

MAKKA CALLING

SAFAR 1407

No 34-35

SEPT/OCT 1986

SAUDI GOVERNMENT REACTS TO OPPOSITIONS ACCUSATIONS P.5



Egypt Heading For Disaster? P.3

(اتقروا خفافاً وثقلاً وجاهدوا بأموالكم وأنفسكم في سبيل الله ذلكم خير لكم إن كنتم تعلمون)
صدق الله العظيم

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EDITORIAL

The Iran-Iraq war has entered its seventh year, with little sign of any peaceful end. The occasion was marked by calls on the United Nations to pass yet more resolutions calling for an end to the conflict. This is still unlikely to satisfy Iran or the millions of Muslims all over the world who still feel that the international community should make its position clear with respect to the Iranian demand that the initiator of the aggression should be named and blamed. But that is where the mystery lies. It is as if the Security Council cannot bring itself to admit that since the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein was largely and personally responsible for starting the war, he should be blamed. This is clearly an unacceptable bias which has caused humanity a continuous drain of resources and more bloodshed. Readers of MAKKA CALLING may find it unusual that we should still point out the Iran-Iraq war in so many editorials, but clearly this conflict is about the most serious threat facing the Umma in its contemporary history. Already the Muslims are divided over many issues, and with the continuation of the war, the situation can only become worse.

MAKKA CALLING

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France and the Middle East: Will the French Connection Survive?

Historically, France has been one of the major colonial powers in the Middle East. Along with Britain, the French have had footholds in most of North Africa (Maghreb) and part of the Levant (Lebanon and Syria). This “historical” connection has meant that the level of French involvement with the Middle East has remained, albeit at varying levels. No where in the Middle East has France been more present than in Lebanon. The relatively large christian community in this country keeps links with Paris. There are today about 100,000 Lebanese people living in France, over 80 per cent of whom are christian.

France has maintained the show through a noticeable presence in Lebanon since the outbreak of the civil war in the mid 1970s. The then French president Valerie Giscard d’Estaing stopped short of announcing a French historical claim over Lebanon. To be sure, the majority of the Maranoite community in Lebanon are rather pleased about such French procla-

mations. The death of the French military attache in the Eastern part of Beirut recently has provoked anxiety by members of the Maranoite community that this might compell the French government to close the door completely in the face of the Lebanese community who still favour a strong French presence.

But there are a number of interesting questions to be raised about the incident of the assasination of the French military attache in eastern Beirut. First, of all, the killing occurred in the christian sector of the divided city, which inevitably suggests that members of the christian community may have been involved in the assasination. This connection is supported by the fact that the killing has come in the wake of bomb attacks in Paris in which a Lebanese organisation composed largely of Maranoites are claiming responsibility.

If all these pieces of the jigsaw fit neatly, it means that for the first time perhaps the French are losing allies even among their traditional friends in the Middle East. France’s implicit remarks that Syria might be involved in the latest wave of terrorism in Paris no longer obscures the major issue at hand. Maronite christians are as likely as any other community to turn its back on the French so long as a number of issues remain unsettled concerning the French policy in the Middle East.

Despite their threats of taking decisive economic and political measures against all Arabs found to be behind bringing problems onto the streets of Paris, the French are the first to realise that the Middle East is their major market. Any measures taken against Arab interests might in the course of a short history turn



against French interests. This is in fact one of the reasons why the French prime minister Mr. Chriac has begun recently to moderate his criticism of Middle Eastern leaders.

To preserve its economic interests in the Middle East would certainly have been a wish respected by almost all people in the region, but Paris has gone too far already.

Essentially the French have pushed their luck too far by adopting partisan policies in the region. The large scale support given by France to Iraq in its war against Iran has alienated a large section of the Middle East community. The French have certainly underestimated the support Iran and Syria (Iraq's major adversaries) can command on the Lebanese scene. The humiliation the French authorities in their fight

against an invisible enemy (terrorism) is largely their doing. In the name of wisdom, why should France throw all its weight behind Iraq in a controversial war?

The past colonial powers are no longer capable of assuming their former role. The major solace of the ex-colonial powers should be an ability to command respect not wield power. It is no longer possible for the French to turn the clock backwards. If they insist, however, to push their luck to the limit, the odds are that the French will lose control over their interests in the region in today's commercial world, and perhaps losing control over the destiny of their citizens whose misfortunes may lead them unwittingly into a hostile territory.

IS EGYPT HEADING FOR DISASTER?

The fifth anniversary of the assassination of the former Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, is in October. When Sadat was shot, his assassin was reported to have shouted: "I killed Pharaoh".

Khalid Al Islambuli, Sadat's killer, represented a very large section of the Egyptian society who were disillusioned with the promise of "open door" policy. This policy which was proclaimed by Sadat himself in 1974,



has since benefited a parasitical class in Egypt who have bled the country dry. To be sure, there were initially some signs of prosperity. But beneath that, the poor of Egypt were suffering a grinding poverty under the pressure of a drastic rise in prices.

The Infitah, as the open door policy was called, has also threatened social stability. Islamic traditions were effectively challenged, leaving many victims of Infitah demoralised and poor.

The net result of the Sadat legacy has been a shaky treaty with Israel, greater poverty, and more social and political discord. Today, Egypt's intellectuals meditate on the situation but this thoughtful mood has not yet produced a consensus. The Egyptian house is still divided.

Until the early 1970's Egypt was still capable of meeting much of its demand for food. Today, the situation has changed to such an extent that over 75 per cent of the local wheat requirement is met through imports. With the rise in the population at a 3 per cent a year, there is little prospect of change of fortune. So where is Egypt going? The turmoil will certainly have to yield a political change.

Many analysts of the Egyptian situation believe that poverty and government break with tradition will in the end give the opportunity for a man like Pakistan's Zia Ul-Haq to come to power. The supporters of this scenario believe that such a person can succeed in acquiring the support of "moderate" Islamic factions in the country, but without distancing Egypt from the West. As in Pakistan, this man can only come from the ranks of the well-organised Egyptian army. Of course some may argue that the current president is also a previous military man. But it seems quite obvious today that Egypt's Minister of Defence, Marshall Abu-Ghazaleh, is more in control of the army than the president.

Others who do not believe in the above scenario contend that Egypt will gradually but surely slide into economic ruin, bringing about great pressure to install a socialist rule which may or may not succeed in redressing the balance between the have and have-nots in the country in favour of the poor. This theory looks awfully shaky, especially in the wake of loss of ground suffered by the Egyptian left in favour of a rising trend of Islamic resurgence in the



country. Visitors to Cairo and most other Egyptian cities are not hiding their surprise at the increasing number of Egyptians observing the Islamic code of life more seriously. Islamic dress is the most popular today among Egypt's women, and

the mosques are seldom less than full with the number of prayer readers.

The reality in Egypt can no longer be dismissed. The Nile banks are prepared to receive a different breed of politician who can meet the demands of the people more closely. Mr Mubarak, today's president, may go into history as the man who spent generously on improving the sewage system of the Egyptian capital, but it is very unlikely that he will be remembered for other deeds. His failings are enormous, and the poor in Egypt are unlikely to appreciate a proclaimed democracy which has notoriously failed to improve the lot of the nation. Egypt is sitting on a volcano today, and the rising trend of Islam awareness offers to try to put things right. Will Islam be given a chance to try where all others have failed?

SAUDI PROFILE

SAUDI GOVERNMENT REACTS TO OPPOSITION ACCUSATIONS

The Riyadh exhibition in London which was organised by the Saudi government during July/August was less successful than the Saudi authorities had anticipated. This was largely due to the efforts of Saudi human rights campaigners and oppositionists who intensified their fight for political and civil liberties in the country.

Protest pickets were twice held opposite the hall in which the Riyadh exhibition was held, the first on 2nd August, 1986, and the second a week later. The leaflets and colour pamphlet distributed by the pickets took many people by surprise, including many Saudi officials. The opposition produced evidence, supported by



documents and photographs of demonstrators and victims killed by Saudi security men.

During the same period the Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in Saudi Arabia published an advertisement in a major British daily newspaper, *The Guardian*, on 5th August, 1986, giving further details on many political prisoners in Saudi Arabia. According to sources inside Saudi Arabia, there are over 800 political prisoners in different regions in the country. Unfortunately, most victims are unheard of by the world outside. And these are detained under very inhuman conditions and are

A petition presented by a Saudi business man, Al Hazza, to the King was dismissed. Mr Al Hazza asked the King to intervene to plead with government to pay the millionaire SR240 million due to him in payment for projects his company had completed. The King is said to have deferred the issue and asked the petitioner to recover personal funds

often denied a fair trial or a legal hearing. There is no constitution in the country to outline the rights of citizens and limits of the authority of the state.


