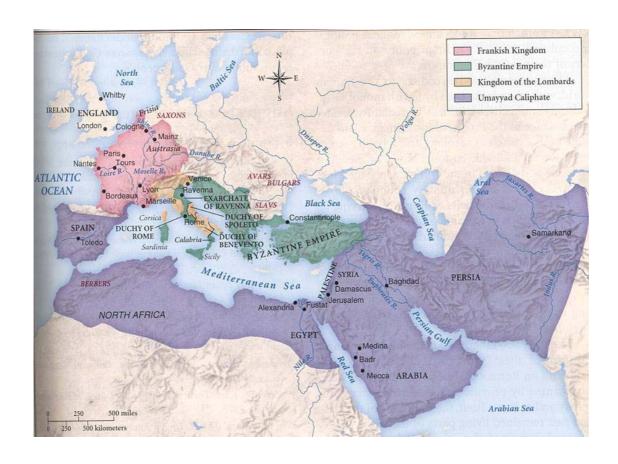
# The Khilafah is not a Totalitarian State



Front cover illustration shows a map of the Islamic Khilafah during the first century of its rule. Despite the number of countries under its domain with their existing languages, traditions, religions, customs, laws and cultures, Islam was successful in moulding these disparate people in to one unified society within a very short period of time.

Unlike the oppressive Byzantine Empire of the time, the Khilafah did not achieve this through tyranny and ruling with an iron fist. The peoples the Khilafah governed embraced Islam *en masse* and wholeheartedly supported and welcomed the rule of the Islamic State.

# CONTENTS

Introduction	4
1 What is totalitarianism?	6
2 FIRST FEATURE An official ideology	8
3 SECOND FEATURE A single mass party	10
4 THIRD FEATURE Monopolistic control of the armed forces	12
5 FOURTH FEATURE A monopoly of the means of effective mass communication	13
6 FIFTH FEATURE A system of terrorist police control	16
7 SIXTH FEATURE Central control and direction of the entire economy	19
Conclusion	21
Notes	22

# بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمن الرَّحِيمِ

# INTRODUCTION

The overwhelming support for re-establishing the Khilafah is now clear for everyone to see. Survey after survey, poll after poll shows the majority of Muslims want *Shari'ah* and the Khilafah (Caliphate).<sup>1</sup>

The starkest example of this support was displayed this August when *Hizh ut-Tahrir* staged a massive Khilafah conference in Indonesia. 100,000 Muslims were in attendance filling an entire football stadium, with millions more across the globe voicing their support.<sup>2</sup>

This growing call for Khilafah has sent shockwaves throughout the west and its agents ruling the Muslim world. As a result all aspects of Islam are now under attack, from the Islamic 'aqeeda (belief) to the Islamic ruling system.

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: 'Verily, the knots of Islam will be undone one by one. Whenever one knot is lost then the people grabbed onto the one which came after it. The first of these knots will be the ruling and the last will be the prayer (*salab*).'3

Unable to provide any credible argument against the strength of the Islamic 'aqeeda, the colonialist kuffar have resorted to cheap and degrading insults against our beloved messenger Muhammad (saw). The Danish cartoons and comments by the Pope are bad enough but what is worse is when this attack comes in a Muslim country, Bangladesh in the holy month of Ramadan!<sup>4</sup>

A few weeks after the Indonesian Khilafah conference, George Bush gave a speech in which he vowed to fight those who seek to re-establish the Khilafah. He spoke of America being 'engaged in a great ideological struggle -- fighting Islamic extremists across the globe.' He went on to define these extremists as those who 'hope to impose that same dark vision across the Middle East by raising up a violent and radical caliphate that spans from Spain to Indonesia.'5

This malicious propaganda campaign should come as no surprise to the believers. When the Prophet (saw) began his *da'wah* in Mecca the Quraysh initially ignored him thinking his call would be no more than the talk of monks and sages and that people would eventually return to the faith of their fathers and ancestors. Whenever he (saw) passed by they would say: 'Here is the son of 'Abd al-Muttalib who is spoken to from the heavens.'6

However, when the *da'wah* began to take root in Mecca and have a powerful effect on its people, this is when the torture, propaganda and boycott of the Muslims began. Since the work for Khilafah nowadays has become deeply rooted in the Muslim countries we see the same campaign of torture and propaganda being used to prevent its re-establishment.

