

# UQAB

Magazine

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# The Speech of the Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir, the Eminent Scholar, Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah



On the Centenary of the Destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate) on 1342 AH - 1924 CE

Press Statement

## Hizb ut Tahrir / Kenya organized activities during the global campaign under the slogan:

### “Upon the Centenary of the Destruction of the Khilafah... O Muslims, Establish It!”

With the direction of the Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir Eminent Scholar Ata Bin Khalil Abu al-Rashtah, may Almighty Allah protect him, Hizb ut Tahrir / Kenya successfully concluded a global campaigning that marked the 100 years in the Hijri calendar since the destruction of the Khilafah State (Caliphate), 28 Rajab Muharram 1442 AH / 2021 CE.

Hizb ut Tahrir / Kenya was able to conduct picketing after Jumua' prayers for the four weeks of the holy month of Rajab. This was done in mainly in coastal towns of Mombasa, Malindi, Shimoni and LungaLunga. In capital Nairobi, the Picketing was conducted at Jamia Mosque, Eastleigh, Huruma and Majengo. In the first Picketing, a press release entitled: “Since the Destruction of the Khilafah, Demolition of Houses of Worship has become a Tragedy to the entire Muslims” was distributed all coastal regions as well as Nairobi. And on the third week, an article entitled: “Muslim Ummah can never be defeated by her enemies”.

The campaign also comprised series of public talks in different mosques along with cards distribution carrying the message of the glory of the Khilafah, the impact of its absence, the obligation to its reestablishment and its return. On March 10, 2021 Radio Rahma hosted Ustadh Shabani Mwalimu – Media Representative of Hizb ut Tahrir/ Kenya in a one-hour live talk show where he talked about The Glad Tidings of the Return of the Khilafah Series of streets walking and visits to prominent and influential people were made to remind them the public their constructive role to play towards the noble task of reestablishment of the Khilafah.

These activities were a part of a global campaign carried out by the sincere Shabab and Shababat of Hizb ut Tahrir all over the world in the month of Rajab Muharram of this year 1442 AH - 2021 CE. This was to remind the Ummah the centenary of the sorrowful event of the abolition of the Unique Islamic System Governance established by the Master of the Messengers Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, (the Caliphate) that illuminated the corners of the world over the course of 13 centuries.

We ask Allah Subhanahu wa Taa'la to hasten the establishment of the Khilafah Rashidah (rightly guided Caliphate) upon the method of the Prophethood for us, and that is no great matter for Allah. He (swt) says,

وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَى لَهُمْ وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُم مِّن بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا  
يَعْبُدُونَنِي لَا يُشْرِكُونَ بِي شَيْئًا وَمَن كَفَرَ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ

“Allah has promised those who have believed among you and done righteous deeds that He will surely grant them succession [to authority] upon the earth just as He granted it to those before them and that He will surely establish for them [therein] their religion which He has preferred for them and that He will surely substitute for them, after their fear, security, [for] they worship Me, not associating anything with Me. But whoever disbelieves after that - then those are the defiantly disobedient.” [TMQ: 24:55].

**Shabani Mwalimu**  
Media Representative of Hizb ut Tahrir in Kenya

# The Speech of the Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir, the Eminent Scholar, Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah On the Centenary of the Destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate) on 1342 AH - 1924 CE

Praise be to Allah, and prayers and peace be upon the Messenger of Allah, his family and companions, and those who follow him.

To the Islamic Ummah in general, and to the Dawah carriers, men and women, working to re-establish the Khilafah Rashidah (rightly guided Caliphate) in particular,

**Assalamu Alaikum Wa Rahmatullah Wa Barakatuh,**

During these days a hundred years ago, at the end of Rajab 1342 AH corresponding to early March 1924 CE, the colonial kuffar led by Britain at the time, in cooperation with the traitors of the Arabs and the Turks, managed to abolish the Khilafah (Caliphate). The criminal of the century Mustafa Kemal declared the abolition of the Khilafah and the siege of the Caliph in Istanbul whom he expelled before dawn of that day. That was the price that the British had ordered him to present in return for his appointment as president of the feeble secular Turkish republic. Thus, it happened, and a horrific earthquake occurred in the Muslim lands with the elimination of the Khilafah, the source of their glory and the pleasure of their Lord.

This criminal declared open kuffr by abolishing the Khilafah after it was in place. The duty upon the Ummah was to fight him with the sword as mentioned in the Hadith of the Messenger (saw) agreed upon on the authority of I'bada Ibn al-Samit (ra): وَأَنْ لَا تَنْزِعَ الْأَمْرَ أَهْلَهُ إِلَّا أَنْ تَرَوْا كُفْرًا بَوَاحًا عِنْدَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ فِيهِ بُرْهَانٌ **...and not to fight against the ruler unless we noticed him having open Kufr (disbelief) for which we would have a proof with us from Allah.**” However, his ruthless cruelty in the Ummah’s bloodshed, especially of the scholars, where he executed scores of scholars, including Sheikh Saeed Biran, may Allah have mercy on him, and imprisoned others; all of this had an effect on the Ummah’s shortcomings. The Ummah did not go into a furor to stop that traitor, and did not overthrow him and his followers. Rather, their response was weak and was insufficient to crush the traitor to Allah and His Messenger and the believers! Thus, the perpetrator of blatant kufr, through his heinous act, "escaped" from being plunged by the Ummah into an abysmal place!

