

# NUSSRAH

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**TILL WHEN HE  
REACHES FORTY  
YEARS**

**MISSILE  
ACTIVITIES IN  
THE INDIAN  
SUBCONTINENT**

**PAKISTAN'S  
RULERS  
FACILITATE  
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**SHEIKH ATA IBN KHALIL ABU AL-RASHTA  
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# Submission to Oppression is Never Peace

The Muslims of Pakistan are faced with oppression and are being asked by the current rulers to concede to it for the sake of peace. In the case of the escalating Indian oppression in occupied Kashmir, the rulers insist that dialogue will ensure peace. In their view the alternate is war and continual bloodshed.

And in the case of the oppression they undertake by their own hands, the rulers insist that silence will secure peace. In their view the alternate is unrest and instability, arrest and persecution. So they say for the sake of peace submit to oppression.

In reality, submission to oppression never brings peace. Living in fear of oppression and doing nothing about it is not a life of peace. It is a life of constant turmoil, guilt and dissatisfaction.

It contradicts the essence of what Allah (swt) revealed, as exemplified by His Messengers (as). Musa (as) did not yield before the oppression of Firawn. Esa (as) was constant in his message despite the oppression of the tyrants. And RasulAllah (saaw) never relented under the oppression of the Quraysh.

Moreover, submitting before oppression only encourages the oppressor to increase in oppression, rather than ensuring peace. India's oppression will not

cease if a tiny Kashmiri statelet is carved up on its doorstep. How, when it wastes no opportunity to harm Muslims within its borders and without?

The rulers will not end their corruption if we do not speak and move against them. How, when all they want is a free hand to serve their foreign masters, plundering the wealth of our country as a fee?

No, there is no peace in submitting to oppression. Removing the oppression, despite the necessary sacrifices in its way, is the only guarantor of real peace.

Yes, in the liberation of occupied Kashmir, there will be many martyred from our armed forces. However, martyrdom is part of the path of victory as over fourteen centuries of Muslim history has established time and again.

Yes, in the removal of the current rulers, there will be intense persecution including torture. However, bearing the oppression of the tyrant is part of the path of ending tyranny and the entire Seerah of RasulAllah (saaw) is testimony to that fact.

Yes, in the liberation of occupied Kashmir, there will be many martyred from our armed forces. However, martyrdom is part of the path of victory as over fourteen centuries of Muslim history has established time and again.

# Tafseer Al-Baqarah: 158

**Sheikh Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah:**

﴿إِنَّ الصَّفَا وَالْمَرْوَةَ مِنْ شَعَائِرِ اللَّهِ فَمَنْ حَجَّ الْبَيْتَ أَوْ اعْتَمَرَ فَلَا جُنَاحَ

عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَطُوفَ بِهِمَا وَمَنْ تَطَوَّعَ خَيْرًا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ شَاكِرٌ عَلِيمٌ﴾

**“Indeed, as-Safa and al-Marwah are among the rituals for Allah. So whoever makes Hajj to the House or performs 'Umrah - there is no blame upon him for Tawaaf between them. And whoever volunteers Good - then indeed, Allah is Appreciative and Knowing.”**  
[Surah Al-Baqarah 2: 158]

**Allah (swt) clarifies in these verses the following:**

1. When Allah (swt) mentioned regarding Al-Baytul Al-Haraam (The Sacred House (al-Ka'aba)) that He (swt) made it a Qiblah for Muslims, He (swt) mentioned what the status of it is for Him and it is the Hajj and Umrah. He (swt) mentioned the Sa'ee (Journey) between Safa and Marwa, which the Muslims felt guilty doing and how Allah (swt) lifted guilt from them and that obeying the order of Allah (swt) in that entails a great reward.

And all this is in the context of the previous Ayaat about the direction of the new Qiblah and the Dawah to Islam and Allah (swt) mentions about the continuity, then the implementation of the orders of God, although there is hardship or harm in the Way of Allah, and patience upon harm in the Way of Allah (swt) and the clarification of the great reward prepared by Allah (swt) for those who obey him abiding by His Law and adhering to it no matter how heavy or hard or embarrassing, and indeed the consequence is for the Righteous.

He (swt) mentioned the Sa'ee (Journey) between Safa and Marwa, which the Muslims felt guilty doing and how Allah (swt) lifted guilt from them and that obeying the order of Allah (swt) in that entails a great reward.

It is to this context that this noble Verse had referred. The Muslims felt guilt in the Sa'ee between Safa and Al-Marwah, and they feared that there would be sin upon them if they made the Sa'ee. This was because they were two idols in the time of Jaahiliyyah at their station. At Safa there was an idol in the image of a man called Asaaf and at Marwah there was an ideal in the image of a women called Naailah, so the people of Jahiliyyah used to travel in between them and touched the idols. So, when Islam came and the idols were broken, the Muslim disliked to make Sa'ee between them because of the two idols. So this Ayah was revealed as narrated by Ibn Abaas (ra), i.e. that the Muslims feared from incurring sin if they made Sa'ee between them because of the two idols that were stationed there in the time of Jahiliyyah, so the verse was revealed to show that there is no sin in that.

(إِنَّ الصَّفَا وَالْمَرْوَةَ مِنْ شَعَائِرِ اللَّهِ)

“Indeed, as-Safa and al-Marwah are among the ritual for Allah.”

The linguistic origin of (الصَّفَا)“as-Safa” is the smooth stone, whilst the linguistic origin of (الْمَرْوَةَ)“al-Marwah” is the white stone. In the traditional sense they signify two known, small mountains in Makkah near the Sacred House, (الصَّفَا وَالْمَرْوَةَ)“as-Safa and al-Marwah” and Shar'a (Islamic Law) came to use them in the traditional sense.

(شَعَائِرِ اللَّهِ)“rituals for Allah” i.e. from the characteristics of the Hajj for Allah (swt) and they are the plural form of شعيرة ritual and are the rituals of worshiping in the Hajj - the rites of Hajj - which were stipulated by Allah (swt), i.e. made them features for the people from



Tawaaf of the Sacred House, the Sa'ee, the Stay (at Mina) amongst other rites of Hajj.

“there is no blame upon him for Tawaaf between them” i.e. there is no sin and there is no blame within the Hajj or the Umrah that they make Sa'ee (Walk) between them. They felt guilty performing the Sa'ee between them, as we have clarified and so Allah (swt) lifted the guilt from the Sa'ee between them.

“there is no blame” does not mean that there is no sin on Tawaaf or non-Tawaaf because it comes from the removing the guilt from Tawaaf specifically. And there is no lifting of guilt from non-Tawaaf. Yet, instead, they comply with the command of Allah with respect to Tawaaf between them both and there is no blame in that. It was narrated that Hisham ibn Urwah said from his father that he said: "I said to 'Aa'ishah, the mother of the believers - may Allah be pleased with her - and I

was a young boy at the time: I saw the Speech of Allah - the Almighty - **إِنَّ الصَّفَاَ وَالْمَرْوَةَ مِنَ شَعَائِرِ اللَّهِ فَمَنْ حَجَّ النَّبَيْتِ أَوْ اعْتَمَرَ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَطُوفَ بِهِمَا** (Indeed, as-Safa and al-Marwah are among the rituals for Allah. So whoever makes Hajj to the House or performs 'umrah - there is no blame upon him for Tawaaf between them.” and said “I think there is no harm for anyone if he does not make Tawaaf between them.” A'ishah (ra) said “Nay, had it been so as you said, it would have been thus. It is no sin on him not to go around them., may Allah be pleased with her: No, if it was as she says, it would have been **فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَطُوفَ بِهِمَا** “there is no blame upon him for not making Tawaaf between them.”

“for Tawaaf between them.” i.e the Tawaaf amalgamates the (ت) tha and the (ط) Taa, and the origin of Tawaaf is walking around the thing, circambulation, and the

intention here is to make Sa'ee (Walk) between them.

So accordingly, the meaning of the Ayyah is an address from Allah (swt) to the Muslims i.e. anyone who makes Hajj or Umrah to Al-Bayt ul-Haram from you, let him make Sa'ee

between as-Safa and al-Marwah, thus they both became of the rituals for Allah (swt) and are no longer signs of Jahiliyyah (Ignorance pre-Islam) and do not be ashamed or fear from the incurring of sin through the Sa'ee between them, because of the two idols who were at their station in the past during Jahiliyyah. That matter has been ended now and Allah (swt) has lifted from you the sin and the guilt, so make Sa'ee between them both and and comply to the command of Allah (swt).

As for the Shar'i Ruling on Sa'ee between as-Safa and al-Marwah, it is Obligatory, and it is a Rukun (ركن Pillar) of Hajj and 'Umrah, with the following

evidence:

a. The Ayah states that the Sa'ee between Safa and Marwah is one of the rituals of Hajj, **شَعَائِرِ اللَّهِ** “ritual for Allah”.

b. In the hadeeth narrated by Jabir (ra) on the description of the Hajj of RasulAllah (saaw) - the Farewell Hajj - that "and he was saying: « لَتَأْخُذُوا مَنَاسِكَكُمْ فَإِنِّي لَا أَدْرِي لِعَلِّي لَا أَحُجُّ بَعْدَ » «حَجَّتِي هَذِهِ» “Learn your rituals (by seeing me performing them), for I do not know whether I would be performing Hajj after this Hajj of mine.” [Muslim 2286, Nisa'i 3012, Abu Dawood 1680, Ahmad 318/3, 337]. In this saying, there is a Bayyaan (بيان Demonstration) by RasulAllah (saaw) of the Hajj and so the clarification takes its (Hajj's) Ruling, i.e. Obligation. So the Sa'ee between as-Safa and al-Marwah is Obligatory as the Demonstration takes the Rule of the Mubeen (مبين Demonstrated).

...thus they both became of the rituals for Allah (swt) and are no longer signs of Jahiliyyah (Ignorance pre-Islam) and do not be ashamed or fear from the incurring of sin through the Sa'ee between them...

Accordingly, the Sa'ee becomes Obligatory in Hajj and Umrah. It is not to be said that because the aforementioned evidence is about Sa'ee and it is not about that in Umrah. It is not to be said, because the Ayah states (فَمَنْ) “So whoever makes Hajj to the House or performs 'umrah - there is no blame upon him for Tawaaf between them.” And this indicates that the Hukm Shar'ee (Legal Ruling) over Sa'ee is one and the same for the one who makes Hajj or Umrah.

Since the Sa'ee is Fard (فرض Obligatory) and the Sa'ee is part of the Hajj or 'Umrah, and the Obligation is part of the ruling, it means that this part is a Rukun (Pillar) of that Ruling, such as Rukoo' or Sujood in Salah. Consequently, the Sa'ee is a pillar of Hajj or Umrah.

2. And Allah (swt) concludes this Ayah by His Saying saying, (وَمَنْ تَطَوَّعَ خَيْرًا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ شَاكِرٌ عَلِيمٌ) “And whoever volunteers Good - then indeed, Allah is Appreciative and Knowing.” As for (خَيْرًا) “Good”, it is an Established Indefinite Noun and so is Mutlaq (مطلق Absolute) i.e. Allah (swt) is Appreciative and Knowing of all those who draw close to Allah (swt) through any Good whatsoever, whether it is in Umrah and in Hajj as is within the context of the Ayah, or indeed any Good whatsoever as is deduced from the discharging of Good without Tuqayyad (تقييد Restriction).

(وَمَنْ تَطَوَّعَ) “And whoever volunteers” i.e. draws closer through Naafilah (نافلة Voluntary) and this is to urge the Muslims not to be content with Obligations only, but follow them with the Voluntary and thus through that one draws closer to Allah (swt) as in the Hadeeth « أحب ما تقرب به إليّ عبدي ما افترضته عليه، ولا يزال عبدي يتقرب إلى بالنوافل حتى «...إليّ بالنوافل حتى

by which My servant draws closer to Me, is what I have Obligated upon him; and My servant keeps on drawing closer to Me through performing the Voluntary until...” [Bukhari 6021]

“Appreciative, Knowing” (شَاكِرٌ عَلِيمٌ) i.e. Accepting from them their Obedience to Me and Knowing of what they do whether it is large or small, thus rewarding them no matter how much they volunteer, large or small, for Allah (swt) does not let waste even the atom's weight.

... Since the Sa'ee is Fard (فرض Obligatory) and the Sa'ee is part of the Hajj or 'Umrah, and the Obligation is part of the ruling, it means that this part is a Rukun (Pillar) of that Ruling, such as Rukoo' or Sujood in Salah. Consequently, the Sa'ee is a pillar of Hajj or Umrah.

(فَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا يَرَهُ \* وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ شَرًّا يَرَهُ) “So whoever does an atom's weight of good will see it- And whoever does an atom's weight of evil will see it.” [Al-Zalzalah 99:7-8]

حَتَّىٰ إِذَا بَلَغَ أَشُدَّهُ وَبَلَغَ أَرْبَعِينَ سَنَةً

“...till when he attains full strength and reaches forty years”

[Surah Al-Ahkaf 46: 15]

### Musab Umair

As the Trump administration ramps up its belligerency against the Islamic Ummah, from Syria to Afghanistan, the Muslims increasingly turn to their men of influence and power to bring the much needed change in the Muslim World. This is to be expected, for we notice that in the era of RasulAllah (saaw), when the first Muslims faced intense persecution for their Islam, he (saaw) sought Nussrah both for himself and for the Deen of Islam. Significantly, many of those men who responded were above forty years, beyond the age of youth. Yes, the one who spends his youth for Islam is praised greatly, but that does not mean that the one who crosses the age of forty is now spent, useless for the Deen and only useful for the Dunya.

