

# NUSSRAH

MAGAZINE

ISSUE 18

MAY/ JUNE 2014 CE- RAJAB/ SHABAN 1435 AH

INTERNATIONAL  
LAW IS A  
WESTERN TOOL  
OF EXPLOITATION

THE FAILURE  
OF THE  
MUSLIM ARMIES  
TO OVERTHROW  
THE CURRENT  
REGIMES

MUSHARRAF  
STRENGTHENED  
THE HAND  
OF THE BJP

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

Q&A ON  
TAGHLEEB

'FREE  
NAVEED BUTT'  
CAMPAIGN LEAFLET

'END US  
PRESENCE IN  
PAKISTAN' BANNERS

## Nussrah Magazine Issue 18

May/ June 2014 CE- Rajab/ Shaban 1435 AH

### Contents

<a href="#">Editorial – Aid that Cripples</a>	01
<a href="#">Shaikh Ata ibn Khalil Abu Ar-Rashta Tafseer - Al-Baqarah 104-105</a>	02
<a href="#">Musab Umair – Remembrance of Death</a>	03
<a href="#">Uthman Badr – Free Speech is a Liberal Tool of Power</a>	05
<a href="#">Naseer al-Islam Mehmood – The Failure of the Muslim Armies to Overthrow the Current Regimes</a>	07
<a href="#">Khalid Salahudeen – Musharraf Strengthened the Hand of the BJP</a>	10
<a href="#">Abid Mustafa – Is America’s Decline Real or Imaginary?</a>	15
<a href="#">Moez Mobeen – International Law is a Western Tool of Exploitation</a>	21
<a href="#">Free Naveed Butt Campaign Leaflet</a>	22
<a href="#">Ameer Q&amp;A – Regarding Taghleeb</a>	24
<a href="#">Q&amp; A – American Policy Regarding Syria</a>	27
<a href="#">Press Release – End US Presence Banners</a>	31

**Price: Rs. 30/-**

# Aid that Cripples

A key debate in Pakistan is the role of loans, aid and assistance. In reality the Western interest-based loans to countries like Pakistan are neither aid nor assistance, but a burden and means to exploitation. Because of interest, dozens of countries, like Pakistan, have paid back the principal sums many times over but still remain in debt. Moreover, the loans come with conditions to prevent the country from realizing its actual capability, by imposing conditions regarding public properties such as energy and minerals, as well as regarding taxation and currency, unleashing rises in the prices of basic needs and rampant general inflation. This is why the world's most resource rich countries, such as the Muslim countries, are reduced to what the West insists on calling the "developing" world, as if the West were mocking them, even though it is the capitalist loans themselves which will never ever allow these countries to develop.

Thus the whispering of the government touts that poverty and economic crises would befall the country were it not for this aid, is a feeble stance. The poverty of the Muslim countries is an artificial poverty caused by the capitalist system and the lack of vision of those occupying the seats of governance. The wealth of the Ummah and its public property is squandered through corrupt laws and ideas related to ownership of property, laws which are harmful to the country and its people. Instead of public property being distributed to the Ummah which is her right, it either settles in the pockets of the traitors in the regimes and in their internal and external bank accounts, both secretly and publicly. Or it is divided amongst private business interests close to the ruling elite. Moreover the country is tied to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund through America's poisons called aid. This is the cause of poverty in the

Muslim countries, although they are abundant with wealth bestowed by Allah SWT far-exceeding their needs, if only properly placed within the framework as disclosed by the Allah, the All-knowing.

Indeed, it has been an open secret since the sixties of the last century, that Muslim rulers' steal funds from loans and contracts with the consent of their master America, which is clear from their personal wealth before and after they came to office. So, the end of loans will end the lavish lifestyles and huge ill-gotten wealth of these rulers instead of bringing poverty and economic crisis for the people and the country.

Thus, what America has called humanitarian and economic assistance in its dictionaries is in fact a colonialist project under economic pretext, even if such assistance was to its friends and allies! The Marshall Plan after World War II named the European Recovery Program was the gateway for American companies to be an active partner in many areas of the European economy. After ten years had passed, the European economy in general became the property of American companies. Although it has decreased somewhat in recent years, the influence of U.S. companies on European economy remains until today.

The acceptance of these loans is a major crime in Islam, because they create ways for the colonialist Kuffar to enter the Muslims lands through influence, over economy and politics. And Allah (swt) says: *وَلَنْ يَجْعَلَ اللَّهُ لِلْكَافِرِينَ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ سَبِيلًا* "And Allah does not permit the Disbelievers a way over the Believers." [An-Nisaa 4:141] The need of the time is the Khilafah to gather the Ummah as the single most resourceful state in the world.

## Tafseer Al-Baqarah 104-105

From the Book “Introduction to the Tafseer of the Quran” by the Ameer of Hizb ut-Tahrir, the eminent jurist and statesman, Shaikh Ata ibn Khalil Abu Ar-Rashta:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَقُولُوا رَاعِنَا وَقُولُوا انظُرْنَا وَاسْمَعُوا  
مَا يَوَدُّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ ۚ وَاللَّكَافِرِينَ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ  
وَلَا الْمُشْرِكِينَ ۚ أَنْ يَنْزَلَ عَلَيْكُمْ مِنْ خَيْرٍ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ وَاللَّهُ يَخْتَصُّ  
بِرَحْمَتِهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ ذُو الْفَضْلِ الْعَظِيمِ

“O you who believe! Say not (to the Messenger) Ra`ina رَاعِنَا an insult in Hebrew which in Arabic means hear us) but say Unzurna (انظُرْنَا) (make us understand) and hear. And for the disbelievers there is a painful torment. ≡ Neither those who disbelieve among the People of the Scripture (Jews and Christians) nor Al-Mushrikeen (the idolaters) like that there should be sent down unto you any good from your Lord. But Allah chooses for His mercy whom He wills. And Allah is the Owner of great bounty.” [Surah al-Baqarah 2: 104-105]

Allah (swt) shows in these Ayahs the following:

1. If the term takes Idiomatic (*IsTilaaHee*) meaning, i.e. common meaning; and it became used in that meaning then the focus of understanding the Legal Ruling (*Hukm Shar'i*) will be the meaning of Idiomatic and it is not a Linguistic (*Lughawi*) meaning. The word راعنا is an Arabic word which means wait for us and give us a break; and this meaning is the same meaning of the word *AnZarnaa* (انظُرْنَا). However, the Jews use the word *Ra`ina* (راعنا) in the sense of insults and verbal abuse. They exploited the use by the Muslims in the appeal of the Prophet (saw) with the intention of insults. Therefore, the *Aayah* (Verse) was revealed for the purpose of the Muslims not to use this word because it has become idiomatic – common meaning - with a new meaning,

and the Legal Ruling for such words are projected on the Idiomatic meaning and not on the Linguistic meaning.

2. Allah revealed in the Aayah, (واسْمَعُوا) which means listen well from the Messenger of Allah (saw) and be near him, so the Prophet (saw) is not re-questioned about what he (saw) said, so as to obey the Messenger of Allah (saw).

Allah (swt) concludes the Ayah وَلِلْكَافِرِينَ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ “And a painful torment for the Kafirreen” and the “ال” is to identify the Kafirreen (Disbelievers) and warn those who used to say that word راعنا to insult the Messenger of Allah (saw); the Jews, of a painful torment.

3. Allah (swt) tells us those who disbelieved from the People of the Book and the Mushrikeen (Polytheists) did not like the Revelation to descend upon them and they saw that they deserved the Revelation more than any other Ummah. Therefore, they will be jealous of you and became your enemy because Allah (swt) chose you with His Mercy and Revelation. This is a sign that they were expecting the Prophet to be from them- the Jews - and when it was from others, they objected to him; and were envious and became hostile against him.

Allah (swt) concludes the Aayah that Allah (swt) renders the Prophethood to whomever He wishes, and granting of Prophethood is of great virtue.

“Neither those who disbelieve among the People of the Scripture (Jews and Christians) nor Al-Mushrikin.” From (من *Min*) is from...

[Continued on Page 4](#)

# Remembrance of Death

Musab Umair, Pakistan

أَكْثَرُوا ذِكْرَ هَاذِمِ اللَّذَاتِ يَعْينِ الْمَوْتِ

“Increase the remembrance of that which destroys all desires- Death” [Al Tirmidhi 2229].

Indeed death is worthy of remembrance. Unlike status, wealth and health, death is certain for every soul. It marks the move from the fleeting life of this world to the everlasting world of the hereafter. Allah SWT said, كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ وَإِنَّمَا تُوَفَّقُونَ أُجُورَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ فَمَنْ زُحِرَ عَنِ النَّارِ وَأُدْخِلَ الْجَنَّةَ فَقَدْ فَازَ وَمَا الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا إِلَّا مَتَاعُ الْغُرُورِ “Everyone shall taste death. And only on the Day of Resurrection shall you be paid your wages in full. And whoever is moved away from the Fire and admitted to Paradise, he indeed is successful. The life of this world is only the enjoyment of deception.” [Surah Aali-Imran 3: 185]. Moreover, there is no cheating Death, escaping death or delaying it. Every soul will die at a time known to Allah SWT. Allah SWT said, إِذَا جَاءَ أَجَلُهُمْ فَلَا يَسْتَأْخِرُونَ سَاعَةً وَلَا يَسْتَقْدِمُونَ “When their term comes, then they can't put it off an hour, not hasten (it).” [Surah Yunus 10: 49]. And He SWT said, وَمَا كَانَ لِنَفْسٍ أَنْ تَمُوتَ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ كَتَبَ مُّوَجَّلًا “No soul can ever die except by Allah's leave and at a term appointed.” [Surah Al-Imran 3:145]

This is Death. It is certain and terminates this life. It occurs at a time that is known only to Allah SWT. So how is one to be regarding an impending and unannounced arrival? Moreover, an arrival that can seize us from any moment that we are born! The wise one is the one who is always prepared for its arrival, by performing the good actions and abstaining from evil and woe to the feeble one who meets it with regret. RasulAllah SAW, الْكَيْسُ مَنْ دَانَ نَفْسَهُ وَعَمِلَ لِمَا بَعْدَ الْمَوْتِ وَالْعَاجِزُ مَنْ أَتْبَعَ نَفْسَهُ هَوَاهَا وَتَمَنَّى عَلَى اللَّهِ “The wise one is he who

disciplined himself and worked for what is after death, and the feeble one is he who followed his desires, then made (vain) prayers to Allah” [Tirmidhi 2383]- Woe to the feeble one who upon seeing death will seek to repent or return. Allah SWT said, وَلَيْسَتِ التَّوْبَةُ لِلَّذِينَ لَا يَعْمَلُونَ السَّيِّئَاتِ حَتَّى إِذَا حَضَرَ أَحَدَهُمُ الْمَوْتُ قَالَ إِنِّي تُبْتُ الْآنَ وَلَا الَّذِينَ يَمُوتُونَ وَهُمْ كُفَّارًا أُولَئِكَ أَعْتَدْنَا لَهُمْ عَذَابًا أَلِيمًا “Of no effect is the repentance of those who continue to do evil deeds, until death faces one of them, and he says: “Now I repent” nor of those who die while they are disbelievers. For them have we prepared a painful torment” [An-Nisa 4: 18]. And Allah SWT said, حَتَّى إِذَا جَاءَ أَحَدَهُمُ الْمَوْتُ قَالَ رَبِّ ارْجِعُونِ - لَعَلِّي أَعْمَلُ صَالِحًا فِيمَا تَرَكْتُ كَلَّا إِنَّهَا كَلِمَةٌ هُوَ قَائِلُهَا وَمِنْ وَرَائِهِمْ بَرْزَخٌ إِلَى يَوْمِ يُبْعَثُونَ “Until, when death comes to one of them, he says: "My Lord! Send me back, - So that I may do good in that which I have left behind!" No! (Kalla) It is but a word that he speaks; and in front of them is Barzakh until the Day when they will be resurrected.” [Al-Mu'minun 23:99-100]. Woe to the feeble one for the word Kalla (No!) is a word that is used as a rebuke and the meaning is: "No, We will not respond to what he asks for and We will not accept it from him." Thus we hear of Al-Rabee' b. Khaytham who had dug a grave in his house, so that if he found hardness within his heart, he would enter it and lay down for as long as Allah wished and read from these ayaat: رَبِّ ارْجِعُونِ - لَعَلِّي أَعْمَلُ صَالِحًا فِيمَا تَرَكْتُ “O my Lord! Send me back (to life) in order that I may work righteousness in the things I neglected” repeating it, then he would reply to himself saying: “Oh, Rabee', here, you have been returned, so work.”

It is known that our time in Barzakh will continue, ending only when we are summoned for Judgment, on the Day of Judgment. Thus, once in the Barzakh there is no return to this life, only forward to Judgment. Mujahid said,

## Musab Umair – Remembrance of Death

Al-Barzakh is a barrier between this world and the Hereafter. Muhammad bin Ka`b said, "Al-Barzakh is what is between this world and the Hereafter, neither they are the people of this world, eating and drinking, nor are they with the people of the Hereafter, being rewarded or punished for their deeds." Thus it is a place where there is no deed that can be performed, let alone save from the Judgment which heralds punishment or reward. So, when a man asks, when will the Day of Judgment come for me, personally, as a man, let him consider that as soon as he dies, it is time for his Judgment.