After that, the influence of the colonial kuffar blanketed the Muslim lands, so they divided the lands, and tore them apart into pieces that reached about fifty-five

fragments. This was as a result of the earthquake of the demolition of the Khilafah. Then another earthquake occurred by giving the Jews a state in the Blessed Land, the site of Isra’ and Mi’raj of the Prophet (saw), and they sustained it with means to enable its survival. The first of these means is the protection of its security by the agent-client rulers surrounding it. Not only that, but these rulers were defeated by the Jews in every war that broke out, until they gave the Jewish state a magnitude above its size and an image other than its image. And they were not satisfied with that, but they made every effort to fight Allah and His Messenger to transfer the issue from uprooting the Jewish entity from Palestine to negotiating with a Jewish entity that may perhaps withdraw from a part of the land that it occupied in 1967!

Then they succumbed to even lower levels afterwards, and rushed towards normalization with the Jewish entity, even without its withdrawal from any part!! Some of them committed the crime of normalization from behind a curtain and some of them committed it publicly, day and night! After the rulers of Egypt led this march of humiliation and disgrace, the Palestinian Liberation Organization followed it and then the rulers of each of Jordan, followed by Emirates, Bahrain, Sudan and Morocco. The Saudi rulers stand by the side of the road waving to those countries that they are walking behind them and not lagging behind, and so they all rush in committing the crime without bother of the humiliation that envelops them from head to toe.

سَيُصِيبُ الَّذِينَ أَجْرَمُوا صَغَارٌ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَعَذَابٌ شَدِيدٌ بِمَا كَانُوا يَمْكُرُونَ

**“There will afflict those who committed crimes debasement before Allah and severe punishment for what they used to conspire” [Al-An’am: 124].**

It is not only Palestine that these rulers have betrayed, but they have also surrendered or handed over other pure parts of the land of Islam. Kashmir was annexed by the Hindu polytheists to their state, Russia annexed Crimea, South Sudan was seceded from its north, and East Timor was taken from Indonesia. Cyprus, what do you know about Cyprus, as it was a fortress of the Muslims for many years, now it is mostly controlled by Greece, and the Rohingya Muslims were slaughtered in Myanmar (Burma), and when they sought refuge in Bangladesh, the regime there subjected them to adversity and crammed them in the island of Basan

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Char that is a dangerous island prone to flooding and is unfit for human inhabitation! Then, East Turkestan, which China has oppressed and treated brutally, even monsters recoil from such treatment, making it a prison for the free men and women, so the massacres were magnified publicly, not secretly, before the hearing and sight of the existing countries in the Muslim lands, who remained silent like the graves, and when they do speak out they say that the oppression of Muslims by China is an internal matter!

كَبُرَتْ كَلِمَةً تَخْرُجُ مِنْ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ إِنَّ يَقُولُونَ إِلَّا كَذِبًا

**“Grave is the word that comes out of their mouths; they speak not except a lie” [Al-Kahf: 5].**

As for other the Muslim countries, they are ruled by the Ruwaibidha (ignorant) rulers, who revolve with the colonial kuffar wherever and however they turn, so they do not preserve the security of the country and do not truly care for the people, their wealth is plundered and deprived of their dignity neither here nor there. They have no weight to the colonial kuffar especially America, that calls its agents to that which gives them humiliation and dishonor; it dictates to them, "Without us, you would not have stayed on your crooked chairs for a few days, pay us as much money as you can, even more than what you can." Truly one who is humiliated, will be at ease facing humiliation.

**O Muslims:** This is your condition after the demise of the Khilafah, nations gather against you from all sides, so how was your situation under the shade of the Khilafah?

You were the best nation that was brought to humankind, the followers of Muhammad (saw), the Seal of the Prophets and the Imam of the Mujahideen. Your ancestors are the rightly guided caliphs, conquerors and leaders. You are the descendants of the victorious Salah ud-Din, the conqueror of the Crusaders, and the liberator of Al-Quds from their defilement in such a great month, Rajab 583 AH, the descendants of Qutuz and Baibars the conqueror of the Tatars, the descendants of Muhammad al-Fatih, the young Amir who was not over the age of twenty-three when he conquered Constantinople in 857 AH / 1453 CE, and Allah honoured him with the praise of the Messenger of Allah (saw) in the Hadith that Ahmad narrated on the authority of Bishr al-Khath'ami: **فَلْنِعْمَ الْأَمِيرُ...أميرها ولنعم الجيش ذلك الجيش** **“You will open Constantinople, its Amir is the best Amir, and the best army is that army.”**

The descendants of Caliph Suleiman Al-Qanouni, where France sought his help to release its king from captivity in the sixteenth century (1525 CE), but today it forgot or wanted to forget this assistance from the caliph of the Muslims, so it transgressed and insulted Islam and the Messenger of Islam (saw) in the absence of any accountability because the shield of Islam is absent.