The pickets organised by the Committee have attracted much attention from many people. A large number of the British visitors to the exhibition accepted a pamphlet on the plight of political prisoners in Saudi Arabia. To their annoyance, the porters at the gates begged all visitors to surrender the copies before entry. Many refused to comply.

At one stage, the pickets were asked to come along to meet the Saudi ambassador to London,

deposited in overseas banks as a precondition for payment by the government. In explaining the move, the King spoke of the need for investments inside the country following a major economic crisis. Meanwhile, critics say, the state itself still retains most of its assets in overseas banks mainly in the United States.

IN SAUDI ARABIA: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS
 INDICATED BY ARRESTS OF OVER 700 PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

The Saudi press is the main source of information on human rights in Saudi Arabia. It is a source of information on human rights violations in Saudi Arabia. It is a source of information on human rights violations in Saudi Arabia.




COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SAUDI ARABIA
 Box 10000
 London WC1C 3JJ U.K.

OVERSEAS NEWS THE GUARDIAN

SAUDI ARABIA: THE UNTOLD STORY

Indiscriminate arrests: over 700 prisoners of conscience in Saudi Arabia
 Human rights violations by the Saudi regime



For more information on human rights in Saudi Arabia, contact the Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners in Saudi Arabia, Box 10000, London WC1C 3JJ U.K.

Mr. Nasser Al Manqur. This was rejected. The activities of the pickets, however, were closely monitored by photographers working from an apartment near by.

Predictably, the protest pickets were projected in the Saudi local media in vague terms. The pickets were accused of being sympathisers with international Zionism! As usual, the rhetoric of the Saudi government was couched in ambiguity, alleging that envy and jealousy may be the prime motive of the pickets to distort the view of the Saudi capital Riyadh. The official reply came in the local Saudi press on 7th August, 1986, followed the

next morning by most of the daily newspapers in the Gulf area.

One bone of contention has been the Saudi official denial that the costs of the exhibition were as high as \$50 million, a figure quoted by opposition sources. The Saudi government was at pains to allege that the whole controversy may have been about the cost after all. The figure provided by the Saudi media was \$4 million. Whatever the case, the success of the Riyadh exhibition hang in the balance due to the fact that while there is much for the Saudi government to answer about human rights violations in the country, the Riyadh government is adamant to deny everything. But for how long?

According to an opposition paper published underground in Saudi Arabia (AL-RISALA, issue no. 17), the government has issued regulations restricting the opportunities of the Palestinian community in the country. This, according to Al-Risala, includes restrictive measures in employment and education.

During a military parade in the Saudi city of Dhahran on 11.1.1407 AH, a F15 jet fighter crashed during air manoeuvres. No further details were given about the fate of the pilot or the circumstances which led to the crash.

THE MUSLIMS OF BARABANKI, INDIA

Harassment Continues

It will be recalled that on February 1, an ancient and historical mosque known as Babari at Ajudaya near Faizabad in the northern Indian State of Uttar Pradesh was handed over to a group of Hindus, allowing them to use it for worship. This has been done with the approval of the Central and State governments contrary to all norms with disregard for others. As a result of this act, the whole of northern India, from Calcutta in the east to Kashmir in the north-west, was soon engulfed by violent disturbances. Adding fuel to fire, the government allowed the Hindus to take out "victory" processions in many places, which inevitably led to further violence, such as in Sehor in Madhya Pradesh. Among the first places where there had been immediate reaction from the Muslims to the usurpation of the mosque were Radauli and Zaidpur, both in District Barabanki.

The Muslims declared February 14 to be held as a "black day" in protest against the government's decision. Throughout northern India Muslim shops and businesses were shut on that day, Muslims flew black flags from their houses and wore black bands or badges on their arms. This protest call was a total success to the extent that even cycle-rickshaws and Muslim labourers stopped work on

that day. On that same day in Delhi, in an area which had been traditionally free from any violent incidents, a deliberately aimed, totally unprovoked and brutal shooting and killing of two young Muslims by the police took place. In Lucknow, the capital of Uttar Pradesh, the police and the armed constabulary went on a rampage against unarmed and innocent Muslims. Their shops were looted and burnt, their homes were broken into and many innocent Muslims were arrested.

The only action which the Central government took later was to dismiss the State government of Kashmir for its failure to control violence and communal disturbances. The impression encouraged by the government was that this has been done because there, in Kashmir, it had been the Hindus who had suffered more.

In response on February 26, a mass gathering of Muslims from all over Uttar Pradesh was held at Lucknow. But the state government sealed off the city, thus preventing thousands of Muslims from exercising their democratic right of peaceful protest. In the city itself, in all its Muslim localities, police were deployed on the streets. The city was thus brought under a state of undeclared and selective curfew.

The policy of the state and central governments has been to play down any Muslim protest over the issue of the mosque. To openly declare a curfew would have implied an admission of the strength of Muslim feelings over this issue. The government therefore adopted a scheme whereby the Muslims would be prevented from gathering. Government officials, however, privately admit that had the city not been sealed and these methods not adopted, some 700,000 to 1,000,000 Muslims would have assembled at Lucknow, making it one of the biggest protest rallies held in the country. This they were determined not to allow. Moreover, the opposition parties used the same day for holding their protest strikes and business closures in protest against petrol and oil price rises. This unfortunately obscured the significance of the Muslim protest. Both, the government's as well as the opposition's actions were thus concerted in minimising the effect of the Muslim protest. Even so, some 3000 or more Muslims did manage to reach a place near the District Council, from where they were taken into custody but later released.

Similar action was taken to prevent Muslims from assembling in Faizbad on April 19.

In a further effort to publicise their protest, the Muslims declared that on April 30, they would assemble at the district headquarters throughout Uttar Pradesh and offer themselves for arrest, in protest against the usurpation of their mosque. (There are some 57 districts in the state). Once again the government determined to play down Muslim indignation, and orders were sent to all district authorities to keep down the number of arrests so that they could be counted in hundreds at the most and not in thousands.

The government gives the official figure of the total number of arrests made on that day from all over Uttar Pradesh as about 50,000. However, taking into account the government's orders to the district authorities and also by comparing the official figures given for different districts with the actual reports coming in from those districts, it can justly be said that the actual number was probably ten times higher.

At another level, the government's line over the events clearly manifested itself. In an effort to distract and divert Muslim attention, a group of Muslim stooges of the ruling party, led by Mrs Mohsina Kidwai, Zia ul Rahman Ansari, Mrs Abida Ahmad, Dr. Hashim Kidwai, Aziz Qureshi, Aziz Sait, Mohammad Shafi Qureshi, called on all Muslim MPs, former MPs, legislators and former legislators of the States, and party office holders, to assemble in Delhi on the same day, i.e. April 30, in order to praise and laud Rajiv Gandhi for bringing in a Bill related to the maintenance of divorced Muslim women, and to hail him as the protector of Muslim interests.

In view of the Muslim call for mass protest on that day, which had been announced a month in advance, the Muslim MP's, and legislators should have been present in their own constituencies on that day. Their presence in their own areas could have been effective in preventing any incidents, or unwarranted excesses by the police and local authorities against their fellow Muslims. Instead, they marched off to Delhi in total dereliction of their duty, thus demonstrating that their loyalty to Mr Rajiv Gandhi was greater than their loyalty to Islam or concern for fellow Muslims. It is noteworthy that this summon to Delhi was given at a very short notice notice.

At Barabanki (only 18 miles from Lucknow), the Muslim leaders, Maulana Siraj Ahmad Qamar of Fatehpur, Maulana Ubaid ul Rahman of Barabanki, Maulana Asrar Ahmad Warithi of Dewa, had informed the local authorities at least ten days beforehand, that on April 30 at least 5,000 Muslims were expected to assemble at the mosque in Mohalla Pir Batawan from where they would attempt to go in procession to the Deputy Commissioner's residence and offer themselves for arrest. The district authorities had thus been informed well in advance both regarding the size of the expected turn-out as well as to their mode of protest. They had thus been given plenty of time to make suitable arrangements for coping with the situation.

On the appointed day, despite obstacles created by the district authorities, more than 10,000 had assembled at the mosque. After praying, they emerged to offer themselves for arrest. The police arrested only 400 of them and tried to disperse the rest saying that they did not have enough transport available to take them to the prison. Whereupon the Muslims insisted that in that case they should be allowed to march there on foot. But the authorities had strict instructions to keep the number of arrests as low as possible.