Part of this campaign is to slander the Khilafah so much so that 'extraordinary measures' such as assassination, torture and concentration camps like Guantanamo Bay can be justified by the west in dealing with its re-establishment.

This is where painting the Khilafah as a totalitarian state on par with Nazi Germany fits in. Nazism represents the epitome of evil for western governments and they would support any measure aimed at preventing its re-establishment.

This is why the enemies of Islam such as the Neo-conservatives in America and their followers in Europe have begun a malicious campaign to equate Islam with Nazism and totalitarianism.

# 1 WHAT IS TOTALITARIANISM?

Totalitarianism is a technical term used to describe governments in which the political authority exercises absolute and centralised control over all aspects of life, the individual is subordinated to the state, and opposing political and cultural expression is suppressed.<sup>7</sup>

Loosely applied aspects of totalitarianism can be seen in every country of the world. In the West, increasing encroachment of the state on civil liberties through measures such as political suppression, torture and widespread spying definitely mirrors many aspects of totalitarian states.

However, in the politically charged atmosphere of America's war on terror employing its use against Muslims has one context which is the suppression of anyone calling for a future Khilafah.

George W. Bush, US President said:

This caliphate would be a totalitarian Islamic empire encompassing all current and former Muslim lands, stretching from Europe to North Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia.'8

David Cameron, leader of the Conservative Party in Britain said:

The driving force behind today's terrorist threat is Islamist fundamentalism. The struggle we are engaged in is, at root, ideological. During the last century a strain of Islamist thinking has developed which, like other totalitarianisms, such as Nazism and Communism, offers its followers a form of redemption through violence.'9

Tony Blair, former British Prime Minister said:

'Out of this region the Middle East has been exported a deadly ideology based on a perversion of the proper faith of Islam but nonetheless articulated with demonic skill playing on the fears and grievances of Muslims everywhere.

Analogies with the past are never properly accurate, and analogies especially with the rising fascism can be easily misleading but, in pure chronology, I sometimes wonder if we're not in the 1920s or 1930s again.'10

The key features of a totalitarian regime were defined by the US historians Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski in *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (1956). Their model was derived from the history of the twentieth century (primarily Communism and Nazism) and had six key features:

- 1. An official ideology to which general adherence was demanded, the ideology intended to achieve a 'perfect final stage of mankind'.
- 2. A single mass party, hierarchically organised, closely interwoven with the state bureaucracy and typically led by one man.
- 3. Monopolistic control of the armed forces.
- 4. A monopoly of the means of effective mass communication.
- 5. A system of terrorist police control.
- 6. Central control and direction of the entire economy.

Each of these six areas will be examined in turn to see if the totalitarian model compares in any way to the Khilafah ruling system.

# 2 FIRST FEATURE

An official ideology to which general adherence was demanded the ideology intended to achieve a 'perfect final stage of mankind'

# Official Ideology

The Khilafah is an ideological Islamic state and similar to other ideological states such as America and Britain its systems of governance are derived from its viewpoint in life. For the Khilafah its viewpoint in life is the Islamic 'aqeeda from which emanates the shari'ah rules governing life's affairs. For states such as America and Britain their viewpoint in life is based on secularism from which emanates democracy and the Capitalist economic system, which is the most prominent part of their ideology which is why they are referred to as Capitalist nations.

Although the Khilafah is based on the Islamic ideology this doesn't mean everyone who lives in the state must become Muslim. Citizenship in the Khilafah is based on someone permanently living within the lands of the Khilafah regardless of their ethnicity or creed.

It is not a requirement for someone to become Muslim and adopt the values of Islam in order to become a citizen of the state. Muslims living outside the Islamic State do not enjoy the rights of citizenship, whereas a non-Muslim living permanently within the Islamic State (*dar ul-Islam*) does.<sup>11</sup>

Another question could arise regarding the many schools of thought (*madhahib*) that exist among Muslims, for example Sunni and Shia. Will the Khilafah adopt one school of thought and enforce it upon everybody else?

The Khilafah only adopts legislation from the *shari'ah* necessary to manage life's affairs. It does not adopt divine rules pertaining to worship (*ibadat*) except Zakat and Jihad due to their societal impact. It also does not adopt in any of the thoughts connected to the Islamic 'aqeeda.<sup>12</sup> Therefore the Khilafah will not be a Sunni state or a Shia state. Any Muslim regardless of their school of thought will be left alone to practise without interference from the state.