You are the descendants of Caliph Selim III; during his reign, the United States of America paid an annual tax to allow American ships to pass safely from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean without being attacked by the Ottoman Navy in the Wilayah (state) of Algiers, and for the first time America was forced to sign a treaty in a language other than its own, but rather in the language of another country (the Ottoman State) in the year 1210 AH / 1795 CE. America now controls the rulers of the Muslims, saying: "Pay, we are the ones who protect you". You are the descendants of Caliph Abdul Hamid, who was not tempted by the golden millions that the Jews offered to the State Treasury to allow them to settle in Palestine, and said his famous declaration: "The scalpel's work in my body is easier for me than seeing Palestine amputated from the caliphate", then he added "... let the Jews keep their millions ... and if the Khilafah is torn apart one day, they can then take Palestine without a price." And this is what happened! You are the descendants of those who invented the clock, and gifted one to Charlemagne, the greatest king of Europe at that time, and his entourage thought it was full of goblins and jinn! This is how we were with our enlightened thoughts, and how they were in their empty weak thoughts!

This is how you were, O Muslims, when the Caliphate shielded you, and this is how you became when the Caliphate's shade was removed, so take heed, O people of sight.

**In conclusion, I turn to you, People of Power and Protection: O descendants of Khalid, Salah ud-Din and Muhammad al-Fatih**

Only you are the ones who can heal the Ummah's chest from its enemies, the enemies of your Deen. Only you can break the humiliation that Muslims have reached in their lands, the lands of Islam, and you will have the honour to initiate and realize the Ummah's hope, and the whole Ummah will stand with you, and all its soldiers will stand at the forefront and behind you. You will not be alone, Allah willing, so do your duty, may Allah bless you, rise to our victory, to support Hizb ut Tahrir for the establishment of the Khilafah Rashidah (rightly guided Caliphate), for it is not the path of victory only in terms of describing reality, but rather because of its utmost great obligation, by which rules are established and Hudood are implemented. Without it, rulings are not applied to people, and there are no Hudood implemented between them, and whoever does not work to establish the Khilafah and establish a caliph while he is able, his sin is great as if he died a death of a Jahiliyya to indicate the severity of the sin. **وَمَنْ مَاتَ وَلَيْسَ فِي عُنُقِهِ بَيْعَةٌ، مَاتَ مَيْتَةً... And whoever dies without the pledge of allegiance (to the ruler) upon his neck dies a death of jahiliyya.** The Muslims gave the pledge of allegiance to the caliph before they prepared and buried the Messenger of Allah (saw), may Allah's prayers and peace be upon him, due to its importance and greatness, and

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all of this is due to the greatness and importance of the Khilafah.

### **O People of Power and Protection: O People of Nusra (victory): O Muslim Armies**

Is there not a Mus'ab bin Umayr, As'ad bin Zurara, and Usayd bin Hudair, and Sa'ad bin Muadh among you? Those who have given victory to Allah (swt) and His Messenger (saw), and they won in this world and the next. Even the throne of Ar-Rahman, Most Merciful, shook due to the death of Sa'ad bin Muadh for giving the support (Nusra) for Allah's Deen. Bukhari narrated on the authority of Jaber, may Allah be pleased with him, I heard the Prophet (saw) say: اهْتَزَّ الْعَرْشُ لِمَوْتِ سَعْدِ بْنِ مَعَاذٍ "The throne shook because of the death of Sa'ad bin Muadh." Is there no wise man among you to support Allah (swt), His Messenger (saw), and the people of his (saw) call? The Ummah awaits you. It is waiting for your takbeer so that it can join you in takbeer and when the banner is raised high by your hands, they chant the tahleel for you, and this is the only way for the Ummah's revival; to establish the Khilafah Rashidah that implements Islam internally and carries it to the world by Dawah and Jihad, and Allah grants it victory:

إِنَّا لَنَنْصُرُ رُسُلَنَا وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَيَوْمَ يَقُومُ الْأَشْهَادُ

**"Indeed, We will support Our messengers and those who believe during the life of this world and on the Day when the witnesses will stand"** [Ghafir: 51].

**O, Soldiers of Allah:** We realize that no angels will come down from the heavens to establish the Khilafah for us and lead an army that strengthens Islam and the Muslims. Allah (swt) will send down angels to help us if we work hard with sincerity and loyalty to resume the Islamic way of life on earth and to establish the Khilafah. This is a true promise in the Book of Allah (swt) and the Hadith of the Messenger (saw). This is not affected by the saying of those who say that establishing the Khilafah today is a figment of the imagination. Actually the one who claims that the establishment of the Khilafah is a fantasy is the one who seeks fantasy, while establishing the Khilafah is a reality that will happen, Allah willing, and is confirmed by four facts:

**First:** A promise from Allah:

وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا مِنكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِهِمْ

**"Allah has promised those who have believed among you and done righteous deeds that He will surely grant them succession [to authority] upon the earth just as He granted it to those before them"** [An-Nur: 55].