Thus the wise one is the one who heeds this certainty and works for it every waking moment of every day. He is the one who is aware of the wisest of us all and the best of us all, RasulAllah SAW, for SAW was always deeply aware and prepared for death. Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq (ra) once said to him SAW: "Your hair has become grey, O Messenger of Allah." So he SAW said: **شَيَّبَتْنِي هُوْدٌ وَالْوَأَقِعَةُ** [Surah] Hud and its sisters have made my hair grey: Al-Waqi'a, 'Amma Yatasaa'alun and Itha Al-Shamsu Kuwwirat." [Tirmidhi 3219] And it was narrated by Ibn Najjar, of Ibn 'Umar that the Messenger of Allah (saw) overheard a reader reading, **إِنَّ لَدَيْنَا أَنْكَالًا وَجَحِيمًا**, "With Us are Fetters (to bind them), and a Fire (to burn them)" [Al-Muzammil 73: 12] and he SAW fainted. So aware were the Companions of death. Not only was he SAW aware and prepared, he SAW called upon us to be aware of death and prepared of it. This is why the Messenger of Allah (saw) stressed the remembrance of death and to pre-prepare for it, as he stressed the visiting of graves and praying for peace upon them, as it is the best admonition and the best of reminders. Abi Tharr (ra) said The Messenger of Allah SAW said: **زُورُوا الْقُبُورَ فَإِنَّهَا تُدَكِّرُكُمْ الْآخِرَةَ** "Visit the graves, as it will be a reminder of the Akhirah" [Ibn Majah 1558]. The Messenger

of Allah SAW said, **أَكْثَرُوا ذِكْرَ هَٰذِهِ اللَّذَاتِ يَغْنِي الْمَوْتَ** "Increase the remembrance of that which destroys all desires" [Al Tirmidhi 2229].

So let us all today be mindful and take heed. Let us consider the terminator of life's pleasure and let us be prepared. Let us strive and let us not waste a moment seeking the pleasure of Allah SWT. Let us strive to know of all the obligations and fulfill them. Let us take care to be aware of the prohibitions and abstain from them. Let us work to establish Islam in our individual lives as well as the collective life of this Ummah, as a Khilafah, implementing Islam, protecting it and spreading its light to all of humankind.

### Continued from Page 2

...Identification (بيان Bayaan). The People of the Book and the Mushreks are Kafireen.

"**From good**" (من خَيْرٍ), *Min* is of Redundancy (زائدة Zaa'ida) to signify the goodness i.e. that it is a great good.

"**From your Lord**" (من رَبِّكُمْ), *Min* denotes the beginning of the objective, which means that Allah (swt) begins sending the revelation in you.

### **Benefit from the Idiomatic (IsTilaaHee) meaning:**

For example, if we were to ask about the *Hukm* on socialism, we should not look into the Linguistic meaning of socialism which means; subscribe or partners or company and extract the *Hukm* from them. Instead, we must focus on the Islamic ruling of the Idiomatic meaning of the word "socialism." Then, we will find that its people call it by that name to refer to a distinct ideology which denies that there is a Creator to the material ...etc, and in this sense, we say that the socialist system is a *Kufr* (Disbelief) system due to the Idiomatic (*IsTilaaHee*) meaning for it.

# Free Speech is a Liberal Tool of Power

Uthman Badar

**I recently participated in a debate on the proposition that “God and His Prophets should be protected from insult.” But, I argued, this proposition is based on the premise of free speech, on the understanding that free speech is the starting point and what remains is to debate its limits, writes *Uthman Badar*.**

I reject this premise entirely. Free speech is a liberal position, not some neutral universal. So here’s a frank memo to the liberals: enough of the self-indulgence. You don’t represent the default position. Billions of people around the worlds are not liberals. Stop feigning universality. Drop the pretence and let’s have an honest discussion. It is of the most basic human civility to respect others. That is the starting point – not free speech.

To insult others is to treat them with gross insensitivity, insolence, or contemptuous rudeness. The onus is upon those who want to allow such behaviour to prove why this depravity should be permitted.

## **Does absolute free speech exist?**

The idea of free speech is flawed in theory and politicised in practice. It is an idea impossible to implement, and has never been implemented anywhere historically – not even today, in liberal societies.

For instance, when justifying the most recent film insulting the Prophet, the White House said, “we cannot and will not squelch freedom of expression in this country.” Then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton noted, “our country does have a long tradition of free expression...we do not stop individual citizens from expressing their views no matter how distasteful they may be.” These sentiments have been echoed by leaders in Europe and Australia.

But these statements are simply not true. Free speech does not exist in absolute form. There is no absolute freedom to insult. Across the

liberal West, we find defamation laws, sedition laws, professional standards and journalistic standards of reporting about politicians and celebrities. In Germany, denial of the Holocaust is prohibited by law. In the United Kingdom, the Public Order Act makes “threatening, abusive or insulting words” a criminal offence. In Australia, Commonwealth Criminal Code makes it an offence for a person to use a postal or similar service “in a way...that reasonable persons would regard as being...offensive.”

As for in practice, we find numerous examples of people being convicted for mere speech. In the United Kingdom, Azhar Ahmad was convicted in 2012 for “grossly offensive communications” because of a comment he made on Facebook about British soldiers killed in Afghanistan, which read, “all soldiers should die and go to hell.” District Judge Jane Goodwin, in arriving at the conviction, noted that the test was whether what was written was “beyond the pale of what’s tolerable in our society.” In Australia, a Muslim man who sent letters deemed offensive to the family of dead soldiers was convicted last year under the above-mentioned criminal code provisions. These are but two of many examples that may be cited.

## **Free speech is a political tool**

The principle of free speech, I argue, is wielded selectively as a political tool. When Muslim sanctities are denigrated, we’re lectured about free speech and how it can’t be qualified. Yet when Muslims and others insult, they are met with the force of law. Who decides about when and how to qualify free speech? The real question, then, is not about freedom. It is about how far power can go. It’s about power using the notion of freedom to extend and enforce its reach.

Ultra-liberals may say here that they disagree with all these laws and cases and maintain absolute free speech for all – unqualified, *carte blanche*. But is such a position conducive to society? Would we accept white

## Uthman Badar – Free Speech is a Liberal Tool of Power

---

people using the “n word” against blacks? Or a person shouting “Fire!” in a crowded theatre? Or a student insulting his teacher, or a child her parent? Everyone teaches their children to respect others, not to insult. Why? Because insults beget insults, hate and rancour. Is that the type of society we want for ourselves and for our children?

Some forget, perhaps, that even in the western tradition, free speech was upheld as a most basic value for specific ends: to allow the profession of ideas, inquiry into truths and the ability to hold government to account. Do any of these noble ends – all of which are upheld in Islam, I should hasten to add – require the freedom to insult? Or does insult, in fact, defeat the very purpose of these ends? Insulting another person’s beliefs does not encourage them to *think*. Instead, it makes them more entrenched, defensive and prepared to retaliate – that’s human nature.

### Secular liberalism

But, let’s be honest, the reason this debate over the freedom to insult others is still a live one is because secular liberalism has dominated both East and West, not by the strength of its values, but by the strength of its militaries. The Muslim world resisted and continues to do so. Unlike Christianity and Judaism, which crumbled under the force of secularism, Islam did not. Lands were divided and colonised, conquered and exploited. The Islamic state, the Caliphate, was dismantled, but the Islamic mind remained. It is in an effort to break this resistance that the insults come – to impose secular liberalism, to consolidate its victory forever.

The West including Australia supported the brutal dictator Hosni Mubarak of Egypt.

Is the western world really in a position to lecture others about violence? Or about values? The “free world” seeks to dominate and impose itself upon the rest by means of military, political and epistemic violence: perpetuating Orientalist fantasies about Muslims being prone to violence, backward, unable to manage themselves; propping up dictators like Hosni Mubarak and King

Abdullah; destroying entire countries through war and invasion; using unmanned drones to kill indiscriminately in Yemen and Pakistan. *This* is the broader context of provocation in which the global Muslim reaction to insults come. It here that far more attention needs to be focussed.

When it comes to *critique* – as opposed to insult – I’d say, bring it on. Any attempt to quash or stifle serious debate is unacceptable in Islam. Critique of *any* ideas or beliefs is kosher. It’s halal. Insulting *any* beliefs or people is not. Critique Islam all you want. Write in measured, considered tones about why Islam is not the truth, or why the Prophet was not a prophet. Such books fill bookstores across the West as it is. Never have any of these books resulted in a riot. But to mock, to denigrate, to provoke, to agitate – that is something else, and is unacceptable.

Everyone has lines they will not cross. All worldviews and cultures are sensitive with respect to certain things they hold dear. In Australian culture, for instance, Jesus may have become fair game, but ANZAC is not. Modernity did not do away with sanctities; it merely shifted them from the religious to the worldly.

To insult is not an acceptable mode of interaction for mature, self-respecting people. It is the *modus operandi* of pseudo-intellectuals with nothing to offer, no intent to engage, and only interested in projecting their own insecurities onto others. Insults bring nothing to society except hate and divisiveness.

Hence all beliefs and sanctities should be protected from insult, including that which is most sacred to billions around the world: God and His Prophets, peace be upon them all. This should be done, in our present context, by the elevation of values, not imposition of law. You can’t regulate civility. You can’t force people to be respectful. This is about elevating the human condition -reviving the sacred and the most basic value of human decency, which has been eroded by secular liberalism in the most hideous of ways.



# The Failure of the Muslim Armies to Overthrow the Current Regime

**Naseer ul-Islam Mahmoud**

The Muslim countries are at the forefront of the world in terms of military expenditure, spending tens of billions of dollars annually upon their armies. In spite of classifying the Muslim countries as Third World countries on the grounds of poverty, military spending is many times more than current economic capabilities. The questions that come to mind are: What is the need for the Muslim countries for such high spending on armies? What are the threats that face these countries that mandate the allocation of such a large part of current budgets for armies and security forces?

In origin, armies are to protect the people and countries and in the case of the ideological states, the army's duty is to also carry the ideology to the world. Indeed, when the armies were under the rule of Islam in the Islamic state, the Islamic armies' were posted on the frontier borders and it was as if they did not know what defeat is. They continuously roamed the lands, opening countries for Islam, the mercy to the world, and the Muslims prioritized this task in the history of the Islamic Khilafah State during its thirteen centuries. This was in stark contrast to the armies of the Kafireen who acted, both in history and currently, in a hostile and brutal manner in their occupation of lands, conquering and pillaging resources, with rank hatred uttering from their mouths against the Muslims in particular, and what is concealed in their chests of animosity towards Muslims is much greater. This brutality is in order to preserve and defend the contemporary manmade systems, and the interests of a handful of corrupt tyrants, who terrify the

oppressed people. Regrettably, this is similar to the case of the armies in the Muslim world today. They are reluctant to, or prevented from, carrying the message of Islam as a guidance and mercy to the worlds. Their role has become reduced and corrupted to protecting the regimes that suffocate the Muslims, regimes that rule by kufr, who are loyal to the Western Kafireen. In return, the Kafireen give "legitimacy" to these regimes as long as they rule by Kufr which was exported to them from foreign lands, and as long as they serve the principle economic, military and political interests of the colonialists.

In this desperate situation of the Muslim countries with the debased role of the Muslim armies and Muslims spending upon from the pockets of the crushed in the Muslim world, the call to the sincere and experienced minds in the armies to correct their status, resume the mission of the armies to carry the message of Islam to the world and liberate the occupied Muslim countries unifying them under the Islamic state, as well as assisting the oppressed in the world, Muslims and non-Muslims, has become the greatest priority for the Muslim armies.

However, these noble acts can never be realized whilst the armies are commanded by the current military and political leadership. For this leadership is controlled by Kafir colonialists and so rebellion against such military and political leaders is obligatory so as to overthrow them and hand the authority over to the faithful sons of the Ummah, people of the enlightened Islamic thinking with an alternative way of life. This obligation upon the armies in the Muslim world demands that

the armies hand over their leadership to a Khaleefah, who will rule by the book of Allah and the Sunnah of the Messenger (SAAW) and command them to the fields of victory over the enemies of Islam and Muslims. Unless this is done, the Ummah will continue to spend on those armies from the sweat of her brow, with great harm upon her, without any benefit towards her. In fact the Muslims will keep spending on these forces to suppress and kill, muzzle their mouths which call to the Truth to the extent of even banning their call to Islam. Thus these forces will use their capacity to implement the Western plans in the Islamic world. Armies will continue eating and drinking from the inviolable wealth of the Ummah and their best case scenario is soldiers working just as any other state employee; who depart in the morning and return in the evening, as if the noble officer and soldier was a mere teacher at a school or engineer in a government works institution!

The current regimes in the Muslim world are keen to train the armies in absolute obedience to the kufr policies, thus ensuring that they don't overthrow them and establish the system of Islam that rules by the Quran and the Sunnah. However, its Wajib upon the Muslim armies to be Legally Knowledgeable (*Faqeeh*) in the matter of obedience to the rulers and their military commanders. When Allah (swt) imposed on the Muslims to obey legitimate People of Authority (أولي الأمر Oolil Amr), He begins with obedience to Himself and His Messenger, before obeying the rulers. He said: يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ "O you who believe! Obey Allah and His Messenger and the People of Authority from you" [An-Nisaa'a 4:59] and this is about obeying the Legitimate (*Shari* شرعي) People of Authority so what of the Illegitimate People of Authority?! Moreover, Allah (swt) stipulated that solving the conflict that arises between the ruler and the ruled, is by the Book

of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger, for he said: فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنَّ كُنْتُمْ تُوْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ "And if you dispute in a matter then refer to Allah and His Messenger if you believe in Allah and the Day of Aakhira (Hereafter)." [An-Nisaa'a 4:59] And the Sunnah defined the limits regarding the concept of obedience for the ruled. The Prophet (saw) said لَا طَاعَةَ لِمَخْلُوقٍ فِي مَعْصِيَةِ اللَّهِ "There is no obedience of the Created in Disobedience of the Creator." And he (saw) said, الطَّاعَةُ فِي الْمَعْرُوفِ "Indeed obedience is for Good (Ma'roof معروف) only."