# 'Perfect final stage' - Utopia

The Khilafah ruling system does not aim at establishing a political utopia or the creation of a 'master race.' Its aim is simply to apply the *shari'ah*.

Allah (swt) revealed the *shari'ah* for application on human beings not angels. There is no expectation for the Islamic society to be a perfect society where crime is never committed.

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: 'By the one in whose hand my soul is, if you did not do wrong, Allah Almighty would remove you and bring a people who do wrong and then ask Allah Almighty for forgiveness and He would forgive them.'

The Prophet (saw) was head of the best Islamic State. But in his state there lived Muslims, non-Muslims and hypocrites (*munafiquen*). There were adulterers, thieves and murderers. In the time of the Rightly Guided Khaleefahs (*Khulufa Rashida*) many problems existed to the extent that *fitna* (rebellion) broke out in the time of Imam Ali (ra). Despite all this *shari'ah* was applied and *shari'ah* resolved the disputes and problems that occurred.

Moreover, the Prophet (saw) warned the Muslims about future oppressive rulers in the Khilafah.

Muslim narrated from Huzayfah ibn al-Yamaan that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: 'There will be Imams after me who will not be guided by my guidance, nor will they act according to my Sunnah; some men will rise amongst you with satans' hearts in human bodies.' Huzayfah asked, 'What shall I do, if I were to reach that time?' He (saw) said, 'You should hear and obey the Ameer even if he whipped your back and took your money; do hear and obey.'

# Muslim 'Master Race'

Islam does not believe in creating a Muslim 'master race' where all non-Muslims are forced to convert to Islam. The existence of non-Muslims and their places of worship in the Muslim world despite Islam having ruled the area for over 1300 years is clear evidence that this was never the case.<sup>15</sup>

The Messenger of Allah (saw) wrote to the people of Yemen: 'Whoever is adamant upon Judaism or Christianity will not be tormented for it, and he is obliged to pay the jizya.'<sup>16</sup>

The meaning of 'will not be tormented for it' means the *dhimmi* (non-Muslim citizens) are left to follow their beliefs and worships.<sup>17</sup>

# 3 SECOND FEATURE

# A single mass party

In the traditional totalitarian models of Communism and Nazism there was one official party. For the Soviet Union it was the Communist Party and for Nazi Germany it was the German National Socialists Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*) where the word Nazi itself is derived. More recently the Ba'ath Party in Iraq under Saddam Hussein was the official state party with all others being forced underground.

Any citizen in order to progress in society needed to join the official state party. Those who didn't join were viewed with suspicion and were not subject to the same rights and protections as party members.

Western countries follow a multi-party democratic model with many political parties in existence and vying for power. Although in reality there are usually only two major political parties that have any chance of gaining power. In America it's a choice between either the Republicans or the Democrats and in Britain between Labour and the Conservatives.

#### Political Parties in Islam

Islam has not only allowed the establishment of political parties but made it obligatory on the Muslim Ummah to establish at least one party. Although members of the government will in many cases be members of political parties the Khilafah does not have a party system of ruling as found in western democracies. In other words no one single party rules the State.

Political parties in the Khilafah are established primarily to account the head of state (Khaleefah) and his government. Their task is to safeguard the thoughts of Islam in society and to ensure the government does not deviate from the implementation and propagation of Islam. There is no requirement to join a party in order to become a member of the Islamic government or to progress in society.

The right of the Khilafah's citizens to establish political parties is established from the Holy Qur'an. No permission is required from the government to establish these parties as *shari'ah* has given permission for this.

The following verse of the Holy Qur'an orders the establishment of political parties.

Allah (swt) says:

وَلْتُكُن مِّنكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْحَيْرِ
وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ
وَيَنْهُونَ عَن الْمُنكر
وَيَنْهُونَ عَن الْمُنكر
وَأُولُئِكَ هُمُ الْمُقْلِحُونَ

Let there arise from amongst you a group(s) which calls to al-Khair (Islam), enjoins al-ma'ruf (good) and forbids al-munkar (evil), and they are the successful ones.<sup>18</sup>

The order to establish a group or groups is an order to establish political parties. This is deduced from the fact that the verse has determined the duty of this group which is the call to Islam, enjoining the *Ma'aruf* (good), and forbidding the *Munkar* (evil). The duty of enjoining *Ma'aruf* and forbidding *Munkar* is general and not restricted. It therefore includes the rulers and this implies holding them accountable. The holding of the rulers accountable is a political task performed by the political parties and it is the most important task of the political parties.