**Second:** A glad-tiding (Bushra) of the Messenger of

Allah (saw) of the return of the Khilafah on the method of Prophethood after the forced rule, the Prophet (saw) said:

ثُمَّ تَكُونُ مُلْكًا جَبْرِيَّةً فَتَكُونُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ تَكُونَ ثُمَّ يَرْفَعُهَا إِذَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَرْفَعَهَا...  
ثُمَّ تَكُونُ خِلَافَةً عَلَىٰ مِنْهَاجِ النَّبُوءَةِ  
ثُمَّ سَكَتَ ﷺ

**"...then there will be a forced rule, it will last for as long as Allah wills, then He (swt) will remove it, then there will be Khilafah on the method of Prophethood" and then he (saw) kept silent.** [Extracted by Ahmad on the authority of Hudhaifa].

**Third:** A vital interactive Ummah, the best nation brought to humankind:

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

**"You are the best nation produced [as an example] for mankind. You enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong and believe in Allah."** [Al-i-Imran: 110]. If it were to abate establishing the Khilafah one day, it is only like the lion's respite before it attacks.

**Fourth:** A party that is sincere to Allah (swt), Allah willing, truthful with His Messenger (saw) hastening, and working day and night to achieve the promise of the glad tiding, as if it is the confirmation to the Hadith:

لَا تَزَالُ طَائِفَةٌ مِّنْ أُمَّتِي ظَاهِرِينَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ لَا يَضُرُّهُمْ مَن خَذَلَهُمْ حَتَّىٰ يَأْتِيَ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ وَهُمْ كَذَلِكَ

**"A group of people from my Umma will always remain triumphant on the right path and continue to be triumphant (against their opponents). He who deserts them shall not be able to do them any harm. They will remain in this position until Allah's Command is executed (i.e. Qiyamah is established)"** [Extracted by Muslim on the authority of Thauban].

Any one of these four is sufficient to state that the work for the Khilafah is not fiction, so what if the four are combined?! Thus, the establishment of the Khilafah is an established fact that will take place soon, Allah willing, and its stability and perseverance after its establishment will materialize, Allah willing, and the structures of the major states today will collapse with an abysmal end. These countries are small in the eyes of Allah (swt) and the servants of Allah. What a tiny creation (Covid-19) that can hardly be seen has caused to those countries, and its leader America is an example of this, and look at what happened to it in its elections; one group considers it theft and fraud and another considers it a great victory! It did not stop at the altercations, but rather by storming the official institutions, and the loss of life with firepower in the corridors of the head of Capitalism, and both parties are calling for the ruined democracy! This is the world today, its old before the young, only the establishment of the state of Islam, the Khilafah on the method of the Prophethood, will save it.

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**Brothers and Sisters:** We used to work and pray to Allah (swt) that the establishment of the Khilafah would take place before the centenary, so days passed by us during these seventy years of the life of the Hizb. We get close to being able to touch the Khilafah, then it moves far away, yet we did not despair in the mercy of Allah; therefore we work as our eyes aspire to the Khilafah, and our hearts beat towards it, and we are all reassured that it will be established, as the Messenger of Allah (saw) informed us that and gave us the glad-tiding: «...تَكُونُ...» **“And then there will be Khilafah on the method of Prophethood.”** And all of this is enough motivation, and strengthens our resolve, and ignites the flame again, and transforms a person into another creation, from being stunned due to a calamity to one who is optimistic in the relief from the calamity. This is what Al-Aleem Al-Khabeer informed us:

فَإِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا \* إِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا

**“For indeed, with hardship [will be] ease \* Indeed, with hardship [will be] ease”** [Ash-Sharh: 5-6]. This is what the truthful and trustworthy told us in the Hadith of Razeen: **“a hardship will not overcome two eases.”** This was the message of Umar to Abu Ubaida: “There is no hardship except that Allah makes an opening for him after it, and a hardship will not overcome two eases.”

Thus, the relief is coming, by the will of the Lord of the worlds, and the Khilafah will be established by the hands of the true believers. It will destroy the Jewish entity and return Palestine to the abode of Islam, and Rome will be opened after the opening of its sister (Istanbul), and the pure throats will chant by the words of Al-Qawi Al-Aziz:

وَقُلْ جَاءَ الْحَقُّ وَزَهَقَ الْبَاطِلُ إِنَّ الْبَاطِلَ كَانَ زَهُوقًا

**“And say, "Truth has come, and falsehood has departed. Indeed, is falsehood, [by nature], ever bound to depart.”** [Al-Isra: 81]. The earth will be filled with cries of takbeer and the lands will shine with the light of Islam.

لَيَبْلُغَنَّ هَذَا الْأَمْرُ مَا بَلَغَ النَّيْلُ وَالنَّهَارُ وَلَا يَتْرُكُ اللَّهُ بَيْتَ مَدْرٍ وَلَا وَبَرَ إِلَّا أَدْخَلَهُ اللَّهُ هَذَا الدِّينَ بَعْرَ عَزِيزٍ أَوْ بَدَلٌ دَلِيلٍ عَزَا يُعْرِ اللَّهُ بِهِ الْإِسْلَامَ وَذَلَا يُذِلُّ اللَّهُ بِهِ الْكُفْرَ **“This matter (Islam) will keep spreading as far as the night and day reach, until Allah will not leave a house made of mud or hair, but will make this religion enter it, while bringing might to a mighty person (a Muslim) and humiliation to a disgraced person (who rejects Islam). Might with which Allah elevates Islam (and its people) and disgrace with which Allah humiliates disbelief (and its people).”** [Extracted by Ahmad from Tamim Ad-Dari].