Thus the Obedience that was mentioned in the Holy Quran is the foundation of the structure of the state and the Islamic Ummah's entity. It is at the same time a command for obedience when it is obliged, and forbids obedience when it becomes *Haraam* (حرام Forbidden). We find in the Quran that Allah makes obedience a must, when He says { وَأَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَالرَّسُولَ } "Obey Allah and His Messenger [Al-Maida 5: 92] { فَاتَّبِعُونِي وَأَطِيعُوا أَمْرِي } "So follow me and obey my command" [Ta Ha 20:90] { وَاسْمَعُوا وَأَطِيعُوا } "Listen and obey" [Taghabin 64:16] { وَمَنْ يُطِيعِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ يُدْخِلْهُ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا أَنْهَارٌ } "and whosoever obeys Allah and His Messenger, will be admitted to Gardens under which rivers flow (in Paradise)" [An-Nisaa'a 4: 13] { مَنْ يُطِيعِ الرَّسُولَ فَقَدْ أَطَاعَ اللَّهَ } "He who obeys the Messenger, has indeed obeyed Allah" [An-Nisaa'a 4: 80] { وَمَنْ يُطِيعِ اللَّهَ وَالرَّسُولَ فَأُولَئِكَ مَعَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ } "And whoever obeys Allah and the Messenger, then they will be in the company of those on whom Allah has bestowed His grace" [Nisaa'a 4:69]. And the Messenger (SAAW) said " مَنْ أَطَاعَ أَمِيرِي فَقَدْ أَطَاعَنِي " "Whosoever obeys my Ameer has obeyed me" [Ahmad]. Therefore, Allah (swt) orders us obedience in these verses and Hadeeths. But the Messenger (saw) clarified that the obedience of the Ameer is the aware obedience not blind obedience, for he said: لَا طَاعَةَ لِمَخْلُوقٍ فِي مَعْصِيَةِ اللَّهِ "There is no

obedience of the Created in Disobedience of the Creator." Therefore, the conscious obedience is obedience within the limits of Islam, and this is the meaning of the Hadeeth.

With regards upon the obedience of the soldier to his military commander; the Messenger (SAAW) has stated in the hadith that : حَدَّثَنَا مُسَدَّدٌ حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ الْوَّاحِدِ حَدَّثَنَا الْأَعْمَشُ قَالَ : حَدَّثَنِي سَعْدُ بْنُ عُبَيْدَةَ عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ عَنْ عَلِيِّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ بَعَثَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ سَرِيَّةً فَاسْتَعْمَلَ رَجُلًا مِنْ الْأَنْصَارِ وَأَمَرَهُمْ أَنْ يُطِيعُوهُ فَغَضِبَ فَقَالَ أَلَيْسَ أَمْرُكُمْ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنْ تُطِيعُونِي قَالُوا بَلَى قَالَ فَاجْمَعُوا لِي حَطَبًا فَجَمَعُوا فَقَالَ أَوْفِدُوا نَارًا فَأَوْقَدُوهَا فَقَالَ ادْخُلُوهَا فَهَمُّوا وَجَعَلَ بَعْضُهُمْ يُمْسِكُ بَعْضًا وَيَقُولُونَ فَرَرْنَا إِلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنَ النَّارِ فَمَا زَالُوا حَتَّى خَمَدَتِ النَّارُ فَسَكَنَ غَضَبُهُ فَبَلَغَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقَالَ لَوْ دَخَلُوهَا مَا خَرَجُوا مِنْهَا إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ الطَّاعَةَ فِي الْمَعْرُوفِ. (( صحيح البخاري Sahih Bukhari , Musaddad told us from Abdul Wahid who told us from A'amashq who said Saad bin Ubaida told me about Abu Abdul Rahman from Ali (ra) who said the Prophet sent an army unit (for some campaign) and appointed a man from the Ansar as its commander and ordered them (the soldiers) to obey him. (During the campaign) he became angry with them and said, "Didn't the Prophet order you to obey me?" They said, "Yes." He said, "I order you to collect wood and make a fire and then throw yourselves into it." So they collected wood and made a fire, but when they were about to throw themselves into it, they started looking at each other, and some of them said, "We followed the Prophet to escape from the fire. How should we enter it now?" So while they were in that state, the fire extinguished and their commander's anger abated. The event was mentioned to the Prophet and he said, لَوْ دَخَلُوهَا "If they had entered it (the fire) they would never have come out of it, for obedience is required only in what is good."

Thus, the obedience was ordered by Allah when it's for the sake of Islam, including the

obedience of the soldier to his military commander. But when this obedience is against Islam, Islam has forbidden it. For such obedience Allah has forbidden us openly, for He (swt) said: يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِنْ تَطِيعُوا فَرِيقًا ( مِنْ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ يَرُدُّوكُمْ بَعْدَ إِيمَانِكُمْ كَافِرِينَ ) " O you who believe! If you obey a group of those who were given the Scripture (Jews and Christians), they would (indeed) render you disbelievers after you have believed" [Aal-Imran 3:100], وَلَا تَطِعْ مَنْ أَغْفَلْنَا قَلْبَهُ عَنْ ذِكْرِنَا وَاتَّبَعَ ( هَوَاهُ وَكَانَ أَمْرُهُ ) " and obey not him whose heart We have made heedless of Our remembrance, and who follows his own lusts, and whose affair has been lost." [Kahf 18: 28] , ( وَإِنْ تَطِعْ ) " And if you obey most of those on the earth, they will mislead you far away from Allah's path" [An'aam 6:116] , ( فَلَا تَطِعْ الْكَافِرِينَ ) So obey not the disbelievers [Furqan 25:52] , ( فَلَا تَطِعْ ) " So, do not obey the deniers." [Qalam 68: 8], ( وَلَا تَطِعْ مِنْهُمْ أَثِمًا أَوْ كُفُورًا ) " obey neither a sinner nor a disbeliever among them." [Ad-dher 76: 24] , ( وَلَا تَطِعْ كُلَّ حَلَّافٍ مَهِينٍ ) " And do not obey every Hallaf (one who takes oath often) Mahin (liar or worthless person).) " [Qalam 68: 10] . All these verses forbid obeying certain people for their respective characters, and when examined, it is apparent that they are against Islam.

Therefore, the failure of the sincere in the Muslim armies in performing their duty as defined by the Shara, as well as not granting Nussrah to the call for the establishment of Khilafah on the ruins of the current regimes is an act of disobedience to the Creator. It is this failure which will prevent them from any excuse when they are presented to the hands of Allah (swt) يَوْمَ لَا يَنْفَعُ مَالٌ وَلَا بَنُونَ، إِلَّا مَنْ أَتَى اللَّهَ بِقَلْبٍ سَلِيمٍ "The Day whereon neither wealth nor offspring will avail, Except him who brings to Allah a clean heart." [Shu'raa 88-89]

# Musharraf's Strategic Suicide Strengthened the Hand of the Virulently Anti-Muslim BJP

**Khalid Salahudin**

Traitors within the military leadership have connived with the leaderships of the US and India in order to achieve American policy objectives which would otherwise have been difficult to execute due to domestic opposition. This article focuses on the Pakistan India relationship in the period since 1990.

On September 19, 2001, General Pervez Musharraf addressed the nation and provided justification for his 'unstinted support' for America's war on terror. Of the reasons that he gave, safeguarding the Kashmir cause was one of them. To quote from his book<sup>1</sup> he states:

*"I also analyzed our national interest. First, India had already tried to step in by offering its bases to the United States. If we did not join the United States, it would accept India's offer. What would happen then? India would gain a golden opportunity with regard to Kashmir. The Indians might be tempted to undertake a limited offensive there; or, more likely, they would work with the United States and the United Nations to turn the present situation into a permanent status quo. The United States would certainly have obliged"*

Many within the armed forces sensed capitulation to the US, and Musharraf had to either provide convincing arguments to ensure he did not face a revolt or he forced out some of the generals. He needed to provide these justifications in order to placate those opposed to his decision.

The tragedy is that the above statement is a complete misreading of the political situation of the region at the time. It raises the question

was Musharraf so inept in his political understanding, or is it indicative of his collusion and support of US and Indian realignment at the expense of Pakistan.

## US-India Realignment

By the time 9/11 had occurred, US policy on Kashmir had reversed in the direction of the Indians. This reversal of policy publicly known as normalization but in political circles referred to as de-hyphenation, came to its conclusion when former US president Bill Clinton spent 7 hours in Islamabad after spending 5 days in India. Over the period 1996 to 2000, the US and India had aligned significantly. De-hyphenation meant<sup>2</sup> "that Washington ought to pursue a differentiated policy toward the region centered on "a decoupling of India and Pakistan in U.S. calculations"

The practical meaning of this was that the US would not link Kashmir to its relationship with India, relegating the Kashmir issue to a bilateral problem to be resolved by India and Pakistan.

The causes of the realignment are related to strategic changes in the region. The decline of the USSR coupled with the rise economic of China meant that the US had to develop stronger allies in the South Asian subcontinent. Given the size of India and its economic rise, it became the natural choice. Ever since the Eisenhower and Kennedy era, the US had tried to align with India, but to no avail. The staunchly pro British Nehru despite his commitment to the Non-Aligned Movement had aligned with the USSR, and this policy of using the USSR as a counterweight to the US as well as China remained in place until the late 1980's and

---

1. "In the Line of Fire", Pervez Musharraf, p202

---

2. <http://csis.org/files/publication/twq08autumntellis.pdf>

early 1990's. Hence, it was not surprising for both America and China to forge closer ties with Pakistan in the typical balance of power equation that served to characterize the sub-continent for several decades.

After Rajiv Gandhi initiated a series of economic reforms that were furthered by Prime Minister Rao in 1991, India was declared an emerging market and American investment in India was encouraged at the highest level.

In 1991, soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Commander of U.S. Army Pacific General Claude Kicklighter initiated a milestone that has become known as the Kicklighter Proposals and began a new chapter in Indo-U.S. security cooperation. Even though the proposals were restricted to army-to-army relations, they contributed to a considerably improved atmosphere. Hence, whilst America was trying to build close relations with India, America was also instigating the Pakistani army to internationalize the Kashmir conflict as way of sapping India's economic strength

In the 1990s, Indo-U.S. security cooperation expanded despite the absence of a dedicated framework to do so. Interestingly, the Indian government permitted U.S. military aircraft to refuel in India during Operation Desert Storm en route from the Pacific to the Southwest Asia theater.

The rapport established by the Kicklighter Proposals gave way to the 1995 "Agreed Minute on Defense Relations" (henceforth "Agreed Minute"). The Agreed Minute has been described as a "true watershed" in U.S.-India military-to-military relations. It stressed the fundamental importance of military ties in the overall bilateral relationship and outlined a tripartite framework for military relations that continue to structure military-to-military relations. The Agreed Minutes on Defence Cooperation promoted mutual understanding, familiarisation and confidence building through exercises, exchange of doctrines,

high-level visits, courses, seminars and a focus on areas of mutual interest. The air forces established a pilot exchange program in 1996. Both navies began a series of joint exercises in the Indian Ocean called Malabar, which were held in 1995 and 1996 (Malabar I and Malabar II). U.S. Army officers attended the Indian Army's Junior Command and Engineer Company Commanders' courses and trained at the Counter Insurgency Jungle Warfare School. India's International Military Education Training (IMET) budget doubled between 1995 and 1998. In addition, India acquired significant military hardware, including precision-guided munitions for the Indian Air Force, a submarine rescue contract, and pilotless target aircraft and periscopes for Howaldtswerke (HDW) submarines<sup>3</sup>. By 1997, the two countries had sponsored five joint exercises between the army, air force and navy. This was the extent of military cooperation, indicating significant realignment.

### Support for the BJP

From a political perspective, the pro-US BJP (as opposed to the pro British Congress) won the 1998 elections and Atal Bihari Vajpayee became Prime Minister of India in March 1998. The fragmentation of Indian politics meant that this was again another coalition government, whose policy choices included the need to consider domestic opinion for election purposes. Hence, the BJP conducted the nuclear tests for domestic political purposes, as stated by Stephen Cohen<sup>4</sup>,

"In order to stay in power, the BJP had negotiated away all but one of its most electoral planks. Only the bomb was left. The BJP leadership also believed that it had to test quickly because this would be one of the major accomplishments it could hold up to voters in the event of an election."

---

3. [http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2004/RAND\\_MG141.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2004/RAND_MG141.pdf)

4. India, Emergin Power, Stephen Cohen, p176,

Hence, the BJP initiated the nuclear tests in late May 1998 for reasons of domestic support. The interesting thing was the reaction of the US. Whilst sanctions were imposed simultaneously on both India and Pakistan, they were just as easily bypassed. US Congress passed the India-Pakistan Relief Act of 1998, signed into law by the President on October 21, 1998, (within five months of the tests). This Act authorized the President to waive, for a period of one year, the application of sanctions relating to U.S. foreign assistance, U.S. government nonmilitary transactions, the U.S. position on loans or assistance by international financial institutions, and U.S. commercial bank transactions. President Clinton quickly made use of his new authority, announcing on November 7, 1998, that certain transactions and support would be restored. Just six months after the sanctions were announced, the United States had lifted virtually all of them. The process of weakening the sanctions in place against India and Pakistan had actually begun in July 1998, when the Senate voted to exempt food exports from sanctions<sup>5</sup>. The nuclear deal offered to the Indians in 2005, showed the above analysis to be correct. Hence, in reality, the BJP domestic support was boosted by the weak US sanctions regime, and what appeared to be a strong BJP standing up to the might of the US. This clearly indicated that the US was supporting the rise of the BJP as much as it could

Between June 1998 and February 1999, Washington and New Delhi held eight rounds of talks, which became the longest strategic dialogue between Senior American and Indian officials. The discussions ranged from proliferation and nuclear policy to wider issues such as the shape of the international situation, terrorism and strategic cooperation. In the words of Stephen Cohen<sup>6</sup>

“The talks proved surprisingly valuable in the summer of 1999, when India was confronted by the Pakistani move across the LOC at Kargil”.