Far from it, for it was men who beyond forty years of age came to assist Islam and this was seen throughout the generations of this Ummah. These are the men who truly seek to emulate the example of RasulAllah (saaw) who after the age of forty endured severe physical torture in the way of seeking Nussrah for the establishment of Islam as a state, stood in the blazing sun with heavy sword in hand, fighting in the way of Allah

(swt), joined his days and his nights to look after the affairs of the people and changed the history of nations to forge a single Ummah, on the Deen of Truth. These are men whose sights, will and striving soared high above the mundane Dunya aspirations of career, child rearing and house ownership. These are the men who depend on Allah (swt) in striving with every fiber of their being, to propel this Ummah and her Deen to ever greater heights.

These are men whose sights, will and striving soared high above the mundane Dunya aspirations of career, child rearing and house ownership. These are the men who depend on Allah (swt) in striving with every fiber of their being...

These are men like Abu Bakr (ra) who after the age of forty become the Khaleefah of the Muslims, who within a mere 27 months crushed the rebellions of the Murtaddeen, dispatched troops against the Sassanid Empire in Mesopotamia and against the Byzantine Empire in Syria, setting in motion a historical trajectory for this Ummah. And it was after the age of forty that Omar (ra) became the second Khaleefah Rashid, shattering the mighty Persian-Roman alliance and opening both their lands to the light of Islam.

Then in later generations, we see Salahudin ibn Ayub laying waste to the combined crusader forces in the Battle of Hitteen before liberating Masjid al-Aqsa a short time later,

magnanimously allowing the crusaders to leave in peace upon paying a ransom. It was after the age of forty, that Muhammad Ghauri opened Delhi to Islam, releasing it from the darkness of Hindu rule and established Islam strongly in the Indian Subcontinent. And we see the great Mughal Muslim ruler, Aurungzeb, liberating Chittagong from the Bhuddist occupation by the ancestors of today's oppressor rulers of Myanmar (Burma), striking a blow from which they never recovered and assuring their decline from their peak of power.

And even in this latest generation, there are those who forge the course of the Ummah after the age of forty. It was after the age of forty, that Sheikh Taqi-yuddin established Hizb ut Tahrir and laid the seeds of the formidable Khilafah project we see today, bearing immense torture in its way. It was after the age of forty, that the second Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir, Sheikh Abdul Qadem Zaloom, expanded the Da'wah such that it embraced Central Asia and South East Asia and the Hizb become the world's largest global party working for the Khilafah. And it is after the age of forty, that the current Ameer, Sheikh Ataa ibn Khaleel Abu Ar-Rashta, prays for and strives hard to secure the Nussrah for the re-establishment of the Khilafah, fearing none but Allah (swt) in his endeavor to usher in a new dawn in the age of Islam.

Regarding the age of forty, Allah swt said, "تَحَّى إِذَا بَلَغَ أَشُدَّهُ وَبَلَغَ أَرْبَعِينَ سَنَةً...till when he attains full strength and reaches forty years." [Surah Al-Ahkaf 46: 15]. Ibn Kathir commented on this "تَنَاهَى عَقْلَهُ وَكَمَلَ فِهُمَهُ وَحَلَمَهُ. وَيُقَالُ: إِنَّهُ لَا يَتَغَيَّرُ غَالِبًا عَمَّا يَكُونُ عَلَيْهِ ابْنُ الْأَرْبَعِينَ" meaning, his complete intellect, understanding, and patience reach the level of maturity. It has also been said that usually one will not change his ways once he reaches the age of forty." Imam Qurtubi commented "فِي الْأَرْبَعِينَ تَنَاهَى الْعَقْلُ، وَمَا قَبْلَ ذَلِكَ وَمَا بَعْدَهُ مُنْقَصٌ عَنْهُ

forty years, the mind is matured to its peak, and before that and after that it is less." And at-Tabari commented, "الأشدُّ جمع شدِّ، وأنه تناهي قوته، واستوائه" Ashad (full strength) is the plural of Shad (strength) and it is the maturing in his strength and faculties."

Consider, O Muslims, that forty years is by lunar years, by solar years it is thirty eight years of age. It is a blessed era in the life of a servant of Allah (swt) and it is far from an age of retirement, for the faculties have matured. Those who reach forty years of age are mature in their capabilities and are described as being at the "top of their game", well placed within the society to bring change. Within the legal profession they are the senior judges, within journalists they are the editors and established columnists, within the bureaucracy they are the senior administrators, within politicians they are the ones of greatest renown and standing, within the Ulema they are those of Fatwa and strong opinion and within the armed forces they are the senior officers.

Along with matured capabilities, those who reach the age of forty are also at the peak of their responsibilities. They must look after their growing children as well as their own elderly and ailing parents. They have matured in their means of livelihood and look forwards to securing ownership of their own homes. Thus, even with their capabilities, they can become lost in the pursuit of Dunya, unless they are focused at this critical stage on the real priorities through their Deen. Qurtubi further commented on this Ayah "وَقَالَ مَالِكٌ: أَدْرَكْتُ أَهْلَ الْعِلْمِ بِبَلَدِنَا وَهُمْ يَطْلُبُونَ الدُّنْيَا وَالْعِلْمَ وَيَخَالِطُونَ النَّاسَ، حَتَّى يَأْتِيَ لِأَحَدِهِمْ أَرْبَعُونَ سَنَةً، فَإِذَا أَتَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ اعْتَرَلُوا النَّاسَ" Malik said, I have seen that the people of knowledge in our land, they seek the world and knowledge and they mix with the people until one of them reaches forty years of age. When that age befalls them, they refrain from the people and busy



themselves with the Resurrection until death comes to them."

Moreover, in the continuation of this Ayah, we see that Allah (swt) mentions a Dua made by the one that reaches forty that brings firm focus on priorities. Allah swt said, قَالَ رَبِّ أَوْزِعْنِي أَنْ أَشْكُرَ نِعْمَتَكَ الَّتِي أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيَّ وَعَلَىٰ وِلْدَائِي وَأَنْ أَعْمَلَ صَالِحًا تَرْضَاهُ وَأَصْلِحْ لِي فِي دُرِّيَّتِي إِنَّي أَنْتُبْتُ إِلَيْكَ وَإِنِّي مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ "he says: "My Lord! Grant me the power and ability that I may be grateful for Your favor which You have bestowed upon me and upon my parents, and that I may do righteous good deeds, such as please You, and make my offspring good. Truly, I have turned to You in repentance, and truly, I am one of the Muslims.") In this Dua, the forty year old asks his Lord (swt) that his power and ability is used for the righteous deeds, so as to please him and he asks for His Lord to forgive him. Indeed, this Ayah contains a command for anyone who reaches forty years of age to renew his repentance and turn to Allah with strong resolution. Even if he wasted his youth in pursuit of Dunya, he does not despair, but repents and firmly commits to obey his Lord and fulfill the requirements of his Deen from now.

Thus, O people of influence, the favored one is the one who rises above the current corrupting atmosphere within the influential circles of the Muslim World. He is the one who rises above the temptation and privileges that are extended to him by the current oppressive rulers in a bid to bribe him for his support for the oppression. He is the judge who will not yield to the pressure to punish the advocate for Khilafah presented to his court. He is the journalist who ignores the threats of the regime's thugs and moves forwards to convey the activities and call of the advocates of the Khilafah to the masses. He is the senior bureaucrat who exerts himself to remove any

obstacles that are placed in the way of the advocates of the Khilafah. He is the capable politician who becomes part of the platform of Hizb ut Tahrir, sincerely studying Islam and conveying it as a way of life and the only standard for politics. He is the brave Alim who openly proclaims in the Khutba the obligation to work for the Khilafah and the sin in participating in Democracy. And he is the armed forces' officer who awaits his opportunity to grant the Nussrah for the establishment of the second Khilafah on the Method of the Prophethood.

And indeed, it is those who reach forty years old, whilst repentant for their shortcomings and renewed in their resolve to their Deen, that are granted the glad tidings of the greatest success to be had. For Allah (swt) continues in the very next Ayah to say, - **أُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ نَتَقَبَّلُ عَنْهُمْ أَحْسَنَ مَا عَمِلُوا وَتَتَجَاوَزُ عَنْ سَيِّئَاتِهِمْ فِي الَّذِينَ كَانُوا يُوعَدُونَ** "They are those from whom We shall accept the best of their deeds and overlook their evil deeds. (They shall be) among the dwellers of Paradise. That is a promise of truth that they had been promised." [Surah Al-Ahkaf 46: 16]. The stage is set for the men and women of influence to make their mark on the world, bringing it from the darkness of kufr to the light of Islam. It is only those who break themselves free from the shackles of Dunya who will play the role that will become a source of true pride, prestige and success in the Akhirah life that has no end. It is those alone who can be said to have given their capabilities and their position of influence and power its full right. Thus on behalf of your long suffering Ummah, Hizb ut Tahrir calls upon all of you, so respond.

# Sa'ad ibn Mu'adh (ra) ... A Hero Amongst Heroes of the Muslims and Role Model for the Muslim Army Officer of Today

## Bilal al-Muhajir

For every nation there are heroes and they are eternal in the memory of their nation.

They are the ones who undertook great actions, that only heroes are capable of.

Even those nations that do not have real heroes, such as America, must raise bandits and criminals as their heroes, after they give make-overs to their criminal acts, distorting facts and history regarding them. As for the heroes of the Islamic Ummah, they are without parallel in other nations. Their remembrance is eternal in the memory of their Ummah as well as the nations that oppose their Ummah. These are heroes such as our Master Muhammad (saaw) and his illustrious Companions (ra). And above that and most importantly, they will be eternal in a Paradise as vast as the heavens and the earth, in a seat of honor, near a Sovereign (swt) of Perfect Ability. It is a right for them for they were of excellence, sacrifice, courage and influence.

Allah (swt) said, (وَالسَّابِقُونَ الْأُولُونَ) مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ وَالَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ وَرَضُوا عَنْهُ وَأَعَدَّ لَهُمْ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا (أَبَدًا ذَلِكَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيمُ) “And the first forerunners [in the faith] among the Muhajireen and the Ansar and

those who followed them with good conduct - Allah is pleased with them and they are pleased with Him, and He has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow, wherein

they will abide forever. That is the great attainment.” [Surah at-Tawba 9:100]

Of those heroes who changed the face of history from that of the pre-Islamic situation,

Of those heroes who changed the face of history from that of the pre-Islamic situation, which was dominated by the Arabian Peninsula and the Roman and Persian Empires, was the Supporter of RasulAllah (saaw), Sa'ad ibn Mu'adh (ra), the chief of the Ansaar and their political and military leader. His short life was full of great works and the stance of chivalry and valor.

which was dominated by the Arabian Peninsula and the Roman and Persian Empires, was the Supporter of RasulAllah (saaw), Sa'ad ibn Mu'adh (ra), the chief of the Ansaar and their political and military leader. His short life was full of great works and the stance of chivalry and valor. This is abundantly clear from his biography, starting from his acceptance Islam, at the hands of Mus'ab ibn Umayr (ra), who was sent by the RasulAllah (saaw) to al-Madinah al-Munawarra to spread Islam within it. Once As'ad ibn Zurarah went out with Mus'ab ibn 'Umayr to the areas of Banu al-Ashhal and of Banu Zafar. Sa'd ibn Mu'adh was from Banu al-Ashhal and As'ad ibn Zurarah's maternal cousin. Sa'd ibn Mu'adh and Usayd ibn Hudayr were at the time chiefs of their clan, the Banu 'Abd al-Ashhal, and both followed the polytheism of their tribe. After Usayd bin Hudayr embraced Islam at the hands of Musab upon his conveying to him the word of Islam, Usayd said to him: “There

is a man behind me who if he follows you every one of his people will follow suit. I will send him to you at once. It is Sa'd ibn Mu'adh.” Once Usayd departed, Sa'ad bin Mu'adh came

out to them both. Sa'ad bin Mu'adh said to As'ad bin Zararah: "O Abu Umamah, were it not for the relationship between us you would not have treated me thus. Would you behave in our homelands in a way we detest?" Musab said to him: "Won't you sit down and listen? If you like what you hear you can accept it, and if you don't like it you can leave it alone." Sa'ad agreed that was fair and sat down. Musab (ra) explained Islam to him and read for him the Qur'an. Afterwards they said, according to what has been reported of them, "By Allah, before he spoke we recognized Islam in his face by its peaceful glow." He said, "What a wonderful and beautiful discourse this is! What does one do if he wants to enter this Deen?" They told him that he must wash and purify himself and his garments, then bear witness to the truth and pray.

The entering of Sa'ad bin Mu'adh into Islam was far removed from blind imitation and impulse, as well as mysticism and carelessness. He became Muslim after he heard the evidence of Musab bin Umayr that Islam is the Deen of Truth from the Creator of man, life and the universe. His entry into Islam was the entry of a rational man. He judged and discussed the thoughts and facts before achieving conviction and believing in it. Thus, Islam became his Deen and ideology, so the Dunya became trivial in his eyes. His sacrifices were great for the sake of his belief and in the path of Support of the Messenger of Islam, Muhammad (saaw). He did not bat an eyelid until there arose for Islam and the Messenger of Islam (saaw) a state through which people entered the Deen in huge numbers. This was immediately evident in the first work he carried out after his acceptance Islam. He went to another military leader and commander of the city's leaders to pave the way

The entering of Sa'ad bin Mu'adh into Islam was far removed from blind imitation and impulse, as well as mysticism and carelessness. He became Muslim after he heard the evidence of Musab bin Umayr that Islam is the Deen of Truth from the Creator of man, life and the universe.

for him to enter Islam and he was Usayd bin Hudayr (ra). Sa'ad realized the need of Islam for Nussrah (Support) from the people of power and force. So Sa'ad applied himself to gain people of power and seek their support to become the nucleus of the Ansaar (Supporters) of Islam. Sa'ad neither postponed that work nor delegated it to others.