Even before the people had all emerged from the mosque on to the open ground outside, they were surrounded from all sides by the police and armed constabulary, who tried to push them back using long sticks. While they were still unable to retire back into the mosque, the police deliberately tried to cause confusion by driving them harder with sticks. At about this time one police commander struck a demonstrator with his cane, the Muslim demonstrator grabbed hold of the

cane. This seems to have been the pre-planned signal for the police to open fire at the unarmed Muslims. The police did not fire into the air as a warning, nor did they aim low at the legs. Instead, they took deliberate aim at the vital parts of the body. All the wounded seen have bullets in the chest, abdomen or head and neck area. This has not been a riot between Hindus and Muslims. It has been an unprovoked killing. For a considerable time the Muslims were not even able to lift their wounded brethren because of continued police firing.

The government has given out the number killed as 11, but eye-witnesses speak of truck loads of dead bodies being taken away by the police.

When the firing had stopped some people tried to take the wounded to the local hospital, even there the police drove them away from the hospital gates using long sticks. Eleven of the wounded were taken to the hospital in Lucknow, and one more managed to reach there the next day. Since then four of them have died.

Throughout the district of Barabanki the police continued to harass the Muslims for the next 10 days. The Muslims of Barabanki are relatively more prosperous, but more significantly, they are known for their courage. The authorities therefore seek to demoralise them and break their spirit. At the same time the authorities have banned prominent Muslim leaders from entering Barabanki.

All non-Congress leaders, Muslims and non-Muslims alike have most strongly condemned the state government and the district authorities for the police carnage in Barabanki. But not one single Muslim leader belonging to the Congress party has

uttered a word of criticism.

About a week after the event, one troop commandant of the government militia died of injuries in the hospital. In retaliation for which, the district authorities have instituted a case of murder and issued warrants for the arrest of five prominent Muslim leaders, including Maulana Siraj Ahmad Qamar and Maulana Ubaid ul Rahman. This has been done without there being the slightest evidence of the involvement of any of these leaders in any violence against the police or armed constabulary, or of their having ordered or encouraged any such violence. On the contrary, initially the district authorities had themselves privately praised the role of these leaders for controlling the masses. On the other hand, no criminal cases have been filed against any of the

officials who ordered and were responsible for the shooting and killing of so many unarmed Muslims.

It is not without relevance that the Muslim day of mass protest i.e. April 30, was chosen for the government's new police action against the Sikh Golden Temple in Amritsar. Throughout the Muslim agitation over the issue of this mosque the government has used every possible means to divert public attention from the Muslim's mass protests. They have always tried to create new "news" at the same time in order to submerge the news related to the Muslim protest.

The government is determined to deny any publicity to our cause. As such, it is all the more imperative for our brothers outside to give as much publicity as possible to this issue.

MUSLIM AFFAIRS

THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR: IS THE END NEAR?

The western media has been particularly active recently in reporting the new developments in the Iran-Iraq war which has entered its seventh year in September. Most attention is focused on the preparations by Iran for the "last offensive".

While most military experts agree today that Iraq still enjoys a superiority in firepower and military technology, Iran is seen

to have the psychological edge. Tehran still finds little difficulty in sending volunteers to fight on the front. The Iraqis, however, have greater difficulty in resisting an alarming derision in morale.

Despite Iraq's insistence that its army is prepared for yet longer periods of fighting, diplomats at the Iraqi capital doubt whether the Iraqis can hold any longer against enthusiastic troops



believed dead, and there are many reports of the Iraqi president himself shooting Iraqi officers held responsible for setbacks.

Visitors to the Iraqi capital, Baghdad, speak of a war-tired population suffering from one of the worst terms of austerity and food shortages in the contemporary history of the country. Food import bills have been cut off by at least 40 per cent during the last year. Thousands of immigrant workers in Iraq, mostly Egyptians, who were encouraged by the Iraqi government at the early months of the war to take jobs vacated by Iraqi personal deployed on the front, are now leaving. This follows shortage of cash to pay many of them, ill-treatment and the execution by Iraq of a number of Egyptians, earlier in the year, accused of foreign exchange offences. There are also reports that Iraq is forcing some of the immigrant workers in the country to take part in the fighting.

deployed by Iran at the central as well as the southern part of the battle front.

There have been many signs in the recent past that the autocratic manner with which the Iraqi ruler, Saddam Hussein, has been trying to influence military decisions has adversely affected

At a social level, the Iran-Iraq war has also been harsher on the Iraqi side. Schools all over the country have been closed until February next year and students have been ordered to go to the front and participate in the fighting. The attacks on a number of cities (mostly as a retaliation against Iraq's previous attacks on Iran's towns, but also in the case of civilians caught in the cross-fire) have meant the death of

the performance of his military. Stories abound about military officers and field commanders disappearing from their posts on instructions from Saddam Hussein personally. Many are

many civilians. Missile attacks against the Iraqi capital, Baghdad brought the danger to the doorstep of hundreds of Iraqi families who had been painstakingly isolated from the direct effect of the fighting. The food shortages have been causing tension in most Iraqi households, and long hours can be wasted by Iraqi householders waiting in long queues. The forced donations (often jewellery and proportion of monthly salaries) are facing the Iraqis with real economic problems. Hardly any women can be seen in Iraq today who risks wearing jewels in public. Most houses raise banners of mourning and black-clad women are the norm in Iraqi streets — a sign of widespread death brought about by loss of relatives in the war.

It is exactly at this social and psychological level that Iran is demonstrating an advantage over Iraq. There is still enthusiasm by the majority of the Iranian population to donate to the war effort as well as provide manpower to fight at the front. There are around one million Iranian volunteer (according to some estimates) at the front today. While both sides treat their dead as martyrs, it is obvious that most Iraqi so-called volunteers at the Iraqi side of the front have been forcibly driven to fight.

All signs now suggest that Iran might be serious about this year being considered the final year of the war — indicating that Iran's final offensive is imminent.

The statements made by the Iranian leaders are couched in evident confidence in the course the war will begin to take from now on. Iraq has always threatened the use of "secret weapons", but Iran's survival of such weapons as chemical bombs indicate that Iraq will only have to rely on its diminishing morale to sustain further Iranian advances in the war.

The evolution of the Iran-Iraq war into a decisive battle is being watched very closely by the west, which has largely favoured Iraq. Analysts are aware that the drop in the oil prices will mean little extra cash can be spared by either side for any non-military purposes. The prospect of grinding austerity is feared by both sides.

With the decline in the morale of the Iraqi army as testified by most foreign military observers, including an Egyptian military delegation recently returned from Iraq, there is very little prospect that the Iraqi president will have much more time to enjoy office. This feeling has been also fuelled by the statements by the Speaker of the Iranian parliament (Majlisi Shura) in which he spoke of Iran stopping the war if a change of government was brought by Iraq. This is a reference to Iran's long standing position over the Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, who is held responsible by Iran as well as others as the person most responsible for initiating the war.

ARABIA NEWS

The latest round of arrests in Bahrain has so far claimed the life of two victims, Mr Radhi Ibrahim and Dr Hashem Abdullah, through torture. The victims were among hundreds of Bahrainis rounded up by the authorities on political charges.

The Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in Bahrain, which is providing information on the arrests, has called in a recent publication on all human rights activists to step up pressure on the government of Bahrain to investigate allegations of torture and to release all people who have not committed any crime. The new arrests have included people from all walks of life in the country, including many women. Accusations that the authorities are using torture to extract confessions abound. It is almost certain that the Bahrain government is over-reacting to a situation complicated by economic turmoil in the country which put the incompetence of the regime into sharp focus. The rising number of political prisoners in Bahrain will only add to the unpopularity of the regime as all signs suggest today.

The government has again ordered the devaluation of the Saudi Riyal (the country's main currency). The new rate is 3.85 against the US dollar, compared to the previous 3.80. Before the current economic crisis in the country, the rate of exchange was a healthier 3.50. Economists believe that the new move is aimed at lowering inflation and to bring a stop to currency speculation.

According to our sources in Damman, Saudi Arabia's eastern province, there are 1200 applications for work made by Saudi citizens to the country's major oil company *Aramco*. Meanwhile, the same sources have confirmed recently that *Aramco* has recently approved of a plan to import 1,800 foreign workers, mainly from the Philippines. Concern about security and subversion has driven the Saudi authorities from recruiting local manpower. About 8,000 Saudi workers with *Aramco* have recently lost their jobs on political grounds.

According to the Saudi funded daily, *Al Shark Al Awsat* (4.1.1407 AH), the Saudi monarch, King Fahd, had "donated" 10 Boeing aircraft (Airbus type) to the country's airways agency. Last year, according to the same paper, King Fahd's "donation" consisted of 10 Jumbo airplanes. What is so objectionable in such statements is that no distinction is made between public funds and the King's income. One is always left with the impression that His Majesty the King considers the country's revenue as his own.