We realize that the enemies of Islam think that this is impossible to achieve, and they repeat the saying of the mockers that preceded them,

**“Their religion has deluded those [Muslims]”** [Al-Anfal: 49]. But just as that saying was a scourge on those who said it, and Allah (swt) gave victory to His Deen and triumph to His people, that day will be a catastrophe upon them because Allah Al-Aziz Al-Hakim is with His worshipers who trust in Him, the faithful to Him Subhannahu, the truthful with His Messenger (saw), those who work earnestly and diligently, and their hearts and their limbs are fixed on Allah’s saying:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ بِأَمْرِهِ فَدَجَّلَ اللَّهُ لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدْرًا

**“Allah will accomplish His purpose. Allah has already set for everything a [decreed] extent”** [At-Talaq: 3]. With each passing day, they approach this Qadr (destiny).

وَاللَّهُ غَالِبٌ عَلَى أَمْرِهِ وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ

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

Wa Assalamu Alaikum Wa Rahmatullah Wa Barakatuh

Saturday, 29 Rajab 1442 AH

13/3/2021 CE

Your Brother

Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah

Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir





# NEWS & COMMENTS

## Economic Partnership Agreement

### A Tool to Perpetuate Colonial Dominance

#### News:

On Tuesday, 9 March 2021 Kenya's Parliament ratified the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) with the United Kingdom. The trade deal will give UK goods 25 years of tax free entry into Kenya. (Daily Nation)

#### Comment:

Kenya's ratification follows that of UK's House of Lords debate that took place on Tuesday, 2 March 2021. (Business Daily, 09/03/2021). However, Kenya's Parliament endorsed the trade pact with some doubts. The reservations earlier led to the postponement of debate on the treaty after not receiving the annexure containing goods due for tax exemption! Members of Parliament (MPs) were angered by a clause in the EPA Act that stipulates no amendments during ratification of the agreement. (The Star, 26/02/2021). In addition, the Parliamentary Finance committee alleged that it was not involved in the negotiation process despite being in charge of handling tax issues. (Daily Nation, 26/02/2021).

Eventually, the Kenyan Parliament ratified the deal with hope that some clauses in the EPA give power to the Kenyan Cabinet Secretary to withdraw from the deal and can make some amendments during its implementation. Furthermore, some MPs promised to amend the Treaty Act so that the parliament can be involved in future negotiations from the start. Hence, this brings an end to a process that began with the signing of the trade deal on Tuesday, 8 December 2020 in London between the International Trade Minister Ranil Jayawardena and Kenya's Cabinet Secretary for Trade, Minister Betty Maina on behalf of the East African Community (EAC), despite the fact that Kenya Small-Scale Farmer Forum and Econews Africa moved to court to stop ratification of the agreement citing failure to widely consult stakeholders on the same!

It is disheartening to witness the signing and ratification of the deal. On the face value, it looks supportive of our nation economically. It is alleged that we can export our products/goods into UK on a no-tariff, no-quota basis once the deal is ratified. The truth is explicit that our nation to-date remains an extension of the former colonial master's farm whose policies and regulations are subject to the interests of the master. It is in the public domain that those exporting products/goods to the UK are just a small cabal of elites that hold power

on behalf of the Western colonialists. Some of them own and stranglehold crucial local sectors such as tea, coffee, fresh flower produce etc. Hence, it is they who will continue to enjoy the fruits of the said deal. On the other hand, it will condemn the majority who are struggling to fend for themselves into further misery since there will be flooding of UK products/goods. Hence, our economy will continue to be shackled to UK.

Indeed, these are the latest maneuvers of the desperate UK whose fortunes keep dwindling across the globe before and after exiting European Union. Reaching out to its former colonies is just part of a grand scheme to prop up its image abroad. In realizing its goal, it exploits its colonial agent rulers to pass through heinous legislations, and in turn exposing our so called independent institutions such as parliament to public ridicule by being just rubber stamping authorities as they are pushed over by the executive!

Western colonialists continue to poison and dominate using their secular capitalist ideology and its venomous systems. They continue to wreak havoc in our lives to an extent people prefer death than living, since they are pillaging our resources and tightening economic nooses via unbearable taxation policies that promote poverty and wealth accumulation to a few. Hence, rich-poor gap is soaring. In conclusion, the EPA seems to be good on paper but catastrophic in implementation. As exposed by the explanation given by the Cabinet Secretary for Ministry of Industry, Trade and Enterprise Development via a memorandum accompanying the EPA, which was tabled in Parliament on 22 December 2020, for ratification. "Kenya is offering to open 82.6 per cent value of total trade to the UK over an extended transition period (up to 25 years with a seven- year moratorium) constituting of mainly raw materials, capital goods, intermediate products and all other essential goods." (Daily Nation, 22/02/2021).