Thus the verse indicates the duty of establishing political parties which would call to Islam, enjoin *Ma'aruf* and forbid *Munkar*, and would hold the rulers accountable for their actions and conduct.<sup>19</sup>

Therefore, the function of political parties within the Khilafah is not to achieve power as there is no concept of a party system of government. Multiple Islamic political parties can exist and they will work for the betterment of the entire society rather than their own narrow self-interests as we find in western countries.

# 4 THIRD FEATURE

# Monopolistic control of the armed forces

#### The Khilafah is not a military regime

The Khaleefah is commander in-chief of the armed forces and appoints all the army generals and the Chief of staff.<sup>20</sup> The Khaleefah is not a ceremonial commander in-chief as found in some western states but he alone is the one who supervises the military and war policies, internally and externally for the state. This ensures the armed forces are fully under the executive control of the government and cannot become independent and carry out a *coup d'état* against the government as we have seen happening on numerous occasions in Muslim countries such as Turkey and Pakistan. However, this in no way implies that the Khilafah is a military regime enforcing the law through the army.

Military thinking is kept completely separate from the political thinking needed to look after peoples' affairs. Although military thinking is important within its narrow sphere of building a strong military apparatus and carrying out the war policy, it should never exceed this role. This is because when soldiers fulfil their work in their military capacity, they fulfil it as people of expertise. They do not permit into their considerations the impact of world public opinion, diplomatic efforts, spiritual and moral strengths or the value of political manoeuvring. Their opinion is just one opinion among many other considerations that the Khaleefah uses when formulating his political judgement on a matter.<sup>21</sup>

# Preventing misuse of the Armed Forces

The military is not a monopoly of the Khaleefah for him to use for his own personal interests. The armed forces can only be used for legitimate *shari'ah* reasons. They cannot be used illegally and to commit oppression. If for any reason it is deemed that the armed forces have been misused by the Khaleefah then the independent judicial court the Court of Unjust Acts (*Mahkamat ul-Mazalim*) will investigate the matter and make a judgement to resolve the dispute.<sup>22</sup>

# 5 FOURTH FEATURE

# A monopoly of the means of effective mass communication

The government of the Khilafah does not have a monopoly on the media. Any citizen of the Islamic State is allowed to set up any media whether newspapers, magazines, radio or television. Permission is not required to establish this type of media although the Department of Information (*Da'irat ul I'laam*) must be informed of their establishment.<sup>23</sup>

As is the case in any State there are limits to the general remit of the press and they must operate within the law. Sensitive information related to national security cannot be published without prior permission from the Information Department. Slander and libel, incitement, racism, insulting religious beliefs and the propagation of depraved and misguided cultures are not allowed by *shari'ah*.

Outside of these limits the media within the Khilafah has full rights to account the Khaleefah and his government, investigate any government oppression (*mazlama*) or other issues that pose a danger or are in the interests of the society at large. The media can investigate and publish this without fear of any arrest or persecution.

The role of the media within any society especially the Khilafah cannot be underestimated. Their work falls under the general obligation of enjoining the good (Ma'aruf) and forbidding the evil (Munkar) which is a duty of every citizen.

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: 'By Him in whose hand is my soul, you must enjoin the *Ma'aruf* and forbid the *Munkar*, otherwise Allah will be about to send His punishment upon you. And then if you pray to Him (to ask Him), he would not answer you.'24

Islam also emphasised the importance of accounting the tyrant ruler even if it led to death.

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "The master of martyrs is Hamza bin Abdul-Muttalib and a man who stood to an oppressor ruler where he ordered him and forbade him so he (the ruler) killed him.'25

The ordinary Muslims within the Khilafah will fear none but Allah (swt). This will give them the strength to confront the Khaleefah and strongly account him when necessary. This is illustrated in the following example from the time of Khaleefah Mu'awiya (ra).

One day, Jariya Ibnu Qudama Al-Saadi entered to Mu'awiya who, at the time, was the head of the Islamic state. Three of the Roman emperor's ministers happened to be also present. Mu'awiya said to Jariya: Were you not one of Ali's allies in all of his opinions? Jariya said: Leave Ali (may Allah honour him) aside, for we have not despised him since we loved him, nor have we cheated him since we advised him.

Upon this Mu'awiya said to him: Woe to you o Jariya! You must have been lowly in your parents' eyes, for they called you Jariya (meaning slave girl or maid).

Jariya replied: You must have been lowly in your parents' eyes, for they called you Mu'awiya, the bitch on heat who barked and lured the dogs.

Mu'awiya shouted: Shut up you motherless one! Jariya replied: You shut up o Mu'awiya (he did not say Amir of the believers), for I have a mother who bore me for the swords with which we faced you one day. Then we have given you our pledge of allegiance, to hear and to obey, so long as you rule us by what Allah has revealed. So if you fulfil your promise, we fulfil our loyalty to you, and if you fail to keep up your promise, remember that we have left behind us some ferocious men and plenty of armour, they shall not let you abuse or harm them.

Mu'awiya yelled: May Allah rid us of the likes of you!

Jariya replied: You! (Again he did not say Emir of the believers), say something good and be courteous, for the worst rulers are in hell fire. Jariya then left, fuming with anger without even asking Mu'awiya permission to leave.

The three ministers turned to Mu'awiya and one of them said: "Our emperor would not be addressed by any of his subjects unless the subject were prostrating with his forehead at the base of his throne. If the voice of one of the closest people to him or any of his immediate family were to be raised, they could be cut to pieces, or burnt, so how could this rough desert Arab, with his

ill-mannered behaviour, come and threaten you like this? As if he was your equal"?

Mu'awiya smiled then said: "I rule over men, who are fearless of any censurer when it comes to the truth, and all my folk are like this desert Arab, none of them prostrate save to Allah (swt), none of them keep silent over an injustice and I am not superior, nor better than any of them except in piety. I have said some harsh words to the man and he rightly responded, I was the one who started, thus I am more to blame than he".

Upon hearing this, the senior Roman minister burst out crying, so Mu'awiya asked the reason why, so he said: "We had thought before today that we were your equals in terms of protection and force, but after witnessing this, I fear that one day you would spread your authority over our empire".<sup>26</sup>

# 6 FIFTH FEATURE

# A system of terrorist police control

The Khilafah is not a police state. Torture, spying and arbitrary arrest and imprisonment are all forbidden. The implementation of Islam depends primarily upon Muslims *taqwa* (God Consciousness). They obey the law out of their obedience to Allah (swt). This removes the need for thousands of CCTV cameras that plague the cities of the west in order to prevent crime.

Furthermore, Muslims believe in responsibility not freedom. The collective spirit fostered in the Khilafah for doing good and righteous deeds means people will intervene if they witness any criminal behaviour. The culture of turning a blind eye to crime prevalent in the West will not exist in the Khilafah. This again falls under the general obligation of enjoining good and forbidding evil mentioned earlier.

Therefore, the arrest, conviction and punishment of those who disobey the law in the Khilafah are seen as a last resort. Even when dealing with criminals they have the full right to judicial process and they cannot be mistreated or tortured to extract confessions. Any confession extracted under duress or with false testimony is completely rejected. Those who give false testimony in an Islamic court or abuse any suspects will themselves face harsh punishments.

# Torture is prohibited

Torture of anyone in the Khilafah is prohibited regardless of any benefit it may bring, such as intelligence information. The Khilafah does not lower itself to the despicable behaviour of the Americans and Israelis and their 'state sanctioned' torture methods.

Muslim narrated from Hisham b. Hakeem, who said: 'I bear witness that I heard the Messenger of Allah (saw) say: 'Allah will punish those who punish the people in the Dunya.'<sup>27</sup>

#### **Judicial Process**

Arbitrary arrest and detention without trial is forbidden in the Khilafah. The legal principle of *habeas corpus* exists where anyone arrested must be brought before a judicial court and their case investigated by a judge (*qadi*).

'The Messenger of Allah has ordered that the two disputing parties should sit before a judge.'28

All suspects are presumed innocent until proven guilty in a shari'ah court.

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: 'It is the plaintiff who should provide the evidence, and the oath is due on the one who disapprove.'29

# Private/Public Sphere

Another feature of a totalitarian state is its policing and spying on people in their homes and private affairs. As mentioned earlier, the Khilafah has a minimal adoption in Islamic legislation. It only adopts those laws necessary to manage the public affairs of state. It will not adopt laws in the areas of *ibadat* (personal worship) and belief except zakat and jihad. This prevents problems arising between the various schools of thought (*mazahib*) such as Sunni and Shia that live together in the Khilafah.

For non-Muslim citizens (*dhimmi*) they are left alone to practise their religions and those practises linked to their belief such as drinking alcohol, eating pork, marriage and divorce.<sup>30</sup>

The sanctity of someone's home in the Khilafah cannot be violated by spying on them.

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: 'He who peeps into some people's house without their permission, it is allowed for them to gouge out his eye.'31

Also Allah (swt) says in the Holy Qur'an:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اجْتَنِبُوا كَثِيرًا مِّنَ الظَّنِّ إِنَّ بَعْضَ الظَّنِّ إِثْمٌ وَلَا تَجَسَّسُوا

O you who believe, avoid suspicion as much as possible, for suspicion in some cases is a sin, and do not spy on each other.<sup>32</sup>

Allah (swt) prohibited spying in this verse when He (swt) said – 'do not spy.' This prohibition is general covering all spying whether it is spying for himself or anyone, whether it is for the State or individuals or groups, and whether the one performing it i.e. the spying is the ruler or the ruled. The speech is general covering everything applying upon it that it is spying. Therefore it is not allowed for the Khilafah to spy on its Muslim or dhimmi citizens.<sup>33</sup> The only exception being when there is clear evidence that a citizen of the khilafah is being used by an external state to spy on the Khilafah - then this can be investigated without overstepping the rights of the general citizenry.<sup>34</sup>

An example of the sanctity of people's homes and not pursuing criminal activity within them is from the time of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Rightly Guided Khaleefah of Islam Umar Ibn Al-Khattab (ra).

Umar Ibn Al-Khattab, was making his nightly rounds in Al-Madina when he heard a man singing in a house. He entered by scaling a wall and found a woman with him and wine.

Umar said "You enemy of Allah. Do you think that Allah, glorified be he, would not expose you whilst you commit a sin?' The man said: "And you O commander of the Faithful! Don't be so harsh on me. I disobeyed Allah in one thing, while you disobeyed Him in three:

He (swt) says: 'And do not spy' and you spied.

He (swt) says: 'So enter the houses by the doors' and you have scaled a wall.

He (swt) says: Enter not houses other than yours until you have asked leave and invoked

peace on the inmates thereof' and you have entered without permission.'

Umar (ra) said "would you be a better one if I pardon you?' He answered 'Yes.' Umar pardoned him and went out.<sup>35</sup>

# 7 SIXTH FEATURE

# Central control and direction of the entire economy

The Khilafah does not have a planned economy where the government controls and regulates production, distribution and prices through some all-encompassing macroeconomic plan. Private ownership of land, factories, shops and corporations in order to generate profits is highly encouraged within the Khilafah.

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said, 'The truthful and trustworthy merchant will be in the company of the Prophets, the upright and the martyrs.'36

The *shari'ah* restricts state intervention in the economy in many areas. Violation of these by the state would be considered government oppression (*mazlama*) that can be overturned by the Court of Unjust Acts (*Mahkamat ul-Mazalim*). Having said this, the Khilafah does not permit the concept of freedom of ownership like in Capitalism where if enough demand exists companies can supply goods even if they are detrimental to the wider society.

# **Public/Private Property**

Islam makes a distinction between private and public property within the Khilafah. There is no concept of Nationalisation where private property is transferred to the State if the State viewed it was in the public interest. Only if the nature of the property changed can it then be deemed public property and ownership transferred to the state.<sup>37</sup> There are three types of public property defined by *Shari'ali*:

- 1. That which is considered a public utility, so that a town or a community would disperse in search for it if it were not available. E.g. water, electricity, gas and oil reserves
- 2. The uncountable stores of minerals. E.g. diamond mine.
- 3. Things which, by their nature, would prevent the individual from possession. E.g. rivers, seas, lakes, public canals, gulfs, straits.<sup>38</sup>

Outside of these categories all other property is private property and can be owned by individuals. The only exception to this is those properties that belong to the state such as government buildings, tax revenues and army weapons. These are termed as State property.<sup>39</sup>

Therefore the factors of production: land, labour and capital are not owned and controlled by the state as is the case in a planned or command economy.

#### Price fixing

The Khilafah cannot intervene directly in the economy to fix the level of prices.

Imam Ahmad narrated from Anas who said: Prices increased at the time of the Messenger of Allah (saw) so they said, 'O Messenger of Allah, we wish would you price (fix the prices).' He (saw) said: 'Indeed Allah is the Creator, the holder (*Qabidh*), the Open-handed (*Basit*), the Provider (*Raziq*), the Pricer (who fixes prices); and I wish I will meet Allah and nobody demands (complains) of me for unjust act I did against him, neither in blood or property.'40

# Printing money

The world today operates a paper-based currency that is not based on gold and has no intrinsic value. The value of the paper results from people's confidence in the economy and with the government who prints the currency. One of the biggest oppressions committed by governments today is their free reign in printing money and increasing the money supply in the economy. This leads to inflation and in some cases in the Muslim world leads to hyperinflation where the currency devalues on an hourly basis.

The Khilafah cannot just print money as it deems fit. Money in the Khilafah must be based on gold or silver. Paper money will be in circulation but at anytime this paper money must be transferable in to 100% of its value of gold or silver.<sup>41</sup>

# Taxation

The taxation that can be imposed in the Khilafah has been restricted by the *shari'ah*. If the fixed taxes such as *Kharaj*, *Jizya* and *Al-Ushur* are insufficient to fund the state then a wealth tax can be imposed. However, this tax can only be imposed on the excess wealth of the people not their income or on their goods and services. Oppressive taxation such as value added taxes on goods and services or income tax are prohibited.

Referring to the unjust taxes the Messenger of Allah (saw) said:

'The tax-collector will not enter Paradise.'42

# **CONCLUSION**

From this brief discussion it's clear that the totalitarian model of government in no way compares to the Khilafah ruling system. Although politicians and academics try and interpret the Khilafah within their existing models such as a monarchy, empire or federation, the Khilafah is in fact a unique system of government.

The linking of Islam and the Khilafah to Nazism and totalitarianism under the guise of intellectual and academic debate has only one purpose which is fuelling the 'war on terror' which in reality is a 'war on Islam'.

This propaganda campaign against Islam and the Khilafah will surely fail as it did in the time of the Prophet (saw). The campaign to demonise Islam by Quraysh backfired and actually attracted more people to listen to the Prophet's (saw) message. The unprecedented interest in Islam and the increasing numbers of converts in western countries shows this propaganda is failing. The unprecedented support for Khilafah and the resorting to violence by the west to try and prevent its re-establishment also shows this propaganda is failing.

We finish with the good news given to us from the Prophet (saw) of the return of the Khilafah after the oppressive systems Muslims live under today.

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: 'The Prophethood will be among you as long as Allah wills, then he will eliminate it if he so wills. Then a Khilafah on the model of Prophethood will prevail so long as Allah wills, then he will eliminate it if he so wills. Then there will be a biting monarchy as long as Allah wills, then he will eliminate it if he so wills. Then there will be an oppressive monarchy as long as Allah wills, then he will eliminate it if he so wills. Then a Khilafah on the way of Prophethood will prevail and he kept silent.'43