After the Prophet SAW migrated to Medinah, after being reassured by Sa'ad and his Companions from the Ansaar about his victory and the victory of Islam, Sa'ad had the stance of men who have been true to what they have vowed before Allah. It was those positions when the Muslims took to the battle of Badr to meet the infidels, when the Prophet consulted the Ansaar Sa'ad said: "We believe in you, we declare your truth, and we witness that what you have brought us is the truth, and we have given you our word and agreement to hear and obey; so go where you wish, we are with you; and by He who sent you, if you were to ask us to cross this sea and you plunged into it, we would plunge into it with you; not a man would stay behind. We do not dislike the idea of meeting our enemy tomorrow. We are experienced in war, capable of fighting. It may well be that Allah will let us show you something which will bring you joy, so take us along with Allah's blessing." RasulAllah (saaw) was delighted by his speech and Sa'ad carried the standard of Al-Aws into battle and performed to his utmost. Just as when Sa'ad witnessed the Battle of Uhud with Rasulallah (saaw), he stood his ground next besides him (saaw), when others dispersed, and displayed exemplary courage.

The demise of heroes is not ordinary like the rest of humanity, for they are martyred in the Path of Allah (swt) and the Heavens rejoice

at their departure towards them. And so it was with our hero Sa'ad bin Mu'adh (ra) when he was martyred in the Battle of Confederates (Ahzaab), during which he wielded a narrow shield that did not conceal his limbs. Whilst the Muslims and the Confederates were in combat with archers, a man from the Mushrikeen called ibn Al Araqah struck Sa'ad bin Mu'adh (ra) with an arrow upon an artery in his arm and his wound started to bleed. RasulAllah (saaw) cauterized the wound but it opened again and so he cauterized it again. Upon seeing this Saad said, "O Allah do not take my soul until I am comforted with the end of Banu Quraydhah." And his wound did not bleed a drop until Bani Quraydhah was subjected to the decree of Sa'ad. Then, after that, Saad said, "O Allah, surely You know that nothing is dearer to me than that I should fight for Your Sake against the people who disbelieved Your Messenger (peace be upon him) and turned him out (from his native place). If anything yet remains to be decided from the war against the Quraysh, spare my life so that I may fight against them in Your Cause. O Lord, I think You have ended the war between us and them. If You have done so, open my wound (so that it may discharge) and cause my death thereby." Thereupon his wound opened again, until Saad died through the effects of blood loss.

Certainly, the parting of heroes is not like the parting of others. On the authority of ibn Sa'ad from Asim bin Qatadah, who said, "The Prophet (saaw) slept and Jibreel (as) came to him when he awoke and said, "Is there man from your Ummah who has passed away tonight, for the people of Heaven are rejoicing because of his death?" Prophet (saaw) said, لا أعلم إلا أن سعداً أمسى دنفاً (مريضاً)، ما فعل سعد "I do not know except that Sa'ad became ill, so how is Sa'ad?" They replied, "O Prophet of Allah he has passed away, his people came to him and took him to their home." He then said that RasulAllah (saaw) prayed the morning prayer and set out with the people."

People rushed to him to the point that their shoes laces were split apart and their robes

fell off from their shoulders. A man said to him: O Messenger of Allah, the people are exhausted, he said: إني أخشى أن تسبقنا إليه الملائكة كما سبقتنا إلى حظلة "I am afraid that the Angels may have preceded to him before us, as with Hanzalah before him." And it was narrated by Imam Bukhari (may Allah (swt) have mercy on him, from Jabir bin Abdullah (ra), that I heard RasulAllah (saaw) say اهْتَزَّ عَرْشُ الرَّحْمَنِ لِمَوْتِ سَعْدِ بْنِ مُعَاذٍ "The Throne of the Beneficent shook because of the death of Sa'd bin Mu'adh." Regarding the shaking of the Throne mentioned here, Ibn Hajar in his book Fatah Al-Baaree interpreted it by saying, "The meaning of shaking means His rejoicing and his pleasure at the receiving of his soul."

**O People of Power and Nussrah (Support)!** The stances of Sa'ad bin Mu'adh have filled the hearts of the Muslims with love. His name is not mentioned except that the tongues pray for him. No believer hears that the Throne of Allah (swt) was shaken except that his eyes overflow with tears, indeed, is there any way to avoid that?! Indeed the greatness of men is in the sincerity of their stances and the loftiness of their goals. They are patient with their aims, whatever the circumstances. And they insist on achieving them, even if horrors faced them... Indeed you are living in times in which the Dawah of the Muhajireen and the Ansaar is repeated. So be our brothers, this is the gift from Allah (swt) offered to you, so do not turn away from it. O Supporters of Allah, stand for the honor of your Deen, stand for the honor of your Ummah and stand for your honor. Arise to grant Nussrah (Support) for this Deen, hasten to this bountiful task and be of the few who Allah (swt) has mentioned, وَالسَّابِقُونَ \* أُولَئِكَ الْمُقَرَّبُونَ \* فِي جَنَّاتِ النَّعِيمِ \* ثَلَاثَةٌ مِنَ السَّابِقُونَ \* وَأُولَئِكَ الْأَوْلَى \* وَقَلِيلٌ مِنَ الْآخِرِينَ "And the foremost, the foremost - Those are the ones brought near [to Allah] - In the Gardens of Pleasure - A [large] company of the former peoples - And a few of the later peoples." [Surah Al-Waqia 56: 10-14]



# Lessons of the 1857 Indian Mutiny Cannot be Ignored

**Afzal Qamar**

The 1857 Indian Mutiny may have been renamed the Indian War of Independence by post-Independence historians, but neither name acknowledges the roots that it had in religion. Interestingly, historians have always acknowledged the role of religion, which was central, but chose to give it a military name, whether one calls it a mutiny or a war. One of the most significant factors in it is said to have been the issuing of greased cartridges to the native soldiery. The Hindu troops believed that cow grease had been used, and biting off the end papers would defile them and perhaps break their caste; Muslims believed that pig grease had been mixed in, and thus they too would be defiled. Another important factor was that of the evangelical influence among British troops and officers, including those who officered the 'native' regiments which included both Hindu and Muslim troops. The evangelicalism created the fear that conversion was sought. As missionaries at the time were setting up schools and hospitals and actively proselytizing, this was not a theoretical fear, as missionaries were at least tolerated, if not encouraged, because the local British administration included evangelicals in its ranks.

The movement that started with a refusal to obey orders quickly ballooned into an attempt to restore the Mughal dynasty, in the shape of the emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar. By

1737, when Nadir Shah invaded from Persia and sacked Delhi, the Mughals had lost rule, and Bahadur Shah inherited not the rule over India, but merely over the Red Fort of Delhi. Even there, he had been informed by the British that they would not recognize any of his heirs as the King of Delhi, and ask for the Red Fort to be vacated on his death. The mutinying soldiers, on the other hand, wanted the restoration of his rule.

However, another issue that was being faced by the Muslims was that the name of the Mughal Emperor was recited in the Friday

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sermons as the ruler. After the Mutiny came to an end, with the sack of Delhi, this time by British troops, and the killing of Bahadur Shah's sons and his capture, the issue became even more pressing, as the East India Company gave way to the British government. This was not as great a change as it seems, as the Company had acted according to the dictates of the Board of Control for India, which was a government department. However, whereas the Mughal Badishah was named in the Friday sermons throughout India

even though he had devolved permission to rule to the Company in exchange for a pension, with the end of the Mughal dynasty, there was the problem of which name to take. Bahadur Shah himself was alive in exile in Rangoon, but to name him in the khutba would amount to rebellion. The British Viceroy or monarch could not very well be named, because they were not even nominally Muslim. There was a

group of ulema who argued that they were ‘ulil amr’ because they allowed the Friday prayer, but even this group did not call for the name of the Queen-Empress to be included in the Friday sermon.

The solution proposed by Shah Abdul Aziz, the son of Shah Waliullah, was adopted. Khatibs all over the Subcontinent began including the name of the Turkish Sultan, who was also the Khalifa, in the Friday sermon. At the time, that was Sultan Abdul Majeed. The formula adopted was a generic one, which could apply to any Sultan, and which did not name him. The mention of the Sultan’s name was however not accompanied by the minting of coinage in his name. That was carried out by the Raj. However, the question of whose name was to be read in the sermons arose after defeat. Before that, there was no question but that the mutinying troops wanted to be led by the Mughal Padishah. The Mutiny may have been caused by several causes, but once the step had been taken, the question of a replacement for company rule became forced on the mutineers. The Mughal Emperor became a default for them. Though 82, Bahadur Shah accepted the allegiance of the mutineers. The harsh reality was that Bahadur Shah could only rebel because he had an Army at last, and the Raj could not continue without defeating his Army, which was not done only by using British troops, but also native troops, including some specially raised units.

At the time, there were many individual grievances, which coalesced because they seemed to have one solution: the expulsion of the British, and the restoration of the Mughal Empire. It should not be forgotten that this was not just a Muslim demand, but also a Hindu one. Hindu grievances included that of Jhansi, where the Rani led the state into battle because the adoption of the heir was not acknowledged when the Raja died in 1854, as well as that of

Nana Sahib, the adopted heir of the Peshwa, whom the British also did not acknowledge when his adoptive father, Baji Rao II, died in 1851.

There was then a British policy of resuming princely states if there was no natural heir. There was also the example of Oudh, whose Nawab, Wajid Ali Shah, was deposed in 1856, and the state absorbed into the Calcutta Presidency. It was clubbed together with the province of Agra, into the United Province (UP) of Agra and Oudh.

The Mutiny presents a more complex picture than is imagined, but one of the features that emerge is that all Indians felt they would get a better deal from the Mughals than from the British. It is noticeable that the Nana Sahib and the Rani of Jhansi were both Marhattas. Under Shivaji, the Marhattas had engaged in a struggle against Aurangzeb that occupied him to the end of his 48-year reign. Wajid Ali Shah was the last King of Oudh, a title the British had encouraged the Nawabs to adopt to rival the ‘King of Delhi’, the title the British gave to the Mughal Emperor. It was not just Hindus who looked to the Mughals for a better deal, but those Hindus as well who had aspired to replace them. It needs mention here that even in the time of Akbar and his Din Ilahi, the law implemented by the Mughals was the Sharia. This was the law that Bahadur Shah Zafar was going to implement, so even Hindu potential subjects would have been well aware of what legal system would be enforced if the British were replaced.

It is worth noting that the Mughals are not accounted particularly devout Muslims, apart from Aurangzeb. However, even at the peak of the Din Ilahi, the Mughals made the Sharia the law of the land.

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## Democracy is Rated 0%

### Saad Jagranvi

According to the January 2017 Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Authority and Technology (PILDAT)'s report, "Assessment of the Quality of Democracy in Pakistan" Pakistan scored 46 percent in 2016, sliding down from 50 percent in 2015. Eleven parameters were considered which the report stated as being, "Pakistan Parliament and Provincial Legislatures, Performance of National and Provincial Governments, Performance of the Unelected Executive, Performance of the Judiciary and Access to Justice, Performance of the Media, Institution of Local Governments, Constitutional Framework, Democratic Oversight of the Security Sector and Rule of Law, Electoral Process and Management, Performance of Political Parties vis-à-vis Democracy Within as well as Outside, Civil Society."

This report completely overlooks the needs of the people and deliberately disregards the miseries people face on a daily basis. It does not care how much food an average family puts on its table, whether their fridges are empty or full. It does not consider how people survive the heat in summer or the cold in winter, whether they live or die, or how the people make their ends meet, with staggering unemployment rates hovering over their heads, leading to increased suicides through sheer frustration. There is no deliberation on how insecure parents expand half of their salaries on fruitless rote learning education, only to spend even more on shabby tuition centers. It does not even look on the roads to see how a family of six or seven are "democratically" loaded upon a small 70cc motorbike, at risk of life and limb, as they do not have the means to afford public transport.

It pays no attention to how our honor, morals and beliefs are being trampled upon by the regime's "liberalization" policy.

Certainly, this assessment does not consider the people or their needs, rather this superficial assessment is focused only on the efficiency of government institutions and political parties to determine the "success" of Democracy. Should not the quality of any system be based upon how well it looks after the affairs of the people? This assessment has overlooked the wretched state of our affairs in

... the basis of Democracy is that the limited human mind decides the rights and the wrongs, lawful and unlawful, and the fate of the entire nation rests upon the whims and desires of elected rulers.

order to put a veil on the inherent flaws of this corrupt system. The current rulers raise the claim that democracy is of the people, by the people and for the people. In reality it is rule of the capitalists, by the capitalists and for the capitalists. And in case of Pakistan, it is the rule of a select elite that secure their own vested interests whilst striving to secure the interests of their colonialist masters, even though this is burning Pakistan in the fires of chaos and insecurity.

Moreover, the basis of Democracy is that the limited human mind decides the rights and the wrongs, lawful and unlawful, and the fate of the entire nation rests upon the whims and desires of elected rulers. These elected rulers are selected, groomed and promoted by the actual masters of the affairs of the country, the colonialists. The colonialists seek the strengthening of Democracy's institutions in order to force the people to submit to their Kufr laws and agendas. So today, the Muslims of Pakistan are demanding the ruling by the Deen of Haq and that the Quran and the Sunnah only that determines the lawful and unlawful, whereas the institutions are deployed to forcefully suppress Islam, through abductions, arrests and torture.

Even if we were to accept the given parameters used to produce such a report, it is evident to all that the sincere Muslims of Pakistan hate their rulers and have no trust in their institutions. They cannot see a glimpse of justice and everyone knows that approaching law enforcement and the judiciary is just adding to their burdens. There is no justice because the judiciary does not rule by Islam. So, known criminals such as the Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, are able to ensure their Panama corruption cases are left hanging for months, whilst advocates of the Khilafah languish in prison for years with no verdict on their trails. Justice is a myth in Democracy a system that fools the people by allowing them to elect their rulers so that they submit to their whims for next five years.

Democracy's rating by all parameters that matter is 0%. The Muslims of Pakistan have rejected Democracy as a tool of the colonialists. They are aware that this system has no semblance to their Deen they hold dearly. The grass root debate has reached such a height that the rulers are forced to justify this corrupt system by publicizing such reports. They know well that this oppressive system is close to the grave and soon the return of the Khilafah state will bury it forever. Ahmed narrated that RasulAllah (saw) said, «تَكُونُ مُلْكًا، جَبْرِيَّةً فَتَكُونُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ تَكُونَ ثُمَّ يَرْفَعُهَا إِذَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَرْفَعَهَا» “Then there will be rule of force, and it will remain as long as Allah will it to remain. Then Allah will end it when He wills. Then there will be a Khilafah on the Way of the Prophetood.” Then he fell silent.

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There was no reversion to the Hindu law, which was restricted to personal law (marriage, inheritance, and related matters). Thus, it appears, Hindus looked to Muslims to rule with greater justice than the British.

The lessons of 1857 cannot be ignored even though this is its 160th anniversary year. Even now, India is the scene of oppression and suffering, even though it won independence from the British 70 years ago. Is the reason the fact that the post-Independence governments in both India and Pakistan tried to continue the British systems, whether governing, legal, educational or economic? Only the implementation of Islamic law, under a Khalifah committed to rule by Islam, can solve the problems of the Indian subcontinent. In 70 years, India has been the stage where attempts have been made to establish a Hindu state. It has had to call itself a secular state, because of its religious minorities, but the result has been religious oppression. India still has only the Mughal years, of the rule of Islamic law, to look to as an example where both the masses and the elite looked to the government to solve their problems.

It must therefore be realized that the resumption of Islamic rule does not mean some sort of Muslim triumphalism, but a resolution of the problems of all citizens, irrespective of their religion. And nowhere does that apply as strongly as the Indian subcontinent, as the events of 1857 still indicate, to this day. Allah (swt) said, (إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ بِالْحَقِّ لِتَحْكُمَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ) “Indeed, We have revealed upon you (O Muhammad (saw)) a Book in Truth, to rule between the people by what Allah has shown you.” [Surah an-Nisa'a 4:105]



# Release My Husband Naveed Butt

## Mrs. Naveed Butt

Over four years and nine months ago on Friday, 11<sup>th</sup> May, 2012 my husband Naveed Butt was abducted by security personnel in broad daylight in front of our three innocent children. Since that day, we have been given no information about him whatsoever. Naveed Butt was engaged in the peaceful struggle of implementation of Islamic system in Pakistan. The only purpose of his life is to gain the pleasure of Allah (swt); by demanding the comprehensive establishment of the Islamic system, that is Khilafah Rashidah on the Method of Prophethood, in his beloved homeland Pakistan. His call was by word and writings. That is because the Messenger of Allah (saaw) carried the Islamic Dawah only through intellectual and political struggle in Makkah. As a result of which, the first Islamic state of Madinah was established and the Hijrah to Madinah took place. The Prophet (saaw) and his Companions (ra) were persecuted and tortured in a ferocious way in Makkah. It was to the extent that during the Prophet's (saaw) da'wah in Makkah, Abdur Rahman ibn 'Awf (ra) along with some other Sahabah once asked permission from the Prophet (saaw) to fight. They said "O Messenger (saaw) of Allah! When we were idolaters, we were honored, but since we have believed, we have been humiliated". However he (saaw) refused saying : "إِنِّي أُمِرْتُ بِالْعَفْوِ، فَلَا تُقَاتِلُوا" : "Indeed I have been ordered to forgive so do not fight the people (until you are ordered to fight)." [Reported by Ibn Abi Hatim and an-Nasai and al-Haakim] That is precisely why Naveed, following the Prophet's (saaw) example, undertook

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intellectual and political struggle against the current system, abstaining from material action, which is forbidden.

My husband did a degree in Electrical Engineering from the University of Illinois, Chicago. After attaining higher education, he started a job in one of the famous companies in Chicago. However, his mind was always preoccupied with the ambition of securing the Muslims and his own homeland. He was deeply interested in the history of his country Pakistan. He knew that millions of Muslims sacrificed their lives for this country that was made on 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1947; and they gave their lives only because they wished that here a state like the state of Madinah would be established. That is the reason why, even after losing the honors of their mothers and sisters and sacrificing the lives of their children, when they took their first step on this land with their torn bodies and souls, they used to prostrate in thanking Allah (swt) Almighty and kiss the soil in devotion. Besides this

historical fact, Naveed also believed staunchly that Pakistan has been blessed by Allah (swt) with all those resources through whose correct use, Pakistan can truly become a fortress of Islam and a state which protects Muslims.

So, due to this reason my husband decided to leave his comfortable and luxurious life in the United States and come back to Pakistan. He worked day and night for the establishment of Islamic system in Pakistan. His only ideal was Prophet Muhammad (saaw) and following his (saaw) example Naveed Butt started the campaign of convincing the public and the intelligentsia for the complete

implementation of Islam. Being the Spokesman of the global Islamic political party, Hizb ut Tahrir, in Pakistan, he used to meet media men, columnists, journalists and television anchors and discussed the complete, comprehensive and immediate implementation of Islam in Pakistan. He issued numerous press releases in which the flaws and oppressive nature of current capitalist system were highlighted, along with exposing the treachery, conspiracies and collaboration of our rulers with the kuffar enemy. That was the course pursued by Messenger of Allah (saaw) when he (saaw) exposed the oppression and injustice of the leaders and systems of the Quresh of Makkah. And this is why Musharraf banned Hizb ut Tahrir in 2003, upon the orders of his masters in Washington, the same way that the Quresh boycotted the Prophet (saaw) and cut off every relation with Muslims.

My husband Naveed Butt is a soft hearted and loving person. He is the beloved of his whole family. His sisters and brother are devastated due to his prolonged absence. We have three sons and one daughter. Our youngest son was only two years old at the time of his abduction. Today when he asks questions about his father, I say to him that he is detained for the “crime” of raising his voice for the Deen of Allah (swt) and only Allah (swt) will free him. My daughter misses her father more than ever and keeps on praying for his release day and night. Naveed’s heart aches for the whole Ummah and the Muslims of Pakistan. I have seen him sleepless at nights due to the oppression perpetrated against the Muslims. His anxiety increased when he saw Muslim blood spilling all over the world and our rulers’ criminal silence over this cruelty. That is the

While the burglars, murderers, thieves and the accused in Panama Leaks are roaming free in the country, successive rulers who have looted the hard earned money of the people for seventy years. Whereas, raising the word of truth is my husband’s only “crime.”

reason why he never stopped raising the word of truth. And that in the eyes of the rulers amounted to a crime. If in his place was any other ordinary man in pursuit of this world, he would have left this mission long before and busied himself in earning money. On the contrary, he dedicated his life for the Dawah to Islam.

Today, he is missing due to his aforementioned “crime.” It has been four long years and nine months since his abduction. It’s

not only him, rather today there is a long list of those innocent and sincere Muslims, who are languishing in dungeons because they wished for the pure system of Allah (swt) to be implemented on this *paak* (pure) land. My question is that, if he has broken any law of the state of Pakistan, then why was he not awarded any punishment or presented in courts? What on the earth is his “crime”? While the burglars, murderers, thieves and the accused in Panama Leaks are roaming free in the country, successive rulers who have looted the hard earned money of the people for seventy years. Whereas, raising the word of truth is my husband’s only “crime.” Is it not the height of oppression to abduct my husband only for raising the word of truth? No doubt, he is a prisoner of

conscience.

I wish now to address the journalists, media persons, human rights organizations, lawyers and politicians. The majority amongst you are fully aware about the intellectual and political struggle of Naveed Butt. He met a lot of you as a Spokesperson of Hizb ut Tahrir. He wrote letters and provided the literature and books of Hizb ut Tahrir to you. He had no personal interest with any of you, neither did he

expect worldly or financial gains in this thorny path. He only wanted from you that you should join the efforts in order to establish the Khilafah State and to fulfill this mutual obligation. I ask you to come out of fear and openly discuss the name and struggle of Hizb ut-Tahrir and the demand release of its members, including my husband, Naveed Butt.

We should all know that bravery will neither shorten our lives, nor diminish our sustenance (Rizq). In the same way as the cowardice of a coward can never lengthen his life or increase his livelihood. The Prophet (saaw) said: "أَلَا لَا يَمْنَعَنَّ أَحَدَكُمْ رَهْبَةُ النَّاسِ أَنْ يَقُولَ بِحَقِّ إِذَا رَأَاهُ أَوْ شَهِدَهُ فَإِنَّهُ لَا يُفَرِّبُ مِنْ أَجَلٍ وَلَا يُبَاعِدُ مِنْ رِزْقٍ" "Do not fear the people from speaking the Truth, when it is witnessed or seen, for it will neither shorten the life span nor cause loss in Rizq".(Ahmad)

I ask you, who is responsible for raising the word of truth against these tyrant rulers? Is it not your responsibility that Hizb is sharing with you? If you remain fearful to even mention the name of the Hizb, let alone match its sacrifices all over the Muslim World for the establishment of Khilafah, then neither can your personal situation, nor the national and international situation improve for the better. It is an obligation upon you to raise your voice against this grave injustice, otherwise you will not be able to explain your position in this world, after the establishment of the Khilafah nor will any excuse on the Day of Judgment save you from the wrath of Allah (swt).

Moreover, I demand from the people of power and the rulers to release him immediately. He has already served four years and nine months in illegal prison for

undisclosed "crimes." I warn the rulers about the acceptance of the curse and prayers of the oppressed, because they reach directly to Allah (swt) without any hindrance. Therefore, I have faith only in Him, that indeed He never humiliates His devout servants. Allah (SWT) says: وَالَّذِينَ جَاهَدُوا فِينَا لَنَهْدِيَنَّهُمْ سُبُلَنَا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمَعَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ "And those who strive for Us, We will surely guide them to Our ways. And indeed Allah is with the Doers of good" (Al-Ankaboot:69)

We should all know that bravery will neither shorten our lives, nor diminish our sustenance (Rizq). In the same way as the cowardice of a coward can never lengthen his life or increase his livelihood.

# Pakistan's Rulers Facilitate the US Plan for China

The recent claims by the military leadership of its realignment with China and alignment away from the US requires some analysis. In essence, it tacitly accepts that the alignment with the US was not beneficial, otherwise why would there be a need to align away from the US? The realignment with China is meant to imply that that the military leadership will play a balancing game, where by it pitches China as a counterweight against the US and its policies in the region. Implicit within this is that our military leadership is thinking with the interest of Pakistan at heart, and that they have a vision for Pakistan within this realignment. The US China conflict in the Asian subcontinent, was officially stated in Hilary Clinton's article 'America's Pacific Century', published Foreign Policy Magazine of October 2011. The reality of the conflict had been ongoing for many years before that. So the burning question is why now? Why not in October 2011, when US policy was formally published? Why not earlier in 2000, when the US policy was formally put in place?

The current geopolitical status is a consequence of events much earlier. The context of this realignment began in the first term of the Obama presidency. In January 2009, upon taking office, President Barack Obama ordered an extensive review of US policy in Afghanistan. The new "Af-Pak" US policy declared in March 27, 2009, would base its new policy on the premise that "the future of

Afghanistan is inextricably linked to the future of its neighbor, Pakistan" because "terrorist" elements in Afghanistan were crossing the Pakistan border to seek safe haven from US war operations. Afghanistan and Pakistan, therefore, would be treated as a unified policy concern within the new US strategy. By late 2009, the White House declared the deployment of an additional 30,000 troops to "seize the initiative" in Afghanistan, and that within 18 months, the American effort in Afghanistan would begin to wind down in preparation for transferring security responsibility over to Afghan forces. Hence, the target date for troop withdrawal would be the middle of 2010 or early 2011. The US strategy in Afghanistan emphasized the role of Pakistan in combating regional insurgency, and China's close relations with Pakistan made it a critical player in the US strategy, with the objective being a greater Chinese involvement in resolving the conflict. Hence, the US policy in 2009 had two aspects.

The first aspect was to draw Pakistani forces into the tribal areas with a view to stabilizing the region to protect the US forces and support the so called "draw down". This point has been discussed in previous articles, but in summary it was implemented via; increased suicide bombings in Pakistan, ostensibly via the Raymond Davis network, to raise the specter of terrorism as a real threat, an exponential rise in drone attacks to create a conflict between the Pakistan army and the

The recent claims by the military leadership of its realignment with China and alignment away from the US requires some analysis. In essence, it tacitly accepts that the alignment with the US was not beneficial, otherwise why would there be a need to align away from the US?



tribal region and an inevitable transfer of troops from the eastern border to the western border, which was faithfully implemented by Kayani, the then army chief.

The second aspect was to draw a greater Chinese involvement in the Afghanistan crisis. The economic burden of the war was too much bearing in mind the US' fiscal deficit. Additionally, the continuing justification of US soldiers dying in wars was becoming more difficult to justify in domestic politics. Hence, the political focus was to lure the Chinese into taking a greater responsibility for the wider region. US policy makers were already annoyed at the hands off approach of the Chinese, seemingly seen to be living off the US "sacrifices". S. Frederick Starr, chairman of the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, stated: 'We do the heavy lifting...and they (China) pick the fruit.' (1)

Hence the desire for a larger Chinese role in the region was predicated on China taking a larger security burden for the region. Naturally, the Chinese were suspicious of the US presence in the region. But at the same time, the Chinese had their own issues warranting a US presence in the region. The US strategy on Afghanistan-Pakistan is relevant to a number of long-standing Chinese regional interests. Primarily, it is Beijing's desire to ensure domestic stability, particularly in China's heavily Muslim western province of Xinjiang, where Chinese officials have long been concerned about Muslim activists who advocate greater autonomy, and even independence. Chinese leaders refer to such activities as "extremism, separatism, and terrorism." One of Beijing's most important counter-terror goals is preventing extremist groups in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, which share borders with Xinjiang, from agitating China's domestic Muslim

populations. The US was aware of the Chinese sensitivities to separatist movements in the Xinjiang province, and with the activities of the East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM), and of Chinese sensitivities to separatist movements in general.

Although necessitated by the US's political and economic compulsions, the declared US withdrawal was engineered in a fashion to lure China in

Although necessitated by the US's political and economic compulsions, the declared US withdrawal was engineered in a fashion to lure China in, the Chinese became more apprehensive of a chaotic security situation in Afghanistan and the surrounding regions. Hence, the US political machine began working to cajole the Chinese to take a wider role. Richard Holbrooke and other US officials now regularly met with their Chinese counterparts

specifically to discuss the new strategy, and prove their commitments to securing Chinese interests in the region. In a press conference concluding Hilary Clinton's visit to Beijing in February 21, 2009, Chinese foreign minister Yang Jiechi stated: "and we agreed to work together on the best way forward to combat extremism and promote stability in Afghanistan and Pakistan" (2). In November 2009 during a joint press conference in the great hall Beijing, between President Obama and Chinese President Hu, President Obama stated: "President Hu and I also discussed our mutual interest in security and stability of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and neither country can or should be used as a base for terrorism, and we agreed to cooperate more on meeting this goal, including bringing about more stable, peaceful relations in all of South Asia" (3). In May 2010, during a visit to Beijing, US Assistant Secretary of State for south and Central Asian Affairs Robert Blake, discussed the south Asian situation with scholars and officials at the Ministry of Foreign affairs, stating: "China has an important stake in the success of these (international) efforts. and we welcome the opportunity to discuss ways China

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can contribute more both through investments and through assistance of various kinds." (4)

In parallel, the US provided a host of security incentives in relation to the ETIM. On 27 April, 2009, Pakistan handed over 9 Muslim Uighurs to China. In May 2010, Abdul Haq al Turkistani, ETIM's leader, was killed in a US Predator air strike in Pakistan. Abdul Haq had been the figure most closely involved in ETIM's relationships with other militant groups in the border region. China had issued an eight-man "most wanted" list of terrorists in 2008. Second on the list was Abdul Shakoor Turkistani, who took over the job after Abdul Haq al Turkistani had been killed. On Friday 24 August 2012, two US Hellfire missiles killed Abdul Shakoor Turkistani in Pakistan, the chief of al Qaeda's forces in FATA, along with three of his commanders. He was also one of those believed to have been responsible for the propaganda videos threatening attacks on the Beijing Olympics in 2008. In June 2012, the top al Qaeda ideologue who had called for a jihad against China—Abu Yahya al-Libi—was killed in a North Waziristan compound. Thirteen Uighurs and two Turks, all of them confirmed by ETIM as its members, were killed in Afghanistan's Baghdis province in another Predator strike a few weeks before Abdul Haq. In July 2012, six Uzbeks belonging to a splinter organization that was close to ETIM were killed in a strike.

After the US attack on Abbottabad to supposedly apprehend Osama bin Laden, China reportedly stated that an attack on Pakistan would be regarded as an attack on China. The response of our military leadership was casual at best. The Pakistani military leadership saw no reason to respond to the Chinese offer, as they were already committed to the US plan of drawing the Chinese in to stabilize Afghanistan, as per Obama's new AfPak policy. By May 2011, at the US-China strategic and Economic Dialogue, the Chinese began taking a more active role in the political issues in Afghanistan. To quote from the press summary press release, in the presence of

Hilary Clinton and the Chinese Vice Premier Wang Qishan: "We agreed on the importance of cooperating in Afghanistan to advance common goals of political stability and economic renewal." (5)

On June 22nd 2011, in a televised speech, President Obama declared the troop withdrawal: "Tonight, I can tell you that we are fulfilling that commitment. Thanks to our men and women in uniform, our civilian personnel, and our many coalition partners, we are meeting our goals. As a result, starting next month, we will be able to remove 10,000 of our troops from Afghanistan by the end of this year, and we will bring home a total of 33,000 troops by next summer, fully recovering the surge I announced at West Point. After this initial reduction, our troops will continue coming home at a steady pace as Afghan security forces move into the lead. Our mission will change from combat to support. By 2014, this process of transition will be complete, and the Afghan people will be responsible for their own security." (6) In a recent article in *Foreign Affairs Magazine*, Evan Feignbaum wrote, "But the notion of regional connection is no Chinese invention... And it was not Beijing but US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, the World Bank and the ADB that pressed for the development of Central and South Asian roads and power lines in the middle of the first decade of this century." (*Foreign Affairs* January/February 2017, Volume 96 Issue 1) Hence the push for regional connectivity was a regional requirement. In July 2011, the Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, spoke in India about the benefits of linking Central Asian economies with those in south Asia, with Afghanistan and Pakistan in the center. Increased regional economic connectivity, she argued, would promote sustainable economic growth, a crucial part of the effort to defeat extremism. Specifically, she stated: "[an] entrepreneur here in Chennai should be able to put her products on a track – on a truck or a train that travels unimpeded, quickly, and cheaply through Pakistan, through Afghanistan, to the doorstep of her customer in Kazakhstan. A Pakistani

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businessman should be able to open a branch in Bangalore. An Afghan farmer should be able to sell pomegranates in Islamabad before he drives on to New Delhi. Or as Prime Minister Singh put it so beautifully, “I dream of a day, while retaining our respective identities, one can have breakfast in Amritsar, lunch in Lahore, and dinner in Kabul. That is how my forefathers lived. That is how I want our grandchildren to live.” (7)

Hence the notion of a regional infrastructure was first put forward by the US, via Hilary Clinton’s speech in Chennai, India. In November 2011, Turkey hosted the “Heart of Asia Conference” and supported by the United States and China, the concept became a touchstone for regional cooperation. “They (the Chinese) were very vocal and raised several issues during the drafting...before, you would attend meetings on Afghanistan and the neighbors would be silent, and here you have them taking a lead and that's what it is all about,” said another diplomat...The Chinese for the first time were very comprehensive and constructive, you could really see an elevated role of China in the region and more outspoken than ever before.” (8)

Thus to summarise for reflection: In May 2011, the US-China strategic dialogue takes place. In June 2011, Obama declares the troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. In July 2011, Hilary Clinton proposes the New Silk Road, in a speech in Chennai, India. In September 2011, the United States convened a New Silk Road ministerial meeting in New York and China expressed enthusiasm for the project. In November 2011, Turkey hosted the “Heart of Asia Conference.”

The Chinese commitment to a wider regional role was complete. But the US plan was much wider. The New Silk Route as expounded by Hilary Clinton in Chennai, India was another carrot to the Chinese. The US was never in an economic position to fund this type of project, but the Chinese were, and they took the bait. According to Shen Weizhong, Deputy Division Director of the Department of

European Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China: “When [the] US initiated this we were devastated. We had long sleepless nights. And after two years, President Xi proposed [a] strategic vision of our new concept of Silk Road.” (9)

The Chinese said the name New Silk Road “belonged to China” and “Historic Trade Routes” would be a better name for the US initiative. In 2013, Chinese leaders responded with a Silk Road initiative of their own: One Belt One Road consists of two main components – a land-based Silk Road Economic Belt and a sea-based Maritime Silk Road– which Chinese leaders believed would together change the geostrategic and geo-economic face of the region. During his visit to Pakistan from 22 to 23 May 2013, Chinese premier Li Keqiang proposed a China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) to connect Kashgar in China’s Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region with the southwestern Pakistani port of Gwadar. This visit took place immediately after his visit to India, during which India and China had agreed to explore the scope for a BCIM (Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar).

But this became the precursor to Chinese involvement in talks with the Taliban. In an article published by Andrew Small in June 2013, it is stated that: “...Beijing quietly maintained a relationship with the Quetta Shura, the Taliban’s leadership council based across the border in Pakistan in a conversation, one former Chinese official claimed that besides Pakistan, China was the only country to continue this contact. Over the last 18 months, exchanges have taken place more regularly, and China has started to admit their existence in meetings with U.S. officials, according to people familiar with the matter. The same sources said that Taliban representatives have held meetings with Chinese officials both in Pakistan and in China.” (10)

So the relationship with the Taliban had already begun, culminating in the famous meeting in Murree, which were scuttled after

news of Mullah Omar's death were confirmed. Hence, even the Chinese relationship with the Taliban were facilitated by the military leadership, consistent with the US requirement to bring the Taliban to the peace table. This places the historical context on the current geopolitical scenario. So now when the military leadership talks about a new strategic realignment with China, one has to question their sincerity. The current political scenario has been led by the US. So exactly where is the alignment away from the US?

The CPEC is used as the practical example of Pakistan's new leverage. Yet, China was initially not interested in providing any financial support to Pakistan. When the Zardari government looked to China to provide it with a multi-billion dollar soft loan to help it through the financial crisis in 2008, it received a strong rebuffed. **(11)**

Khurram Hussain of the Dawn provides useful insight into the economic aspects of the CPEC: it seems Pakistan does not have all that much to gain economically from the completed CPEC as the Western Chinese provinces have small economies **(12)** and the work on the CPEC is being carried out by Chinese firms with few local inputs other than cement; also, the \$46 billion loans appear to be on near-commercial rates, not the low near 1-2% interest rates on international agency loans such as the World Bank **(13)** so this may mean we are dependent on further capital inflows from China in order to pay back previous loans, **(14)** there are also security costs to this. **(15)**

The International Monetary Fund said in June that repayments and profit repatriation from large-scale investments such as CPEC could add to Pakistan's medium- and long-term risks, predicting that the country's gross external financing needs would rise to \$15.1 billion in 2018/2019 from \$11.4 billion in the current financial year. **(16)**

However, these points are peripheral to the original discussion about aligning with China. The more interesting element of the

CPEC deal is the 24% allocated to the infrastructure. In a geopolitical sense, is this not more or less what Hilary Clinton mentioned during her speech in Chennai, India when she first unveiled her plans for the New Silk Road? The fundamental question is what strategic benefit has the military leadership extracted from China for providing the access to the Arabian Sea? Celebrating the convoy of goods from China to Gwadar achieves what strategic gain for Pakistan? The economic benefits are in the future, and hence not guaranteed at all. What Pakistani interests are being safeguarded because of this relationship?

Chinese interest in the flow of good from the Arabian sea to Kashgar will surely reduce time and costs, but in what way does that make it a strategic shift away from the US? Is the US particularly affected negatively by a shorter and faster path for Chinese goods? Rather, the infrastructure will also enable the flow of energy from the West coast to the East coast, and actually work in favor of India. So why would the US have any problem with this? From inception, greater Chinese involvement has been part of the US plan. Is the CPEC any different?

The military leadership has already raised the point that India could be an obstacle for the completion of CPEC and Chinese realignment strategy. It should be clear that the current geopolitical situation is much to the benefit of India. It is more than comfortable with CPEC running through Gilgit Baltistan. If CPEC is consolidated, the Pakistani establishment will have to consider declaring Gilgit Baltistan as a province, making its claims to Indian Occupied Kashmir void and making the LoC as a de-facto border. The only problem would be a potential military conflict in the meantime in which Pakistan manages to use China to internationalize the Kashmir issue. This would lead to multilateral talks, which India is loathed to do, which China could potentially use against the Indians. It is based on this that there is the consistent Indian mantra



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of closing down the Jihadi camps, very much like the US mantra of doing more.

Hence, the internationalization of the Kashmir dispute is what India fears, not CPEC.

We raised in the beginning of the article the subject of timing that is why realign to China now? From a geostrategic perspective, pre 9/11, Pakistan was the dominant power in Afghanistan, and via the Kashmir Jihad, was able to restrict India severely. The US plan was to reverse this by displacing Pakistani control in Afghanistan, eliminate the Kashmir Jihad to focus Indian economic, political and diplomatic efforts towards China, and make the Pakistani army focused on an internal contrived threat. The status as we stand today is that Pakistani troops are involved in preventing the Afghan Taliban from attacking US troops via the Zarb-e-Azb. The Army Green Book has been rewritten to make the internal threat equal to the Indian threat. The Kashmir Jihad is getting its final nail in the coffin with the security operations in Punjab.

The CPEC will become the sacred altar, at which everything will be sacrificed. That is why no less than the Commander, southern Command, Lt Gen Amir Riaz "...invited India to join the China Pakistan Economic Corridor and 'share the fruits of future development by shelving the anti-Pakistan activities and subversion'". (17) And so the Punjab operation is now in motion, a smoke screen for arresting and preventing the Jihadi activities in order to give the Hindu nationalist BJP a victory in their domestic public opinion. So is strengthening the anti-Muslim, pro-US BJP the real objective here?

The US has been compelled, by its domestic political and economic predicament to draw China into the region. Its military prowess has failed to subdue the brave Mujahideen of the Taliban in Afghanistan. Did our military leadership even have a clue that the US is in decline, and hence was dealing from a position of weakness? The US used the Taliban and the threat from the tribal areas to lure the

Chinese to take a wider political role in Afghanistan. So why did our military leadership not have the political awareness to sense this, and then the political acumen to ally with the Chinese to counter the US presence?

There is a regional conflict between China and the US, and it is growing both in terms of intensity and spectrum. In his last visit to China as President of the United States, US President Barack Obama found himself compelled to use the emergency steps at the rear of the plane that carried him to Guangzhou airport to attend the first summit. It is not because of a fire or a technical failure, but because the Chinese authorities did not provide airplane steps to exit from the front of the plane as normal. Observers believe that China deliberately insulted the US president and that this reflects the size of the tensions in the relations between the two countries that differ in many styles and issues, beginning with the declaration of the United States and South Korea of the deployment of a missile shield on the territory of the latter, as well as the American position on the dispute between China and the Philippines in the South China sea, and the recent decision by Washington to impose additional fees on imports of Chinese steel.

Musharraf's lack of sincerity and vision was such that he undertook the Kargil operation, knowing that the US was now aligned with the BJP and India, to give the BJP election success, and conceding defeat in Kargil. Kayani's lack of sincerity and vision was such that he would publicly condemn US drone attacks, while privately advocating more, executing Obama's policy for the tribal regions, and in parallel his ISI chief, Ahmed Shuja Pasha worked for the release of Raymond Davis. As for Raheel Sharif, this is a man on whose watch the brutal and despicable Army Public School (APS) attack occurred. He convened an All Parties' Conference, amended the constitution, enforced military courts, and used the incident to change the good Taliban/bad Taliban policy to all bad Taliban, clearly to

pressurize the Afghan Taliban to the peace table, consistent with US policy requirements. In August 2015, the Kasur child abuse scandal reared its ugly head, where many children were systematically abused, and which was covered up. Raheel Sharif did not do anything, as the event could not be used to advance US policy in the region. There is no difference in the children from the APS or Kasur, but one has political mileage for US policy. And one sees this consistently in terms of terror attacks, where they are used to undertake military actions specifically for the fulfillment of strategic US objectives.

It is the leadership of Islam that can transform us into not only a regional power, but a world power. There is no need to align with the US or China, for Pakistan occupies such a strategic position, has a thoroughly professional army, nuclear weapons and ample resources to sustain itself as a major power shaping the international scenario, on its way to becoming the leading state. It only needs a sincere Islamic leadership for it is only through Islam, that truly visionary leaders will come forth. It is Islam that molded individuals from a Jahil, idol worshiping, female baby killing society into dynamic, forthright ideologues who turned the then world powers upside down by carrying Islam. Armed with the Deen of Truth and its Ahkaam regarding the foreign nations, hostile and benign, and rising to the true legacy of the Ummah before whom the forefathers of the current major powers cowered, the soon to arrive Khilafah will quickly gather the Ummah around it and march for the dominance of Islam over the entire world, achieving victory after victory for Islam. Allah (swt) said, **هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينٍ** (هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينٍ) **“الْحَقُّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ”** “He is the One who sent His Messenger with the Guidance and the Deen of Truth to dominate over all other ways of life, even though the mushrikeen may detest it.” [Surah At-Tawba 9:33]

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# Halt the US Rogue State in its Tracks! Pakistan's Rulers Exercise “Restraint” as US Belligerency Escalates from Syria to Afghanistan

## Media Office Pakistan

The new US administration's policy is clearly based on the strategy of killing Muslims and forcefully suppressing their Islam. Thus, pursuing the annihilation of Islam and Muslims, the US agent ruler in Syria, Bashar, suffocated to death Muslims using chemical weapons and on 13 April 2017, the US used the largest non-nuclear bomb it has ever made on Afghanistan, on the very doorstep of the Muslim World's only nuclear power, Pakistan. The US policy is based on spreading chaos and insecurity in the world in general and in the Muslim World in particular. This matter is known well to the crusader led “international community,” including the rulers of the Muslim World.

Yet even though the US “Rogue State” has repeatedly violated the security, stability and blood of Muslims in Pakistan's region for more than a decade, using its drones, private military, intelligence and military, the rulers of Pakistan have exercised their usual policy of “restraint” before the flagrant aggressor.

When has the policy of “restraint” in the history of the world, ever halted the aggressor,

rather than encourage him in his aggression? Is there a single example from the glorious Muslim history of Muslims making the aggressor turn on his heels through “restraint,” whether it were the Tartars or the Crusaders? What the Muslim World, indeed the entire world, awaits is the brave state which will finally halt the march of the US bully and thug. Had America known that the use of its “Mother of All Bombs” would be met by the “Mother of All Responses”, the US would have been halted in its tracks.

A sincere leadership would have at least destroyed the US facilities in the Afghan airbase which were used to deploy the bomb in an aircraft. Are the armed forces of the Muslim World, who collectively number over three million, only to be used to protect the thrones of the rulers... ?

A sincere leadership would have at least destroyed the US facilities in the Afghan airbase which were used to deploy the bomb in an aircraft. Are the armed forces of the Muslim World, who collectively number over three million, only to be used to protect the thrones of the rulers, or be mobilized at the behest of the US terrorist state in its crusader war against Muslims, as is clear from the example of the Saudi-led alliance against “terrorism”?

[Continued on Page 27](#)

# Panama Case Verdict is Eyewash: Establish Khilafah on the Method of Prophethood to Stop Being Stung by Democracy!

Today's Panama Papers case split decision judicial verdict for establishing a Joint Investigation Team (JIT) over the corruption of the ruling Sharif family is far from a "historical decision." It clearly shows that any attempt whatsoever to bring change through Democracy is bound to fail. There was no "turning point" when Musharraf removed Nawaz Sharif to install "true" democracy. Nor was there a "historical upheaval" when Musharraf stepped down for "real" democracy. Nor was there "long awaited relief" when Nawaz Sharif returned to power through elections. Nor will there be "real change" even if we see the back of Nawaz Sharif after the investigation. The Muslims have been stung by Democracy not once but several times even though RasulAllah (saaw) said, "لا يُدْعُ الْمُؤْمِنُ مِنْ جُحْرٍ وَاحِدٍ مَرَّتَيْنِ" "The believer is not stung from the same hole twice." [Bukhari]

Corruption is caused by Democracy because it gives the right to human beings to make laws according to their whims and desires, disregarding all that Allah (swt) has revealed. By doing so, Democracy becomes the horse of the US and no matter who rides it, whether Nawaz Sharif, Asif Ali Zardari or Imran Khan, the colonialists will steer our affairs. The colonialists continuously manipulate Democracy into passing laws that contradict Islam and harm

Corruption is caused by Democracy because it gives the right to human beings to make laws according to their whims and desires, disregarding all that Allah (swt) has revealed. By doing so, Democracy becomes the horse of the US

Muslims through strong contact with the rulers and the legislators. Our key economic policies are determined by the US dominated IMF, leading to privatization of our valuable assets, deepening debt due to interest and back breaking taxation. Our foreign policy is determined by the US State Department, Pentagon and CENTCOM, leading to our armed forces being burned as fuel to consolidate the US foothold in Afghanistan, whilst being chained in "restraint" before ever increasing Indian hostility. Democracy is the open door for all the colonialist policies that impoverish and harm us. Democracy deserves only abolition because it assigns assemblies of men and women as sovereign, allowing them to choose laws according to their whims and desires, even though Allah (swt) said, *وَأَنْ أَحْكَمَ بَيْنَهُمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ وَاحْذَرْهُمْ أَنْ يَفْتِنُوكَ عَنْ بَعْضِ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْكَ* "And judge between them by what Allah has revealed, and do not follow their desires, and beware (O Muhammad) that they might seduce you from some of what Allah has sent down to you." [Surah Al-Maaida 5:49].

**O Muslims of Pakistan!** Today's Supreme Court verdict removes any doubt that it is upon us all to work with 000 000 now in its struggle to restore Islam as a way of life. It is the only sincere and aware leadership that



calls for the abolition of Democracy and the re-establishment of the Khilafah. Only then will we have a leadership that fears Allah (swt) alone, ruling by the Truth and caring for all the people, regardless of ethnicity, school of thought, religion, wealth or status. Allah (swt) said, *إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ بِالْحَقِّ لِتَحْكُمَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ بِمَا أَرَاكَ* الله “Indeed, We have revealed upon you (O Muhammad (saw)) a Book in Truth, to rule between the people by what Allah has shown you.” [Surah an-Nisa'a 4:105].

O sincere officers of Pakistan's armed forces! Democracy has only brought us humiliation before our enemies and ever worsening economic hardship. Democracy has hamed us from the time of the Musharraf-Aziz regime, through to the Kayani-Zardari regime, through the Raheel-Nawaz regime and now under the Bajwa-Nawaz regime. So, how do you allow a corrupt leadership to use your strength as a support for the continuation of Democracy, the furnace in which our people and country burns? It is upon you now to move to abolish Democracy, by granting your Nussrah (Material Support) to Hizb ut Tahrir under its Ameer, Sheikh Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah, for the immediate return of the Khilafah. Only then will we see the end of the rule of force and tyranny and the return of the rule of Islam by a Khilafah State. Ahmed narrated that RasulAllah (saw) said, *ثُمَّ تَكُونُ مُلْكًا جَبْرِيَّةً فَتَكُونُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ تَكُونَ ثُمَّ يَرْفَعُهَا إِذَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَرْفَعَهَا* “Then there will be rule of force, and it will remain as long as Allah will it to remain. Then Allah will end it when He wills. Then there will be a Khilafah on the Way of the Prophethood.” Then he fell silent.

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

**23 Rajab 1438/ 20 April 2017**

**Continued from Page 25**

**O sincere officers of Pakistan's armed forces!** From the time of Musharraf then to Bajwa now, when has the policy of “restraint” ever improved our security? Musharraf's “restraint” before the US allowed the US to make full use of our intelligence, air corridors and land supply routes to violate our region with its brutal occupation. Kayani's “restraint” before the US attack on Abbotabad only emboldened it and its ally, India, against us. Raheel's “restraint” before the US demands for more from our armed forces, only strengthened its hold and that of India within Afghanistan. And now are we to exercise “restraint” before such a flagrant display of destructive force which makes a mockery of our capability?

When faced with overwhelming British imperial forces, Tipu Sultan declared, “To live like a lion for a day is far better than to live like a jackal for a hundred years.” So, we ask you, who amongst you will make a defiant stand against today's crusaders for the sake of Allah (swt) and His Messenger (saaw), today? Who amongst you will release us from the restraining chains of alliance to the foremost terrorist state in the world, the US? Who amongst you will come forwards now to grant the Nussrah to Hizb ut Tahrir for the establishment of the second Khilafah on the Method of the Prophethood?

Then we will see together the inauguration of a Khaleefah who will make the US, its allies from the other crusader states, as well as the Hindu and Jewish States, forget their Shayateen. Allah (swt) said, *فَاتْلُوهُمْ يُعَذِّبُهُمْ* (قَاتِلُوهُمْ) *اللَّهُ بِأَيْدِيكُمْ وَيُخْزِهِمْ وَيَنْصُرْكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَيَشْفِ صُدُورَ قَوْمٍ* “Fight against them so that Allah will punish them by your hands and disgrace them and give you victory over them and heal the breasts of a believing people.” [Surah At-Tawba 9:14]

## Q&A: Whoever Revives a Barren Land in Respect to the Kharaaji Land

To: Abu Taqi Al-Maqdasi

### Question:

Assalamu Alaikum WA Rahmatullah Wa Barakatuhu,

This is a question related to the lands and it is as follows: After reading the book, Economic System in Islam and the subject of the lands it became apparent to me that the description of the land is either 'Ushriyah or Kharajiyah with the evidences that came in this subject area... It became clear to me also that the neck of the Kharaaj land belongs to the state whilst its benefit belongs to the individual. There were also sufficient evidences in respect to this! As for by question then it relates to what was quoted on page 136 about the subject of reviving the barren lands and its text stated the following: "Whoever cultivates a barren land in Kharaji area where no Kharaj has been imposed on it before he owns its land title (raqabah) and its benefit if he is Muslim.

If he is non-Muslim, he owns its benefit only." So how am I meant to reconcile between what was mentioned previously and what is mentioned in this paragraph in respect to the ownership of the neck of the Kharaaji land?? And in particular as there is no evidence attached to the last paragraph?? And Jazaakallahu Khairan

### Answer:

The agricultural land and the barren lands each have their own Ahkam that regulate them in accordance to the Shar'iyah evidences

related to them. We will explain the details of this as follows:

**Firstly:** The evidences of the agricultural land which include amongst them:

1 – Muslim extracted a Hadeeth on the authority of Jabir in his Saheeh who said: The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: « فِيمَا سَقَّتِ الْأَنْهَارُ، « وَالْعَيْمُ الْعُشُورُ، وَفِيمَا سَقَّى بِالسَّائِيَةِ نِصْفُ الْعُشْرِ » "In respect to that which has been irrigated by the rivers and rain a tenth is due and in respect to that which is irrigated by the waterwheel (i.e.

by hand artificially) half of a tenth is due". (Note: another variation of the Hadeeth in English: "A tenth is payable on what is watered by rivers, or rains, and a twentieth on what is watered by animals.") This text is 'Aamm (general) meaning that it applies to every agriculturally cultivated 'Ushriy land unless there exists a text that specifies this general text.

2 – After the Fat'h (Conquest) a new problem arose in respect to the conquered lands outside of the general text and the Kharaaj

was set (for it). Abu 'Ubaid said: ( حَدَّثَنَا يَزِيدُ بْنُ هَارُونَ، عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي ذَيْبٍ، عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ، قَالَ: قَبِلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ (ص) الْجَزِيَّةَ مِنْ مَجُوسِ الْبَحْرَيْنِ قَالَ الزُّهْرِيُّ: فَمَنْ أَسْلَمَ مِنْهُمْ قَبِلَ إِسْلَامَهُ، وَأَحْرَزَ إِسْلَامَهُ نَفْسَهُ وَمَالَهُ إِلَّا الْأَرْضَ، فَإِنَّهَا فِيءٌ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ، مِنْ أَجْلِ أَنَّهُ لَمْ يُسَلِّمْ أَوْلَ مَرَّةٍ وَهُوَ فِي مَنَعَةٍ (Yazeed Bin Haroun told us from Ibn Abi Dhi'b from Az-Zuhri who said: The Messenger of Allah (saw) accepted the Jizyah from the Majus of Bahrain. Az-Zuhri said: 'Whoever embraced Islam from amongst them his Islam was accepted and his Islam safeguarded his life and property except for the land. That is because it is Fa'i (booty) for the Muslims because he did not embrace Islam initially

whilst he was under no threat).’ This is what ‘Umar (ra) judged in accordance to in respect to the land of the Siwaad (in Iraq) when he said: “I saw (it correct) to keep the lands with their people and to place Kharaaj upon them...”

As such the Hukm of the ‘Aamm (general) applies in its according to its generality “Every agricultural land in Dar ul-Islam which is Ushriyah land has the Zakaah due upon it”. According to the Ahkam Ash-Shar’iyah it does not go outside of this general text unless it is specified by another text i.e. “The Kharaaji land” in accordance to the Ahkaam Ash-Shar’i. In other words, every agricultural land in Dar ul-Islam has the Hukm that it is Ushriyah land unless there is a specific evidence for a particular land indicating that it is Kharajiyah. This is detailed completely in our books.

### Secondly: Evidences

related to the Ahkam of the barren land which include:

1 – Al-Bukhari recorded from ‘Aa’ishah (ra) from the Prophet (saw) that he said: « مَنْ أَعْمَرَ «أَرْضًا لَيْسَتْ لِأَحَدٍ فَهُوَ أَحَقُّ» “Whoever cultivated a land not belonging to anyone has the most right to it”.

At-Tirmidhi collected a Hadeeth from Sa’eed Ibn Zaid from the Prophet (saw) who said: « مَنْ «أَحْيَا أَرْضًا مَيِّتَةً فَهِيَ لَهُ» “Whoever revives a barren land then it belongs to him,” also related by Abu Dawud.

These texts are general in respect to the land becoming the property of anyone who revives it. If he revives it in the Ushr land, then he owns it and it will be an Ushriyah land upon which Zakaah is due if the one who revived it was a Muslim. And there would be Kharaaj due upon it if the one who revived it was from the Ahlu-

dh-Dhimmah. That is because the Kaafir is not from the people upon whom Zakaah is due from and as such the Kharaaj is due from him because the agricultural land is not devoid of a payment allocation; either Zakaah or Kharaaj must be due from it.

If he revives it in the Ushr land, then he owns it and it will be an Ushriyah land upon which Zakaah is due if the one who revived it was a Muslim. And there would be Kharaaj due upon it if the one who revived it was from the Ahlu-dh-Dhimmah.

As for if the revival was in the Kharaaj land, then the land would be Kharaajiyah, whether the one who revived it was a Muslim or a disbeliever from amongst the Ahl al-Dhimmah... This is like what Abu Yusuf, the author of ‘Al-Kharaaj’ stated when he said: “Al-Hasan Ibn ‘Imarah related to me from Az-Zuhri from Sa’eed Ibn Musayyib who said: ‘Umar Ibn Al-Khattab (ra) said: “Whoever revives a barren land then it is his and the one who fences it off does not have a right to it after three years”... Abu Yusuf said: The meaning of this Hadeeth in our view is that it applies upon the barren land that no one has a right in respect to it or any ownership. So whoever

revives it and it becomes as such (i.e. revived) then it is his and he can cultivate it, rent it, dig rivers from it and build upon in respect to that which contains a Maslahah (interest). If it was in the Ushr land he would give the Ushr (i.e. Zakaah) from it and if it was Kharaaji land then he would give the Kharaaj from it...”.

\* Consequently, if the Muslim revives a barren land within the Ushr land then it would be Ushriyah and he would own its title and its benefit; and he would pay Zakaah from it; a tenth (Ushr) or half of a tenth. If a Kaafir from amongst the Ahl al-Dhimmah revived it, then he owns the title and benefit likewise and pays Kharaaj from it because he is not from the people of Zakaah. This is an explanation for what was mentioned in the ‘Economic System’ book: “Whoever cultivates a barren land of the ‘Ushri land, he owned its land title (raqabah) and its benefit, whether Muslim or non-

Muslim. For such land, the Muslim landlord is obliged to pay the Zakat ('Ushr) of the plants and fruits, which are entitled for Zakat once the amount of the harvest has reached the Nisab. As for the non-Muslim landlord of such land, he pays the Kharaaj, not the 'Ushr. This is because he is not from those who are subject to pay Zakat and because the land cannot be left devoid of a payment, either Kharaaj or 'Ushr."

\* And if he revives or cultivates Kharajiyah land then he owns it and the land is Kharaaji i.e. he owns the benefit and not the land title. The Kharaaj is due upon it and Zakaah upon the produce is the one who cultivated it was a Muslim, whilst Kharaaj would be due upon the land if the one who cultivated it was from amongst the Ahlu-dh-Dhimmah. This is the explanation for what was mentioned in the book 'Economic System of Islam': "Whoever cultivates a barren land in a Kharaaji area where Kharaaj has been levied before it became barren, he owns its benefit only without owning its land title (Raqabah), whether the landlord is Muslim or non-Muslim. Such a landlord is obliged to pay the Kharaaj because it is a conquered land. Therefore, the Kharaaj remains on it at all times, whether owned by a Muslim or non-Muslim."

2 – No ownership of Ushri or Kharaaji land by reviving (cultivating) it is not taken outside of this general text. As such, the Ushriyah is in respect to the Ushriyah land and the Kharaajiyah is in respect to the Kharaajiyah land unless there is a specific text mentioned for specific cases that are contrary to that. By examining the cultivation of barren lands within the Kharaajiyah lands a circumstance has been found that mentioned in a specific text in the case here the land becomes Ushriyah at the time of its revival (or cultivation) by a Muslim. This is the circumstance when the

barren land is within the Kharaajiyah land however the Kharaaj has not previously been levied upon it. The texts that specify that include the following:

A – When the Muslims conquered the land of Iraq, Umar placed Kharaaj upon the agricultural land. There was also barren land there in Iraq which Umar did not place Kharaaj upon which included within the land upon which the Basra was established upon and its surroundings. When the Muslims revived it, it was made Ushriyah land by the Ijmaa' As-Sahaabah. In this way the barren Kharaaji land that has not previously had Kharaaj levied upon it is exempted from the general text and its revival or cultivation by a Muslim makes it Ushriyah even if it was within the Kharaajiyah land which was conquered by force. This has been mentioned in more than one source from which we mention:

If he revives it in the Ushr land, then he owns it and it will be an Ushriyah land upon which Zakaah is due if the one who revived it was a Muslim. And there would be Kharaaj due upon it if the one who revived it was from the Ahlu-dh-Dhimmah.

- It was stated in 'Al-Inaayah Fee Sharh Al-Hidaayah' when mentioning the Hadeeth of the Messenger of Allah (saw) about the reviving (or cultivation) of the barren land:

"And whoever revives a barren land, then according to Abu Yusuf it is considered to be in (accordance to) its scope.

So if it was from the scope of the Kharaaj land (meaning close to it) then it is Kharaajiyah and if was from the scope of the Ushr land then it is Ushriyah). The Qiyaas (analogy) in respect to Basra was according to the opinion of Abu Yusuf, the student of Abu Hanifah, for it to be Kharaajiyah because it is from

the land in the scope of (or close to) the land of the Kharaaj that 'Umar had imposed Kharaaj upon. However, it remained Ushriyah when the Muslims revived (or cultivated) it contrary to the Qiyaas. That was due to the Ijmaa' As-Sahaabah. The author of 'Al-Inaayah Fee



Sharh Al-Hidaayah' added: "The Qiyaas in respect to Basra was that it should be Kharaajiyah because it is close to the Kharaaj land. However, the Sahaabah levied the Ushr upon it and so the Qiyaas was left for their Ijmaa'."

- Similar to this was found in 'Dar ul-Mukhtar Wa Hashiyah' of Ibn 'Aabideen (Radd ul-Muhtaar) where he said: "And the Qiyaas is for the "land of Basra" to be Kharaajiyah according to Abu Yusuf because it is close to (or adjoining) the land of Kharaaj however the Qiyaas id abandoned due to the Ijmaa' As-Sahaabah (rah)."

\* And it is clear from all of this that the barren land of Basra which did not have Kharaaj previously imposed upon it became Ushr land when Muslims revived or cultivated it.

That means that the barren land which has not had the Kharaaj imposed upon it whilst being located in the Kharaaji land becomes Ushri land if Muslims revive or cultivate it. If, however, a non-Muslim cultivates it, it remains Kharaajiyah land in

accordance to the generality of the text of the Hadeeth. This is the explanation that came in 'The Economic System of Islam': "Whoever cultivates a barren land in Kharaaji area where no Kharaaj has been imposed on it before the he owns its land title (Raqabah) and its benefit if he is Muslim. If he is non-Muslim, he owns

its benefit only. The Muslim owner of such land is obliged to pay the 'Ushr with no Kharaaj on him. While the non-Muslim owner has to pay the Kharaaj, similar to the Kharaaj that was imposed upon its Kuffar inhabitants at the time of its conquest."

In this way the question that you asked about has been answered, not just the exact question but rather all of the branches related to the cultivation of barren lands, and may Allah be with you.

**Your brother,**

**Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah,**

**02 Muharram 1438 AH**

**Corresponding to 03/10/2016 CE**

That means that the barren land which has not had the Kharaaj imposed upon it whilst being located in the Kharaaji land becomes Ushri land if Muslims revive or cultivate it.

# Q&A: The Ruling on Participation in the Municipality (Council) Elections

**To Anas Zain**

**Question:**

What is the ruling on participating in the municipality (council) elections?

**Answer:**

Wa Alaikum As-Salam Wa Rahmatullah Wa Barakatuhu,

A. The municipality (council) elections in origin provide services for people and administrative matters, is permissible, in this context, but many other activities are assigned to the municipality, especially in our countries, and they became a government apparatus that adopts the government's policy, and brings people together for the government's support, as well as giving licenses to issues forbidden in Shariah.

B. The reality of the municipality is that it does not solely carry out administrative services. It is an executive body that follows the government in practice. It is obliged to follow any political activity set by the authority, on top of that it deals with its own money illegally... Therefore the Islamic ruling

The reality of the municipality is that it does not solely carry out administrative services. It is an executive body that follows the government in practice.

on it will not be based on the reality that it is a service and administrative institution independent of political power, but it is linked to the government apparatus, not just in nominal terms, but also in execution, it can cancel the

municipality council decisions, even if taken unanimously ...

C. So it is not permitted to participate in the municipality elections in this context. But if it remained in its the origin as "administrative and service body" within the limits of the permissible, then the participation in the elections will be permissible... In other words, we do not participate in these elections as long as the reality of the municipalities is as mentioned above. It is allowed to participate when

these municipalities are administrative institutions without the interference of the political power.

**Your brother, Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah**

**12 Muharram 1438/ 12 October 2016**

# Q&A: China's Brutal Aggression on East Turkistan & the Development of Missiles Activities in the Indian Subcontinent

(Translated)

**The first question:** According to Al Jazeera.net 2/3/2017, there is news of large Chinese military build-up inside East Turkistan Xinjiang province in western China, according to the report: "The Chinese authorities have deployed, two days ago, more than ten thousand soldiers in the city of Urumqi in Xinjiang province, northwest of the country, which is inhabited by ethnic Muslim Uyghurs which has been experiencing rising tensions for years. The security forces organized a military display attended by dozens of tanks and armored cars, and coincided with a heavy helicopter hovering above. This was the largest military display of its kind in the region, which has seen during the current year three similar displays in the areas of Hotan, Kashgar, and Aksu." So is China preparing for new massacres for this Muslim region? Thank you.

**Answer:** In order to unravel the details of the Chinese intentions it is preparing for Muslims in this region, we must look briefly at the background of the conflict between China and the Muslim Uyghurs in the region:

1. The conflict between China and the Muslims in this region is not new, especially since 1863, Eastern Turkistan which is at the furthest east of the Muslim countries, it has been subjected to campaigns of Chinese massacres, more than one million Uyghur Muslims died in the clashes that took place in the year 1949 when the Chinese Communist

regime led by Mao Zedong took over and abolished the independence of the territory, and annexed it to the Republic of China, the region was emptied of its population Muslims and were distributed to the inner provinces in China. But Uyghur Muslims (of strong resolve) did not surrender to the Chinese, they erupted in revolution in 1933 and 1944, and the revolutions continue in the region against the uprisings Chinese occupation as it was in 2009.

2. Islam is the main reason for the intense hatred of the Chinese towards the Uyghur Muslims, mosques is where China spouts its venom against Islam, it has demolished an estimated 25 thousand mosque in 1949, and only about 500 mosques were left in this vast territory. Today, after China abandoned half of the communism in "economy," but it still hunts down of any manifestations of religiousness, especially among young people, this has been the actual policy practiced by China in the region.

3. Because of the presence of natural resources, especially oil in the region, which China calls Xinjiang, i.e. the new colony, China proceeded to empty the territory of its population of Uyghurs and push them to the inland areas in China, and bring Chinese of the Hun ethnicity to settle in the region, until the Uyghurs today (10 million people) make up only 40% of its population, and their concentration increases in the south of the province and rural areas. The region is strongly characterized by poverty, especially in the

south where there is a concentration of Muslims, as well as in the rural areas where there is less or no ethnic Hun Chinese.

4. In spite of all that, the vitality of Muslims continued in East Turkistan that enabled the return of the manifestations of Islam to life especially in the countryside, and unrest plaguing the region continued every now and then, and making it a territory distinguished by instability because of the bombings and acts of violence against the state and the fixed position of seeking secession from China, it became the weakest spot of the state from the inside. In contrast, China is watching the details of the lives of Uyghur Muslims, and prevent the media from monitoring the executions and arrests it carries out in the darkness forcibly on the region, and it tracks down the Uyghur Muslims who fled and have a voice outside, and under the pretext of "terrorism" it has been able to arrest many of them through international security channels, particularly from Central Asia countries and Pakistan.

5. And because Islam is alive in the hearts of Uyghurs, this have struck terror into the hearts of tyrants of China. China showed its fears, the biggest Chinese official for religious affairs, Wang Xuan, head of the Department of Religious Affairs in China, said to the National Conference of the Islamic Chinese League: (That the extremist ideology is infiltrating now to the « Interior regions. »the President Xi Jinping urged the Chinese Muslims to resist the religious illegal« infiltration »(Al Misry Al Youm, 29/11/2016, quoting the official newspaper China daily). This fear is confirmed in Russia today's report, 1/3/ 2017: (China has repeatedly warned that

extremist forces from abroad are behind the idea of carrying out terrorist operations in Xinjiang and other regions of the country, prompting authorities to launch harsh raids campaign.)

6. Due to the enthusiasm of Muslims that have emerged in the construction of thousands of mosques again in the region, and the spread of Islamic ideas, China started to bring back its "cultural revolution" to the region, and stresses in preventing the Islamic manifestations, and it prepares for a new terrorizing campaign of against Muslims, the manifestations of this campaign until now as follows:

A- withholding of passports: the BBC reported 24/11/2016: (Chinese authorities have asked all the citizens of Xinjiang, thw vast territory of the Muslim-majority located in the west of the country to surrender their passports to the police, ... Stefan McDonnell the BBC correspondent in China said that the handing over of passports request was through the official announcement by the police on the Internet, and all citizens in Xinjiang must now surrender their passports, the police retain the passports in their possession. This means that from now all the citizens of the region must apply for a request if they want to travel!)

B- Harassing Muslims in their worships: France 24 reported on 6/6/2016: (the Chinese authorities issued a decree on Monday to prevent the public sector employees and students from fasting during Ramadan in the Muslim Xinjiang region. Also it has imposed on restaurants to keep their doors open). A procedure that was practiced by the government since 2015, i24 news reported on 18/6/2015: (Chinese authorities prevented



civilian employees, students and teachers in the Xinjiang region of fasting in the month of Ramadan ... and that "restaurants will operate normally during the time of Ramadan." Officials in Paul province were notified that, "during Ramadan they must not participate in fasting and other religious rites," according to a report posted on the local government website after a meeting this week.)

C- The pursuit and arrest of anyone who shows Islamic manifestations: Under the headline "China is pursuing the Muslims...an approval of the financial reward for those who report the bearded and (face) veiled" Ad-Diyar newspaper website cited on 23/02/2017 from a local newspaper in China: (China has set a reward of thousand yuan (275 euros ) for the one who reports a bearded young man or veiled woman in Xinjiang province, located north-west of the country, and there is tension between the Chinese Huns and Uyghur Muslims., according to local daily newspaper "Hotan", that the town of Hotan authorities, which have recently experienced political unrest, have allocated a fund worth 100 million yuan (13.7 million euros) to finance the rewards of "fighting terrorism." It added that the rewards can be up to five million yuan, in the event of detection a plan of attack, or those who "hit or kills or injure or control the rioters")

7. Due to all the things mentioned above, the Chinese crackdown campaign on the Uyghur Muslims in East "Xinjiang" Turkistan may be under preparation and processing, and that their implementation may be at any given moment, the justification China can use is that the region is witnessing a lot of violence against the state, and can invoke a massive

campaign, after mobilizing in the region thousands of soldiers and armored vehicles, and armored cars and helicopters, (the Communist party secretary of Xinjiang, Chen Chuan Jo, said that the military deployment in the region is aimed at ensuring security and stabilization, after the recent strikes that took place in several areas during the current year). (Al Jazeera Net, 2/3/2017)

8. The painful fact is that these Chinese atrocities against the Uyghur Muslims are taking place under the eyes and ears of millions of Muslims in the world without them putting pressure in removing these atrocities, this is because millions of Muslims are scattered and are not unified together by the state, the state of the Ummah, the state of Islam, the absent righteous Khilafah (caliphate) that must every Muslim who is able must work to bring it back, and to find a Khalifah, the imam, who takes care of affairs rightfully who protects and is fought from behind him, as stated in Sahih Al-Bukhari from Abu Huraira may Allah be pleased with him that he said: the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: « وَإِنَّمَا الْإِمَامُ جُنَّةٌ يُفَاتَلُ مِنْ وَرَائِهِ » «وَيُنْقَى بِهِ» "Verily the Imam is but a shield who is fought from behind and is protected by" and then China and other than China will not dare to hurt a Muslim because it realizes that its aggression will be met with double in retaliation, Allah is strong and powerful.

**The Second question:** (in recent times there have been a series of missile-launching activities in the Indian sub-continent, and in the first of March 2017 India tested a system of interceptor missiles ahead of Abdul Karim Island (off the Odisha coast in the Bay of Bengal). Earlier this year, Pakistan tested a

missile system (Ababil), with a range of up to 2,200 km, which is capable of carrying multiple warheads. Are these missile tests part of a new arms race between India and Pakistan? What are the regional implications of these experiments?). Jazzak Allah Khair.

**Answer:** The missile tests in India and Pakistan is a continuation of the efforts of the two countries in achieving nuclear survival through the development of the ability to carry out a second strike, and to understand this better, it is necessary to understand the summary of the nuclear arms race in the subcontinent.

1. States are seeking to acquire nuclear weapons for two main reasons; first is to double the conventional military superiority, for example, North Korea confirms this trend, it considers nuclear weapons as key to overcome the conventional military superiority of South Korea and to annoy America, which has thousands of troops stationed in the Korean Demilitarized Zone ... the second is to face the nuclear-armed states, for example, when the Soviet Union's failed to expand the nuclear umbrella to include China during the Korean war, China proceeded to get nuclear weapons, prompting India to continue its nuclear program, which in turn led to the pursuit of Pakistan to launch its nuclear program, and so the three countries sought to reach a state of nuclear parity with each other to prevent a possible nuclear attacks between them: Waltz, K. (1981). *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better: Introduction*. The Adelphi Papers, 21 (171), pp.383-425

2. However, the mere possession of nuclear warheads is not enough to deter the nuclear adversaries from hostilities, for nuclear

deterrence to be achieved, the countries that possess nuclear warheads must have the ability to protect its nuclear arsenal from any possible attack. The ability to launch nuclear warheads and hitting the opponents nuclear targets is called the first strike, and the ability to absorb the first strike and launch a nuclear retaliatory strike is known as the second strike, i.e. it is able to survive as a result of the first strike and it has nuclear warheads enough to cope with strikes, and this is called nuclear Trinity, which is found when the state owns submarines capable of launching nuclear missiles; it is difficult to detect submarines, and they have the ability to carry out a counter strike that paralyzes the aviation capacity.

3. Nuclear deterrence between the nuclear states works well when both countries have the capacity of a second strike, this ensures that there is a mutual destruction to both parties, and the fear of this prevents the parties from launching a first strike, and nuclear strategists call this situation "mutual assured destruction (MAD)". Thus, unlike conventional weapons, the real value of nuclear weapons is to deter the enemy from using the nuclear weapon.

4. Since India and Pakistan began the nuclear tests in 1998, nuclear scientists and strategists and politicians have sought to apply the above mentioned theory of nuclear deterrence on the ground, and because of the phenomenon of mutual assured destruction (MAD), both sides believe that the nuclear peace exists on the sub-continent, and this is the main engine behind the rapid development of missile technology, and reducing the size of nuclear warheads to be carried on the missiles, and the development of all operations. At the

same time, it is necessary to use the perspective of nuclear deterrence to understand the recent missile tests between India and Pakistan over the past decade there has been progress in missile technology and securing a first strike option by both sides, however, recent developments suggest greater efforts to preserve the option of a second strike, see the following examples:

A- Submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM): on the ninth of January 2017, Pakistan conducted a successful test of the missile (Babur 3) from an undisclosed location in the Indian Ocean, cruise missiles were fired from an underwater with a range of 450 km, it was carried out in the sea to avoid being discovered. The Pakistani army said it was testing a rocket (Babur 3), which gives Islamabad the ability to carry out a "second strike":

<https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2017/02/28/inpk-f28.html>

However, Pakistan does not possess nuclear submarines and have to carry (Babur 3) in the diesel and electricity-powered submarines, which has a limited ability to stay underwater. (Babur 3) is Pakistan's response to India's missile system (K4) launched by Indian submarines-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) which was launched in May 2014, with a range of up to 3,000 km, and can reach Pakistan and China, and thus India and Pakistan possess the ability of a second strike.

B- Multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRV): India conducted tests of the two missiles that have nuclear capability in December 2016 and January 2017. The first is the (Ajny- V), a surface to surface ballistic

missile which is a rapid development of the nuclear arsenal, and the second (Ajni V) which carries the multi-purpose nuclear warheads with a range of 5,000 km. In addition, in January 2017 Delhi tested (Ajni-IV), a system that ranges up to 4,000 km. Missile (Ajni V) gives the possibility of striking nuclear targets which are located in China ... This year, Pakistan tested a missile system (Ababil) that have the capabilities (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles MIRV), and in a statement issued by the Pakistani army, it stated the following: " the first successful operation took place to test (Ababil) the surface to surface ballistic missile with a range of up to 2,200 km, capable of carrying multiple warheads, using (MIRV) technology, and is able to deal with multiple targets in details and defeat enemy radars of hostile targets ": <https://www.dawn.com/news/1310630>

The (Ababil) rockets were designed by Pakistan to overwhelm the defenses of the Indian ballistic missile nuclear shield. India is actively testing the interceptor missiles such as (Ashvin) to bring down possible Pakistani nuclear missile. Through the deployment of (MIRV) technology one nuclear missile can turn into several nuclear missiles, which nullifies the missile interceptor capability.

5. There is no doubt that the nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan is to prepare for the option of a second strike, which will upset the nuclear balance with India's rival (i.e. China), while China is working on the minimum on the issue of nuclear deterrence. And India's rapid development of (MIRV) technology and submarines carrying missiles has encouraged its leaders, the Indian army chief (Gen. Bipin Rawat) said that his country

"is ready to fight a war on two fronts" with Pakistan and China at the same time:

<http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/india-prepared-two-front-war-pakistan-china-says-new-army-chief-1599031>

The test of the Indian missile (Agni V) has angered China, the spokesman for the Chinese Foreign Ministry (Chunying) said: "the Security Council of the United Nations have clear rules on whether India can develop ballistic missiles capable of carrying nuclear weapons," the ministry went on to say that India's ambitions with (Agni V) may be intended to counter China:

<http://www.upi.com/Defense-News/2016/12/27/India-tests-Agni-V-ballistic-missile-tensions-with-China-rise/9001482862013/>

6. India could not have adopted this provocative policy without American support via the agreement (123) that was ratified in 2005, which enabled it to get a steady supply of nuclear fuel for its civilian reactors, and therefore the use of nuclear fuel in the Indian nuclear program. Trump's administration indicated clearly that it wants to build on the

progress made by previous US administrations to India, in the February 8th, 2017, the US Secretary of defense (Gen. James Mattis) praised in a telephone conversation with his Indian counterpart (Manohar Barikar) the "tremendous progress" made by India in the "last years "and referred to the " joint cooperation between the two countries in the field of defense, "he said that the new administration is keen to" maintain the momentum and build on it: "

<https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2017/02/15/inus-f15.html>

It is expected that America continues to exploit the nuclear arms race in the subcontinent to implicate China in the nuclear arms race, and America's goal is to shift China from the economic activity to the military activity, to facilitate the collapse of China, just as the United States did with the Soviet Union. At present China still maintains the minimum nuclear deterrent and refuses to be drawn into a nuclear arms race.

**12 Jumada II 1438 AH**

**11/3/2017 CE**



# Protests Against Betrayal of Kashmir: Corruption of Rulers Includes Paving the Way for Greater India “Akhund Bharat”

In the wake of an increase in the Indian persecution of the Muslims of Occupied Kashmir, including tying a Muslim to a military jeep as a human shield and forcing Muslims to raise anti-Pakistan slogans, Hizb ut Tahrir Wilayah Pakistan held protests against the corrupt stance of the rulers of Pakistan towards Occupied Kashmir and India. The protests raised the slogans, “The Issue of Kashmir will Be Solved By Jihad by Our Armed Forces, Not Dialogue”, "The Rulers Strive for Akhand Bharat (Greater India) and the Betrayal of Kashmir" and "The Shield of the Muslims is the Khilafah".

Negotiations are part of the American plan, towards which the US President Donald Trump has reiterated, so that the attention of the Muslims of Kashmir and Pakistan will be diverted from the noble and defiant struggle against India by the Muslims of Occupied Kashmir and India is given an opportunity to consolidate control. Furthermore through US mediated negotiations, the so-called solution is to grant the Indians the stable authority over Occupied Kashmir which India could never achieve for itself on the battlefield in nearly seven decades. And this is the US plan to ensure the rise of India as the dominant regional power, to act as a counter to the Islamic revival and China.

However, regardless of Supreme Court decisions, the current political system and its leadership will never mobilize Pakistan armed forces for Kashmir's liberation. As long as

Democracy remains so will corruption, because the origin of corruption is ignoring the commands and prohibitions of Allah swt and His Messenger saaw. Pakistan's armed forces will only be mobilized by a rightly guided Khaleefah, for the RasulAllah (saaw) declared the Khaleefah, the Imaam of Muslims, a shield for the Muslims when he (saaw) said «إِنَّمَا الْإِمَامُ جُنَّةٌ يُقَاتَلُ مِنْ وَرَائِهِ وَيُتَّقَى بِهِ فَإِنْ أَمَرَ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ «وَعَدَلٌ كَانَ لَهُ بِذَلِكَ أَجْرٌ وَإِنْ يَأْمُرُ بِغَيْرِهِ كَانَ عَلَيْهِ مِنْهُ»

“Indeed the Imaam (of the Muslims) is a shield for them. They fight behind him and they are protected by him. If he enjoins fear of Allah (swt), the Exalted and Glorious, and dispenses justice, there will be great reward for him; and if he enjoins otherwise, it is of negative consequence upon him.” (Muslim).

Therefore after the establishment of Khilafah (Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood, the rightly guided Khaleefah will order the mighty armed forces of the Muslims to liberate Kashmir, Palestine and all the occupied Muslim lands. So the Muslims of Pakistan must join Hizb ut Tahrir's struggle and demand that the sincere officers of Pakistan's armed forces grant Nussrah to Hizb ut Tahrir for establishing the Khilafah in Pakistan.

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

**23 Rajab 1438/ 20 April 2017**





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