**Ali Nassoro Ali**

**Member of the Central Media Office of Hizb ut Tahrir**

# Yes Mr Blair! Despite the West's Century Long Agenda of Divisions of the Middle East the Future Will Inevitably be an Islamic One Decided by the Ummah



Not nationalism nor Sectarianism Tony Blair confirms will be the ideological basis of political struggles in the Middle East but an Islamic political struggle that Britain with their allies continues to push back against.

In an online guest appearance by Tony Blair at the Washington Institute on January 11th 2021 titled, 'Geopolitics 2021 - America, The Middle East, and the World' he said the following: "My view is very clear and the Middle East still matters and it matters enormously. It matters because it's in the Middle East that the future of Islam will be decided..."

...That is why I believe there is no good policy on the Middle East today that does not start from a comprehensive analysis of what has been right and wrong since the turn of the century, or that stems from the wrong framing argument about the main struggle in the region. Because otherwise you end up in a situation where you perceive the region as a struggle between Iran and Saudi Arabia or Shia versus Sunni. No it's not! It really isn't in the end. It is a struggle between those people who say that religion—maybe one view in Islam—should dominate and turn into political ideology, and those who do not. That is a profound and fundamental divide...

...And therefore, it's very very important I think that we continue to recognise the Middle East matters, it's of fundamental importance and there are people who we should be backing within the region and there are people who we should be pushing back against."

<https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/america-middle-east-and-world-conversation-tony-blair>

What has been right or wrong in the Middle East for the last 100 years has clearly been the existence of foreign ideologies such as nationalism, Communism and Capitalism since the destruction of the Islamic Khilafah (Caliphate) State that was replaced by Britain or America's client regimes who have ruled, serving themselves as well as a narrow elite and foreign interests— instead of serving the people of the region. These rulers are widely hated by the people they preside over. They use their armed forces for two main purposes. Firstly, to suppress their own populations – particularly when they see a flicker of political criticism or Islamic sentiments; and secondly to serve any Western military interests that are asked of them.

The most enduring of these client-regimes are the Kingdoms of Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Saudi Arabia was  
**Cont... page 9**



conceived in Britain's Foreign Office around a century ago and has since then squandered huge amounts of material wealth. Its ruling family has enjoyed close ties with Britain and the United States ever since. Jordan is a similar family business, installed by the British after World War One. Britain installed members of the same family, widely seen as traitors to Islam and Muslims, to rule Iraq and briefly Syria – only to see their dynasty toppled in these places by coups and counter-coups variously sponsored by the Britain and the US.

The Ummah therefore during the last 100 years has experienced not only the failures and disastrous consequences of firstly Britain's imperialist and colonialist policies through their planting of foreign ideologies like nationalism that led to the breakup of Islamic unity and the Uthmani Khilafah but the ongoing failures and consequences of America's military 'regime change' invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003 that violently planted sectarianism between Shia and Sunni Muslims leading to proxy conflicts between Saudi Arabia and Iran in Yemen and Syria.

However, it's in 2021 that war criminal Tony Blair reveals the reality of this original 100-year long struggle that is between those in the Muslim world who are struggling to return the Islamic Khilafah Rashidah state (rightly guided Calipha) that has always been a political ideology for 1400 years and those on the wrong side of history that are misguided, bewitched and backed by the enemies of Islam like Blair and other political elites, their institutions and organisations.

So yes indeed the future of struggles continues to be an Islamic one in the Middle East and throughout the Muslim world and it's a future that Britain and her allies continues to be involved in. However, it is Allah (swt) and His Beloved Prophet (saw) that has predicted the outcome of this great struggle and the return of the political Islamic Khilafah Rashida State upon the method of the Honorable Prophet (saw) bi'ithnillah.

The Khilafah therefore is not mere hope; it is a divine obligation, the certainty of the return of which is something Muslims hold with great confidence. This mention of its return occurs in several ahadith, but no doubt one of the most famous is the sahih hadith from the Musnad of Imam Ahmad, where the Prophet Muhammad (saw) foretells our current situation (and indeed the "phases" the Ummah will go through after his (saw) death) and informs us of the return of the Khilafah after its demise.

We should realise that the increased oppression that believers and the carriers of the da'wah to Islam are facing is indeed a sign of the return of the Khilafah and the acknowledgement of this by those who seek to delay the inevitable. The narrations that comment on these issues are many but the narration in the Musnad

of Imam Ahmad gives us a summary of the state of the Ummah's leadership throughout history, progressing through stages starting with leadership under the Prophet (saw) and ending with the return of the Khilafah upon the methodology of Prophethood.

Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal, who was also given the title of Amir al-Mu'minin in the field of hadith scholarship, signifying mastery in the sciences of hadith, and author of the famous Musnad which contains 40,000 ahadith, narrated the following hadith:

حَدَّثَنَا سُلَيْمَانُ بْنُ دَاوُدَ الطَّيَالِسِيُّ حَدَّثَنِي دَاوُدُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْوَأَسِطِيُّ حَدَّثَنِي حَبِيبُ بْنُ سَالِمٍ عَنِ النَّعْمَانَ بْنِ بَشِيرٍ قَالَ كُنَّا قَعُودًا فِي الْمَسْجِدِ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ وَكَانَ بَشِيرٌ رَجُلًا يَكْفُ حَدِيثَهُ فَجَاءَ أَبُو ثَعْلَبَةَ الْخُسَنِيُّ فَقَالَ يَا بَشِيرُ بْنُ سَعْدٍ أَتَحْفَظُ حَدِيثَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ فِي الْأُمْرَاءِ فَقَالَ حَدِيثَهُ أَنَا أَحْفَظُ خُطْبَتَهُ فَجَلَسَ أَبُو ثَعْلَبَةَ فَقَالَ حَدِيثَهُ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: «تَكُونُ النَّبِيُّهُ فَيَكُمُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ تَكُونَ ثُمَّ يَرْفَعُهَا إِذَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَرْفَعَهَا ثُمَّ تَكُونُ خِلَافَةً عَلَى مِنْهَاجِ النَّبِيِّهُ فَتَكُونُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ تَكُونَ ثُمَّ يَرْفَعُهَا إِذَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ يَرْفَعَهَا ثُمَّ تَكُونُ مَلَكًا عَاصًا فَيَكُونُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ يَكُونَ ثُمَّ يَرْفَعُهَا إِذَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَرْفَعَهَا ثُمَّ تَكُونُ مَلَكًا جَبْرِيَّةً فَتَكُونُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَنْ تَكُونَ ثُمَّ يَرْفَعُهَا إِذَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَرْفَعَهَا ثُمَّ تَكُونُ خِلَافَةً عَلَى مِنْهَاجِ النَّبِيُّهُ ثُمَّ سَكَتَ»

**Sulayman b. Dawud al Tayalisi related to us; Dawud b. Ibrahim al-Wasiti related to me; Habib b. Salim related to me from Nu'man b. Bashir b. Sa'd who said: We were sitting in the Mosque and Bashir was there preventing a man from speaking (yakuffu hadithahu). Then Abu Tha'labah al-Khushani came and said: O Bashir b. Sa'd! Have you memorised a narration of the Messenger of Allah (saw) regarding the rulers (al-umara')? Hudhayfah replied: I am memorising his (saw) sermon (khutbatahu). So Abu Tha'labah sat down and Hudhayfah said: The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "The Prophethood will remain amongst you (fi-kum) [1] as long as Allah wills that it remain and then he will remove it when He intends to remove it. Then (thumma) [2] there will be the Khilafah [3] upon the way of the Prophethood ('ala minhaj al-nabuwwah) and it will continue as long as Allah wills it to continue and then he will remove it when He intends to remove it. Then there will be a harsh rule (mulkan 'addan) [4] and it will continue as long as Allah wills it to continue and then he will remove it when He intends to remove it. And then there will be a coercive rule (mulkan jabriyyatan) [5] and it will continue as long as Allah wills it to continue and then he will remove it when He intends to remove it. Then there will be the Khilafah upon the way of the Prophethood ('ala minhaj al-nabuwwah) [6] and [the Prophet ﷺ] kept silent (sakata)." [Musnad Ahmad, 4/273 #18596]**

Written for the Central Media Office of Hizb ut Tahrir by

**Tsuroyya Amal Yasna**

# ANSWER 2 QUESTION

## The Principal: The Lesser of Two Evils or Lesser of the Two Harms



### Question:

Assalamu Alaikum, our Sheikh. I have a question related to the two principles: "The Lesser of Two Evils or Lesser of the Two Harms", quoted by many Dawah carriers and Islamic movements to participate in the legislative and presidential elections. Are they both Shariah principles? Did some of the jurists adopt them? What are their evidences and what is the response to them? Barak Allah Feek.

### Answer:

Wa Alaikum Assalam Wa Rahmatullah Wa Barakatuh

As for this principle, we have answered it on 29/8/2010, and I will cite you this answer:

[the Principle: "The Lesser of Two Evils or Lesser of the Two Harms"]

This is a Shariah principle adopted by many jurists. And according to scholars who adopt, it has one meaning which is the permissibility to carry out one of two prohibited actions, which is the lesser prohibited action of the two **if the person assigned by Allah (Al-Mukalaf) has no choice but to carry out one of the two prohibited actions and he cannot abstain from both of them, because it is out of his ability in every way.**

Allah (swt) says: [لَا يُكَلِّفُ اللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا] "Allah does not charge a soul except [with that within] its capacity" [Al-Baqara: 286]. Allah (swt) says: [فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ] "So fear Allah as much as you are able" [At-Taghabun: 16].