#### **NOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org with support from the University of Maryland, 'Muslims Believe US Seeks to Undermine Islam,' <a href="http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/home\_page/346.php?nid=&id=&pnt=346&lb=hmpg2">http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/home\_page/346.php?nid=&id=&pnt=346&lb=hmpg2</a>
- <sup>2</sup> Khilafah.com, 'Indonesian Khilafah Conference 2007,' <a href="http://www.khilafah.com/kcom/activism/asia/international-khilafah-conference-2007.html">http://www.khilafah.com/kcom/activism/asia/international-khilafah-conference-2007.html</a>
- <sup>3</sup> At-Tabaraani
- <sup>4</sup> Khilafah.com, 'HT Bangladesh calls upon the people to protest against insulting cartoons of Prophet Muhammad (saw),' http://www.khilafah.com/kcom/activism/asia/ht-bangladesh-calls-upon-the-people-to-protest-against-insulting-cartoons-of-prophet-muhammad-saw.html
- <sup>5</sup>George Bush, 'President Bush Addresses the 89th Annual National Convention of the American Legion,' 28 August 2007, <a href="http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/08/20070828-2.html">http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/08/20070828-2.html</a>
- <sup>6</sup> Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, 'The Islamic State', translation of *Dowlah Islamiyya*, Khilafah Publications, p. 10
- <sup>7</sup>The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 'Dictionary definition of totalitarian,' Fourth Edition
- <sup>8</sup> George W. Bush, 'Global War on Terror,' speech at Capital Hilton Hotel, 5 September 2006, http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/09/20060905-4.html
- <sup>9</sup> David Cameron, 'Speech to Foreign Policy Think Tank,' 24 August 2005, http://education.guardian.co.uk/faithschools/story/0,13882,1555406,00.html
- <sup>10</sup> Tony Blair, Speech at Alfred Emanuel Smith Memorial Foundation Dinner, New York. Reported in The Times Newspaper, 19 October 2007, http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article2693173.ece
- <sup>11</sup> Hizb ut-Tahrir, 'The Methodology of Hizb ut-Tahrir for Change,' Al-Khilafah Publications, p. 6
- <sup>12</sup> Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, 'The draft constitution of the Khilafah State. The Introduction and the incumbent reasons,' translation of *Muqadimatud-Dustur Aw al-Asbabul Mujibatulah*, Article 4
- <sup>13</sup> Sahih Muslim. On the authority of Abu Hurayrah (ra)
- $^{\rm 14}$  Sahih Muslim. On the authority of Huzayfah ibn al-Yamaan.
- <sup>15</sup> Khilafah.com, 'Dhimmi: Non-Muslims living in the Khilafah,' <a href="http://www.khilafah.com/kcom/the-khilafah/non-muslims/dhimmi-non-muslims-living-in-the-khilafah.html">http://www.khilafah.com/kcom/the-khilafah/non-muslims/dhimmi-non-muslims-living-in-the-khilafah.html</a>
- <sup>16</sup> Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim ibn Sallam, 'The Book of Revenue,' Translation of Kitab al-Amwal, Garnet Publishing Ltd, p.
  25
- <sup>17</sup> Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, 'The Islamic Personality,' Volume 2, translation of Shakhsiya Islamiyya, Dar ul-Ummah, Beirut, Fourth Edition, Chapter Ahkam adh-dhimmi
- $^{\rm 18}$  Holy Qur'an, Translation of the Meaning, Chapter 3, Surah al-Imran, Verse 104
- <sup>19</sup> Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, "The Ruling System in Islam," translation of *Nizam ul-Hukm fil Islam*, Khilafah Publications, Fifth Edition, p. 297
- <sup>20</sup> Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, 'The draft constitution of the Khilafah State,' Op.Cit., Article 61
- <sup>21</sup> Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, "The Islamic Personality," Op.Cit., Chapter "The Meaning of the Khaleefah Supervising the Army's Leadership'
- <sup>22</sup> Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, 'The draft constitution of the Khilafah State,' Op.Cit., Article 78
- <sup>23</sup> Hizb ut-Tahrir, 'Khilafah State Organisations,' translation of *Ajhizat dowlah ul-Khilafah*, Dar ul-Ummah, Beirut, 2005, First Edition, Chapter *al-I'laam*
- <sup>24</sup> Musnad Ahmad on the authority of Huzayfah.

- <sup>25</sup> Sunan Abu Dawud
- <sup>26</sup> Jalal ad-Din as-Suyuti, "Tarikh al-Khulafa,"
- <sup>27</sup> Sahih Muslim on the authority of Hisham b. Hakeem
- <sup>28</sup> Sunan Abu Dawud, on the authority of Abdullah ibn Zubayr.
- <sup>29</sup> Al-Baihaqqi
- <sup>30</sup> Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, 'The draft constitution of the Khilafah State,' Op.Cit., Article 7
- 31 Musnad Ahmed on the authority of Abu Hurairah
- <sup>32</sup> Holy Qur'an, Translation of the Meaning, Chapter 49, Surah Al-Hujurat, Verse 12
- 33 Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, "The Islamic Personality," Op.Cit., Chapter 'Spying'
- 34 Hizb ut-Tahrir, 'Khilafah State Organisations,' Op.Cit., Chapter 'The tasks of the internal security department'
- 35 Al-Khara'iti quoted in "Makarim Al-Akhlaq" on the authority of Thawr Al-Kendi
- <sup>36</sup> Tirmidhi
- <sup>37</sup> Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, 'The Economic System of Islam,' translation of Nizam al-Iqtisaad, Al-Khilafah Publications, Fourth Edition, p. 212
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 206
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid, p. 210
- <sup>40</sup> Musnad Ahmed on the authority of Anas
- <sup>41</sup> Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, 'The Economic System of Islam,' Op.Cit., p. 268
- <sup>42</sup> Abdul-Qadeem Zalloom, 'Funds in the Khilafah State,' translation of Al-Amwal fi Dowlat Al-Khilafah, Al-Khilafah Publications, 1988, p. 120
- 43 Musnad Ahmed