Hence when Pervez Musharraf became Pakistan’s Chief of Army Staff on 7<sup>th</sup> October 1998, from the discussion above, the US Indian realignment had become well entrenched. Therefore, when the Kargil incident occurred, whilst both India and Pakistan quote different versions, it should have been clear to Musharraf that the US was clearly on the side of India, and specifically the side of the BJP. If the Indians had initiated the conflict, as claimed by Musharraf, he was walking into a trap. If Pakistan initiated it and the Indians were responding, he was walking into a trap. The extent of the Indian confidence in the expectation of victory was such that the Kargil conflict was reported as the first televised Indian War. India, and specifically the BJP, made full use of the media to shape domestic and international response in its favor<sup>7</sup>. Why were the Indians so confident that the Pakistani’s would give up? The Pakistani soldiers fought valiantly, but the leadership was clearly on somebody else’s side, and the BJP knew it. Given the extent of US support for the BJP, it raises the fundamental question; was Musharraf actually working quietly to support the rise of the BJP in India, consistent with US regional policy objectives?

The answer to the question lies in a transcript by Bruce Reidel, of the meeting between Bill Clinton and Nawaz Sharif on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1999 in Blair House<sup>8</sup>,

“The most important strategic result of the Blair House summit was its impact on Indo-

---

7. [http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph\\_reports/MR1450/MR1450.ch2.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1450/MR1450.ch2.pdf)

8. American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House, Bruce Riedel, Center for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania

---

5. <http://cns.miis.edu/npr/pdfs/morrow64.pdf>

6. India, Emerging Power, Stephen Cohen, p285

## Khalid Salahudin – Musharraf Strengthened the Hand of BJP

---

U.S. relations. The clarity of the American position on Kargil and its refusal to give Pakistan any reward for its aggression had an immediate and dynamic impact on the relationship. Doors opened in New Delhi to Americans that had been shut for years. The Indian elite — including the military — and the Indian public began to shed long held negative perceptions of the U.S.”

Could there be any greater indictment against Musharraf? The Kargil Conflict provided the pro-US BJP with a strong profile for the domestic electorate( which it cashed by winning the 1999 elections held between 5<sup>th</sup> September 1999 and 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1999), and also proved to the Indian elite that the US was an ally that could be relied upon. All this achieved by the Pakistani military leadership. The human casualties were the Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and the sincere officers and soldiers of the Pakistani Army who fought valiantly during the war. But in a strategic sense, the real casualty was Pakistan.

Hence, by the time Bill Clinton came to Islamabad in March 25 2000, after spending 5 days in India, the US-Indian realignment had already been cemented, which meant that the old US policy of supporting the Pakistani position on Kashmir had been reversed. This is clear from the statement of Bill Clinton<sup>9</sup>

“I have listened carefully to General Musharraf and others. I understand your concerns about Kashmir. I share your convictions that human rights of all its people must be respected. But a stark truth must also be faced. **There is no military solution to Kashmir. International sympathy, support and intervention cannot be won by provoking a bigger, bloodier conflict.** On the contrary; sympathy and support will be lost. And no matter how great the grievance, it is wrong to support attacks against civilians across the line of control.”

From the above discourse, it is clear that Musharraf had knowingly used the Kargil conflict to support the realignment of the US and India, specifically with the pro-US BJP. He had also strengthened the BJP in its coalition, such that it won the next elections in 1999, enabling further the U S realignment with India. The tragedy was that the US was using Pakistan to achieve the realignment.

### Operation Parakram

The extent of Musharraf’s support in achieving US policy objectives did not stop here. After 9/11, Musharraf provided the US “unstinted support” and the fruits of that support are clear for all to see. Yet, he did not waiver in his “unstinted support” for the Indians either.

On October 1, 2001, a so called militant rammed an explosives-filled, hijacked official vehicle into the Indian held Kashmir provincial assembly’s main gate while his accomplices tried to storm the complex using bullets and grenades forty bystanders were killed. The so called militants were dressed in police uniforms. Jaish-e-Muhammad, a group based in Pakistan initially claimed—and then disclaimed—responsibility for the October 1 attack. Blaming Pakistan for the October attack, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee hinted in a letter to President George W. Bush that India would be forced to take matters into its own hands if Washington could not convince Islamabad to rein in so called terrorist groups based there.

The US war on Afghanistan had begun on October 7<sup>th</sup> 2001, and on December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2001, Hamid Karzai took office as President. Interestingly, on December 13<sup>th</sup> 2001, a high-profile attack on the Parliament of India housing in New Delhi was allegedly carried out by Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed activists. The attack led to the death of a dozen people, including one civilian and to increased tensions between India and Pakistan.

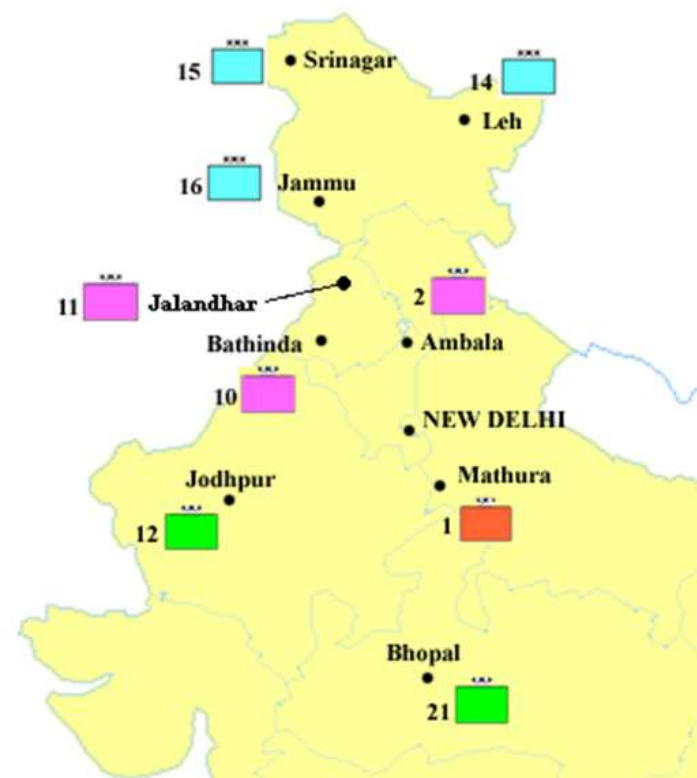
---

9.<http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0003/25/bn.01.html>

## Khalid Salahudin – Musharraf Strengthened the Hand of BJP

Home Minister L.K. Advani described the December 13 attack as “the most audacious and most alarming act of terrorism in the history of two decades of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism in India.” “Nothing will harm India more than inaction at this moment,” defence analyst Brahma Chellaney declared. Five days after the attack, India launched Operation Parakram with a general mobilization of troops.

It took the Indian Army the best part of three weeks to mobilise its forces on the border. The reason for this is the defence-oriented military doctrine, which assigns most formations to hold ground against enemy attack. Offensive roles are largely assigned to three strike formations, the Mathura-based 1 Corps, the Ambala-based 2 Corps and the Bhopal-based 21 Corps. The map shows the location of these corps.



So it is clear that the mobilisation time was going to be significant, enough time for political developments to occur. On January 11<sup>th</sup> 2002, India’s Army Chief, General S. Padmanabhan, announced that the Indian armed forces were totally mobilized and awaiting a green light from the political

leadership to attack. A day later, on January 12<sup>th</sup> 2002, the political developments were confirmed when Musharraf in his January 12, 2002 speech, Musharraf directly addressed the hot-button issue of so called militants operating from Pakistani soil. He promised to crack down on the so called militants and stated that he would tolerate no so called terrorist activity, even in support of Pakistan’s stand on Kashmir. “No organization will be allowed to perpetuate terrorism behind the garb of the Kashmiri cause.” Musharraf capitulated under the pressure, but was there really a threat of war? An army general, and leader of the Pakistani armed forces was unable to establish that this was just coercive diplomacy and that there was no real threat of war. Indeed, this was confirmed by Admiral Sushil Kumar <sup>10</sup>, who was then chairman of Chiefs of Staff Committee, said,

"It was not only a mistake and folly but a punishing mistake." He said Parakram may have in fact emboldened Pakistan and China to increase cross-border violations "because our impotence showed up in Parakram"

He further stated<sup>11</sup> that:

“Operation Parakram” in 2001 was the most punishing mistake for the armed forces...maintaining the government then lacked any political aim or objective for deploying the army along the Indo-Pakistan border.”

This suggested that the mobilisation had no military objective. This was further elaborated by Major General Ashok Mehta, who

**Continued on Page 20**

10. <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Operation-Parakram-after-Parliament-attack-lacked-clear-objectives-Ex-Navy-chief-Sushil-Kumar/articleshow/10625959.cms?referral=PM>

11. <http://www.rediff.com/news/slide-show/slide-show-1-nuclear-mindset-we-have-is-a-false-sense-of-security-admiral-sushil-kumar/20111104.htm>



# Is America’s Decline Real or Imaginary

Abid Mustafa

*Today, the subject of America’s decline as the world’s super power is no longer a novel discussion that is exclusively limited to a select band of analysts to debate. On the contrary it is common to find a variety of people talking and debating America’s decline in different parts of the world as if it is a kitchen table issue. Amongst the topics discussed is the nature of the decline i.e. is America waning political, economic or military, as well as the most important question what comes next.*

*In general, people discussing weakening of America’s hegemony around the world fall in two categories: those who subscribe to the notion that America’s decline is a permanent feature of the international order, and others who hold the view that America’s decline is not only temporary, but reversible. The latter group strongly believes that America can once again become the superpower it used to be.*

*In a series of three articles Abid Mustafa examines America’s decline, and whether its ability to influence and shape global politics has undergone any noticeable changes.*

## **Introduction**

Since the beginning of civilisation, human beings have organised themselves to live in families that are part of larger tribes. These tribes are organised along certain traits and characteristics—chief amongst them is the creed that binds the tribes together and moulds

their viewpoint about life. The gathering of tribes around specific creeds gives birth to nations. Nations do not live in isolation and are forced by the dynamics of life to interact and compete with each other. This competition is over wealth and resources, land and geography, honour and prestige, and over power and supremacy for an ideology.

The centuries of interplay between nations to secure their respective interests have given rise to both bilateral and multilateral relations. As human societies have grown in complexity the scope of relations between nations has also changed from regional to international. In turn such relations are governed by norms and standards defined by the most powerful nation i.e. the leading state. The political ability of the leading state to manage international situations and events is known as the international order.

The leading state always has a rival that at times cooperates with the leading state, and at other times opposes it and challenges it for primacy. Not far behind the leading and the rival states are powerful nations or major powers that possess the ability to take the place of either the leading state or the rival state.

The international order changes only when the leading state is removed or displaced from its position by the rival state. This usually happens when there is a noticeable decline in the proficiency of the leading state to maintain the international order and prevent the threat

## Abid Mustafa – Is America’s Decline Real or Imaginary?

---

posed by the major powers which includes the rival state.

Hence the international order is never permanently fixed and is always susceptible to change. The degree of change in the international order is always proportional to decline of the leading state. The greater the decline, the greater opportunity other major powers have to change events in their favour and weaken the international order.

In modern times, another category of powerful nations have emerged that are more powerful than major powers—these are known as super powers. Super powers have the ability to truly protect their interests globally through the projection of their military power. Before 1945 only major powers existed. Britain was a major power as well as the leading state. Germany was also a major power and was the rival state to Britain. After 1945 and during the Cold War, only two states dominated the world—the US and the Soviet Union—and were regarded as super powers. The rest of the major powers were too weak to oppose them.

### **America’s unipolar moment**

During the Cold War two super powers stood head and shoulders above the rest, and much of the world was divided in loyalty between the then Western and Eastern camps. However, after the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, America found herself in unique position—she was not only the world’s leading state but also the world’s lone super power. The unprecedented global power at America’s disposal and her ability to shape almost every political landscape from East to West in prompted some American

commentators to gloat about America’s newfound international prestige. The famous American thinker Charles Krauthammer described the immense opportunity that lay ahead for the world’s sole super power—America’s unipolar moment. Writing in the issue of Foreign Affairs he wrote an essay on ‘America and the World’ in which he said:

“The immediate post-Cold War world is not multipolar. It is unipolar. The centre of world power is the unchallenged superpower, the United States, attended by its Western allies...The most striking feature of the post-Cold War world is its uni-polarity. No doubt, multi-polarity will come in time. In perhaps another generation or so there will be great powers coequal with the United States, and the world will, in structure, resemble the pre-World War I era. But we are not there yet, nor will we be for decades. Now is the unipolar moment.”<sup>1</sup>

He was joined by another famous thinker Francis Fukuyama who earlier in 1989 unequivocally proclaimed that Western liberalism had triumphed over all other systems. Writing in the National Interest in the summer of 1989 he penned an essay called “The End of History?” in which he stated:

“The triumph of the West, of the Western idea, is evident first of all in the total exhaustion of viable systematic alternatives to Western liberalism...What we may be witnessing in not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such:

---

<sup>1</sup> Charles Krauthammer, “America and the World”, (Foreign Affairs, Vol. 70, No. 1, 1990/91), pp. 23-33.

## Abid Mustafa – Is America’s Decline Real or Imaginary?

---

that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government. This is not to say that there will no longer be events to fill the pages of Foreign Affairs’s yearly summaries of international relations, for the victory of liberalism has occurred primarily in the realm of ideas or consciousness and is as yet incomplete in the real or material world. But there are powerful reasons for believing that it is the ideal that will govern the material world in the long run.”<sup>2</sup>

In 1993 he wrote a whole book dedicated to this wave of triumphalism sweeping America and called it ‘The End of History and the Last Man’. For the next decade it appeared that Krauthammer and Fukuyama might be proved right about in their assessment of America’s ability to expand its hegemony, and political influence around the globe. The defeat of Saddam’s forces in Iraq in 1991 enabled America to entrench its foothold in the Gulf and the wider Middle East through establishment of military bases, security pacts, and the commencement of peace talks(Madrid Conference) between Israelis and Palestinians which are carrying on to this very day. This gave the US unprecedented leverage on how best to shape the region to safeguard her interests.

In Europe, the relentless expansion of the European Union and NATO to include countries in the post-soviet space like Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania etc. bolstered America’s

stranglehold over Europe and further weakened Russia. The crowning piece for America’s primacy in Europe was the political management of the disintegration of Yugoslavia that eventually led to the culmination of the Kosovo war in 1999 followed by [Kumanovo Treaty](#). In short, the US was able to marginalize both Europe and Russia.

In Africa too, America made huge strides in eclipsing the wings of old Europe. Military incursion in Somalia, Zaire (Congo), Liberia marked the beginning of campaigns to shrink British and French influence in Africa. In the Americas it was business as usual, as America exerted greater political control through the promotion of democracy and tightened its economic noose over the continent.

Leaving aside political and military domination of the world, America under the Clinton administration opened up many parts of the world to American multinationals through globalisation and free trade. So emphatic was America’s supremacy that it prompted France’s Foreign Minister to use the term hyper-power to describe America’s pre-eminence in the world. The new term he thought best described “a country that is dominant or predominant in all categories.”<sup>3</sup>

### **The turning point**

The beginning of the 21st century saw the continuation of American preponderance. But this time under the Bush administration the

---

<sup>2</sup>Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History?”, (The National Interest, Summer 1989).

---

<sup>3</sup> “Superpower,” in his view, was a Cold War word that reflected military capabilities of both the Soviet Union and the United States. But in the late nineties, the breadth of American strength was unique, extending beyond economics, technology or military might to “this domination of attitudes, concepts, language and modes of life.” For further information read: “To Paris, U.S. Looks Like a ‘Hyperpower’”, (New York Times February 5, 1999).

## Abid Mustafa – Is America’s Decline Real or Imaginary?

---

neoconservatives had different ideas on how best to use American power and unilateralism to shape American interests around the globe. American invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq saw unprecedented revelling amongst American politicians and supporters of the Bush administration. But the momentum in the favour of American exceptionalism<sup>4</sup> was short-lived and soon after the fall of Baghdad in April 2003, America was embroiled in a protracted guerrilla war that exposed its racist worldview. The Abu Ghraib episode in 2004 epitomised what American values stood for in practice.

Despite America’s military fire power in Iraq, the Bush administration was faced with a catalogue of challenges: Sunni and Shia uprisings, local anger towards repeated massacres committed by the US military, extra-judicial killings carried out by American stooges, the fiasco of Abu Ghraib, political instability, and widespread anti-American sentiments across the Muslim world. Within a space of three years America was struggling to extricate itself from quagmire of Iraq. What was meant to be a showcase victory for liberal democracy as envisaged by neoconservatives in the Bush administration, Iraq had quickly degenerated into a fight to rescue American primacy in the Middle East and her prestige internationally.

---

<sup>4</sup> American exceptionalism is the idea that the United States and the American people hold a special place in the world, by offering opportunity and hope for humanity, derived from its unique balance of public and private interests governed by constitutional ideals that are focused on personal and economic freedom. The phrase is thought to have originated by Alexis de Tocqueville in his famous book Democracy in America. Some interpret the term to indicate a moral superiority of Americans, while others use it to refer to the American concept as itself an exceptional ideal. But in practice America is a colonial power and is despised around the globe.

Criticisms rapidly engulfed the Bush administration regarding its neoconservative policies. Leading Democrats and Republicans together with a host of eminent politicians were damning in their assessment of Iraq and what it meant for America going forward. In 2006, the Iraq Study Group<sup>5</sup> stated: “The situation in Iraq is grave and deteriorating ...” Richard Hass former head of the Council of Foreign Relations foresaw a reduction in America’s ability to shape political events in the region.

He stated: “For much of the last two decades the US enjoyed an historic advantage in the region, with the end of the Cold War and the domination that it showed in the region after Iraq invaded Kuwait. Now though, we are seeing something fundamentally different. Essentially, we are looking at a messier, a much more complicated, a much more troubled Middle East, where the capacity of the US to shape affairs is much-reduced.”<sup>6</sup>

Graham Fuller former vice chairman of the National Intelligence Council described that because of the Iraq debacle America’s allies and adversaries were able to effectively limit America’s ability to mould events. In 2006 he wrote in the National Interest: “...diverse countries have deployed a multiplicity of strategies and tactics designed to weaken, divert, alter, complicate, limit delay or block

---

<sup>5</sup> The Iraq Study group (ISG) was a ten-person bipartisan panel appointed on March 15, 2006, by the United States Congress that was charged with assessing the situation in Iraq and the US-led Iraq War and making policy recommendations. For further information read: “The Iraq Study Group Report: The Way Forward - a New Approach”, Vintage Books; 1st Authorized Ed edition (March 30, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> J. Marcus, “Middle East: An end to US primacy?”, BBC Online, (February 4, 2007).

## Abid Mustafa – Is America’s Decline Real or Imaginary?

---

the Bush agenda through death by a thousand cuts.”<sup>7</sup>

Just as America’s political elite was mulling over the damage done by the Iraq war to America’s global supremacy, the global financial crisis struck in the summer of 2008. The ferocity of the economic crisis further rattled America and shook the confidence of both its intelligentsia and its people. Alan Greenspan the then chairman of the Federal Reserve described the credit crunch which was at the heart of the economic crisis as ‘once in a century credit tsunami’. Greenspan was not the only voice that could be heard describing America’s predicament. In fact it can be said that in the immediate aftermath of the economic crisis—America’s decline became a subject of heated discussion and debate. Broadly speaking two camps emerged. In the first camp the common view was that America’s decline was a permanent feature of the international order. However, what was in dispute was the severity of the decline. In 2008, the US National Intelligence Council admitted for the first time that America’s global power was indeed on a declining trajectory. In one of its periodic futuristic reports, *Global Trends 2025*, the Council cited “the transfer of global wealth and economic power now under way, roughly from West to East” and “without precedent in modern history,” as the primary factor in the decline of the “United States’ relative strength—even in the military realm.”<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, there

were others who tried to predict a much earlier decline or even complete a collapse for the US. One such figure was the Russian professor Igor Panarin who in 2008 said, “There’s a 55-45% chance right now that disintegration [of US] will occur.”<sup>9</sup>

Then there is the other camp—where adherents espouse the view that America’s decline is reversible. Some of America’s most formidable thinkers can be found in this camp. For instance Brzezinski still maintains that America can revitalise itself to meet the current challenges facing America: In his latest book *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power* he states:

“Thus, America’s central challenge and its geographically imperative mission over the next several decades is to revitalize itself and to promote a larger and more vital West while simultaneously buttressing a complex balance in the East, so as to accommodate constructively China’s global status and avert global chaos. Without a stable geopolitical balance in Eurasia promoted by a renewed America, progress on the issues of central importance to social well-being and ultimately to human survival would stall.”<sup>10</sup>

Friedman and Mandelbaum share similar sentiments and earnestly believe that America by its very nature responds to difficult challenges. In their book *That Used To Be US: What Went Wrong With America- And How It Can Come Back* they state:

---

<sup>7</sup> D. Sanger, “News Analysis: Bush agenda shows ‘superpower fatigue’ - Americas - International Herald Tribune”, New York Times online, (November 21, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> A. McCoy, “The Decline and Fall of the American Empire”, The Nation Online, (December, 2010).

---

<sup>9</sup> “As if Things Weren’t Bad Enough, Russian Professor Predicts End of US”, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, (December 29, 2008).

<sup>10</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski, “Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power”, (Basic Books 2012), p 184.

## Abid Mustafa – Is America’s Decline Real or Imaginary?

---

“The other reason for optimism about America's future is that over the course of its history The United States has rarely failed to meet major challenges. It is in fact our failure to meet major challenges that is unusual--or, one might say, “exceptional.” When tested, from the days of the revolution in the eighteenth century to the drawn-out Cold War struggle in the twentieth, America and Americans have found ways to excel. The country's past supplies fertile grounds for optimism about its future.”<sup>11</sup>

What is undeniable in both camps is their unanimity on the fact that America is in decline. Oddly enough there is another phenomenon that is closely related to America’s decline and that is the decline of Western civilisation and power. In the past few years extreme climatic, social, economic and political conditions have all converged to put Western civilisation under extreme strain and it has been often exposed to have little or no clue on how resolve the multitude of problems that stem from interdependencies of these extreme conditions. Nevertheless, this is not the subject of the article even though it is inextricably linked. The focus is America’s decline and in the second article a framework to understand and define decline will be discussed.

### **Continued from Page 14**

commended the US's constraining role, and referred especially to the "great diplomacy" of Robert Blackwill, (US Ambassador to India from 2001 to 2003) who asked India to wait

for Pervez Musharraf's speech in January<sup>12</sup>. Why would the US Ambassador to India recommend waiting for the January speech? Hence Operation Parakram had no military objectives, and the full mobilization was undertaken for political objectives, as stated by numerous Indian military specialists. Given that the US war theatre was Afghanistan, with Pakistan being the launching pad, would the US have actually risked an Indian attack on Pakistan which would have diverted Pakistani resources away from Afghanistan?

This meant that the US had engineered the context, and Musharraf duly obliged. The evidences quoted above indicate that the whole scenario was played out by the Pakistani, US and Indian leadership, in order to justify for Musharraf the concession. The strategic perspectives are clear to any thoughtful observer, so the question arises, why did Musharraf capitulate so quickly and easily? The answer is very clear, that he was in collusion with the US and Indian leadership.

### Conclusion

The military leadership of the time, not just Musharraf, but including his corp commanders have to answer this question as to why they participated in the two treacheries, the Kargil War and the December 2001 standoff to fulfil US and Indian objectives. Whilst this article is restricted to the 1996-2002 time period, the post Musharraf era is replete with similar examples where the military leadership has connived with the US and India in order to fulfil US and India policy objectives. It raises the question, will Raheel Sharif be any different to his treacherous predecessors?

---

12.<http://www.ipcs.org/article/india/operation-parakram-1654.html>

---

<sup>11</sup> Friedman T.L., Mandelbaum M., “That Used To Be US What Went Wrong With America- And How It Can Come Back”, (Little, Brown 2011).

# International Law is a Western Tool of Exploitation

## Moez Mobeen

Rejecting the results of Crimea's referendum which showed that a large majority of Crimea's residents want to join the Russian federation the White House said the vote was held under "threats of violence and intimidation from a Russian military intervention". Similar sentiments were expressed by the British Foreign Secretary William Hague who said: "Nothing in the way that the referendum has been conducted should convince anyone that it is a legitimate exercise". It is ironic and hypocritical that the West should reject the results of a referendum in Crimea held under occupation while it supports and upholds rather presents as a sign of progress, a very similar exercise, the Presidential elections in Afghanistan due next month. Crimea and Afghanistan are both under occupation. Elections in both areas are and would be held under occupation yet due to their divergent interests in both areas the West supports elections under its own occupation in Afghanistan and opposes elections under the Russian Federation in Crimea. It is also important to note the scale and nature of Western response to Russia's occupation of Crimea and to West's response to Saddam Hussein's attempt to annex Kuwait in 1990. In the latter case the West mobilized militarily and was able to gather a broad coalition of countries to reverse the Iraqi action. In the case of Russia the West is mainly planning to deploy economic sanctions and employing similar policy tools to hurt Russia economically. The stark difference in approach and its reason is obvious. The West knows it cannot take on the Russians militarily while it was confident that with the help of pliant Muslim rulers of Iraq's neighbors it can deploy military force against Iraq.

The Ukrainian Crisis is a good lesson in international relations and international struggle. Firstly, there is practically no such thing as international law which can act as a

constraining force against state behaviors. The idea of a law governing the relations of a comity of nations is a flawed one because for such a system to work a mechanism for enforcing the law when it is breached must be in place. Such a concept of accepting an enforcer of international law runs directly against the idea of sovereignty of countries which must accept an authority above them. No country which guards its sovereignty would accept such an authority. Iraq was not in a position to militarily defy the US when it was acting as a global enforcer of the so called international law, Russia was. Secondly as is evident from the different interpretations of electoral exercises in Afghanistan and Crimea under almost similar conditions, international law is actually a tool for major powers to shape global opinion and behavior in favor of their interests. Again the impossibility of a consensus amongst countries to agree to a global institution which would interpret international law dispassionately is one reason. The difference in values, cultures and interests of different countries constitute another problem. The Crimean and Afghanistan example show that the Muslim World cannot rely on international law and international institutions for protecting their interests. The international law as it exists today is nothing but a tool of the West which exploited the post World War 2 balance of power in its favor to develop a system which protects its interests. This does not mean that Muslims should not play an effective role at a global level rather how and through what institutions should they approach international relations is what needs to be debated. If history is any guide, it was through the institution of the caliphate that the Ummah had a strong and effective voice at the international level where it was able to muster enough economic, political and military might through the institution of the caliphate to shape global opinion and behavior to protect her interests.

وَمَا نَقَمُوا مِنْهُمْ إِلَّا أَنْ يُؤْمِنُوا بِاللَّهِ الْعَزِيزِ الْحَمِيدِ

**“And they resented them only because they believed in Allah, the Exalted in Might, the Praiseworthy.” [Al-Buruj: 8]**

Naveed Butt, the well known and widely respected Official Spokesman for Hizb ut-Tahrir in the Wilayah of Pakistan, continues to be held in abduction by the thugs of the regime, since he was first seized on 11 May 2012, almost two years ago. Naveed's tireless exposure of the colonialist conspiracies against the Muslims and clear presentation of how the ruling by the Deen of Islam will provide Khair for the Muslim World and beyond it, was greatly resented by traitors within the political and military leadership. So these tyrants mobilized to silence Naveed, in blind obedience to the policies of their colonialist masters, who fight the call for the Khilafah wherever it is likely to arise, from Syria to Uzbekistan. Thus, these oppressors added to their many crimes against Islam, by chasing Naveed here and there, until their thugs seized him before the eyes of his small children. And until today, not only do they confine Naveed to their dungeons, they undertake a campaign of persecution against the shebaab of Hizb ut-Tahrir. Indeed, the extent of their resentment is such that they send their thugs to chase after the shebaab, wherever they stand to address the people by speech or by the distribution of leaflets, even if it were for a little while!

### O Muslims of Pakistan!

Regret and despair is not for Naveed, inshaaAllah, for he is treading the path well worn by those who preceded him in calling to Khair and bearing hardships in the way, from amongst the Prophets (as), the Companions (ra) and those who follow them in Righteousness. Even the long separation from the family is not a cause of regret and despair, for it is the promise of Allah (swt) that the good will be brought together with their families, not for the short span of this life, but forever in Jannah, a blessed reunion with no end. Allah (swt) said, **جَنَّتٌ عَدْنٌ يَدْخُلُونَهَا وَمَنْ صَلَحَ مِنْ آبَائِهِمْ وَأَزْوَاجِهِمْ وَذُرِّيَّاتِهِمْ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ يَدْخُلُونَ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ**

“Gardens of perpetual bliss: they shall enter there, as well as the righteous among their fathers, their spouses, and their offspring.” [Surah ar-Ra'd: 23]. Nor is the oppression that those who call for Islam are facing a cause of regret and despair, for it is a confirmation that inshaaAllah the victory draws near. Indeed testing is the fire within which the Iman in Allah (swt) is forged and the pleasure of Allah (swt), His Help and His Victory is truly earned. For Allah (swt) said, **أَمْ حَسِبْتُمْ أَنْ تُدْخَلُوا الْجَنَّةَ وَلَمَّا يَأْتِكُمْ مَثَلُ الَّذِينَ خَلَوْا مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ مَسَّتْهُمُ الْبَأْسَاءُ وَالضَّرَّاءُ وَزُلْزَلُوا حَتَّى يَقُولَ الرَّسُولُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا مَعَهُ مَتَى نَصُرَ اللَّهُ أَلَا إِنَّ نَصْرَ اللَّهِ قَرِيبٌ** Or think you that you will enter Paradise without such (trials) as came to those who passed away before you They were afflicted with severe poverty and ailments and were so shaken that even the Messenger and those who believed along with him said, "When (will come) the help of Allah" Yes! Certainly, the help of Allah is near!" [Surah Al Baqarah 2:214].

Yes indeed, regret and despair is never for the one who performs his duty before Allah (swt), raising the word of truth before the tyrant. Rather regret and despair is for the tyrants themselves who persecute the callers to Islam rather than heed their call. Allah (swt) says **إِنَّ الَّذِينَ قَتَلُوا الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَتُوبُوا فَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ جَهَنَّمَ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابُ الْحَرِيقِ** Those who persecute the Believers, men and women, and do not turn in repentance, will have the Penalty of Hell: They will have the Penalty of the Burning Fire.” [Surah Al-Buruj 85:10]. And regret and despair are both for those who issue the commands of oppression, as well as those thugs who are their limbs, eyes and ears in the execution of those commands, blindly obeying those who disobey Allah (swt) and His Messenger (saw). Allah (swt) said, **وَقَالُوا رَبَّنَا إِنَّا أَطَعْنَا سَادَتَنَا وَكِبْرَاءَنَا فَأَضَلُّنَا السَّبِيلَ** And they will say: Our Lord! Verily we obeyed our chiefs and our great ones, and they misled us from the (Right) Way” [Surah Al-Ahzab 33:67]



## O Armed Forces of Pakistan!

The abduction and persecution of the callers to Islam is but one oppression committed today, by traitors within the military and political leadership. Indeed they have committed all manner of oppression to the highest level, leaving the country exposed to its enemies and its people languishing in hardship and poverty. And whilst this oppression, this obedience to our enemies and this flagrant implementation of kufr, continues, we will always be afflicted by humiliation, despair, grave affliction and punishment. Allah (swt) says, **وَإِتَّقُوا فِتْنَةً لَا تُصِيبَنَّ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا مِنْكُمْ خَاصَّةً وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ** "And fear the Fitnah (affliction and trial) which affects not in particular (only) those of you who oppress (but it will afflict everyone) and know that Allah is Severe in punishment." [Surah al-Anfaal: 25]. RasulAllah (saw) said, **إِنَّ النَّاسَ إِذَا رَأَوْا الظَّالِمَ فَلَمْ يَأْخُذُوا عَلَى يَدَيْهِ أَوْشَكَ أَنْ يَعْتَهُمُ اللَّهُ بِعِقَابٍ** "If the people witness an oppressor and they do not take him by his hands (to prevent him) then they are close to Allah covering them all with punishment." [Abu Dawud, Tirmidhi, ibn Majah].

The fact that this oppression continues today is wholly upon you, for you in the eyes of Islam are the people of Nussrah, Material Support, who are capable to end the kufr rule and restore the Islamic ruling. Indeed, it is through approaching your predecessors from amongst the men of arms that RasulAllah (saw) stripped the kufr rule of its physical support that it depended upon for its survival. He (saw) sought the strong, discerning material capability in detail, asking **و هل عند قومك منعة؟** "Do your people have strength?" and rejecting those too weak to secure Islam from its enemies. Thus he met many tribes including; Banu Kalb, Banu Hanifah, Banu Amr bin Sa'asah, Banu Kinda and Banu Shaiban. He (saw) persisted in this methodology patiently until Allah granted success in the matter of Nussrah, with the Ansar (ra), a small but sincere and brave group from within the men of war. And so Nussrah for Islam as a rule was secured by the methodology of the Prophethood, transforming the torn and divided Yathrib into

a powerful beacon for Islam, Madinah Al-Manawwarah.

## O Armed Forces of Pakistan!

Men like Naveed are neither a surprise nor an exception, for this soil is fertile for acts of bravery fuelled by Iman. Since we first embraced Islam during the era of the Khilafah Rashida, we as Muslims have bled and toiled for Islam. We were victorious over the forces of kufr, ruling by Islam for hundreds of years such that the Indian Subcontinent became the envy of the entire world. We irrigated this soil with our blood, to fearlessly resist the kufr British Raj for over two hundred years. We forced the evacuation of the British troops such that they never dared to return again, so that Pakistan could be established in the name of Islam. During the partition of Muslim India, we laid down our lives in hundreds of thousands, not counting our martyrs, for the pleasure of Allah (swt).

Until today Islam runs in our veins, it is our cause and we live for its sake. And today, right now in this moment, the methodology of the Prophethood for establishing Islam demands Nussrah from its people, which is each and every one of you. So, beware of losing your own Hereafter for the sake of the worldly gains of the oath-breakers that pollute the ranks of our leadership from the Raheel-Sharif regime! Secure the return of the Khilafah on the Methodology of the Prophethood by granting the Nussrah to Hizb ut-Tahrir under its Ameer the eminent jurist and statesman, Sheikh Ata Ibn Khalil Abu Al-Rashta. Those who have yet to come forwards, must do so now, for the work for the Khilafah is near its end and not at its beginning. So come forwards, knowing that no harm can befall us without the permission of Allah (swt) and that the Believer fears none but Allah (swt). Allah (swt) said, **أَتَخَشَوْنَهُمْ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ أَكْبَرُ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ** "Do you fear them, Allah is more worthy to be fearful of, if you are Believers." [Surah At-Tawba 9:13]

Hizb ut-Tahrir

27 Jumadal-I 1435

Wilayah Pakistan

28 March 2014.

# Q&A - Do commands in the Qur'an and Hadith which in their wording refer to men also apply to women?

## Question:

Assalamu alaikum,

It was reported in the Hadith of Abu Huraira that the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم said, سَبْعَةٌ يُظِلُّهُمُ اللَّهُ فِي ظِلِّهِ يَوْمَ لَا ظِلَّ إِلَّا ظِلُّهُ الْإِمَامُ الْعَادِلُ وَشَابٌّ نَشَأَ بِعِبَادَةِ اللَّهِ وَرَجُلٌ قَلْبُهُ مُعَلَّقٌ فِي الْمَسَاجِدِ وَرَجُلَانِ تَحَابَّا فِي اللَّهِ اجْتَمَعَا عَلَيْهِ وَتَفَرَّقَا عَلَيْهِ وَرَجُلٌ دَعَتْهُ امْرَأَةٌ ذَاتُ مَنْصِبٍ وَجَمَالَ فَقَالَ إِنِّي أَخَافُ اللَّهَ وَرَجُلٌ تَصَدَّقَ بِصَدَقَةٍ فَأَخْفَاهَا حَتَّى لَا تَعْلَمَ يَمِينُهُ مَا تُنْفِقُ شِمَالُهُ وَرَجُلٌ ذَكَرَ اللَّهَ خَالِيًا “There are seven persons whom Allah will shade on a Day when there is no shade but His. A just ruler, a young man who grew up in the worship of Allah, a man whose heart is attached to the mosques, two men who love each other for the sake of Allah who meet and depart from each other for the sake of Allah, a man whom a beautiful woman of high status seduces but he rejects her by saying I fear Allah, a man person who spends in charity and conceals it such that his right hand does not know what his left hand has given, and a man who remembered Allah in private and he wept.” (Agreed upon.)

Why wasn't the woman mentioned in this context – singling out males – i.e. males were singled out in all cases and women were not mentioned? Please provide a comprehensive understanding, may Allah reward you and grant you His victory.

From Khilafah Islamia

## Answer:

Wa Alaikum Assalam Wa Rahmatullah Wa Barakatuhu,

Before answering you regarding the Hadith, and why the woman was not mentioned, I would like to mention to you the following:

1. There is a style used by the Arabs, called "Taghleeb" (addressing the dominant element), i.e. that the speech's tone is masculine, and the female is included through the style of "Taghleeb", like the saying of Allah يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا “O you who believe” (masculine terms used), in which female believers are also included.

As well as what was reported by Al-Bukhari, that Abu Huraira (ra) narrated that the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم said, أَيْمًا رَجُلٍ أَعْتَقَ امْرَأً مُسْلِمًا، "When a man frees a Muslim slave, Allah will save all the parts of his body from the (Hell) Fire as he has freed the body-parts of the slave".

It is also applicable to women in the "Taghleeb" style. i.e. "when a woman frees a Muslim slave."...

Also like the Hadith of An-Nisa'i regarding the Zakat of the Camel... Abu Hurairah narrated, he said: I heard the Messenger of Allah صلى الله عليه وسلم saying: أَيْمًا رَجُلٌ كَانَتْ لَهُ إِبِلٌ لَا يُعْطِي حَقَّهَا فِي نَجْدَتِهَا وَرَسْلِيهَا»، قَالُوا: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، مَا نَجْدَتُهَا وَرَسْلِيهَا؟ قَالَ: «فِي عُسْرِهَا وَيُسْرِهَا، فَإِنَّهَا تَأْتِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ كَأَعْدَدٍ مَا كَانَتْ وَأَسْمَنِهِ وَأَشْرِهِ، يُبْطِحُ لَهَا بِقَاعٍ قَرَقَرٍ فَتَنْطُوهُ بِأَخْفَافِهَا، إِذَا جَاءَتْ أُخْرَاهَا أَعْبَدَتْ عَلَيْهِ أَوْلَاهَا فِي يَوْمٍ كَانَ مَقْدَارُهُ خَمْسِينَ أَلْفَ سَنَةٍ، حَتَّى يُفْضَى بَيْنَ النَّاسِ فَيَرَى... سَبِيلَهُ... "Any man who has camels and does not pay what is due on them in its Najdah or its Risl mean", They said: 'O messenger of Allah, What is their Najdah and Risl?' He said: "In times of hardship or in times of ease; they will come on the Day of Resurrection as energetic, fat and lively as they ever were. He will be laid face down in a flat arena for them and they will trample him with their hooves. When the last of them has passed, the first of them will return, on a day that is as long as

## Ameer Q&A – Regarding ‘Taghleeb’

fifty thousand years, until judgment is passed among the people, and he realizes his end"...

This hadith also applies to women in the prevailing style, if she does not pay what is due from zakat for the camels she owns. And as you can see, the masculine terms used also apply to feminine terms and the woman in the "Taghleeb" style, in general cases.

2. But this "Taghleeb" style does not apply if it was suspended with a Shar'i text: So for example, Allah سبحانه وتعالى says: كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْقِتَالُ وَهُوَ كُرْهٌ لَّكُمْ "Fighting is enjoined on you, and it is an object of dislike to you" (2:216) the speech here is in a masculine tone, but we do not use here the style of "Taghleeb", so we do not say that this address also includes women through the style of "Taghleeb" in the terms "Fighting has been prescribed for you", because this is suspended with other Shar'i texts making Jihad only Fardh upon men,

It was reported by Ibn Maajah from Habib bin Abi Amrah, from A'isha bint Talhah, from A'isha the mother of the believers (raa), she said: I said: "O Messenger of Allaah, do women have to engage in jihad? He said، نَعَمْ، "Yes, Jihad in which there is no fighting: Hajj and 'Umrah." i.e. that Jihad in its fighting sense is not Fardh upon women.

Another example, Allah سبحانه وتعالى says: يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِذَا نُودِيَ لِلصَّلَاةِ مِنْ يَوْمِ الْجُمُعَةِ فَاسْعَوْا إِلَىٰ ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ وَذَرُوا الْبَيْعَ ذَلِكُمْ خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ "O you who believe! when the call is made for prayer on Friday, then hasten to the remembrance of Allah and leave off trading; that is better for you, if you know". (62:9)

i.e. it is prohibited for men to continue their trade at the time of Friday Adhan, and here, the "Taghleeb" style does not apply, i.e. it is not prohibited for women to continue their trade during the Adhan time, because Friday Prayer is not Fardh upon women, as proven in the Hadith of the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم reported by Al-Hakim in Al-Mustadrak by the two Sahih, narrated by Abu Musa, that the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم said: الْجُمُعَةُ حَقٌّ وَاجِبٌ

عَلَىٰ كُلِّ مُسْلِمٍ فِي جَمَاعَةٍ إِلَّا أَرْبَعَةً: عَبْدٌ مَمْلُوكٌ، أَوْ امْرَأَةٌ، أَوْ مَرِيضٌ "Salaatul Jumaah in congregation is a duty (wajib) upon every Muslim except for four: a slave, a woman, the immature boy and the sick".

Al-Hakim said, "This hadith (narration) is Sahih (valid) according to the requirements of the two Sheikhs (Bukhari and Muslim), and Adh-Dhahabi agreed with him.

3. Accordingly, we understand the Hadith as follows:

The text of the Hadith reported by Bukhari in his Sahih, Abu Huraira narrated that the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) said, سَبْعَةٌ يُظِلُّهُمُ اللَّهُ فِي ظِلِّهِ، يَوْمَ لَا ظِلَّ إِلَّا ظِلُّهُ: الإِمَامُ، العَادِلُ، وَشَابٌّ نَشَأَ فِي عِبَادَةِ رَبِّهِ، وَرَجُلٌ قَلْبُهُ مُعَلَّقٌ فِي الْمَسَاجِدِ، وَرَجُلَانِ تَحَابَّتَا فِي اللَّهِ اجْتَمَعَا عَلَيْهِ وَتَفَرَّقَا عَلَيْهِ، وَرَجُلٌ طَلَبَتْهُ امْرَأَةٌ ذَاتُ مَنْصِبٍ وَجَمَالٍ، فَقَالَ: إِنِّي أَخَافُ اللَّهَ، وَرَجُلٌ تَصَدَّقَ، أَخْفَى حَتَّىٰ لَا تَعْلَمَ شِمَالَهُ مَا تُنْفِقُ يَمِينَهُ، "There are seven persons whom Allah will shade on a Day when there is no shade but His. A just ruler, a young man who grew up in the worship of Allah, a man whose heart is attached to the Masajid, two men who love each other for the sake of Allah who meet and depart from each other for the sake of Allah, a man whom a beautiful woman of high status seduces but he rejects her by saying I fear Allah, a man person who spends in charity and conceals it such that his right hand does not know what his left hand has given, and a man who remembered Allah in private and he wept." (Agreed upon).

This Hadith is applicable to the woman through the style of Taghleeb regarding the five out of the seven categories mentioned, which have not been suspended through other Shar'i, so it applies to a young woman who grew up in the remembrance of Allah... and to two women who love each other for the sake of Allah... and a woman whom a man seduces...and a woman who spends in charity... and a woman who remembered Allah in private and she wept...

## Ameer Q&A – Regarding ‘Taghleeb’

But this Taghleeb style does not apply to the Just Ruler, and a man whose heart is attached to the Masajid because they are both suspended through a Text:

As for the الإمام العادل "Just Ruler", the "Taghleeb" style does not work here because a woman does not take leadership, as the Messenger of Allah صلى الله عليه وسلم said in the Hadith of Bukhari, narrated by Abu Bakra, who said: When the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم heard the news that the people of the Persia had made the daughter of Chosroes (Kisra) their Queen (ruler), he said لَنْ يُفْلِحَ قَوْمٌ وَلَوْ أَمَرَهُمْ "Never will succeed such a nation as makes a woman their ruler." Because guardianship, i.e. leadership is not allowed for women, as for other positions than leadership like Judiciary, electing a Khaleefah, elect and be elected in Majlis al-Ummah (Ummah Council), and other such legitimate jobs that are not part of leadership, are permissible for her to carry out... this means that the word "Just Ruler" does not include her, yet some interpreters interpreted "Just Ruler" to mean a Just Shepherd, applying it to women according to the Hadith reported by Bukhari that Abdullah Ibn 'Umar said, I heard the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace say: كَلِّمُوا رَاعٍ، وَكَلِّمُوا مَسْنُونًا عَنْ رَاعِيهِ، وَالرَّجُلُ رَاعٍ فِي أَهْلِهِ وَهُوَ مَسْنُونٌ عَنْ رَاعِيهِ، وَالْمَرْأَةُ رَاعِيَةٌ فِي بَيْتِ زَوْجِهَا... وَمَسْنُونَةٌ عَنْ رَاعِيَتِهَا... "All of you are shepherds and each of you is responsible for his flock. An Imam is a shepherd and he is responsible for those in his care. A man is a shepherd in respect of his family and is responsible for those in his care. The woman is a shepherd in respect of her husband's house and is responsible for those in her care"...

But most likely that "Taghleeb" is not used here because the words "Just Ruler" is preponderant to the Ruler, hence it is non-applicable to women.

As for وَرَجُلٌ قَلْبُهُ مُعَلَّقٌ فِي الْمَسَاجِدِ "A man whose heart is attached to the Masajid", it is also suspended through the Text stating that the Prayer of a woman in her home is better than her Prayer in the Masjid, this is in accordance to the Hadith of the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم reported by Ahmad in his Musnad, that Abdullah Ibn Suwaid Al-Ansari, on the authority of Umm Humayd, who came to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and said, "O

Messenger of Allah, I love to pray with you." He replied: قَدْ عَلِمْتُ أَنَّكَ تُحِبُّونَ الصَّلَاةَ مَعِي، وَصَلَاتِكَ فِي بَيْتِكَ خَيْرٌ لَكَ مِنْ صَلَاتِكَ فِي حُجْرَتِكَ، وَصَلَاتِكَ فِي حُجْرَتِكَ خَيْرٌ مِنْ صَلَاتِكَ فِي دَارِكَ، وَصَلَاتِكَ فِي دَارِكَ خَيْرٌ لَكَ مِنْ صَلَاتِكَ فِي مَسْجِدِ قَوْمِكَ، وَصَلَاتِكَ فِي مَسْجِدِ قَوْمِكَ خَيْرٌ لَكَ مِنْ صَلَاتِكَ فِي مَسْجِدِي "I know that you like to pray with me, But your prayer in your room is better for you than your prayer in your courtyard and your prayer in your courtyard is better for you than your praying in your house, and your prayer in your house is better for you than your prayer in the mosque of your people, and your prayer in the mosque of your people is better for you than your prayer in my mosque".

Consequently, five out of the seven categories apply to women with the "Taghleeb" style, as for the just Ruler and being attached to the Masajid, they are not applicable because they are suspended through Text and therefore the style of "Taghleeb" does not work here.

And for the full benefit, I mention to you what came in the Tafseer of Fatih Al-Bari for Ibn Hajar for the Hadith Al-Bukhari mentioned, especially the end of the interpretation of the Hadeeth, this is its text: ..."Although men are mentioned in this hadeeth, women are also included in what is described here. Although what is meant by a "just leader" is the position of imaam (Khaleefah), women may also be included in this, if they have children and treat them justly. The idea of being attached to the mosque does not apply to women, because a woman's prayer in her home is better than her prayer in the mosque. Apart from that, women have a share in all of these things..."

Consequently, the Hadeeth of the seven applies to women except for the just Ruler and whose heart is attached to the Masajid, they are not applicable because the "Taghleeb" style is suspended through Text.

Your Brother,

**Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah**

**08Jumada I 1435 AH**

**2014/03/09CE**

The link to the answer from the Ameer's Facebook page

<https://www.facebook.com/Ata.abualrashtah/photos/a.154439224724163.1073741827.154433208058098/271318739702877/?type=1>

## Q&A – American Policy Regarding Syria

### **Question:**

“*Al Hayat*” site posted on 08/03/2014, quoting French news agency AFP said: “The Supreme Military Council of the FSA ratified the appointment of Brigadier Abdul Ilah al-Bashir al-Naimi as chief-of-staff to replace Major General Salim Idris...” it came in the framework of “completing the Supreme Military Council...”, and this completion included other appointments in the army... These events have coincided with leaked news about Turkey’s closure of the coalition’s offices and the possibility of moving these to Cairo. The question is: Do these changes and the leaked news have a relationship to Obama's visit, particularly to Saudi Arabia later this month for the Saudi Arabia's role in the fighting fronts in Syria, in particular the southern front? And what is intended by the closure of offices? Jazak Allahu Khairan.

### **Answer:**

Obama's visit to Saudi Arabia later this month, and the completion of the Supreme Military Council by discharging Maj. Gen. Salim Idris and the appointment of Brigadier General Abdul Ilah al-Bashir in his place, are two routes that meet on the broad outlines of U.S. policy in Syria, but differ in details; each has a path to achieve its specific purposes. To clarify this we indicate the following:

### **First: regarding Obama's visit to the region, particularly to Saudi Arabia later this month:**

1. IIP Digital, U.S. Department of State site, quoted on 21/01/2014, a statement issued by the Office of Press Secretary of the White House that President Obama will be in the Netherlands on 24-25<sup>th</sup> March to participate in the Nuclear Security Summit to discuss progress made to secure nuclear materials and commit to future steps to prevent nuclear terrorism.. He will travel to Brussels on 26<sup>th</sup> March to attend a US-EU Summit.... On 27<sup>th</sup> March, he will continue his trip to the Vatican City to meet with Pope Francis... and will meet with the President and the Prime Minister of Italy... On 03/02/2014, i.e. after more than ten days, the Office of the Press Secretary of the White House issued a statement saying: "As part of regular consultations between our two countries, President Obama will travel to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in March 2014..."

The statement added, "The President looks forward to discussing with King Abdullah the enduring and strategic ties between the United States and Saudi Arabia, as well as ongoing cooperation to advance a range of common interests related to Gulf and regional security, peace in the Middle East, countering violent extremism, and other issues of prosperity and security. The president will travel to the kingdom of Saudi Arabia following his travel to the Netherlands, Belgium and Italy." (IIP Digital, U.S. Department of State site 03/02/2014).

It is clear from the foregoing that the visit to Saudi Arabia will be at the end of this month after Obama's visit to Italy on 27<sup>th</sup> March 2014.

2. American CNN website published on 03/02/2014 that it had received a statement noting that "the U.S. president will meet with the Saudi King next March amid disagreements between Washington and Riyadh over recent interim deal on Iran’s nuclear weapons”. The website quoted statement by Press Secretary of White House, Jay Carney saying that, "Whatever differences we may have they do not alter the fact that this is a very important and close partnership".

Also, the *Washington Post* published on 3<sup>rd</sup> February that White House Press Secretary Jay Carney said in a press conference, "Saudi Arabia is a close partner of the United States, and we have a bilateral relationship that is broad and deep and covers a range of areas. The president very much looks forward to the visit, where all of those areas will be discussed in his meetings... and whatever differences we may have do not alter the fact that this is very important and close partnership".

American newspaper, *The Wall Street Journal*, also mentioned on 02/01/2014, that U.S. President, Barack Obama, plans to visit Saudi Arabia next month for a summit with Saudi King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, to soothe the strained relations between them because of the policies adopted by the U.S. administration towards the Middle East, specifically about the Iran’s nuclear program, and its unwillingness to get involved military in Syria’s civil war. A Syrian newspaper quoted one Arab official saying that this summit will be crucial, and it aims to aligning American and Saudi policies, adding that the visit “is about deteriorating relationship and declining trust”.

## Q&A – American Policy Regarding Syria

---

This means that there are issues that pushed America to add Saudi Arabia stop to his pre-planned visit, in a statement released after more than ten days of the issuance of the statement of Obama's scheduled visit to the three European regions! To find out these issues and their motives we review the following:

A. The American rapprochement with Iran after the nuclear deal on 24/11/2013 which almost reaches releasing Iran's hands in the region, besides America's position of the events in Syria that demonstrated his support for Bashar directly and indirectly... All of this impacts in Saudi Arabia, in particular the release Iran's hands in the region. Iran is known for its use of sectarianism in each country it has a sectarian link to it, so as to raise tensions in that country. Seeing what happened in Bahrain, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen... Saudi fears Iran's moves in the eastern region of Saudi Arabia to affect destabilization of the ruling security... All this made Saudi strained and withdraws its membership in the Security Council, protesting against the actions of the international community, and of course they intended the United States, This is in addition to statements by some Saudi officials directing criticism at America about their positions...

B. What Saudi is doing, of supplying weapons to the revolutionaries in the southern region of Syria i.e. through Jordan, especially those shipments that by-passes the American Coordination chamber in Jordan for monitoring arms to the rebels in southern Syria, these shipments annoy America... The French newspaper "Le Figaro" has published on 10/28/2013, a report by journalist Georges Malbrunot stated that (15 tons of weapons reach the Free Syrian Army stores each week, noting that they are funded by Saudi Arabia, purchased from black markets in Ukraine and Bulgaria before being sent onboard Saudi Arabia aircrafts to Airports in southern Jordan). The report is also pointing out that "during the first six months of this year, about six hundred tons of weapons have been delivered to the opponents of the (Syrian President Bashar Assad) by Jordan"... "As-Safeer" newspaper published on 21/2/2014: (... On 29 January, three military cargo planes landed in retail with weapons, including LAU rockets, encrypted communication devices and anti-tank missiles, light weapons and armored vehicles. An Arab source said the Americans remain reluctant to provide Chinese-made missiles and sophisticated weapons to the Syrian armed opposition...). It also added: "Western and Arab security crossing sources say that during the battle for Al-Ghouta Al-Sharqiya

(Eastern Ghouta), and the weeks that followed, the Saudis transferred through Al-Mafraq Airport loads of weapons some of which were purchased in Ukraine. Convoys carrying 15 tons of weapons have weekly crossed the Jordanian-Syrian border through passageways across the desert to more than 15 centers in the region, stretching towards Al-Ghouta Al-Sharqiya". The arrival of the weapons is indicated by what was published by "As-Safeer" on 06/02/2014 that "the majority of armed factions in Daraa, had met yesterday and decided to unite under the banner of Firqat Al-Yarmouk which by then included 14 battalion and brigade, most notably the Armor Brigade South, Brigade Bara ibn Malik and the Armored Battalion". It added "the unification of the militants came parallel with a battle they launched in southern Syria, under the name Geneva of Houran, led by five operations rooms, spread over the entire province of Daraa"...

All this is causing disturbance for America for the possibility of some rebels in the southern front getting out of its control especially that there are forces in Saudi that are loyal to British and follow on its steps in terms of perturbing American plans, as it is known of British politics... All this has made America afraid of Saudi activity in the southern front in Syria ... Although America has on 13<sup>th</sup> December 2013 established the Syrian revolutionaries front of the FSA and its base in the South, in response to the Saudi's movements in southern Syria, but America takes the movements of Saudi in the south seriously, especially those movements that go beyond coordination with the American Chamber in Jordan.

C. Then there is another factor; the Saudi family, although currently being led by British- loyal men; King Abdullah and his assistances, but it has also men who are affiliated with America. America needs not to highlight its hostility to Saudi Arabia from the perspective of trying to develop its men there and restore the ruling to its influence, as was in the reign of King Fahd, at the same time the American men in the royal family are interested in good relations with America...

3. Thus, both parties share a desire to resolve the dispute! This desire has moved into action by both sides as a prelude to the expected Obama's visit later this month. The parties' actions were as follows:

A. As for Saudi Arabia, they issued "a decree punishing those fighting abroad and those belonging to the extremist groups" (*Al-Iqtisadiya*, 03/02/2014) and of course, was aimed squarely at

## Q&A – American Policy Regarding Syria

---

those fighting in Syria. This law was issued on 03/02/2014 which coincides with Obama's decision to include Saudi Arabia in his visit schedule as we have mentioned above! All this to appease America ... This is in addition to that, Prince Mohammed bin Nayef (the Saudi Interior Minister) had met with U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and other heads of the intelligence in Washington to discuss a range of issues, including the issue of Syria ... "Ar-Ruaya" news network quoted on 24/2/2014: (National Security Advisers; Susan Rice and Lisa Monaco, met last Wednesday with Prince Mohammed bin Nayef, the Saudi Interior Minister. After the meeting, U.S. National Security Council spokeswoman, Caitlin Hayden, issued a statement explaining that the trio "also exchanged views on regional issues and committed to continuing to strengthen our cooperation in a range of common interests".

B. As for America, it has sent Kerry twice in recent months - in November 2013 and in January 2014. These visits were to reassure Saudi officials on U.S. policy on Iran and Syria. Kerry reiterated the resolve of America for not allowing Iran to acquire nuclear weapons. Kerry has said ahead of the meeting that Saudi Arabia plays a key role in the Arab region. (BBC Turkish 6/11/2013).

4. Then Obama's visit to Saudi Arabia comes. It comes at the highest level of reconciliation and easing of tensions between both sides and to reassure the Al Saud on their system, which they fear about, and do not fear about anything else. It is just what worries them; they are not worried about what is happening in Syria, except by what can be reflected on their system. This is why they did not support or helped the people of Syria, rather they wanted America to resolve the issue of the Syrian regime in the Geneva Conferences 1 and 2, which are endorsed by Al Saud, and thus get rid of the repercussions of the Syrian Revolution. Their concern is for the thrones and not for the blood of Muslims and their support in Syria...

A visit here is to ease tensions with Saudi Arabia, and to clarify its rapprochement with Iran. And its position in Syria is not directed to destabilize the Saudi regime, and America understands that the focus of alert is that the rule of the Saudi clan is not to be affected in Saudi Arabia, and their chairs do not become vacant, this is what concerns them, which matters above and beyond the number of dead and wounded in Syria...

However it is likely that Obama during his visit to the region will stop at other places, but Obama's

visit to Saudi Arabia is expected to be the touchstone... Obama will try to reassure the rulers of Saudi Arabia that their thrones are protected and that his relationship with Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen is not directed against the Saudi rule but it is against the so-called "terrorism". It is expected that Obama will praise the steps of Saudi Arabia is taking in this area and in its decisions to prevent the Saudi citizens from going to fight in Syria...

**Second: As for the subject of the dismissal of Salim Idris and the closure of some offices and transferring to Cairo ... the matter probably is as follows:**

1. On 7 December 2012 CE, between 260-550 military leaders met, and a representative of the armed Syrian opposition in Turkey; also attended the meeting were security officials from Western and Arab countries, the United States of America played an active role, a new military council was elected, composed of thirty of the Free Syrian Army commanders, and Brigadier General Salim Idris was elected as the new head of the Free Syrian Army, and became the head of the Supreme Military Council (SMC). (Associated Press, 7 December 2012)

2. *The Washington Post* reported on 07/05/2013 that "the U.S. administration headed by Barack Obama is betting on Salim Idris." The paper said that "He is the cornerstone of the strategy of the new U.S. administration because of his responsible and moderate position making the administration to bet on it." It stated that "Salim Idris sent a message to President Obama expressing his understanding of the cautious position of America of intervention in Syria, and requested American financial support and training and expressed his readiness to face the Jihadi groups." The dismissal of Idris cannot be carried out without the knowledge of America or without its instigation. America appointed him and was betting on him to provide a service, America created his military council military and the coalition.

3. Idris failed to win over any side from the revolutionary and he failed to establish his own front inside, despite his attempts, but he was unable to prevent the fighters of the Free Syrian Army, and some battalions, to join Islamist fighters. Reuters reported on 30/9/2013 about this joining, "the fighters did not join only as individuals, but as full Battalions of small groups, but they are strong." What worsen matters for America is the takeover by the Islamic Front of

## Q&A – American Policy Regarding Syria

---

border crossing, and a weapon warehouse from the warehouses of the Western backed Free Syrian Army in December 2013 ... American news magazine *Time* reported that U.S. officials have confirmed that the leader of the Free Syrian Army Salim Idris fled from Syria; the magazine reported in the context of the report on its website on 12/12/2013, U.S. officials saying: “that Idris fled from Syria to Turkey and then travelled to Qatar” that showed a dislike of Salim Idris's actions. It appears that Americans was disturbed by the attack incident on their warehouses where it deposited its military aid to him on the condition that the weapons must not reach the hands of the revolutionaries who did not follow America's side, did not recognize the coalition, and did not declare their acceptance of its project.

4. Salim Idris was appointed by America, as mentioned above and they has bet on him to make a standing for the Free Syrian Army inside Syria, with striking procedures which attracts factions of the Free Syrian Army... but they lost the bet. He could not attract factions of the Free Syrian Army inside at home, but he could not maintain it without decrease in the number, instead they left and joined the factions! What exacerbated the issue is that he was unable to maintain his weapons which were supplied by America and were taken over by the other factions from the warehouse. The rumor that Salim Idris fled to Qatar disturbed America more. Thus, America failed through Salim Idris to establish a stronghold for the Free Syrian Army inside of any significance, and America was betting on this matter because its agents, the coalition, are outside. America though that he can focus himself on the inside by carrying out influential operations to win the FSA, but bet was a lost as we have mentioned. So it decided to search for another leader who has internal roots through kin, tribes and clans, and is well established internally on the ground. As soon as it discovered Abdul Ilah al-Bashir, it appointed him in place of Salim Idris on 16/2/2014; the military Council issued a decision to that effect. It also appointed Colonel Haitham Afsih of Idlib province in the north as a deputy of Bashir. Washington hopes that Bashir in the south and Haitham in the north will be able to improve coordination of the fronts by creating bases for them at home. These newly appointed leaders prepared to work closely with the Syrian Revolution Front, which is headed by Jamal Ma'roof, and Washington hopes also to use Bashir's relationships in the south of the country to form a force on the ground to be a pillar inside for the coalition abroad, at the same time to

control the revolutionaries in the south, backed by Saudi Arabia.

Salim Idris's initial reaction was one of anger and he accused Jarba, the coalition chairman, of being a dictator; he issued a statement on behalf of the leaders of the fronts and military councils blaming Jarba of being responsible for the decision of the Supreme Military Council; he said: "The leaders of the formations do not trust him and accused him of financial corruption and that he bribes the signatories of the decision." (AFP 17/2/2014) knowing that Jarba and those with him cannot take any decision without the consent or instigation of America!

Idris calmed down, especially when the news was published on 06/03/2014, “that the head of the Syrian Coalition, Ahmed Jarba and the five military General Staff leaders and revolutionary leader of the Southern Front and the head of the Revolutionary Military Council 's military in Deraa, agreed that the defense minister Asaad Mustafa should resign to the President of the Coalition, and all of his deputies will be considered resigned... the leaders also agreed that Major General Salim Idris should resign from the presidency of the General Staff, and to be appointed as an adviser to the president of the Coalition for Military Affairs; as well as the expansion of the Supreme Military Council and increase the number of its members.”

This news on 6/3/2014 was then followed and confirmed by the news on 8/3/2014 published by Al Hayat site, quoting the French news agency AFP on 03/08/2014, "The Supreme Military Council of the FSA approved the appointment of Brigadier Abdul Ilah al-Bashir al-Naimi chief of his staff instead of Major General Salim Idriss."

5. The new Brigadier and paratrooper Abdul Ilah al-Bashir Al Nuaimi, Chief of Staff of the Free Syrian Army is from the sons of the village of Rafid in the province of Quneitra in southwest Syria on the border with the Golan Heights occupied by Israel, he is one of the influential of the Naimi clan, one of the largest clans in Syria. Bashir defected from the forces of the Syrian regime in July 2012, and since then he worked to build the foundation and form the nucleus of FSA in the province of Quneitra, before he received the presidency of the operations there and therefore the presidency of the military council there later, where he led the operating room by himself and organized military plans that contributed to the control of more than 90% of the rural southern province under his leadership. A statement by the



## Q&A – American Policy Regarding Syria

President of the Coalition Ahmad Jarba Commenting on the decision of the military council said, “that the coalition has received the decision of the Supreme Military Council to appoint Brigadier General Abdul Ilah al-Bashir to the position of Chief of Staff of the Free Syrian Army Colonel Haitham Afeesah in the position of Deputy Chief of Staff with greater satisfaction.” (Aljazeera Agencies).

These qualities of Bashir of belonging to the clan in the south and being the field commander on the ground is what made America appoint him with the hope that he can establish the roots internally for its agents abroad ... It will be disappointed, by permission of Allah, as they were disappointed before, and Allah is Mighty and Wise .

### **Third: The closure of some offices in Turkey and the discussion to transfer to Cairo:**

**Yes, it has been reported in the site "We are all partners" on 12/2/2014, which was the site of Panorama in the Middle East on 5/2/2014, of the closure of some offices as well in Turkey.**

But the news did not last long, it was denied in the *Middle East Newspaper* on 25/2/2014: “Representative of the Syrian coalition in Turkey Khaled Khoja denied to the Middle East news paper that the Turkish government asked the coalition to relocate its headquarters to Cairo, revealing a meeting yesterday between him and the representatives of the Turkish Foreign Ministry that confirmed that the members of the coalition are welcome in Turkey; it is a position emanating from the principles associated with the support of the Syrian people's struggle against dictatorship.”

As stated in Rosna site also on 24/02/2014 in Paris, “Bahiya Mardini, media adviser to the Syrian opposition coalition, said that the Turkish government has not closed the offices of the

Coalition in Turkey”, Mardini confirmed in a special radio call to Rosna that this news came as part of a campaign initiated by the Syrian regime against the coalition prior to the Geneva II, and it was promoted in sites belonging to the Syrian regime. Mardini explained that the coalition did transfer offices from the region, Birgili to the region, Florea in Turkey. As a result of information of threats from ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Sham) and the Syrian regime they have been transferred by the Turkish Government for security reasons and that is what made the coalition transfer its office to a quieter place after it was in a crowded area.”

It seems that the rumors on the subject have actually happened, but the move was from one place to another place inside Turkey. The focus of the transfer to outside Turkey was intentional in order to send a message to the Coalition and the National Council to rejoin together again, but the move from Turkey to Cairo is scary for them because it keeps them away from Syria, which means their death, as an alternative for them in Turkey will be established after the "expulsion" of the veterans to Cairo! This leak out of news has paid off. The National Council announced its reunion with the Coalition! AFP published on 1/3/2014, "The Secretariat of the Syrian National Council decided at its meeting on 27 and 28 February in Istanbul, the mass return of the National Council including all its components to the ranks of the National Coalition for the forces of the revolution and the Syrian opposition.”

**Fourth: this is what I see as most likely the answer to your question with the three points mentioned, we are following the subject, though if a reason is found to further clarify or explain, we will do that, Inshallah, Allah (swt) Guides to the straight path.**

7 Jumada I 1435 AH

08/03/2014 CE

## ‘End US Presence’ Banners

Hizb ut-Tahrir Displayed Banners in Prominent Places in Karachi

Hizb ut-Tahrir Wilayah Pakistan displayed huge banners in Pakistan’s biggest city, Karachi, home to over twenty million people. The banners proclaimed that peace will only ever be achieved once America’s Raymond Davis network is eradicated from Pakistan.

Indeed, Khilafah will end the American presence which is the cause of bombings and chaos in Pakistan.

**Media Office of Hizb ut-Tahrir in the Wilayah Pakistan**



Karachi – Hizb ut-Tahrir placed banners declaring that peace can only come from dismantling the “Raymond Davis Network” from Pakistan



Karachi – The banners were placed on main highways of the densely populated metropolis



# IMPORTANT NOTICE

FOR THE URDU-SPEAKING  
MUSLIM WORLD

HIZB UT-TAHRIR'S CENTRAL MEDIA OFFICE  
HAS AN URDU-TEXT BASED WEBSITE.

THE URDU WEBSITE IS AN ESSENTIAL MEDIA SOURCE  
FOR HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS IN THIS UMMAH OF  
MUHAMMAD SAW,  
WHO USE URDU IN THEIR DAILY LIVES.

[WWW.HIZB-UT-TAHRIR.INFO/INFO/URDU.PHP](http://WWW.HIZB-UT-TAHRIR.INFO/INFO/URDU.PHP)

## CONTENTS INCLUDE

PRESS RELEASES AND LEAFLETS ISSUED BY THE VARIOUS  
WILAYAT OF HIZB UT-TAHRIR, FROM INDONESIA TO MOROCCO  
MULTIMEDIA COVERAGE ABOUT THE VIGOROUS STRUGGLE OF  
HIZB UT-TAHRIR  
FOR THE RETURN OF THE KHILAFAH TO THE MUSLIM WORLD