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That is this principle according to those adopted it is only applied if there is no way out of committing one of the two prohibitions, when you cannot get rid of both prohibited actions except by committing a bigger prohibited action, then the lesser of the two evils is taken. These scholars also do not define the lesser of the two evils according to the whims, but rather according to the Shariah rules. For instance, protection of two souls takes precedence than preserving one soul, and preserving of three souls is better, and so on. Preserving of a soul comes before preserving the wealth. Preserving of Dar ul Islam comes under preserving the Deen which is of greater importance than preserving the soul and wealth. Likewise, Jihad and the great Imamah, fall under preserving the Deen which is the top and most important of necessities. The scholar Ash-Shatibi said in Al-Muwafaqat: "Souls are respected and preserved and must be saved, if a choice comes between allowing the soul to live or lose the wealth over it, or to kill the soul and keep the wealth, then keeping the soul alive takes precedence."

Examples mentioned by these scholars in the application of this principle include:

1- If a woman faces danger in labour and it becomes difficult to save both mother and baby and a quick decision is needed: either to save the mother which leads to the death of the baby, or to save the baby which means the death of the mother, and if the situation is left and one of the two is sacrificed to save the other or one is saved by the death of the other, this could lead to the death of both. In this situation we can use "the lesser of two evils, or two prohibitions, or two harms, which is to carry out the action of saving the one required in this case, which is the mother, even if this same action kills the second one.

2- That a person is subjected to drowning or murder by another person, or to severe harm to his body and organs, or a woman assaulted with fornication, in the presence of a person assigned by Allah (Mukalaf) who can prevent these evils and he has an obligatory prayer that he may miss its time, either he prevents that prohibited action and he misses the performance of the duty, Or if he performs the duty on time, then that forbidden action falls, and time is not sufficient for doing both things together. Here comes the application of the rule, and the balance is also decided by the Shariah, which made the lifting of these aforementioned prohibitions of precedence than of performing the aforementioned duty, but if it is possible to perform both duties together, then that becomes an obligation.

3- These are other examples mentioned by Imam al-Ghazali and Izz al-Din ibn Abd al-Salam, may Allah have mercy on them, that shows the application of the principle of "the lesser of two evils", according to them, and also shows the balancing between rulings. Al-Ezz said in his book "Qawa'id Al-Ahkam Fi Masalih Al-Anam":

"If sheer evil is combined, if it is possible to prevent it, we will prevent it. If it is difficult to prevent all evils we prevent the most harmful followed by the most harmful and the worst and worst," that a person is coerced to kill a Muslim, and if he declines it means that he will be killed, so, he must avoid the harm of murdering (the Muslim) by having patience for being killing, because his patience for being killed is less harmful than carrying out the killing (of a Muslim) ..." This is a clear example that it is a choice for the lesser of the two harms or the two prohibitions, because cannot let go of both, and if he can prevent the two harms, he must do so.

And he said in another example: "Likewise, if he is compelled to kill someone by making false testimony or a false judgment (against a Muslim), or he will be killed. If the one who is forced to testify or make judgement that leads to the killing of someone, or to dismember him, or to commit Zina then the testimony or judgment is not permissible, because to surrender to being killed takes precedence than causing the killing of a Muslim without a sin committed, or dismembering him without a crime, or to commit Zina ... ", that is, if he either killed or testifies falsely against another that leads to his killing or dismembering him, or assaulting his honour, then it is not permissible for him to testify but rather he should be patient with being killed, because surrendering to his killing takes precedence over killing another Muslim ...

In other words, the situation when one resorts to applying with the lesser of the two prohibitions or the two harms, is when one is unable to avoid or prevent all of the two forbidden matters.

These are examples of the application of the principle of "the lesser of two evils", according to what the scholars who adopt it. However, What the government scholars promote or those who want Muslim to turn away from the Shariah rules by misleading and falsehood are not from the examples of this principle.

Those who use the principle to do this forbidden action instead of that forbidden action, justifying their actions by their fear of imprisonment or being fired from their job, this is not an example of this principle.

Likewise, those who say we participate in the ruling of disbelief even though it is prohibited, so that we do not leave all the positions of ruling to the transgressors, because leaving it to them is more prohibited ... this is not one of the applications of the principle, rather it is like someone who says we open a bar (for alcohol) and earn money from it instead of letting the kaffir open it and earns the money...

It is not among the application of the principle that a person is presented with two prohibited matters and he chooses the lesser one when he is capable of abstaining from both of them, such as saying those who say elect



so-and-so, even if he is a secular kaffir or a transgressor, or to support so-and-so and do not support the other, because the first helps us and the second does not help us, or anything like that, but what is said here: The two issues presented before us are prohibited, so it is not permissible to elect a secular person and it is not permissible to delegate him to represent a Muslim in opinion, because he does not adhere to Islam, and because he performs forbidden actions that are not permissible for the delegate to carry out like legislation and approving prohibited projects, and calling for forbidden things, accepting them and following them, i.e. he forbids what is good and enjoins the evil. Therefore, neither of them should be elected; because electing either of them is forbidden. And refraining from the election of either of them is within one's ability.

It is not one of the applications of the "lesser of two evils" that a Muslim faces two prohibited actions, and he is able to abstain from both, yet he chooses the easier according to his desire, and he carries it out claiming that it is difficult to stop both prohibitions...! Rather he must abstain from all prohibitions as long as that is possible for him according to the Shariah rulings.

This is a brief picture of "the lesser of two evils" or "the lesser of two harms"] End.

Your Brother,

Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah