quoted incident is people's dealing with the infamous telephone exchanges in the major cities. A telephone bill will arrive at your door asking for an amount to be payable within a certain time period. The person pays his telephone bill well within the prescribed limit. However, the telephone is still cut off and the only option is to visit the main telephone exchange in the city. Even though you have proof of payment, such as a bank transfer and stamp, the officer will demand a bribe to reconnect your line. Similar examples can be seen in other services whereby you may be sent an exorbitant bill, well beyond reason, and you are forced to engage with the officials to reduce the bill or have your service cut off.

It is well known that the elites in Pakistan, who have links with the government or political par-

ties, do not pay bills. Indeed, of Pakistan's 135 million people only 100,000 are registered taxpayers. The ruling classes are able to get out of paying bills via their connections, and the poorer strata of society do not have access to electricity, gas or telephones. Thus, the burden falls upon the middle-classes to pay the majority of bills. This creates a climate where people feel unable to meet their bills and expenditures and resort to 'fiddling' with the electricity meter in their house or bribe the official who comes to read the meter with a certain amount of money.

It must be clear that corruption and bribery are not justified under any circumstances. The Prophet Muhammad (saw) said, "Whosoever cheats is not one of us." Essentially, the root cause of the corruption stems from the system, which burdens the people with excessive financial demands and people's genuine inability to pay for goods and services. The corruption that is witnessed should not be disconnected from the political system that does not cater for the interests of the Ummah, but is rather the fundamental cause of it.

The average salary of a policeman or teacher is no more than 3,000-4,000 rupees a month. An average family of five in the city during the summer would require at least 2 or 3 fans and 1 air conditioner to keep them cool. The monthly electricity bill in a major city like Lahore would be 3,000-5,000 rupees, either in excess of the monthly salary or a very high proportion of it. A labourer would earn about 100 rupees a day, no more than 4000 rupees a month. The cost of a kilogram of meat would be between 100-120 rupees, and chicken about 70-100 rupees. A 5 kg bag of atta (flour), the staple diet for millions, costs about 97 rupees and would not last a family the whole month. So, it can be seen from these examples that for many people, the basic necessities of life cost more than their income. If someone does not have a large family network to rely upon, is it any wonder then that large numbers of the Ummah are effectively forced into taking and accepting bribes and involving themselves in corrupt practices?

The effect of the political system and its quest for exploiting increasing revenue from the Ummah, in line with IMF conditions, goes unabated. Over the past two years the price of electricity for consumers has risen dramatically. In August 1999 a tariff increase of 21-34% was levied; this was raised by a further 15% last year resulting in a 36-50% rise over this period. Recently, the Musharraf regime has introduced a new 'Power sector development surcharge' meaning a 25-50 paise rise per unit for consumers, a government proposal to increase transport fares every 4-5 months and the introduction of a TV license fee. With the ever-increasing cost of living, and people's salaries remaining stagnant, the effective cost of living for millions increases and perpetuates a vicious cycle of corruption that originates with the government.

A crucial point to note when discussing corrup-

tion in Pakistan is that far from being endemic in society, it manifests in only certain aspects of society. The bulk of the corruption that exists is evident between the people's transactions with government and state industries. The Ummah knows that it is the government and state industries that exploit and loot the people by charging and imposing exorbitant prices and providing poor service. Alternatively, state officials, like the policeman or telephone exchange operative on a very poor salary, are forced into bribing the people they come across in order to make ends meet and feed their families. If one is to observe the relationships amongst people in the shops, bazaars and market places, these are largely free of corrupt practices, and the normal conduct of buying, selling and haggling takes place.

It should be clear that the forces of corruption emanate from the same source as the political system that does not look after the people's affairs. The Ummah is neither corrupt nor inherently bad, but elements of the Ummah have to resort to corruption to provide for themselves and families. Contrast this with the ruling elites and their entourage who having made millions out of corruption, built their houses and palaces with fleets of cars and servants, go abroad and then continually return to Pakistan to exploit further resources from the land and people.

The second major argument put forward by many, regarding the unsuitability of Khilafah in Pakistan, is the issue of sectarianism and sectarian conflict. Mainly, this pertains to the Shi'a and Sunni tensions that, people argue, prevent the Ummah from ever unifying prior to the establishment of Khilafah. A number of factors must be discussed to put this into the correct context.

Firstly, the disputes between Sunni and Shi'a are widely reported in the media and other forums. The Shi'a constitute only about 20% of the population of Pakistan. The obvious questions that arise are: 'who benefits?' and 'who gains?' from so-called sectarian Sunni-Shi'a conflicts. In recent months, the Musharraf regime has been highlighting the issue of internal security, law and order issues and sectarian strife and has vowed to clamp down on "sectarian related terrorism." The government has made a great issue of jihadi organisations, who fought valiantly in Afghanistan against the Russians, now causing internal strife within Pakistan and being involved in sectarian clashes particularly against the Shi'a. It is apparent that the government, in order to shape public opinion, introduced wide-ranging legislation and tight security measures to deliberately raise the climate of Sunni-Shi'a tensions. By indicating and escalating these tensions, the regime has been able to justify its actions.

Many shrewd commentators have questioned the established wisdom that Shi'a and Sunni 'extremists' have been involved in tit-for-tat killings. A leading politician from a prominent Sunni group was recently murdered. This killing was significant in that there was no apparent tension leading up to the incident or after it. It is no secret that gov-

ernments and their agencies do cause explosions and bombings in order to highlight an issue or use as a pretext for some actions. The Russian authorities notoriously planted bombs in order to blame the Chechen Muslims, and the Algerian regime was known to hire mercenaries to kill people and then blame it on Islamic movements. Therefore, apparent Sunni-Shi'a tensions could be used as a tool of political manipulation in Pakistan and be exaggerated to greater proportions than are warranted.

On a different level, the Sunni-Shi'a issue has been an area of great debate, since the death of Muhammed (saw). As the Sahabah (ra) were gathering in the courtyard of saqifa Banu Sa'idah, the Shi'a Ali (followers of Ali [ra]) were in mourning. The followers of Imam Ali (ra) believed Imam Ali (ra) should have been the successor to the Prophet (saw), yet it did not prevent Ali's (ra) supporters, such as Abdullah ibn Abbas (ra) and Salman al Farsi (ra), from giving the bayah of obedience to Abu Bakr (ra) as the first Khalifah of Islam. Throughout Islamic history, the Shi'a have been present in the lands of the Khilafah, but this did not prevent the expansion of Islamic rule to new territories, or cause disunity and strife within the Khilafah. Where fragmentation and disunity did affect the Islamic State, it was due to the political weaknesses of the State in some areas and the pseudo-independence of some of the walis (governors). Thus, the Sunni-Shi'a issue is not something new or unique to Pakistan, and it should not be viewed as an insurmountable problem.

This can be further seen in light of the reality of day-to-day life in Pakistan. We do not find large 'Sunni' or 'Shi'a' ghettos without interaction amongst the people such as in Northern Ireland between Protestants and Catholics, or isolated communities like black people and Jews in America. On the contrary, we find Sunni and Shi'a alike praying in each other's mosques, studying, working and living together. Moreover, when it comes to Pakistan's rulers and politicians, we do not find the ummah asking whether a politician is Sunni or Shi'a, even though large elements of the political establishment are Sunni and Shi'a.

The primary cause for instability and disorder in Pakistan is not sectarian conflicts, but the secular government's inability to provide for the people, look after their interests or even build any social cohesion. Secular, Kufr politics that the leaders in Pakistan are so keen to emulate actually highlight the division on the basis of colour, language, geography and nationality. In contrast, the exalted Khilafah State will strongly instil the concept of citizenship amongst all people, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, so that they leave any sectarian or nationalistic attachments behind and have certain inalienable rights guaranteed to them by the law of Allah (swt) which the system upholds.

Zubair Hussein

"Say, Oh Disbelievers! I worship not what you worship"

At a banquet hosted in honour of President Musharraf on the occasion of the Agra Summit, Indian President Narayan said, "Let our scholars, artistes, writers and professionals and above all our common people meet freely and share the warmth of fraternal friendship. It is only common sense that for this purpose we need an atmosphere of peace and mutual confidence between us. We have to rule out violence from our relationship." At the same banquet, President Musharraf said, "We have been locked in mutual suspicion and hostility...we have paid a heavy price for it. We owe it to the future generations to do our utmost to pen a new chapter of goodwill and cooperation... We must not allow the past to dictate the future... We must overcome the burden of history. Other nations have done so. We must also do so." We would like to ask, what is this "burden of history" that General Musharraf wishes to overcome?

On this Tuesday, 14 August 2001, Pakistan marks 54 years of independence from the direct rule of the British Kaafir Imperialist. The Pakistan Movement, which led to the creation of Pakistan, was formed on what was known as the 'two-nation theory' under which it was said that Muslims and Hindus were unable to live in a single country, together, because of irreconcilable differences between them. Fourteen points were presented to highlight the stark differences between Hindus and Muslims, the most remembered point of which was that the Hindu worships the cow while the Muslim eats it. This thinking has had a determining effect on the attitude of Muslims of Pakistan towards India and stands in harsh comparison to the newfound enthusiasm of Presidents Musharraf and Narayan for "fraternal friendship". Other elements of the "burden of history" to which General Musharraf refers are the three wars with India and the continued conflict over Kashmir, wherein tens of thousands of Muslims have been martyred.

Why does General Musharraf want to overturn the "burden of history" between India and Pakistan and now create friendly and stable relations between the two countries? The true reason for this is not a warm change of heart from the

General, but rather a coldly calculated change of policy from America. After the Cold War, China has become America's primary global concern, to be dealt with according to two distinct but complementary policies. On the one hand, America has poured billions of dollars of investment into the Chinese economy, so that China becomes interdependent on the world economy and, more specifically, the American economy. On the other hand, America is pursuing a renewed policy of containment, whereby it is building adversaries to China along the Chinese border. A key component of this second policy is South Asia, whose combined population of over one billion is the numerical equal of the massive Chinese population.

In order for America to pursue her plan for South Asia, she is seeking to reduce the hostilities between India and Pakistan so that the two countries function as a strong block in opposition to China. A member of the Indian government went as far as saying that Pakistan and India should form a confederacy. And President Musharraf was using the same language when he addressed the Indian media saying, "It is the job of the bigger partner to look after the smaller partner". In order to achieve this, the two governments do not need further summits, for they are already agreed on the course of action. What they need is further work on the ground to convince their populations that India and Pakistan must now move closer to each other. This is why well-known Pakistani leaders and politicians have begun portraying numerous benefits of open relations with India, principally from the military and economic aspects. At the same time, the Muslims of Pakistan are being increasingly exposed to Indian culture by encouraging the promotion of Indian music and films and by arranging visits of Indian music artistes and actors. Also stronger links are being developed between intellectuals, journalists, NGOs, and retired diplomatic and military personnel from both countries.

Oh Muslims of Pakistan!

How do you accept that your leaders should follow the American plan and you remain silent on this? How do you accept the domination of Indian culture in your society and your homes and you look the other way? How is it that your leaders give you the two-nation theory, and you believe in it for 54 years, and then they act as if Muslims and Hindus are brothers, and you accept this also? Have you forgotten the meaning of Surah al-Kafiroon, wherein Allah, subhanahu wa ta'ala says:

قُلْ يَا أَيُّهَا الْكَافِرُونَ، لَا أَعْبُدُ مَا تَعْبُدُونَ الْكَافِرُونَ

"Say, Oh Disbelievers! We worship not what you worship" [TMQ Al-Kafiroon:1]

Even the two-nation theory was wrong, because it surrendered vast Muslim lands, opened with the blood of mujahideen, to the Hindu idol-worshipper, preserving only a part for Muslims in the form of Pakistan.

Foreign policy relations established by Muslims must be according to Islam and Muslim interests, and not according to secularism and the interests of the kuffar. In any common block of Muslims and Hindus engineered by the Western kuffar, it is always the idol worshipping Hindus that will be made to dominate. The Americans know, as did the British before them, that the Muslims are a global community with an independent worldview; so giving power to Muslims would mean creating another global threat to their own interests. Backing the Hindu entails no such danger. The rulers of Pakistan have been more sincere, as agents, to America, than have the Hindus. Yet it is Pakistan that has been most severely mistreated by the Americans, while the Americans continue to show their favour towards India. This is why the Pakistan military budget has now been frozen, while the Indian military budget is in rapid expansion. And this is why America looks to lift sanctions from India before sanctions are lifted from Pakistan. A sincere and aware political leadership would be thinking about inciting China against America, and would never accept or allow Pakistan to be used as a tool in America's hands to crush its global opponents.

Oh Muslims of Pakistan!

You must throw down these Western kufr systems of government and these insincere rulers and re-establish the righteous Khilafah that will implement Islam and call all Muslims to unify under it in a single Islamic State. When your oppressed brothers in Kashmir, India and other parts of South Asia hear this call, they will not allow the Hindu to stand as an obstacle between them and you, thereby easing the expansion of the Khilafah to the entire region. Then indeed South Asia will become a single block, but an Islamic block dominated by Muslims and working with sincerity for the interests of Islam and the Ummah, not a secular block dominated by Hindus and working for America's interests. And when the rest of the Ummah witness the re-establishment of the Khilafah and the re-unification of the Muslims of South Asia, how long do you think it will be before all their oppressive governments come crashing down and they all, in their entirety, unify under the Khilafah, thereby becoming a global superpower to rival American and Western supremacy? Allah, subhanahu wa ta'ala, revealed:

هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ ^{البقرة 33}

"He is the One who sent His Messenger with Guidance and the deen of Haq to dominate over all other deens though the musbrikeen may detest it." [TMQ At-Tawbah:33]

Hizb ut-Tabrir

20 Jumada Al-Ula 1422

10 August 2001

Walayah of Pakistan

Pakistan's

Economic Conundrum: Capitalist or Islamic Economic Policies?

Introduction

The economic situation of Pakistan in its present reality can be described as fragile, catastrophic or quite frankly dire. Legacies of corrupt bureaucrats and politicians have ridden the country of economic prosperity as a nation even though the enhancement in their own lifestyles has been astronomical. World Bank chief economist Nicholas Stern described the 1990s as the country's "lost decade" as political instability and corruption stalled the economy. It can be said that the whole of Pakistan's tenure as an independent state of 54 years can be included in this assertion as no period in Pakistan's history has seen a sustained period of economic growth or an improvement in the population's standard of living. Currently 34% of the people are living below the poverty line of one-dollar-a-day, and on a two-dollar-a-day basis a staggering 85% of the population fall below this poverty line. Such is the situation in a state that prides itself for being a nuclear power, which only a handful of other countries in the world can claim.

More importantly Pakistan is strategically placed with its access to the Indian Ocean and the gateway to the potentially lucrative Central Asian Republics where it is forecasted that vast arrays of untapped natural resources reside and hence provides the next opportunity for those who can utilise the opportunity to become influential on the world stage. Besides these Pakistan itself has natural resources of oil and gas in Baluchistan and a variety of fertile land in which agriculture has traditionally prospered. Perplexing that it is; the mystery of the economic failure in Pakistan cannot entirely be blamed upon corrupt politicians, which is generally the case. The blame lies inherently in the confused system that is implemented and the stranglehold of foreign institutions such as the IMF and World Bank who in the pretence of poverty alleviation serve to create further destitution. Patchwork solutions will not remove the economy

from the black hole it is in and neither will further subservience or adherence to IMF policies. Rather a radical overhaul of the economic structure is required and a replacement with a system, namely Islam, which will seek to utilise the resources of the country in a manner that will benefit the people and further the cause of Islam.

The 'Black Hole': debt problem

The foreign debt of Pakistan currently stands at \$40bn and shows no signs of a decrease. The history of Pakistan in the last twenty years has shown the debt spiral to its current level and with further debt rescheduling programs, this trend is unlikely to cease. Aligned with the repayment of the capital is the servicing of the debt (interest payments), which currently consumes 45% of general government revenues; a further 25% of revenues are consumed in defence spending leaving insufficient funds available for the development of the infrastructure and human development programmes such as health and education. According to the IMF statistics for 1990-98, Pakistan's total debt servicing and interest payments on foreign loans were the highest among all income groups. In 1998, Pakistan paid 12.5% of its GNP on debt servicing alone. The average for low-income countries (where Pakistan is currently categorised) was 3.1% and for all developing countries it averaged 4.5%. Coupled with this Pakistan has gradually lost its foreign exchange earning capacity in recent years leading to more dependence on foreign debts. The share of Pakistani exports in the world has declined from 0.22% to 0.15% and remittances of overseas workers have substantially fallen in recent years.

The Debt Management Committee (DMC), headed by Dr Pervez Hasan, believes that if Pakistan continues its course of medication from the IMF, it may create a situation in 2004 where it would be able to

survive without further debt rescheduling. With few investment programs for wealth generation and a program for repaying debt by borrowing further from other institutions and donors such as the Paris Club, the DMC outlook can be described at best as being overly optimistic.

Rescheduling debt is a deceptive term, for its real meaning lies in transferring the problem to future generations by which time the debt level will swell to an unbearable point condemning them to further servitude to the whims of foreign powers. Pakistan has already rescheduled debt twice under the IMF (Jan 1999, Jan 2000) and is continuing to pursue this policy with the help of the Poverty Reduction Growth facility (PRGF). The question that the government seems unable to answer, is quite simply, how and when will we repay the debt? If the current direction of policies continues, the answer to this reasonable question is never.

Case Study: The IMF Stranglehold

The fulcrum of the problem is the stranglehold of the IMF. This case study will highlight the recent funding programs the IMF have been involved in and strict conditions imposed upon the Pakistani regime to which they have been held hostage. The main conditions will be discussed and it will be shown from an economic and Islamic viewpoint that they are not to the benefit of Pakistan but rather are detrimental to the economy.

The IMF roll of honour

It should be noted briefly that the IMF has a very poor record for producing sustainable growth in countries in which its policies have prevailed. If the IMF were an institution in which achieving growth was a performance indicator then surely the IMF would be dismantled.

"There is no region of the world that the World Bank and IMF could claim as success stories for their policies," says Mark Weisbrot, co-director of the Centre for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR). This coincides with the fact that there has been a marked slowdown of growth in certain regions where WB & IMF policies are most dominant. Between 1960 and 1980, gross domestic product (GDP) shot up by about 75% in Latin America, but from then on until 1998 it has grown by only 6%. In Sub-Saharan Africa, GDP grew 36% between 1960 and 1980 and has since fallen by 15%. No accountability of the IMF ensures that this legacy is likely to continue to add misery to the lives of millions of people in developing countries.

Funding policy in Pakistan

In the year 2000 the IMF agreed a \$596 million standby arrangement (SBA). This arrangement was subject to strict conditions and was to be released as and when Pakistan implemented and adhered to these conditions. The first tranche of \$200m was released in September 2001 after agreement of the IMF Board of Governors and the rest is planned to be released throughout the year 2001. This will only be released if Pakistan has satisfactory performance on various fronts including revenues,

exports and foreign exchange reserves. These are not empty threats of compliance as Pakistan realised in 1999 when the fourth tranche of the \$1.6bn ESAF facility was withheld due to the Kargil crisis. This clearly shows that the IMF not only stipulates economic conditions but is also used as a tool by the US to further their own political aims. Pakistan duly retreated at the behest of the US government following a meeting of President Clinton and Nawaz Sharif.

Pakistan implemented the IMF's conditions in the budget for 2001-2002 and is now vying to impress the IMF with full compliance in search of \$2 to \$2.5bn from the ironically named poverty reduction growth facility (PRGF).

IMF Restructuring Programme

The main conditions of the IMF are centred around two main areas; tax policy and the deregulation of nationalised industries.

Revenue targets - The IMF sets revenue targets for the government to achieve. This in June 2001 was 417 billion rupees and for 2001-2 was 457 billion rupees as per the budget. Considering that 45% of government revenues are spent in interest payments one could suggest that the IMF has more than a considerable interest for ensuring that Pakistan meets this target. The pressures of revenue generation lead the government down two roots; widening the tax bands and selling off nationalised industries to private investors.

Tax policy - Within general economic theory an increase in taxation is viewed as a tool to deflate an economy in order to control inflationary pressures whilst also providing revenue to finance public expenditure. Hence increasing taxation should be complemented by an increase in investment to ensure that the money stays within the economy. In light of these basic economic principles it is clear that the policy that the IMF has insisted that Pakistan implements is doomed to create further poverty. The main manifestation of this policy is the much-maligned General Sales Tax (GST). This tax started initially as a tax on goods equivalent in its effect to VAT (in the UK) but has since been widened to become a turnover tax which caused huge dissension and strikes among small retailers. Furthermore the tax has been levied on electricity consumption and disastrously on agricultural inputs such as fertilisers and pesticides both at 15%. Considering that agriculture contributes to 25% of GDP, employs 44% of the working population and provides 70% of the foreign exchange the effects of the latter will be severe and not conducive to growth in the region. Additionally the sector currently suffers from negative growth of 2.5%, a shortage of water and continual increases in fuel used to run agricultural machinery such as tractors.

Privatisation

The planned sale of the Pakistan State Oil (PSO), Karachi Electric Supply Corporation (KESC), Oil and Gas Development Corporation (OGDC), Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) and a host of other public utilities are an implementation of the

IMF policy on privatisation.

In order to do this the government has committed itself to improving the financial positions of some of these utilities by moving towards a market-based pricing system, shedding jobs, reducing subsidies and settling arrears prior to their privatisation. The implication of this agreement is that the government will raise the tariffs frequently, to improve the operating profits of these companies in a desperate bid to attract foreign buyers. The increase in the electricity and gas tariffs during the month of March 2001 and the increase in oil prices earlier this year, will be followed by further increases in the new fiscal year. But for some companies like KESC and power generating units of WAPDA, increasing the tariffs will not be sufficient to make them profitable. To make these companies profitable the government has entered the Energy Sector Reform Programme of Asian Development Bank (ADB), which is worth \$350 million in loans. Parts of the agreement consist of job losses estimated to be over 100,000 and other restructuring measures. To attract foreign buyers for the public energy companies the government has arranged conferences with participants including Lasmo Oil, Gazprom, British Petroleum, Merrill Lynch, Citibank, Orient Petroleum, Occidental Oil and Gas Corporation, Marathon Oil and ABN Amro. The Minister for Privatisation Altaf Saleem has indicated on numerous occasions that the sale of the public assets will at the most bring \$3 billion. Thus real beneficiaries of the privatisation process will not be the Pakistani public, but foreigners.

Firstly, the money generated from the sale of the public assets will be handed to the IMF in order to retire the foreign debt currently standing at \$40 billion. Secondly, all future revenues from these utilities will go to the new owners of these companies, likely to be Western multinationals. Thirdly, it is envisaged that the favourable taxation schemes will be introduced to entice foreigners to invest. These schemes will help them to repatriate entire profits out of the country to strengthen their own economies at the expense of Pakistan's. Fourthly, the new owners will be able to set tariffs without any government interference, thereby, increasing inflation and making it extremely difficult for the local industries to compete with imports. One only has to look at Hubco to realise the future that privatisation will bring.

Islam has distinguished between private property, which can be owned by individuals or organisations and public property, which is owned by all the people in the community and is to be supervised by the state on behalf of the people as well as the state property, which is owned and managed by the state. The Prophet (saw) said "Muslims are partners in three things: water, pastures and the fire based fuels" [Abu Dawud]. Therefore it is haram for the government to privatise gas fields, oil wells, forests and rivers.

An Alternative: The Islamic Economic System

Islam views the economic problem in a different way to Capitalism. The current elite and econo-

mists within Pakistan and the Muslim world see the economic problem in the same way as the Western nations. They believe in 'trickle down economics', which means that the economic problem is that of unlimited wants and limited resources and in order to bridge the gap between these the focus of any economy should be to focus on production. Production is the key for them, which is why they pay so much attention to national income statistics such as GDP and GNP.

Islam views the economic problem as the distribution of wealth; there are enough resources in the world to provide the basic needs for over 60 billion people according to the statistics. The problem of poverty won't be solved by producing more and more for the rich to consume. It will rather be solved by ensuring that basic needs of every individual are satisfied completely and to enable him to satisfy his luxuries as much as he can. This unique view of the economic problem is the cornerstone of the Islamic State's economic policies. There are many ways that the Islamic economic system encourages the distribution of wealth.

Provision of basic needs and public/private enterprise

The Ahkam Shari'ah has secured the satisfaction of all of the basic needs (food, clothing and shelter) completely, for every citizen of the Islamic State. This is achieved by obliging each capable male member of the family to work, so as to achieve the basic needs for himself and his dependants.

Allah (swt) the Supreme says:

فَامشُوا فِي مَنَاطِقِهَا وَكُلُوا مِن رِزْقِهِ ۗ

"So walk in the paths of the earth and eat of His sustenance which He provides" [TMQ Al-Mulk: 15].

In addition many ahadith came to encourage earning. In one narration, the Prophet (saw) shook the hand of Sa'ad ibn Mu'ad (ra) and found his hands to be rough. When the Prophet (saw) asked about it, Sa'ad said: "I dig with the shovel to maintain my family" The Prophet (saw) kissed Sa'ad's hands and said: "(They are) two hands which The Supreme loves", and the Prophet (saw) also said: "Nobody would ever eat food that is better than to eat of his own hand's work".

Islam obliges the children or the heirs to support the parents if they are not able to work, or obliges the State Treasury (Bait ul Mal) to do so, if there is nobody to support them.

Already in Pakistan today it has been estimated that most of the help that the poor receive is not through the government but through relatives as Islam proposed. The SDPC (social policy and development centre) in Pakistan last year estimated that through informal household or community-based schemes over 60 billion rupees were transferred to the poor.

If the family are not rich enough to aid the individual and if the individual has not been able to earn through employment or other ways then the state

will aid him to satisfy his needs. This can be accomplished in a number of ways:

1. If the person is unable to earn due to a disability whether physical or mental, the state will give him or her the necessary funds from the Bait ul Mal. The Islamic economic policy treats each individual as a specific individual.
2. If the person is able to work but has been unable to find work then the state could employ him after reviewing his reality through an interview process at one of the public-private enterprise offices in Karachi, Lahore or wherever the individual resides. An administrative official of the Khilafah will conduct the interview; its objective would be to determine the skills, experience and competence of the citizen in question. After the citizen has been assessed the official will have the responsibility of deciding between two possible courses of action:
 - a) To employ the individual within one of the state industries and public sector like the gas, Oil, transportation, administrative sectors, etc. This would provide a workforce for the public sector and allow individuals to earn enough to satisfy their needs.
 - b) Go into partnership with the individual, which is a type of Mudharaba company structure. This is where the state invests capital and the individual carries out the work and the profits are shared. An example, which is an apt for the reality of Pakistan, would be if the state invested capital to buy farming equipment for an individual who had some expertise in the area of farming and owned some land. The state and the individual would both share the profits. Through this the state would achieve dual objectives, firstly it would solve the problem of the lack of the satisfaction of individuals basic needs and secondly the shared profits would be a source of revenue for the state, which would increase its funds in the Bait ul Mal.

The state will provide the necessary funds from the Bait ul Mal for the citizen who is out of work and not earning and does not have his basic needs satisfied. It will not give a flat rate amount to each individual in need like the welfare schemes operational in the West. Rather an official of the state would need to study the reality of each individual with a legitimate claim and give the citizen the amount required to suit his needs. So it will give different amounts to those who have large families to maintain than to single bachelors.

The state should not just rely on giving money to those in need for its aim should not only be to temporarily fulfil one's needs, but also to provide the means which would assist the individual in his quest to fulfil his own needs over the long term. In some places in the world including Pakistan giving simple goods to individuals would enable them to earn a livelihood.

The Khilafah is not a businessman; it is a guardian and must act as such. This means it must engage in

projects to speedily solve major problems occurring as a result of poverty. Cities such as Karachi have up to 25% of their populace residing in squatter housing, whilst there are literally thousands empty flats with a high proportion recently built. The government should launch a scheme to encourage landlords to rent out such places to the poor whilst the government pays the rent in part or in full depending on people's circumstances. Priority should be given to those in squatter housing and slums especially within major cities.

Investment

Due to the fact that Riba is haram in Islam, wealth is taxed not income and that hoarding of wealth is prohibited, there will be no motivation for the people with wealth to save. Currently within Pakistan there is immense hoarding of wealth, within a Capitalistic banking system. Therefore within Pakistan there is a huge lack of economic activity and circulation of wealth. Many of the wealthy within Pakistan even save their money within Western banks in Europe or America which means that wealth doesn't even exist within Pakistan.

Within the Khilafah there will be no motivation to save other than saving up to buy a good or acquire a service. This means that people will either spend their money on goods or services or they invest their money. The Islamic rules allow investment and companies; there are five types of company in Islam. These are Al-Inan (equal), Al-Abdan (bodies), Al-Mudharaba (two or more), Al-Wujooh (faces) and Al-Mufawadha (negotiation). From this we can see that an increase in economic activity will be natural under the Khilafah.

The Ahkam Shari'ah relating to land that is unused motivates landowners to use their land productively. If any land remains unused for over three years then the state has the right to take it and use it productively or distribute it to others. In the case of Pakistan there are large amounts of land that are used unproductively. Under the Khilafah this land will be used and therefore will increase the yield in farming and other industries like housing and building.

Revenues of the Bait ul Mal

One of the most important issues for a practical way to regenerate Pakistan would be the comprehensive implementation of the Islamic taxation system through which many funds would be raised. Unlike taxation within the Capitalist system, Islam focuses on taxing individuals on wealth rather than income. Furthermore, in order for the state to provide the basic needs and encourage individuals to acquire the luxuries as well, it needs to have capital from which it can invest and spend.

1. Zakat - These properties are kept in a special place in the Bait ul Mal, and they are not spent except for the eight categories mentioned in the Qur'an. However the Khalifah is allowed to distribute them according to his opinion and ijthad, for whom he sees fit of the eight categories. He has the right to give them to one or more of these categories, or to all of them.

Allah (swt) mentioned the eight categories in the Qur'an:

إِنَّمَا الصَّدَقَاتُ لِلْفُقَرَاءِ وَالْمَسْكِينِ وَالْعَامِلِينَ عَلَيْهَا
وَالْمُؤَلَّفَةِ قُلُوبُهُمْ وَفِي الرِّقَابِ وَالْغَارِمِينَ وَفِي سَبِيلِ
اللَّهِ وَأَبْنِ السَّبِيلِ 60 التوبة

"Alms are for the poor and the needy and those employed to administer the funds; for those whose hearts have been reconciled, for those in bondage and in debt, in the way of Allah and for the wayfarer..." [TMQ At-Taubah: 60].

2. Jizya - The Jizya is a right that Allah (swt) enabled the Muslims to take from the Kuffar as a submission from their part to the rule of Islam. It is money that can be spent on the welfare of the subjects as a whole. It becomes due every year and cannot be collected beforehand. No fixed amount is estimated for the Jizya, rather it is left to the opinion of the Imam and his own Ijthad, provided that the amount set by the Khalifah is no higher than the payer could bear.
3. The Land Tax (kharaj) - The kharaj is a right that Allah (swt) enabled the Muslims to take from the Kuffar. It is a right imposed on the people residing in the land that has been conquered from the Kuffar by way of war or by way of peaceful agreement, provided that the peace agreement stipulates that the land belongs to the Muslims, and that they will continue to farm the land in exchange of a kharaj that they should pay to the state. The kharaj in the Arabic language means the rental and the harvest or the crop. Each land conquered from the Kuffar after declaring war against them is considered kharaji land, and even if they embraced Islam after the conquest, the land remains kharaji.

The whole of Pakistan and the Indian sub-continent is kharaji land. As for the amount of the kharaj imposed on the land, this is estimated according to the potential of the land. When Umar (ra) imposed the kharaj, he took into consideration the potential of the land, unfairness to the owner and without any prejudice against the farmer. The Khalifah reserves the right to estimate the kharaj, while taking into consideration the most appropriate way with regard to these three aspects, either on the surface of the land, or the surface of the planted part, or by way of estimating the produce.

4. Annexing of lands - It is natural that the Khilafah will annex the Muslim lands, which will increase the revenue of the Bait al Mal. If the Khilafah were re-established in Pakistan, annexing Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and so on would add to the resources and income of the state. Kazakhstan's huge oil resources will be important for the Khilafah to obtain quickly; recently we have seen the British, French and American's scramble for what they call 'Black Gold'.
5. Fines - For the Ta'zir (right of the community)

and Mukhallafat (right of the state) the state can adopt fines as punishment. Initially, because the Islamic values may not be so strongly embedded into the people, the revenue from this may be substantial, however this would naturally decrease over time.

6. Public properties and State properties - The public properties are managed by the state, as it is the Khalifah who is the caretaker of the Ummah and its resources. Revenues can be generated by the sale of oil, gas, phosphates, coal and other resources to other nations.
7. Recovery of stolen monies and property - Also included in the Khilafah states' revenues is the ghulul money: that is money taken from the rulers, the state's officials and civil servants, as well as money confiscated from illicit earnings such as gambling, bribery and usury. With swift action in terms of investigation and confiscation, it may be possible to track down and recover some of these funds stolen from the state and still kept within Pakistan, though this may not be substantial.
8. Emergency tax - In the case of dire need the Shari'ah has allowed the Khilafah to impose an emergency tax upon the very wealthy. This is in order to overcome a problem such as earthquakes (like that which struck India incurring billions of pounds worth of damage), famine, and floods (like those that occur in Bangladesh every year). It has been calculated that if a 2% emergency tax were put on the wealth of the top elite of Pakistan it would generate more revenue than that has been generated from the imposition of the GST by Musharraf.
9. Other sources - The state also has the potential to obtain revenue from other sources such as the spoils of war, tax imposed on dhimmi's and harbi traders if trading goods across the frontiers of the state, Al-Rikaz - a fifth of all hidden buried treasures and minerals, the property of the apostate, the property that has no inheritors and by selling off or renting out unnecessary state properties like the lavish presidential homes and other unneeded government owned buildings.

Conclusion

This brief explanation of some aspects of the Islamic economic system demonstrates that there is a viable and superior system ready to replace the mediocre structure prevalent in Pakistan today. It is clear that the more Pakistan looks to the West for its solutions the worse its situation will become. Pakistan needs to realise its identity as an Islamic State and implement the systems of Islam, of which one is economics, and hence look to fulfil the aspirations and talents of the people. The motivation for this should stem from the belief of every Muslim in the region giving them a unified basis from which to derive the solutions to their daily problems.

Faisal Raja

Attempts at Revival



In the forties, many Muslims in India decided to escape daily punishments and humiliations. Their motivation was Islam, and their goal was to create an Islamic land where they could worship their Lord and live safely. However, once they gave their blood to establish this home, problems were not far away.

Successive rulers applied un-Islamic rules and systems, which resulted in a host of problems. Because the newly imposed system was failing, the problems not only occurred in one field, but also ranged across a whole spectrum, from the political to ethical and economic to social. The Pakistani Muslims, having the same motivation that they had to establish Pakistan, then established a whole host of movements and associations by which they attempted to address these issues.

Welfare Movements

One of the problem areas, which was quickly realised by the people of Pakistan, was the increasing poverty. The huge migration of people, which was almost unprecedented, was a great challenge. Those who migrated faced the task of setting up their new homes and livelihoods, whereas those who were already involved in working the land and other commerce, had to adjust to the point where they offered their brothers and sisters who migrated, to share their homes and lands.

After a series of consequent problems, mismanagement and the refusal to implement the Islamic Shari'ah by its rulers, Pakistan's economy fell into turmoil.

Many facts and figures were given to the Pakistanis to show them that the situation was improving. They mentioned GNP and GDP, neither of which related to the people, nor directly affect their means of livelihood. Pakistanis saw no real change, even until today. Even though there may have been an increase in Pakistan's GNP and GDP, the Economic Survey of 1999-2000 reports that 43.9

million individuals were below the poverty line in 1998-99. Poverty in Pakistan increased from 22% to 32% in last decade. These are the facts, which are not represented by the complex graphs and charts in meeting halls of the State Bank of Pakistan, the IMF or the World Bank.

For this reason, poverty has continued and Muslims who wanted to see a change started to set up welfare movements to try and help their brothers who have little or no means to sustain a livelihood.

If we took the case of the Baluchistan drought, again it would be apparent that it was the failure of the system to deal with a drought (not to mention the reasons for its occurrence), which leads to Muslims within and outside of Pakistan, to set up small welfare movements to help send supplies to the area.

Although there is great reward in helping Muslims, it has to be understood that the system that caused this disaster, and never appropriately dealt with it, still exists. It was the duty of this system to properly organise Pakistan's water distribution, yet for many years, it has not even managed to compile one document, namely 'The Water Report'.

This is but the tip of the iceberg. Mismanagement has ranged from droughts, oppressive taxes like the GST, poor wages, corrupt land purchasing laws (particularly favourable to big land lords) and many more, all leading to the poverty witnessed by us all in Pakistan.

What the welfare groups need to realise is that these situations will keep recurring until the system is radically transformed, and the economy is governed by the Shari'ah alone.

These problems only occurred due to a departure from the Islamic economic system, which does not use national measures to determine an individual's ability to feed himself. Rather, it ensures that each individual, regardless of their surroundings, has the

means to live a decent and sustainable life. It is reported in Tirmidhi that the Prophet (saw) said that, "The son of man has no better right than that he would have a house wherein he may live and a piece of cloth whereby he may hide his nakedness, and a piece of bread and some water."

Tipu Sultan, who was in close contact with the Khalifah of the time, Sultan Abdul Hameed, assessed the trends of Western political and economic development, which was aimed at subverting the then Indian economy to suit colonial interests. Instead of succumbing to foreign forces, Tipu attempted to present an alternative. As a consequence, we find trade flourished in the area, and people lived prosperous lives.

Allah (swt) said:

وَلَا تَنْسَ نَصِيكَ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَأَحْسِنْ كَمَا أَحْسَنَ
اللَّهُ إِلَيْكَ وَلَا تَبْغِ الْفَسَادَ فِي الْأَرْضِ الْقَصص 77

"...and do not neglect your portion of worldly life, and be kind even as Allah has been kind to you, and seek not corruption in the earth" [TMQ Al-Qasas: 77].

Bukhari related from Aisha (ra) that the Prophet (saw) said, "Whosoever cultivated a land that is not owned by anybody, then he deserves it more."

Allah (swt) said:

مَا آفَاءَ اللَّهُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْقُرَى فَلِلَّهِ
وَلِلرَّسُولِ وَلِذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَالْيَتَامَىٰ وَالْمَسَاكِينِ وَأَبْنِ
السَّبِيلِ كَيْ لَا يَكُونَ دُولَةً بَيْنَ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ مِنْكُمْ الْحشر 7

"What Allah gave as booty (Fai') to His Messenger (Mubammad [saw]) from the people of the townships, - it is for Allah, His Messenger (Mubammad [saw]), the kindred (of Messenger Mubammad [saw]), the orphans, Al-Masâkin (the poor), and the wayfarer, lest it circulates solely among the wealthy from amongst you" [TMQ Al-Hashr: 7].

Islam encouraged economic activity and offered a system for its regulation. This system is responsible for its control, in the manner the Shari'ah demanded. Bukhari narrated it from Ibn Umar, that the Prophet (saw) said, "And the Imam is in charge and he is responsible for his citizens."

Hence, the real Islamic solution to the poverty problem in Pakistan is the Khilafah system, which would control this activity, and consequently bring prosperity and happiness to its people. Without it, the worst can only be, but expected.

فَلْيَحْذَرِ الَّذِينَ يُخَالِفُونَ عَنْ أَمْرِهِ أَنْ تُصِيبَهُمْ فِتْنَةٌ
أَوْ يُصِيبَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ الْبقره 63

"And let those who withstand bis (the Messenger's) order beware, lest some trial or painful punishment befall them" [TMQ An-Nur: 63].

Moral and Cultural Reformists

After the creation of Pakistan, some started to proclaim that it should be a tolerant and modern society, a society accepting all ways and traditions and yet allow for modernism. It is this concept of 'tolerant' and 'modern' society that has led to the creation of catwalks, beauty parlours, breweries, nightclubs and many other un-Islamic practices.

Also, with recent talk of a coming peace process between itself and India, the Pakistani government has introduced various cultural phenomena, such as the culture of the Indus Valley civilisation, fooling people into a false sense of unity between the Muslims of Pakistan and the occupiers of Kashmir.

The main reason for their existence has been the ruling class's love and passion for Western culture and any culture foreign to Islam. This encompasses politics, economics, food, dress, lifestyle and much more. They have surged forward in creating a platform to air this culture. Only recently, some have called for more nightclubs to keep the youth motivated during bad times.

Also, due to the inability of the system to function and provide good services, the people of Pakistan have resorted to means outside the system to solve their problems and disputes. For example, when passports are not created on time, people are bribed. Or when the courts remain silent on a land dispute for over 10 years, the local people decide to take it into their own hands, leading to local tensions.

The result is a society with a mixture of foreign and Islamic culture, leading to frustration and lack of direction. People, in this society, are forced to look out for themselves due to an absence of a just system that provides, protects, enforces and punishes those who are deserving.

Many a cultural movement has arisen in the name of reform of the people or insaaf, to rid corruption. The approximate number of known deeni madrasas in Pakistan currently lies in the region of 2,500. Some consist of hundreds, and many with thousands, of students.

It is sometimes the case that such movements attack the people and their ways, commanding people to leave their trade and come to the mosque for prayer, or to zhihr to purify their hearts or to the tawhid to protect themselves from fitna. These groups have completely missed the problem, and have consequently only addressed the effects.

"O people! Islam is a mighty fortress and a sturdy gate. The fortress of Islam is justice and its gate is truth. If you destroy the fortress and demolish the gate you would undermine the defences of this Deen. Islam will remain strong so long as the Sultan or central authority is strong. The strength of the Sultan neither comes from flogging with the whip, nor killing with the sword but from ruling with justice and holding fast to the truth." This was the speech of Umayr ibn Sa'd al-Ansari (ra), a compan-

ion of the Prophet (saw), and the appointed Wali of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (ra).

Al-Baihaqi narrated on the authority of Ali (ra) that the Prophet (saw) said, "The people will not be straightened except by an Imam."

The Imam is the protection against mischief, fahisha and munkar by lifting haram and dangerous dealings away from the Muslims.

Imam Ahmad narrated in his book, the Musnad, that the Prophet (saw) said that, "The knots of Islam will be undone one by one until when every one of them is undone, and the first one to be undone is the ruling and the last one is the prayer."

Again, the hadith indicates to all Muslims, including those groups that once the knot of ruling is broken the other rules (knots) of Islam are at risk, up until the time that even the rules of Salah would be jeopardised. Instead of exhorting themselves in establishing the Islamic rule, some of these groups attacked the Muslims and left the realm of life to be governed by sinners and hypocrites.

It has been reported in the Sirah of Ibnu Ishaq that Abu Bakr (ra), on the day of Saqifa, commented on the consequences of having more than one Khalifah: "this would cause differences in their affairs and concepts, their unity would be divided and disputes would break out amongst them. The Sunnah would then be abandoned, the bida'a (innovations) would spread and the fitna would grow, and that is in no one's interest."

Jihadi Movements

Raja Gulab Singh purchased the State of Kashmir from the British Government in 1846 for Rs. 7.5 million. At the time of the British Raj, Kashmir, the last of the 'defiant states', had a Hindu Maharaja, Hari Singh. His subjects, however, were Muslims (almost 80%). He was not willing to join India or Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten urged him to join either state before August 15, 1947. The Maharaja asked for more time to consider his decision. In the meantime, he asked the Indian and the Pakistani government to sign a "standstill agreement" with him. Pakistan consented, but India refused.

In August, 1947 the local population of Poonch held a massive demonstration to protest against the Maharaja's indecisiveness. The Maharaja, in a moment of panic, asked his Hindu troops to shoot. Hundreds of Muslims were killed.

Immediately after the Azad Kashmir government was set up, the Muslims began to wage war against the Maharaja. In 1947, the war of Kashmir began. Thousands of Pathan warriors invaded, routing out the Maharaja and his men until they reached the gates of Srinagar, the capital. Hari, sensing defeat took to Jammu. There, he called on India for help. India soon sent in troops, and in October of 1947 the Maharaja acceded to India (Lord Mountbatten accepted the accession on behalf of India), whilst it launched a full-scale attack on the Muslims.

British General, Gracey, Commander in Chief of the

Pakistan Army and Jinnah, argued against sending in Pakistani troops and proposed an immediate cease-fire. Later, a plebiscite was to be held. After a limited war and some skirmishes, Pakistan took control of Azad Kashmir.

The cease-fire has remained in existence since 1949. No plebiscite has been held, and the Kashmir issue remains unresolved to date. Many Muslims have since fought for the right to rule since that period. Also after the Communist invasion of Afghanistan, hundreds of trained mujahideen also went into Kashmir to fight the occupiers. Because Muslims have the deep passion for Jihad, and liberating their lands from occupation and all lands from injustice, many set up Jihadi movements to achieve this aim.

Today a brief look at the Pakistani army shows us that they are one of the most equipped forces in the area that can enable the removal of the Indian forces from our lands. It was with the help of the Muslims in this army that Kargil, a most admired strategic position in the war was taken, and the occupiers were forced back. Pakistan's army currently numbers some 520,000. Were there a requirement to increase that number there would be no shortage of soldier applicants.

Of Pakistan's nine corps, seven are sited close to the Indian border. Those in Peshawar and Quetta no longer have defence of the western border as their primary focus. Their units, therefore, could easily reinforce the east in the event of hostilities with India.

The army too have the same desire as the Muslims of Kashmir, and should not be separated from the Muslims at large in this area.

Pakistan's medium-range Ghauri missile, test-fired last month is said to be capable of carrying nuclear warheads and hitting most Indian cities. The Pakistani armies level of expertise coupled with its machinery and troops makes it apparent that the army is the suitable force that should be motivated to remove the current occupiers.

There remains one problem, namely the government, in whose hands rest the marching of this army. Even after the rape and slaughter of Muslims, the government takes the stance of a settlement with India over the issue of Kashmir. They have tried to settle the rush in the blood that runs through the army and these movements. Calls from prominent ulema in Pakistan, instructing the people that "the solution of Kashmir is a diplomatic one and not a militant one," add further insult to the liberation of Kashmir.

They continue to voice support of the inaction of the Pakistani army over Kashmir. They call for friendship and diplomacy with India, even though Allah (swt) has clearly forbidden it:

إِنَّمَا يَنْهَىٰكُمْ اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ قَاتَلُوكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَأَخْرَجُوكُمْ مِنْ دِيَارِكُمْ وَظَاهَرُوا عَلَىٰ إِخْرَاجِكُمْ أَنْ تَوَلَّوهُمْ وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّهُمْ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ الممتعة 9

"Allah has forbid your friendship with those who fight you because of your deen, and drive you from your homelands, or aid others to do so: and as for those who turn to them in friendship they are oppressors" [TMQ Al-Mumtahinah: 9].

Musharraf has clearly shown what sort of military man he is, both in word and in action. Only recently, Musharraf has taken it upon himself to meet the Indian leadership and discuss a settlement. The Pakistani army has been instructed to remain in its barracks and not to 'provoke'. Musharraf has also added that Pakistan's defence policy is that of a 'minimum deterrent'. Allah (swt) clearly stated in the Qur'an:

وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَمِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ وَعَدُوَّكُمْ ۖ وَالْأَعْيُنُ 60

"Prepare for them (the unbelievers) all thou can of (armed) force and horses tethered, to strike fear in the enemy of Allah and your enemy" [TMQ Al-Anfal: 60].

In Musharraf's address, delivered at the 25th National Seerat Conference at Islamabad, he commented:

"One hears the boast that we will hoist our flag on the Red Fort (in Delhi). We will do this, we will do that. Is it wise? Why are you talking loose? Why are you damaging yourself and your brothers and sisters? What are you going to gain from it? On the contrary, this provides India with the excuse to talk about you as terrorists and to tell others to declare you as terrorists so that prospective investors shy away from your country. And immediately he says when you kill each other, who will consider Pakistan a safe place for investment."

A Muslim looks with great pride at the conquest of India as a form of liberation, by the great Muhammad bin Qasim. It was a time of courageous leaders who could really judge by their action and not just their words.

Would Musharraf also attack Muhammad bin Qasim? Would he include him within his definition of a loose talker? How would he describe the Mujahideen who crossed all of Turkey and the Uthmani Khilafah to launch a wave of attacks in the 12th Century leading to the Islamic rule in Delhi and the whole of the Ganges Valley?

Allah (swt) said:

فَاتْلُوهُمْ يُعَذِّبُهُمُ اللَّهُ بِأَيْدِيكُمْ وَيُخْزِهِمْ وَيَنْصُرْكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَيَشْفِ صُدُورَ قَوْمٍ مُؤْمِنِينَ التوبة 14

"Fight against them so that Allah will punish them by your hands and disgrace them and give you victory over them, and heal the breasts of a believing people" [TMQ At-Taubah: 14].

And furthermore:

وَقَاتِلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ كَافَّةً كَمَا يُقَاتِلُونَكُمْ كَافَّةً التوبة 36

"Fight the Musbrikeen together (as one block) as they fight you together (as one block)" [TMQ At-Taubah: 36].

Surely, by replacing the current system and weak leadership, and by unifying the Mujahideen with the force of the Pakistani and Muslim armies, we could reclaim Kashmir, as well as the rest of India, and lay claim to what rightfully, by the command of Allah (swt), belongs to the Muslims.

Conclusion

Indeed, these movements have not failed because they lack Imaan, but rather because they have been unable to identify and diagnose the cause of these situations in a precise manner. This has led to the attack being lifted from the government and put squarely onto the Pakistani people.

These problems will always exist alongside the system in Pakistan until the system itself is removed and replaced by the Islamic Khilafah. Hence, the groups need to refocus their direction into motivating the people against the system and toward the call for the complete implementation of Islam under the Khilafah. This will be the real removal of the colonialists from our lands, because it would lead to the physical liberation of our lands as well as our minds.

This is the role of the group that arises from amongst the Muslims. They must work for the Khilafah in order to transform the situation in Pakistan, by treating the various problems in accordance with the Shari'ah, which Allah (swt) has perfected. They must attempt to bring about a better situation for the Muslims, A situation that Allah (swt) chose and desired for this Ummah.

وَعَدَّ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَىٰ لَهُمْ وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا النور 55

"Allah has promised, to those among you who have believed and worked righteous deeds, that He will, of a surety, grant them in the earth, inheritance of power, as He granted it to those before them; that He will establish in authority their Deen, the one He has chosen for them and that He will change their state of fear in which they lived to one of security and peace" [TMQ An-Nur: 55].

Adil Jan

Learning from the Conquest of the Indian Subcontinent

Whenever the history of the Indian Subcontinent is discussed, it is hard not to mention Muhammad bin Qasim who destroyed the Sindi forces in order to spread the Islamic rule in that region.

However, many forget to mention why the Khalifah sent him and whether the mission was unique or one that was being repeated across the globe. This article will paint the bigger picture of Islamic history in the Indian Subcontinent.

These events should not be taken as mere historical facts nor should we look in awe at our past leaders and Generals and feel that what they achieved is for us something unachievable. It is merely to learn from our history in order that we may compare it to the current status quo and apply the lessons learnt. This article will in brief illustrate how Islam entered the Indian subcontinent but will additionally try to clarify the reasons for the conquests.

Events leading to the conquest of Sind

Efforts to capture the region began at the time of Khalifah Umar bin al-Khattab (ra). The Wali (governor) of Iraq embarked on an expedition by land to Makran. Makran was conquered but the triumph was short lived. During the last days of Khalifah Umar's rule in 642 CE, Makran was reconquered and remained under Islamic rule. Hakim bin Jabal (ra) was sent to Sind by Khalifah Uthman (ra) in 650 CE to collect information. Prior to him, Sahar al-Abdi (ra) had visited Sind for the same purpose in 643 CE during Khalifah Umar bin al-Khattab's (ra) rule.

The first naval mission undertaken by the Islamic army in the Indian Ocean was during the rule of Khalifah Umar bin al-Khattab (ra) in 636 CE under the command of Osman bin Abi Aas (ra), the Wali of Bahrain and Oman. The army attacked Thana, a

port near modern Bombay. Shortly after, he sent another naval voyage to Debal in Sind lead by his brother, Mughira (ra). At that time Raja Chach was the ruler of Sind and his kingdom was well defended.

Though many attempts were made to capture Sind, the real story of the conquest of Sind and the rest of the region began from the time of Khalifah Walid bin Abdul Malik, during the Umayyad period. It was in the year 711 AH that Spain was conquered by the Islamic State and Sind was captured by the Muslims. A number of reasons can be put forward for the reasons behind the foreign policy of the Islamic State towards Sind.

Firstly, Sindi Rajas played a major role in supporting the Persians in their battles against the Islamic forces. The Sindi military participated in the battles of Nehawand, Salasal, Qadisias and Makran against the Khalifah. Secondly, after the Muslims had taken Persia, some of their rebel chiefs began to seek refuge in Sind. The Raja refused to hand them over to the Khalifah, despite frequent requests. Thirdly, pirates from the Makran and Sind coasts continuously besieged Muslim traders. A grip of these parts was therefore considered necessary to safeguard Muslim maritime interests.

The actual conquest began after Muslim merchants returned from Ceylon to Basra having been ransacked by Sindi pirates. It is said that the pirates abducted some of the Muslim women away, and so the merchants called for the help of Hajjaj bin Yusuf, who was a Wali (governor), to come and rescue the women.

When Hajjaj became aware of the incident he

took action and wrote to Dahir, the ruler of Sind, to free the captives and return the goods that were seized. Not receiving a sympathetic reply, Hajjaj, with the permission of Khalifah Walid, sent a force to Debal. Dahir's army annihilated this force and its commander. For the second time, Hajjaj sent a force to the area; this force being bigger than the last, and Dahir responded likewise. For the second time Muslims were defeated and their commander Badil bin Tuhfa was killed fighting at Debal.

Hajjaj was furious at the two defeats, but the Muslims were reminded by the words of our beloved Prophet Muhammad (saw):

"I feel a cool breeze (refreshment) from al Hind (Muslims of India)" [Abu Dawood].

Abu Hurairah said:

"The Messenger (saw) promised us the conquest of India. If I was to come across that, I will spend my soul and my wealth. If I am killed then I am among the best of martyrs, and if I return then I am Abu Hurairah the freed" [Ahmad, An-Nisa'i, Al-Hakim].

Realising that the Raja of Sind was powerful, well acquainted with warfare tactics, well equipped and well trained, Hajjaj issued large-scale plans, determined to take Islam to Sind and put an end to Kufr rule.

Hajjaj chose a 17-year-old, Muhammad bin Qasim to lead the contingent for the dangerous mission. Commander Muhammad bin Qasim and his army were given rigorous training for over one year in the desert of southern Iran, which had climatic conditions comparable to that of Sind. Intelligence reports were gathered, strong and weak points of the enemy were pinpointed and facts concerning their weapons and defences were assembled, studied, and the Islamic army equipped in view of that.

Hajjaj bin Yusuf went through precise details and after painstaking study of the maps of Sind he guided Muhammad bin Qasim on the mission and strategy that had been adopted. Not satisfied with this, Hajjaj took measures to arrange to convey his messages and orders to Muhammad bin Qasim from Basra to any point in Sind within a week. Muhammad bin Qasim was ordered not to attack any city, fort or engage his forces in any significant battle without receiving instructions from Basra. Precise planning was undertaken by Hajjaj, to the extent that directives regarding the day and time of assault and arsenal to be used in a specific place were sent by Hajjaj.

At the same time the Buddhists of Sind began to seek information from their fellow believers in Afghanistan and Turkistan about their affairs as they were living within the Khalifah. Upon hearing that they were treated equal to the Muslim and that their rights and religion had been protected, the Sindi Buddhists provided full cooperation to Muhammad bin Qasim, and honoured him

with the title 'liberator from the Brahmin tyranny'. Buddhist rulers from Sind, such as Nerun of Hyderabad held secret correspondence with the young General. In the same way, Bajhra and KakaKolak, Buddhist Rajas of Sewastan, allied themselves with Muhammad bin Qasim. On similar justification, Jats also joined the Muslims against Dahir.

The expedition went as far north as Multan but failed to retain that region and found no success in expanding the Islamic rule to other parts of India. The Muslims however established themselves in the region they took. The presence of Muslims in Sind encouraged coastal trade, allowed significant cultural interactions and enabled the Ulema and the da'wa carriers to enter the subcontinent; conversions into the Islamic belief was a natural consequence, and this increased the influence of the Muslims.

Almost three centuries later, Turkish and Afghani Muslims were in the forefront of the Islamic conquest in India through the long-established invasion routes of the northwest. Towards the end of the twelfth century, Muhammad of Ghor invaded the Indo-Gangetic Plain, conquering in succession Ghazni, Multan, Sind, Lahore, and Delhi. His successors established the Delhi Sultanate, which became the Islamic capital of the Indian Subcontinent. The territory under control of the Muslim rulers in Delhi expanded swiftly. By mid-century, Bengal and much of central India was under the rule of the Delhi Sultanate. As Muslims opened southern India, only the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar remained immune, until it too fell in 1565 CE. Although some regions remained independent of Delhi in the Deccan and in Gujarat, Malwa (central India) and Bengal, almost all of the area in present day Pakistan came under the rule of Delhi.

Thawban reported that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said:

"Two groups of my Ummah Allah has protected from the Hellfire: a group that will conquer India and a group that will be with Isa ibnu Maryam" [Ahmad and An-Nisa'i].

Most of the rulers in the subcontinent associated their rule with the Khilafah, the Shari'ah was the state law and the Qadi's were Muslim judges. Reference to the Qur'an and Sunnah were made via the Ulema, even though in later years the Indian subcontinent saw a decline, faced its share of problems and became almost autonomous. However, the entire coinage bore the Khalifah's name and his name was mentioned in Jumu'a Khutbahs throughout India. The large distance of India from the centre of the Khilafah caused many problems particularly in regards to communication. This was one of the reasons attributed to the local governors eventually becoming almost absolute rulers. For instance, when the Mongols crushed Baghdad and killed the Khalifah, the sultanate of Delhi used the name of the murdered Khalifah on its coinage and in the Jumu'a Khutbahs for 30 years after he had been killed.

They attributed their rule to the Khilafah, and ruled with the book of Allah (swt) and the Sunnah of Muhammad (saw).

Lessons from the Conquest of the Indian Subcontinent

1. Muhammad bin Qasim - An Islamic personality produced by the Islamic ideology.

In today's day and age youth can see their aim in life as the acquisition of worldly comforts rather than anything else. Such is the case when Capitalism provides the aim in life.

It is natural for the Islamic ideology, when in implementation, to produce personalities like Muhammad bin Qasim. May Allah (swt) bless Muhammad bin Qasim, and all those who fell in the cause of Islam. At the tender age of 17 he led the army of jihad, battle after battle, with the sole aim of spreading Islam. He was not just a warrior but also a strategist.

Muhammad bin Qasim was not a unique personality but one of many that the Islamic system produced. Tariq bin Ziyad was another youth who conquered Spain in the same year. With the return of the Khilafah in the future we will, Inshallah, see more personalities like that of Muhammad bin Qasim and Tariq bin Ziyad.

2. The Conquest of the Subcontinent - Part of the Foreign Policy of Islam

Muhammad bin Qasim was a General like many others. He was sent on a military mission like many others. He fought against the Kuffar whilst holding the banner of Islam, as did previous Generals and the ones who followed him. The war against the Rajas of India was Jihad, which was administered by the Islamic State since the time of Muhammad (saw), our beloved Prophet. Hence, the confrontation against the Hindus of India was part of the consistent foreign policy of the Khilafah and not an ad-hoc reactionary policy formed by an overwhelming emotion. Therefore, it is important to note that it was the Islamic State with all its departments and structure that allowed Islam to enter the households of Sind, Kashmir, Bengal and so on, and not just one personality. Any Muslim government today cannot enact such a foreign policy because all of them lack the necessary Islamic foundation, structure, departments and Islamic motivation.

3. Islam looked after the affairs of the Muslims

The move to launch a campaign against the Indians at that particular time was also linked to looking after the affairs of the Muslims and the State. The Hindu Rajas were the people who supported the Persian enemies. The rebel chiefs from Persia fled to Sind and took protection under the wings of the Sindi Raja who refused to hand them over. Furthermore, pirates in the vicinity con-

stantly ransacked Muslim traders. However, the last straw was the call of the Muslim women who begged for the help of the Wali, when pirates from the area abducted them. His response was not to send a diplomatic team but rather to send a sortie of forces to resolve the problem. Eventually these problems were replaced with Islamic solutions. This is the nature of the Islamic leadership, as the Prophet Muhammad (saw) described.

Muslim narrated on the authority of al-A'araj, on the authority of Abu Hurairah (ra), that the Prophet (saw) said:

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

Today we hear the daily calls of our mothers begging for the help of the Muslims of the world. But without the Islamic State, not one military force has been sent to protect them, even though Pakistan possesses nuclear weapons and the like.

4. Unity

Islam spreads like fire in a forest. The Islamic rule was spread across the globe. Walis who were acquainted with ruling were sent to establish Islamic rule and judges were sent to establish justice, Ulema were sent to teach Islam, linguists and interpreters sent to teach Arabic. Jizya was collected from the dhimmis (non-Muslim citizens of the Islamic State) who were Hindus, Buddhists and others. Zakah was collected from the Muslims and a battalion was formed from the area to protect the conquered land and to spread Islam to the neighbouring lands.

Sind was not a conquered land to serve the wants of their masters. Sind became part of the Islamic State and not a separate slavish entity, as was the case in the days of the British colonialists. Sind was open to the Muslims of Arabia, Persia or Spain without a passport or special permission as it was Muslim land equal to all others. A sense of unity was in the atmosphere of the subcontinent. Buddhists and Hindus alike embraced Islam with willing submission and the dhimmis lived side by side with the Muslims. Even though the Hindus were a majority in the subcontinent, the Shari'ah was the state law and the rulers were Muslims for centuries.

5. The Allegiance of non-believers to the Khilafah

The Buddhists of Sind quickly rose to fight alongside the Muslims, not because they thought that they would share power and authority with the Muslims, but because they wished to live under the Khilafah, knowing full well that they would not be treated as slaves or second-class citizens. They saw the justice that Islam provided and were willing to risk their lives for it. Such a scenario is not unique in our history; indeed many disbelievers have fought for the protection of the

Islamic State. One such example is that of the Christians of the Islamic state who fought against the Christian Crusaders.

Conclusion

Islam entered the Indian subcontinent led by great personalities like General Muhammad bin Qasim through Jihad. It was the Khilafah that supplied believers who were willing to give up their lives for the Islamic cause. However, with the fall of the Khilafah, we have only seen the British, the Hindus, the Pakistani premiers, and more recently the Americans take advantage of the situation. Our mosques have been burnt, our homes looted, our women dishonoured and our youth slaughtered. A handful of Muslims fight for Kashmir whilst the multitudes of Muslim armies watch the show and the rulers turn their backs.

Islam provided the Muslims of the Indian Subcontinent with true security and justice such that in the aftermath of the fall of the Khilafah the Muslims of India established groups such as the Khilafah Movement in order to revive the Khilafah and masses of people migrated to Pakistan in hope of an Islamic State.

All praise is to Allah (swt), that the Muslims of the Indian Subcontinent are awakening from their deep sleep. They are aware of their past and of the future foretold in the Qur'an and the Sunnah. What is required now is for us to remember Allah's (swt) promise to the believers and to work rigorously for the impending victory.

Allah (swt) informs us in Surah an-Nur:

وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ
لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ
قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَى لَهُمْ
وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا يَعْبُدُونَنِي لَا
يُشْرِكُونَ بِي شَيْئًا ۗ ۝٥٥

"Allah has promised to those among you who do righteous deeds, that He will of surety grant them in the land inheritance of power, as He granted it to those before them; that He will establish in authority their religion, the one which He has chosen for them; and that He will change this state after the fear in which they live to one of security and peace: They will worship Me alone and not associate partners with Me" [TMQ An-Nur: 55].

Abid Saied

The Way to for Khilafah

It has today become an indisputable reality that this Ummah yearns for the return of the Islamic Khilafah. She has witnessed much that solidifies this desire. Today, we find that Allah (swt) has brought back the desire in the hearts of the Muslims and this Ummah to return to the rule of Islam. Amongst them are those who are willing to dedicate their time and effort for the service of Islam. This article seeks to explain how such people can work for Islam and work for its noble aims.

Knowledge before action

Hazzam bin Hakeem narrated from his uncle from the Messenger of Allah (saw) who said: "You are in a time of many jurists (fuqaha), few speakers/lecturers, many who give and few who ask; so action in this time is better than knowledge. There will soon come a time of few jurists, many speakers, many who beg and few who give; so knowledge in this time is better than action."

This noble advice by the Messenger (saw) builds the principle that Islam has always placed knowledge before action. It is saddening to see that amongst some workers for Islam, action comes before knowledge. This is highly dangerous, since we saw at the beginning of the last century a plethora of patriotic movements rising up against the colonialist occupation only to find that when the colonialists left they implemented the same secular models in their lands. Also we find today, under the banner of Islam, some Muslim governments conducting "experiments" for Islamisation, even though the Qur'an and Sunnah showed in detail the Islamic system, and this has been explained in many volumes of books.

Islam has placed knowledge and thinking as a pre-condition for action, and this ensures that the action undertaken is the correct action and that the action is according to Islam and is the correct action to achieve the aim. But the question may be asked - what type of knowledge is required? Here are a few areas that anyone working for Islam should seek to understand:

i. To gain an understanding of Islam and its basic concepts. These concepts need to start with the Aqa'id (belief) because this is the basis of all correct actions. A Muslim must be convinced of his basis, because under all strong

structures lay a strong, solid foundation. We have witnessed, with great sadness, excellent people with much energy working for the goals of Islam one day and then leaving this work the other because their foundations were weak and all they had was zeal and desire rather than sound knowledge.

ii. To understand the Shari'ah rules. Islam has made it an obligation for a Muslim to understand the Hukm Shari' concerning his actions. So a Muslim must be aware of his obligations. It is incorrect for a Muslim to work for Islam, yet fall short of abiding by the rules of Islam in his personal life. Again we witness with sadness many who openly call out against 'Western culture' yet in their own lives are engrossed with its films and music, soaps and trivialities the same West gives them. In understanding the Shari'ah rules, one must make sure he or she does not limit themselves to just a specific area which they are inclined to. Rather Islam needs to be taken completely.

iii. To understand the main points of Kufr. This area is unobvious to many. The Messenger (saw) used to know the thoughts of the Qur'ani so that he could speak out against them. Also Allah (swt) encouraged this, so in the Qur'an He (swt) points out on many occasions the contradictions that existed with the Mushrikeen. Today the Muslim needs to be aware of the dominant ideology, capitalism, its components and its contradiction with Islam. Again this knowledge requires more than just a superficial understanding such that the call of Islam becomes a general unconvincing call. When Allah (swt) says,

قُلْ هَذِهِ سَبِيلِي أَدْعُو إِلَى اللَّهِ عَلَى بَصِيرَةٍ أَنَا وَمَنِ
اتَّبَعَنِي وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ ۝١٠٨

"Say 'This is my way: I call to Allah with sure knowledge, I and whosoever follows me. And Glorified and Exalted is Allah. And I am not of the Mushrikeen'" [TMQ Yusuf: 108], he commands the knowledge to be precise. Today we need to understand globalisation, democracy, freedom, interfaith dialogue, and secularism amongst many other ideas that are invalid and cannot be adopted by the Muslims.

Work

- iv. Knowledge of the correct Islamic work. If a Muslim were to study Islam correctly he would find that Islam has placed the authority as the most essential organ to safeguard the rules of Islam and the Muslims. This necessitates that in the absence of this authority work is required to bring it back. The Khilafah is the only correct structure Islam has laid down, the Messenger (saw) said, "after me there will be no Prophet, but there will be Khulafah and they will number many". So the correct Islamic work is to call for the Khilafah. That means to work to bring back its return. This work by definition is a political work, and thus requires an aware Islamic political party.

Apart from what has been mentioned above, a Muslim must seek knowledge continuously and must always strive to excel in his or her understanding.

Carrying Da'wa

If a Muslim was to engage in gaining knowledge he would realise quickly that knowledge without action is like a donkey with books on its back. This knowledge would be of no use to the people no matter how much he gained and how much of a faqih he became. Islam has said that the most essential component in carrying Islam and bringing back the Khilafah is to carry Da'wa. That is to invite people. Allah (swt) says,

اذْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ الْعَجَل 125

"Invite to the way of your Lord..." [TMQ An-Nahl: 125].

Also Islam has mandated that Da'wa should be carried immediately after knowledge. Never in the history of Islam has a Da'wa carrier stayed at home after being affected by Islam. The stories of the Sahabah (ra) are all an evidence for this. Also the Messenger (saw) said, "Convey from me even if it is one ayah". The following needs to be kept in mind when carrying Da'wa.

- i. Da'wa should be a focused work. The Muslims need to be told in a clear, unambiguous way that the many problems we see are due to the absence of the Khilafah and that Islam demands the Da'wa carrier to discuss this issue. Muslims must expose the plans of the West in our lands, their agents in the form of our leaders and all that stems from their corrupt ideology that distances the Muslims from uniting once again under this strong leadership such as the erroneous concepts of nationalism, pragmatism, gradualism and the like.

- ii. A Muslim should not talk about what he does not know. The Messenger (saw) always sought revelation from Allah (swt) before he spoke a word. This forms a general rule that one cannot speak out of ignorance.

- iii. Da'wa should be carried purely for the pleasure or Allah (swt). A Da'wa carrier must not seek benefit or position from carrying Da'wa. Rather he must do this purely for the sake of Allah (swt). This principle, that is to carry Da'wa for the pleasure of Allah (swt) if understood, will ensure the Da'wa carrier does not stray from his path and change his argument to suit the people.

- iv. When carrying Da'wa nothing should interfere with the correct idea and the conveyance of it. The Messenger (saw) was the best example, and he conveyed this message without allowing egoism or personality into the discussion.

- v. The call should be carried without compromise. It is not permissible to change the message in order to please the people or to win a temporary supporter. Rather this call needs to be frank, carried with wisdom, that is using the best of styles but conveying the haq (truth) completely. Furthermore the ideas that are carried must not be reconciled with the Western ideology and its standards. It must rather be derived purely from Islam.

- vi. The carrier of the Da'wa must be ready to face the trials and tribulations that those who oppose it will place in his or her path. The only way to prepare for this is to have the clear knowledge of the key Islamic ideas such as al Qadaa wal Qadr, or Rizq (sustenance) being from Allah (swt), or Al-Tawakkul (reliance on Allah [swt]) amongst other ideas. Also they must equip themselves with the knowledge of the previous Prophets (as) and their companions and how they bore hardships and finally they must be close to the Qur'an as there is not any other book but this that has the ability to motivate, inspire and energise.

Working with an Islamic Party

Allah (swt) has made carrying Da'wa Fard upon every Muslim. He (swt) has also obligated upon the community to establish at least one group to call to al-Khair, that is Islam, to enjoin al-MarooF (all that is good) and forbid al-Munkar (all that is evil). Allah (swt) says in the Qur'an,

وَلْتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ
بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ
الْمُفْلِحُونَ آل عمران 104

"Let there arise from amongst you a band of people, who call to Al-Khair, enjoining al-marooF and forbidding al-munkar. And they are those who will gain success." [TMQ Ale-Imran: 104]

This ayah obligates the establishment of a group. If one was to study the nature of the task to re-

establish the Khilafah one would find that for this work to be effective, there needs to be a collective effort. Furthermore the Messenger (saw) worked with the Sahabah (ra) as a group to change the Kufri society and transform it to an Islamic one.

There are some points to consider before choosing which group or groups are correct to ensure that the action undertaken is one with full awareness. As with all actions, Allah (swt) will account us for obedience to him and so to just choose any group would be impermissible, rather the one or ones that fulfils the obligation pointed out in this noble ayah must be considered. These are the points:

- i. This group must call to Islam. Allah (swt) mentions in this ayah the word 'Al Khair', which is Islam. So if they were a nationalistic, democratic, capitalistic, socialist group etc... then they would not fulfil the command in this ayah. In fact joining groups who are based upon these foreign ideas or who call for such ideas would be sinful, as to call for these ideas and to gather around them is haram.

- ii. This group must call to the vital issue, as defined by Islam. The vital issue today is the re-establishment of the Khilafah. It is the Khilafah that will implement Islam, and without it, it would be impossible for the society to adhere to all of the laws of Islam. By definition, calling for the Khilafah is a political work, as it involves changing the society to establish an authority and removing the present authorities based upon non-Islam. So this group must be a political group or party.

- iii. It must have a clear method of affiliation. It has been observed that many groups are tarnished with infighting, strands, wings and the like. This is due to the members of these groups not having a unified aim and sets of ideas. Rather the people are often chosen because they show some sort of enthusiasm to do work regardless of them carrying the same ideas and aims.

- iv. The group must have a 'culturing process'. That is they must have a way of developing newcomers to the group as well as established members. This culturing must be taken seriously and all should need to go through it. This ensures they are built and developed with the Islamic culture, purifying their intentions and thoughts, building their concepts and strengthening their resolve. So the initial zeal and enthusiasm is transferred to a sound knowledge and consistent work. It is saddening to see the many who begin to work for Islam and then stop this work; this can generally be attributed to a lack of culturing with Islam in this group.

- v. This group must be clear in its language, and bold in its actions - to enjoin the MarooF and forbid the Munkar requires from the Muslim to challenge all that is wrong and uphold all that

is right.

vi. The group must study the reality clearly and comprehensively. Islam mandated that the reality in which the group works must be understood. This includes the study of the thoughts and ideas that exist in society as well as the plots and plans of the Kafir and her agent rulers in our lands. To just have a generalised understanding of the reality would not allow the people to understand the true nature of the problem we face.

vii. The group must not look down upon the Ummah nor abuse them for not working with them or not adhering to Islam. Rather it should seek to lift up their spirits, energise them, wake them from their slumber and bring about this change. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said, "Whoever says the people are destroyed are the most destroyed of the people." [Sahih Muslim].

viii. The group should have a strong atmosphere that gels the members together. This atmosphere must be a pure one and it should be based upon seeking the pleasure of Allah (swt). We witness many groups that exist in the West that are run like a company, where the members have to continuously be forced to undertake actions. This is contrary to the way of Islam where the strength of the idea makes a person willingly want to sacrifice his time and effort. The Messenger of Allah (saw) wrote in a letter to Abdullah Ibn Jahsh, when he sent him to lead an expedition to keep an eye on Quraysh at Nakhlah, between Makkah and Ta'if: "Do not coerce anyone of your companions to proceed with you, and go forth with my order with those who follow you."

These three points; gaining knowledge, carrying da'wa and working with an Islamic Party would be the practical way to work for Khilafah. So after this, we would say join this work with the sincere ones who seek to achieve the highest place in

Jannah. Strengthen your resolve, for the Ummah yearns for change, and this change requires work. May our deeds be multiplied in reward in the eyes of Allah (swt) and may we become the ones who will be the "beloved" to the Messenger (saw)!

The Messenger Muhammad (saw) said:

"Some peoples will come on the Day of Judgement and their Iman will be outstanding, it's light will shine from their chests and from their right hands. It will be said to them, 'Glad tidings for you today, Assalamu Alaikum and goodness for you, enter into it (Jannah) forever! So the angels and the Prophets will be jealous of the love of Allah for them'. The Sahabah asked, 'Who are they O Messenger of Allah?' He (saw) replied, 'They are not from us and they are not from you. You are my companions but they are my beloved. These will come after you and will find the book (the Qur'an) made redundant by the people, and a Sunnah which has been killed by them. They will grab hold of the book and the Sunnah and revive them. Then, they will read them and teach them (the Qur'an and the Sunnah) to the people and they will experience in that path a punishment more severe and more ugly than what you (O Sahabah) have experienced. Indeed, the Iman of one of them is equivalent to the Iman of forty of you. The Shaheed of one of them is equivalent to forty of your Shuhadaa'. Because you found a helper towards the truth (the Prophet [saw]) and they will find no helper towards the truth. They will be surrounded by tyrant rulers in every place, and they will be in the surroundings of Bayt ul-Maqdis (al-Quds). The Nusrah (victorious material support) of Allah will come to them, and they will have the honour of it on their hands'. Then he (saw) said "O Allah give them the Nusrah and make them my close friends in Jannah". [Musnad al-Imam Ahmad, chain no. 77, Hadith no. 17561]

Jalaluddin Patel

Letters

Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullah,

Dear Sister/Brother,

After becoming very interested and astonished by the recent discoveries I made through Islam these past two years, I have become committed to wanting to live my life in total adherence to the laws of Allah (swt) Insha-Allah.

In researching who I actually was as a Muslim, I went through various literatures. Through this, I came across various articles produced by yourselves. I have been wanting to submit myself towards the work of Allah (swt) ever since. I want to help the cause of the Muslim nation and to help in anyway I can to increase the light of Islam in peoples' lives.

Thus, I ask yourselves for assistance in enabling me to help in the Women's Institute/Section in Birmingham in anyway I can, as I feel the work you do is inspirational and I would be privileged to work as a part of your team.

I wish to be part of a team who has a worthy cause, and there is no other cause more worthy than those who work in the way of Allah (swt). I expect no income in aiding through any means possible and I do not want any other repayments, apart from the blessings of Allah (swt).

In waiting of your reply Insha-Allah.

Your Sister, Birmingham, UK



Letters

Dear Sister/Brother,

Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatahu,

I would like to say thank you for sending me information on elections in a Kufr system (ruling of Islam). I have been to a lot of talks that were done by Members of Hizb ut-Tahrir. The reason I am writing is because I wish to sign up to become a member of Hizb ut-Tahrir and help out as a sister in Islam and bring back Khalifah and the Islamic laws in this corrupted world in order to live life according to how the Prophet (saw) has lived. Can you please let me know if I will be allowed and please send me other information if possible.

Wassalamu Alaikum,

Your Sister, Slough, UK

Please address your letters and questions to the Editorial Team, at the address given on page 4 of the magazine.

Events Diary

LONDON

Saturdays after dhuhr
(Brothers in main hall)
(Sisters upstairs)

(Sundays after dhuhr in Arabic)

Central Regents Park Masjid
146 Park Road, London

There are many other events taking place around UK, Europe, Australia and America. Please contact circles@khilafah.com for details.