The current round of arrests by the authorities of political opponents is continuing. Reports are still coming in of more arrests, mainly in the Eastern Province. Meanwhile, numerous leaflets and other forms of publications are circulated by underground organisations opposed to the regime, on the fate of the detainees. Other forms of protest materials, have included speeches recorded on cassettes by the prominent Muslim scholar Hassan Al-Saffar, who lives in exile.

Islam On Uprising Against Rulers

Dr. Abdulah Al Nafessi

• A heated discussion is going on these days in Islamic circles on the issue of how much Islamic, or otherwise, it is to rise against rulers of our times?. Some prominent Islamists express enthusiastic opposition to any notion that support uprising against rulers. They even go as far as to accuse their opponents of being dull, stupid, and, as some of them have written, of violating and infringing the Doctrine of Islam, and of lack of Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence) understanding. As brothers in God and Islam, we counsel them-for .. what if not counselling is Religion!?-to refrain from such excesses; and call on them to fear God and guard themselves against His Wrath. We also appeal to them not to think too well of themselves, or to think to ill of other peoples' faith. And, if we differ over this issue, let our difference be sublime, refined.

• On this issue, however, we side with the view supporting uprising against the ruling regimes dominating in the land of Islam today. We draw our proof and evidence from two main facts: Islamic evidence .. and logical and intellectual evidence

A)- Islamic Evidence: In the Holy Qurán, God, the Almighty says: *«Unbelievers are those who do not judge in accordance with the Revelation of Allah»*-Al Maida, 5:44.

«Therefore give Judgement among them in accordance with the Revelation of Allah»-Al Maida 5:48.

«But they will not, I swear by your Lord - they will not be true believers until they seek your arbitration in their disputes»-Al Nisa 4:65.

«And now, We have set you on the Right Path. Follow it and do not yield to the desires of ignorant men»-Al Jathiya 45:18.

«Take heed lest they should turn you away from the part of that which Allah has revealed to you»-Al Maida 5:49

«Is it pagan laws that they wish to be judged by? Who is a better judge than Allah for men who faith is firm?»-Al Maida 5:50.

«We have revealed to you the Book with the Truth, so that you may arbitrate among men by that which Allah has shown you»-Al Nisa 4:105

1) Also, Ubada Ibnus-Samett quoted the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) saying «I will be succeeded by rulers administering your affairs who will make you accept and admit what you will have so far denied, and will make you deny what you will have so far accepted and admitted. If any of you is faced with such a situation, you shall not obey those who disobey Allah, the Almighty.» .. (Also narrated by

Al-Hakeem and Al-Tabaraani, and it is a sound Hadith)

2) Abdullah ibn Masóod quoted the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) as saying: «Rulers will rule over you who will delay prayer times and create innovations (fabricate novelties) .. What shall I do in the circumstances?, I asked, to which the Messenger answered, «Are you asking me what to do?! .. Never obey those who disobey God». (Narrated by Al Tabaraani in his -Al Kabir-, this is another sound Hadith.)

3) Abu Saíd Al Khudari and Abu Hurairah quoted the Messenger of

Allah (peace be upon him) as saying: «You will be ruled by rulers who will favour the wicked and the evil, and who will delay the times of prayer. If you live to see such a rule, never accept to be an umpire, a policeman, a tax collector, or a treasurer under him.»-(Narrated by Ibn Maaja, it is a sound Hadith).

4) Abu Saíd Al-Khudari also tells that The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) stood up to address us. In his oration he said: «I am soon to be called (to my Creator) and to obey. There will succeed me rulers who say what they know (to be true) and do what they know (to be right and just): Obeying those is due and a duty. Those will last for a while, only to be succeeded by others who say what they do not know (to be right) and do what they are not qualified to do. He who counsels them or accepts a post with them, or gives them support, is doomed to Hell, and will cause

others to be so, and to be destroyed. You may co-exist with them, do work with them, (but) testify (tell) the good and benevolent that they are so, and the bad and the offender that he is so.»-(Narrated by Al-Tabaraani in his -Al-Awsat-, -Al-Baihaqi and Al-Zuhd Al-Kabir-, it is a sound Hadith.)

The above was a collection of the most well-known texts (nus) on the subject of uprising against rulers. Religious scholars give several interpretations and views on the texts. Before detailing Islamic jurisprudence views in this respect, however, we have to emphasise a number of important points:

1. That those texts were intended to tackle the Islamic situation prevalent at the time.
2. That Imams (jurisprudent views) were based on the fact that those texts were intended to tackle the Islamic situation at the time.
3. That rulers who ruled in the life time of those Imams were applying the rules laid by God in His Holy Book.
4. And that views labelled (extremist) advocating at the time up-risings against the rulers of the day were those of groups who fell outside the Sunni school of thought and the Universal Islamic consensus, like the Mu'azilah and the Khawarej.

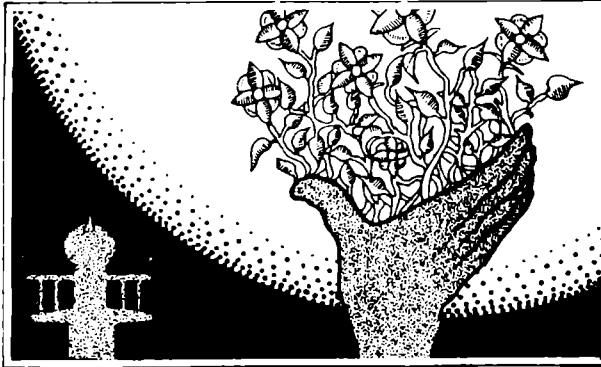
No jurisprudents in those days would have imagined that a ruler

might not apply the Divine Rules of God, and that such rulers could show the total indifference to the Law of God which we see these days.

They could never have imagined that a ruler of an Islamic country could or would repudiate the Laws of God, plot against Islam, oppress Muslims and strike alliances with the enemies of God, which is the case today.

In his illustration of the Holy Ayat (verse): «*It is pagan laws that they wish to be judged by.*»-Al Maida 5:50. Ibn Katheer says: (God the Almighty abominates and disowns those who violate and disobey the total, universal and comprehensive Law of God that approves every good deed and prohibits every evil; and disowns those who opt for some other views, whims and definitions stipulated by men with no authority or reference to Islamic legislation, thus perpetrating rules of delusion and ignorance similar to those of pre-Islamic days. He who does such a thing is a Kaafer -unbeliever- and must be fought until he abides by the Rules of God and His Messenger, admitting no other ruling on any matter, big or small, than God's)*

Commenting on Ibn Katheer's views, Shaikh Abdul Aziz ibn Bas writes in his book (Fath Al Mujeed-p.406): (Similar to such a ruler, even worse, is that who makes the jargon of non-Muslim foreigners into laws which he applies in matters of blood and



honour, preferring them to what he knows of the Book of God and the Sunnah -traditions- of His Messenger. Such a person is no doubt a kaafer -unbeliever- and a Murtadd -seceding from Islam) if he insists on that course and refuses to abide by the Rule of God. No name he calls himself, no pretences of prayers and fasting will help him or be of any use to him.)

When asked for his ruling on the issue of fighting against the Tatars despite their utterance of (There is no god but God, and Muhammad is His Messenger), and their alleged adherence to the spirit and roots of Islam, Shaikh Al Islam, Ibn Taimiyyah said: (An group of people who refuse to abide by the clear laws of Islam, whether Tartars or any other, must be fought until they do abide by those laws, even if they have pronounced the two shahadas -testimonies-, and observed some practices, like prayers. They must be fought, just as Abu Bakr and other Companions of the Messenger -Sahaba-, peace be

upon him fought against those who refused to pay Zakat -Islamic income tax-. All jurisprudents who came afterwards were unanimous on this point. Any group or faction who refrains from observing certain duties like praying, fasting, Haj -pilgrimage-, or from prohibiting blood, wine, gambling, incest; or refrain from fighting against unbeliever; or, for that matter drop any of the religious duties or violate any inviolables that no one can have any excuse in denying or dropping altogether, and make their violator an unbeliever, they said group or faction must be fought until the stick to them and observe them, even if they admit them verbally. As far as I know, all religious scholars are agreed on this; for, according to careful authorities on Islamic Law, such groups are not only wrong doers and tyrants, but secessionists who disowned Islam). Judge Ayyadh says: (If a caliph becomes an unbeliever, and alters the laws of Islam, or fabricates a novelty, he is no longer a ruler of Muslims, no longer to be obeyed, and Muslims

must rise against him, overthrow him, and replace him with a just ruler -Imam- of probity).

It is clear, therefore, that jurists and scholars views are unanimous on the question of rising against the ruling regime if it is proved to be an unbelieving one, and to deviate from the Law of Allah. As Ibn Taimiyyah put it in detailing that consensus, (As far as I know, all religious scholars are unanimously agreed on this issue) .. he said. Some people, however, misunderstand some of the Messenger of God's Hadiths, as when he says, peace be upon him, «He who says, -There is no god but God- and abandons the worship of any but God, his moneys and his blood -life- are inviolable, and he is accountable to God, the Almighty».

Explaining this Hadith, Judge Ayyadh states: (Confining the inviolability of moneys and life to those who say, -There is no god but God- is God's response to those who come to believe in Him, and was intended for Arab heathens and other idolatrous nations. As for others, who admit the Oneness of God, in order for them to be inviolable, it is not enough to say -There is no god but God- .. for, they used that when they were still unbelievers).

Scholars are equally unanimous on that he who says, -There is no god but God-, without actually believing in its meaning, or, while believing in that meaning, did not act accordingly, must be fought

until he acts and abides by what it amounts to, in terms of negating and confirming.

The Messenger of God, peace be upon him, says: «I have been ordered to fight people until they have uttered, -There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God, said their prayers, and paid Zakat-. If they do that, their blood (lives) and money become inviolable to me, except for what is rightly due. They are accountable, and stand accountable only to God».

Commenting on this Hadith, Al Nawawi says, (It explicitly stipulates fighting people who refrain from paying Zakat dues, from praying, and from other Islamic duties, totally or partially).

Ibn Taimiyyah says: (Religious scholars gave different rulings concerning a group who insist on discarding certain Sunnas -traditions of the Prophet, peace be upon him- like the two extra rakas at dawn, azaan -call for prayers-, or Iqamah of prayers. who do not consider these obligatory etc...)

Do we fight against the group who discard those duties because they do so, or not?. As for compulsory duties and prohibitions already mentioned, all are unanimous that those neglecting them must be fought. It has been proved beyond any doubt that the Prophet, peace be upon him, would have endorsed what all the Companions

had unanimously agreed on, i.e., Abu Bakr Al Siddiq's fight against those who refused to pay Zakat; Ali's fight against the Khawarij, whom the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, said they should be fought, and said that they were the worst of all creatures, human and otherwise, and added: «You insult and degrade your prayers if you pray with them; you insult and degrade your fasting if you fast with them».

Let it be known, therefore, that adhering to Islam, without observing its duties or abiding by its laws, does not, itself, save those doing so from being fought. Fighting (them) is a duty and an obligation till religion, all religions and the whole of it, is for God's sake, and for God only, and so that discord and disension may be stamped out. Whenever religion and belief are not solely for God, but for some other, fighting becomes an obligatory duty. Those who rule against rising and revolting against the present ruling regimes take their mistaken evidence from certain Hadiths of the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, like the following Hadith:

«If you see in your Emir -ruler- something you dislike, have patience; for, that who parts from the majority, even for a hand span, then dies, will have a non-Islamic -Jahili- death».

The above Hadith presents us with a number of questions:

1. Who is the Emir -ruler- meant

by this Hadith?

2. What kind of dislike or hateful thing is meant?

3. What are the limits of patience counselled here?

4. What majority or total group is meant by the Hadith? .. Is it the smaller group, or the greater one?

It is taken for granted that the Emir or ruler mentioned in the Hadith is the Muslim one. It is the only meaning compatible with the nature of Islamic Law. Hence the duty of a Muslim to obey such a ruler, in as much he abides by that law and follows its rules. A Muslim, however, might see in such a ruler what he dislikes, as in the case of certain wrongful behaviour of Umayyad and Abbasyd rulers; which is no Islamic reason or justification to rise against him. The patience thus referred to in the above Hadith can only be the means to contain disliked behaviour described above, which does not go beyond the limits of the individual to the society. In the light of this meaning and understanding, we can see how wrong are those who are trying now to apply this Hadith to the regimes ruling today, which are imposed on the Muslim masses.

Those who are opposed to rising against present ruling regimes draw support for their views from a Hadith the truthfulness of which I am sure of, the Hadith states that: The most wicked of your imams (rulers) are those whom you hate and who hate you, and who curse you, and you, them. We

asked: O Messenger of God. Shall we fight them? .. He answered, «No! .. not as long as they lead your prayers».

Even if the above Hadith were true, we would not understand it, the way they try to present it. They argue that the Messenger of God , peace be upon him, said: «As long as they lead your prayers», and believe that this implies that as long as the ruler prays and does not prevent people from saying their prayers, a rise against him is not permitted by Islam. This is a short-sighted understanding, and even a false one; and contradicts the views of the majority of scholars, especially those of Ibn Taimiyyah, already stated above:

The Tatars did say their prayers, some of them were even religious scholars and totally devoted to the worship of God, but despite that, fighting against them was, to him, a duty because they believed in Al-Yasuq. What is meant by fighting i.e., in the Hadith, moreover is to repudiate submission granted to those rulers by their people, and, consequently to rise against them. In the Holy Book, God says, *«If you fear betrayal of (some) people, do estrange them equally. That is, you should tell that you pledge with them is annulled»*. In the Hadith, in fact, there is a clear indication that such a pledge of submission, must have been granted to those rulers so that they may rule Muslims according to the Qurán and the sunnah of the Prophet, peace be upon him. That

pledge by Muslims to submit to their ruler should be a voluntary one, of their own free will, not through oppression or coercion, for, it is the legitmate means in Islam to assume political power; and, as long as such pledge exists between the ruler and the ruled, it follows that the ruled must obey the ruler. That pledge is, in fact, a pledge by the ruler to rule according to the Law of God, and by the ruled to obey him as long as he does so. Hence the fact that rulers whom the Prophet's Companions wanted to fight and to rise against, did rule according to the Law of God, but it was their personal behaviour and conduct which was not satisfactory from the point of view of the ruled, and that their deeds forced people to curse them, which they also did to their people in the light of this understanding, it becomes clear that what the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, meant by as long as they led the prayers was not mere prayers, but the fact that as it is the duty of a Muslim ruler to lead people in prayers and to make the Friday orations, this duty is part of his legal obligations and responsibilities as such.

As long as he performs that, which also means his adherence and abiding by the Law of God, fighting against him is prohibited. The Hadith in no way means that, as some claim, as long as the ruler prays and does not prevent people from doing so, his people are not allowed to rise against him - even if he does not adhere to the Law of God. Such an understanding is

a stark contradiction of what the Companions did and were unanimous on. It also contradicts what all jurists were equally unanimous about. It is incomprehensible to believe that the Hadith was concerned with the ruler who leads prayers only, but discards all other Islamic laws and rules. Attempting to apply this Hadith to the case of present rulers is in fact an attempt to support falsehood at the expense of Islam; for today's rulers and the regimes ruling this vast world metaphorically called Islamic, have never assumed power by Islam, means (pledge of submission) .. but imposed themselves on Muslim masses through force of arms, money, and the support they draw from unbelieving powers which are conspiring against Islam and its true advocates.

Hence the falsity of those deluding propagandists who are trying to cloak anti-Islamic (Jahili) regimes with Islamic cosmetics, covering those unbelieving regimes with the mantle of just imamate of probity. In every decree or law, step or measure, rule or legislation they issue, they have in fact permitted and made legal what God has prohibited and forbidden. They are never established on a pledge; they have neutralised the right of Islamic democracy (Shura) and equally made it impossible for the masses to watch the ruler, guide his steps or give him counsel and advice.

They not only increasingly allow

people to do what is forbidden by Islamic Law, but make it easier, even provide means, for prohibits to spread. Thus allowing forbidden deeds in unanimously considered as unbelief.

Moreover, those rulers and regimes have exploited and inflicted all sorts of harm and injury on Muslims blood, life, money and honour, which is the starkest evidence of open secession of Islam.

Our present rulers have repudiated God's Law and abandoned it, despite all their Islamic cover-ups. They strike alliances with the enemies of God, help them win victory over the Muslim masses, spread corruption in our land, and kill those who teach equality and advocate justice among people. Our masses, alas! .. have surrendered to those deviant conditions, so much so that they have stamped their behaviour, conduct, moral attitudes and conducts with the stamp of unbelief. Those masses, thus, ally with the rulers, appease them, applaud them, identify with them, support them and approve of their criminal deeds, all at the expense of Islam, and, before all that, they are totally oblivious and unaware of what is being done or planned against them.

Of Islam, they now identify with the name, the label, but nothing more. Can there be unbelief, more open, more flagrant than this?? ..



Intellectual Evidence: A look at the regimes ruling the land of Islam today reveals a very important fact, i.e. that those regimes have never assumed power in the homeland of Muslims just for nothing. They are an extension, a shadow, and only too natural an extension of unbelieving western colonialism and imperialism. If it is our religious and Islamic duty to fight against unbelieving colonialist and imperialist western powers, so that religion, wholly and totally, will be for God and for God's sake, it is only a matter of course that we must oppose those regimes that are assuming the role of a facade and a front of those unbelieving, colonialist, imperialist western powers. It is deeply regrettable that such Islamic circles are apprehensive of revolutionary methods of change.

If (revolution) as an idiom, is the science that is put to application and practice with a view to effect a total and radical change in society, like the one established

and asserted by the Messenger, peace be upon him, and moving that society from one stage to another advanced one on the road to social justice, which is what (revolution) is all about, revolution, then is not a stranger to us, Muslims; neither are we strangers to it. And if the whole Nation sides with the revolution, it must be a very rightful revolution, because the Messenger, peace be upon him, asserted that the whole Nation can never unite under delusion or falsehood. If, moreover, the revolution sides, totally and completely, with the interest of the Nation, with its demands, the oppressed, the hungry and the hard-hit, it is no doubt a rightful revolution; for, the main objective of all Divine Messages to earth has always been the realisation of just and equality, and the elimination of oppressors and oppression.

God the Almighty says: «*We have sent Our Messenger with clear signs and brought down with them scriptures and the scales of justice,*

so that men might deal with fairness». (Al-Hadid, 57:25).

The Prophet's emigration, peace be upon him, (from Makka to Madinah) was neither a flight nor an escape, but a positive action on the road to revolution against an unjust society and an unjust town; it was in preparation for that revolution and an invocation.

Those who do not opt out of an unjust society with a view to changing it, and who cope with injustice, are in fact who are unjust to themselves, the worst kind of injustice:

«Unto those whom the angels cause to die, having been unjust to themselves, the angels will say: What were you doing? .. We were oppressed in our land .. they will reply. The angels will say: Was not the earth of Allah spacious enough for you to find refuge therein? .. Hell shall be their home, and evil fate.»-Al-Nisa 4:97.

For, the fact that they are oppressed and persecuted in a certain country does not relieve them of the responsibility of changing that injustice, as such and surrendering logic contradicts the Will of God, what the Holy Qurán sums up in once verse (ayat): *«But it was Our Will to favour those who were oppressed, and to make them leaders and inheritors, and to give them power in the land»-Al-Qasas 28:5.*

Thus, the Will of God is for leadership and imamate is to be

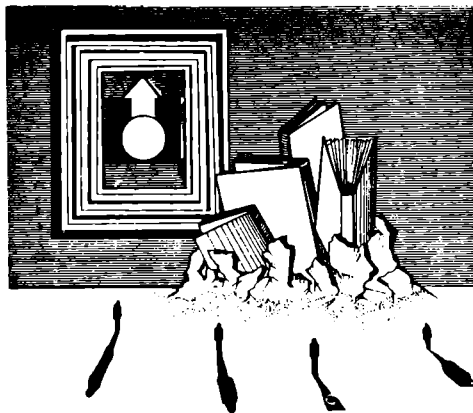
assumed by the oppressed and the persecuted among the Nation of Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him; and that will wants them to inherit the wealth and resources of their homeland, as well as its know-how and its potentialities.

Spreading the Word of God and proclaiming His Oneness has never been separate from or alien to the Nations problems, issues and conditions, to its aspirations to justice, honour and dignity, freedom and prosperity. All Prophets, may God bless them all, called on their nations to believe in the Creed of the Oneness of God, true, but we must emphasise here and now, too, that they always related this call to issues and causes of interest and concern to their nations:

□ Prophet Shuáib's call, for example, was closely related to an economic problem: *«And (the people) of Madian, We sent their brother Sháib. He said, My people, Serve Allah, you have no god but Him. Do not give short weight or measure. I see you are prosperous.» -Hud 11:84.*

□ Moses' call was related to a political problem: *«Go to Pharaoh and say to him: We are Messengers from the Lord of all men. Send with us the children of Israel» -Al-Shuára 26:16-17.*

□ And Lot's call was related to a social problem. *«Lot's people, too, disbelieved their Messengers. Their compatriot Lot said to them:*



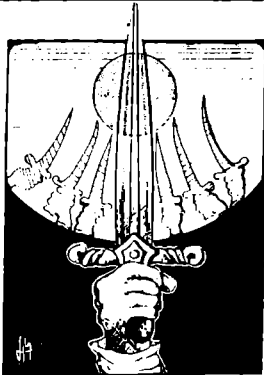
Will you not have fear of Allah? .. I am indeed your true Messenger. Fear Allah then and follow me, I demand of you no recompense for this, none can reward me except the Lord of the Creation. Will you fornicate with males and leave your wives, whom Allah as created for you?. Surely you are great transgressors!» -Al Shuára 26:160-167.

□ It is quite clear that Prophet Shuáíb's call was directed against merchants' greed, and against all forms of trading meanness, prevalent ever since and until this day among commercial societies of the day. It is a call against cheating in weight and measure: «*Woe to those that deal in fraud, who, when others measure for them, exact in full, and when they measure or weigh for others, defraud them!*» -Al Mutaffifin 83:1.

Such misdeeds were common among the people of Madian,

Shuáíb, despite the prosperity of their ever increasing prosperity «*I see you are prospering*», that is, you are enjoying great wealth and prosperity which should make you shy away from mean and greedy practices of stealing other people's dues and exploiting their money by falsehood and forgery. Hence Shuáíb's call was not an abstract, but has come, in the Name of God to fight against an economic situation based on exploitation, greed and blackmail.

Then there came Moses' call, directed and intended historically against, tyranny, arrogance and hegemony and represented in the character of Pharaoh: We have in fact quite a few Pharaohs in our own era. Pharaoh used to allow himself a free hand in the lives, women and children, so much so that he one day said, «*I am your highest god*». Then came Moses, a Messenger from God, to say to him: Send with me the children of Israel, because those children of



Israel were then the victims of Pharaoh's tyranny and oppression. In the Name of God, Moses asked Pharaoh to take his hand off the children of Israel and to set them free, on God's orders. Thus develops a situation of total confrontation with a tyrant and all forms of political tyranny and oppression.

Lot's call, on the other hand, was in connection with a deteriorating and corrupt social condition, which fell as deep as falling allowed, when Lot came, in the Name of God, to attack this situation and wage the decisive battle against it.

Thus God's Prophets and Messengers were the strongest opposition to commercial greed, political oppression and social deterioration and disintegration, which are, as is clear to every eye that wants to see, to most serious problems of our times, especially in the Islamic world.

God has sent His Messengers, and revealed His Holy Books, so

that equality and justice prevail amongst people. It is that same justice on which the earth and the skies have been established. If we see the signs of right, if we follow the evidence of sound logic and minds, and if we see the dawn of justice in any way at all, this means that the Law of God, the Religion of God, and the satisfaction and Order of God have all prevailed and are in rule. God the Almighty has never restricted the ways, means, signs, evidence and expressions of justice in one single form, invalidating all other, possibility stronger and more evident, ways and forms

In the ways and means which He revealed as His Law. God has in fact shown that His intention and Will is to establish right and justice, and fairness and quality amongst people. Any ways and means that lead to the realisation of right and to knowing real justice, must be used as a basis of rule and judgement; for, ways and means are never ends in themselves; they are the means to ends, to the realisation of intentions and objectives. Yet, by what God ordered as ways and means of effecting justice, He has also drawn human attention to similar means and ways, and their objectives. You will always find that every single way and means that establish and confirm a right are a way and means to provide themselves Godly, Divine, and indicative of similar ways and means. A total, comprehensive and perfect Law of God can only mean that, and be just that!

MASSES DUTIES TOWARDS POLITICAL PRISONERS

Detention and imprisonment are nowadays the inevitable fate of Islamic activists and mujahids everywhere. The vicious and concerted campaign of arrests against those activists, which has not spared even religious leaders and scholars, dictates certain duties and responsibilities on behalf of our popular masses, and should never be allowed to pass unopposed by them.

It is incumbent on every Muslim to rise in support of detained mujahids who have been arrested for no other crime than their active work of educating the masses and leading them in their struggle to regain their usurped rights: The masses are called upon to do everything in their power to save and support those brother believers.

A move is already underway outside the country, aimed at exposing the Saudi regime in leading international newspapers. The campaign has yielded results, but, on national level, the masses must do everything possible, using every means available to them in order to bring pressure to bear on that regime to set the prisoners free and stop the regime's campaign of terror and torture against them.

The manner and means of such means, and the actions that masses can perform inside the country are the topic of this article:

It is only a matter of course that masses should assume their full responsibility and duty towards detainees and prisoners, for, those are the vanguards and pioneers of society and its saviours who have already started the march. The others are expected to complete that march. A prison is not a well where some fall and which others are warned against. Imprisonment is the rewarding honour of moving closer to God Almighty .. (And those to the fore shall be foremost. Such are they that shall be brought near to their Lord in the gardens of delight) *. If those vanguards are now (a whole multitude from the men of old, but only a few from the latter generations)**.

It is only because the start is always the difficult step

For an individual to be an additional voice when everyone else is making a tumultuous noise is easy, to be a tumultuous hurricane in times of silence, and a resounding explosion in times of tranquility and inactivity is the real hardship; hence the very few number of a nation's vanguards: (Yet few of My slaves are truly thankful)***

The duties of our masses towards those pioneers are great indeed. If our masses fail to carry out their responsibilities towards their pioneers, they are doomed to be struck with many disasters, least of which is the persistence of injustice, tyranny, deprivation and repression. For, those pioneers play a role similar to that of Prophets, may God bless them,

amongst their peoples. Those Prophets were sent as Messengers of God's pledge of reward to believers and of His warning of punishment to disbelievers, calling up people to respond favourably to their benevolent nature. Similiary, those Islamic pioneers are here to revive the message of Islam and the World of Allah, and to renew and activate what is already innate in people. And, in the same way in which Prophets' peoples and nations were punished when they rejected God's Message and failed to support His Messengers, so will our societies also be struck with punishment of the same kind?.

Whenever our believing pioneers and vanguards are oppressed and imprisoned, our masses should never abandon them by trying to save their souls! .. thanking God for saving them from harm and loss. This is sheer treason!! .. Just imagine someone volunteering to come to your rescue and liberation, for no reward other than the blessings of God, and when he is trapped on the way, you let him down despite your ability to save and support him?

Masses who adopt such attitudes towards their mujahids and pioneers will never escape the Wrath of God, nor will they be spared the tyranny of oppressors. Such are voice of spirit, which when it happens, turns them into slaves of oppression and repression, and easy preys of tyranny. When someone does not challenge oppression and injustice

because they have been inflicted not on themselves, but on others, the oppressor will then spare no one, as he will single all, one by one, and finish them all.

We all recall how Timor Lang, the Mogul leader used to invade and conquer the divided countries and do whatever he liked with them. On one such occasion, he, as usual, gathered the population in the main square and said: I am asking you one question, to which you must give an answer .. Is it God Who gave me power over you? .. Or is it me, who gave myself the power to dominate you? .. If it is the Will and Doing of God, no one can oppose God's Will, and all of you must be slain. If it is my own will and doing, who of you can prevent or stop me.

The population were divided in their interpretations of this riddle, each of which would lead to their slaughter!. Meanwhile, a young conscious man stood up and said to the Mogul: Listen, O King, neither God gave you power over us, nor you gave yourself that power!. Then, with everyone spellbound with surprise and shock, the young man continued: We are the ones who gave you power over ourselves and allowed you to dominate us, because we are lazy, irresponsible, split and divided.

The answer was a hundred percent true. That country, torn and split socially, divided and weak, was unable to defend itself against a gang of outlaws and highwaymen,

let alone a great and strong army. The same will be the fate of every split and divided society. A society that backs and supports the unjustly persecuted, and attains the deprived's rights for them, however, facing up to the acts of aggression and excesses, will always be strong, and will never bend before tempests.

A society that holds as its own the cause of detained and exiled pioneers, who accepted the challenge of liberating that society and saving it from tyrant oppressors, is one that will be blessed with God's blessings and mercy.

Let us, therefore, get acquainted with the role which the masses can play regarding detainees, and the duties and responsibilities incumbent upon them. Those can be summed up as follows.

1)- Praying for their Release:

Holding meetings of prayers supplicating to God for the release of prisoners, especially if the circumstances are fit for such a step, is the first and basic duty of masses towards their pioneers and prisoners. If, however, circumstances do not allow such a step, a combination of prayers for release with other supplications, and on different occasions, is required. An example of such combination is a supplementary prayer while staying up on Friday nights for prayer and supplication, or after prayers supplications for their salvation and release, or any similar situation.

Collective prayers and supplications, by men, women and children, are also required, for, God no doubt will have mercy on His servant and respond to his supplications. He even likes him to supplicate to Him, wearing the cloak of total submission to God, and only to God, while repeating his calls at the doors of God's great and total mercy.

Moreover, prayers and supplications to God for prisoners' release and salvation embody two other expressions:

a. They become a meeting and a demonstration against the regime that detained those pioneers. Those attending such a meeting express their protestations through prayers and supplications, which, because of their general nature, can not be easily stopped or prevented by the authorities.

b. They become an expression of a believing gathering and unity in sharing the sufferings and pains with the prisoners, and an expression of solidarity with the cause for which those brothers have been detained.

Added to all that is the feeling and attitude generated by such a gathering towards a repressive regime imposing its will on an oppressed people.

2) Working for the Prisoners' Cause :

If prayers and supplications to God is the least (weakest expression of belief) one can do for those mujahids, working for

their cause is the highest expression of support for them, for, the barriers erected in the form of prison walls between the revolutionaries and their masses must never be allowed to separate us from our pioneers under any circumstances.

Each and every individual can do something according to their position, capability and circumstances.

a) Sending letters, anonymous or under alias names, to government officials, carrying news or threats, is something which any individual can do, and which will no doubt have some effect on the prisoners' cause and case, especially if such letters are sent in great numbers.

b) Printing and distributing leaflets everywhere possible, under different names, can be an advanced step on the road of working for the cause of the prisoners. Telegrams of protest and denouncement can have the same effect.

c. For those holding religious or social positions of prominence, they are to account, on the Day of Judgement, for their silence, if they do so, on the issue of detaining people unjustly and unrightfully. They will also have to account, on the Day of Reckoning, for withholding their God-given blessings from other people and from helping them with such blessings. For, (The more blessings people have, the



more in need of their help others will be).

d) Publicising the cause of prisoners and detainees in newspapers and magazines abroad; for, presenting the issue through international press can bring great pressure to bear on those regimes and governments which can be greatly harmed if their oppressive and terrorising

nature is exposed to the world at large. For, it is this nature, this very image, that such regimes have spent many years and millions of dollars to create. Anyone inside the country and abroad, can contact any news-agency and give them an item of news or write articles on the subject, either to be paid for or free of charge.

It is important, in this respect, to draw everyone's attention to an important point which some still argue. Do we have to defend the cause, or case, of those who confessed when interrogated in prisons, who broke down, or even changed there?

An impulsive answer could be the negative, only a deeper look and consideration of the matter, away from the extreme reactions and hasty judgements, can produce a positive answer, surprising as it might seem, based on the following facts: When we work for such people, we in fact work for God's servants who are being subjected to detention and arrest from time to time. We, therefore, are working for the cause embodied in this group of people at present. Those who have confessed or retreated at a moment of human weakness against a very hard test indeed, still have wide opportunities open to them to repent and return to God and true believing in Him. We cannot judge that they have really lost hope in the Mercy of Allah

Even the possibility of the masses showing sympathy with those

people, and considering them steadfast heroes, will make them return quickly to the embracing love and compassion of their believing masses. And, finally, even if those persisted in their desertion and retreat from the cause taken by the masses and their pioneers, we still have to work for an adopt at least part of their cause, by exposing the regime, exposing it and by carrying out a counter-campaign of publicity against it, using these very issues and causes of those people.

3. Looking After Prisoners Families:

Most prisoners can adapt to the condition of life in prisons after a while, yet some of those cannot even bear to figure their families in a desparate sitation, and, thus, are greatly worried about them, «Who will protect my wife?.. who will support my mother and father? .. who will support my children, my daughters? .. who...who...etc»

Such and similar unanswered questions turns a prisoner into a prey of the devil, especially as the jailors know that and, hence, start playing that tune, by asking him about his family, bringing him photographs of his children, or telling him bad news about them.

Some prisoners may be greatly alarmed as a result, which may greatly adversely affect his will and strength of determination. But if a muhjahid knew that others would look after his family, even

to some extent, and help that family manage their day-to-day problems, his heart and mind would be reassured and he would have the rest of mind which he badly needs while in prison. He would not then lose heart and determination thinking of his family and worrying about them.

Islamic teachings, calling for co-operation and mutal support among believers in normal circumstances, do, no doubt, emphasis such aspects in abnormal circumstances, like those of detention and imprisonment.

4. Putting up Strong Resistance to fifth Column Agents:

There is always that faction of any society, who are, consciously or otherwise, rendering their free services to the authorities. We are not concerned here with the conscious sevants of such kind, but with those who do so unconsciously. They are a group who are relatively highly religious who take extra care in applying extra caution in effecting Islamic rules related to matrimonial and personal matters, and who insist on doing good deeds, and are known in their societies for their piety and righteousness. But they show no interest in the social aspects of Islam, and are even ignorant of any political or revolutiuonary concepts in the Islamic Creed. As a result, they supplicate to God for matters and for people, which, if they really knew what they amount to, they would repent, ask God for His

forgiveness, and which would make them sorry for the rest of their lives.

Such people, for one thing, appease the oppressors and persecutors of their people, and God says: **(And put no trust in the wrong doers, lest you get touched by the Fire)******. They incriminate active mujahids in the Cause of Allah, but talking against them in social circles. They frustrate their society and demotivate it away from action, but instigating suspicious as to the aims and symbolic figures of moves aiming at change. They are even taking malicious pleasure in the mishaps of believers detained, and in the bad luck befalling them .. serve them right .. good riddance. They think it is a child's play. It is a confrontation with the Government, and the Government is arms .. is chains .. is prisons!!

That is how they think, what they make of things, and what they say of prisoners, rejoicing in their misfortunes, and frustrating others. It is the duty of our masses to resist and reject those liars if they refuse to understand the situation, and if they do not refrain from aiding and abetting the regime with such statements, for, (That who loves certain people shall be grouped with them on Dooms Day. and that who approves certain people's actions shall be party to that action with them). Such people are collaborators with oppressors, equal to murderers and tyrants, and, in as much as we resist

oppressors we must also resist and reject this destructive column of sabotage who lives amongst us, but behave like an infestation in our society. They supply the regime's actions with false legitimacy by gloating over believing prisoners' mishaps. Everyone will have to account for words they say, even for implicit support they have. Every word those people utter in support of the regime, consciously or otherwise, be it by religious scholars or ordinary people, that could be of direct or indirect benefit to the regime, they will have to account for on the Day of Reckoning.

The attitude our believing masses should adopt towards such people should be, for a start, one of guidance and an attempt to lead them to the rightful way, and to acquaint them with the real nature of the regime, as well as with the role of mujahids are playing and their aims and objectives. If all fails, however, and if they persist in the wrong role and attitude they assume, it becomes necessary to oppose and fight against them by every possible means, because they become now a column of hypocrisy, frustration and disuasion amongst the believers, thus posing a danger and a threat to believers that far outweighs any danger or threat posed by the regime, because they are taken as part of the masses of believers.

* Al Waqia 56:10

** Al Waqia 56:14

*** Sheba 34:13

**** Hud 11:13

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- * If a man refrains from Jihad, he only loses himself**
 - * The true believer is that who goes to Jihad for God's Cause, not to be applauded**
 - * A true believer is the one who always feels that he is the stronger, and the prouder, even if he was a prisoner or a captive**

QUALITIES OF COMMITTED BELIEVERS

In the Name of God, Most-Merciful, Most Compassionate.

(. . . Believers, if any of you renounce the faith. Allah will replace them by others who love Him and are loved by Him. Humble towards the faithful and stern towards the unbelievers. Striving for Allah's cause and fearless of man's censure. Such is the Grace of Allah: He bestows it on whom He will. He is Munificent, Knowing).

There is no kinsmanship between God and any of His creatures, no favouritism, no nepotism, no mediator other than good work coupled with believing in God and His Messenger. Just as the whole universe moves according to one single law, every part of it never changing with the changing whims and desires of people, so is the case with the life of men and their inter-relations, their political issues, and social ones.

That is the Law of Allah, His Way, and the nature He has stamped everything with: no one can change this nature ... If people wished they were born from a stone, it would never happen that way, for, God's way of creating man would be then different from their wishes. So is the case with victory. If people wished to win victory in this life without satisfying the conditions of victory that lead to it, they would not

score victory, for God's way of granting victory would then differ from their wishes. Just as man can not be born to a stone, victory cannot come from defeat. Victory and defeat have their causes and factors. Defeat is inflicted if its factors are available, so is victory scored if the factors of victory are realised.

It is true that everyone wishes to score victory without having to go through the hardships of Jihad, but God Almighty will make things happen only if their conditions and causes are realised, regardless of peoples wishes and whims ...

The Holy Qurán makes it clear that:

(It will not be in accordance with your desires, nor the desires of the People of the Scripture. He who doeth wrong will have the recompense thereof, and will not find against Allah any protecting friend or helper).

(There are illiterate men among them who, ignorant of the Scriptures, know of nothing except lies and vague fancies...)

(Is man to attain all that he desires? .. For to Allah belongs the Hereafter and the present life).

Hence the eternal law that, if a man wants his situation changed, his bad situations, that is, he must change himself first, he must give priority to «God's wishes» over his own, for,

(Allah does not change a

people's lot unless they change what is in their hearts...)

Even believers will find that God does not fulfil their wishes as they want. He asks them to do things His own way. For, God has His own «values» and «standards» in this universe and this life. God is always on the side of those who are on His side, those who are on His own way, and who obey the duties He has ordained. Hence the eternal rule in God's words:

(... Believers, if any of you renounce the faith, Allah will replace them by others who love Him and are loved by Him)

There can be, therefore, a secessionist believer, as well as a committed one. The former is one who does not meet and comply with the requirements of believing, who goes for that kind of believing that does not impose on him any responsibilities, or order him to go to Jihad. He wants a belief that takes nothing from him, a smooth belief with neither thorny surface nor hardships. no prisons, no torture, no emigration, no fighting... In a word, a secessionist believer would like to enjoy the belief of «rabbits»:

(And when Allah promised you one of the two bands (of the enemy) that it should be yours, and ye longed that other than the armed one might be yours. And Allah willed that He should cause the Truth to triumph by His words, and cut the root of the disbelievers;)

Such, then, is the secessionist believer, who has accepted to be a believer, but averted his responsibilities

His is the «so so» believing which God described in the Qurānic Ayat:

(There are some who serve Allah and yet stand on the very fringe of the true faith. When blessed with good fortune they are content, but when an ordeal befalls them they turn around...)

His is the believing of -and in- «taking, not of giving; of comfort, not of Jihad; of kids, not of men» his is the believe of a secessionist.

No doubt that all people like to be «believers» and to be «committed», they even admire and adore heroism and Jihad. Every man wishes to be that hero who beats and conquers all difficulties and hardships in order to realise his aim; everyone wishes to be that «gallant man of honour» who meets death with open arms, and with great courage. The problem, however, is that a hero in the glorious scene and battle of victory, is not the same as that in the battle-field of Jihad. People see heroes when they have scored victory, or when everyone is applauding and hailing them. Hence the desire by everyone to follow heroes' examples as victors, not as people battling against the difficulties and hardships on the way to victory.

A hero is like a man riding on a lion: Everyone adores him: Only the hero himself knows what an adventure and a great danger it is

to ride on the back of a «lion».

That is why many people start the march of Jihad, but soon retract from it; for, the beginnings of the march of believing are easy and smooth, but to continue to put up with its hardships is in fact what makes heroes, who are very few indeed. When the march starts, many people join in, but as soon as hardships begin to loom, those with scanty and weak commitment retract. «We do not wish to be the scapegoats and victims» .. they say, then start to look for pretexts for retreat and for every possible means of discouragement and justification for their failure and retractions.

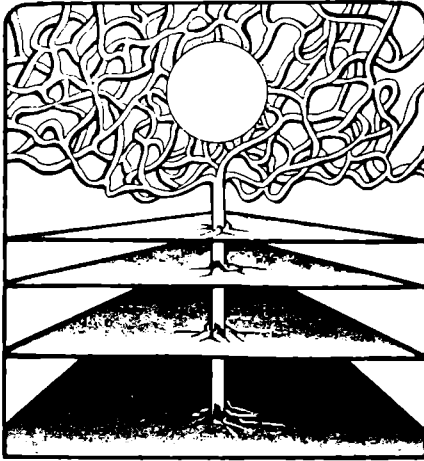
That is why, too heroes are, but a few throughout history

(But when at last they were ordered to fight, they all refused, except a few of them. Allah knows the evil-doers).

(... a whole multitude from the men of old, but only a few from the later generations)

(... but not so those who have faith and do good works, and they are few indeed).

Yet the fact that the perserving and the steadfast are but a few, and that the majority retract and run away from hardships and difficulties, does not mean that God will change His own way.



Those who abandon His Religion, God will replace them with other peoples and nations, life, and the continuation of life, demands heroes... Its crises are the burden of every steadfast believer, committed and abiding by the spirit of his belief, and fulfilling his duties and commitments. If someone fails to meet such obligations, this will not be the end of heroism and manliness in this world, nore does it imply that life will be subjected to other than steadfast believing men.

If someone retracts from the march of Jihad, he, and no one else, is the loser. If someone retracts from their believers responsibilities, it will not be the end of all strugglers and Mujahids... It is true that Jihad is difficult and costly, but that is why Mujahids have always been but a few, and heroes even fewer. Were it not for hardships and sufferings, all mankind would be
masters,

but generosity makes the generous
poor,
 and courage makes the courageous
 martyrs...

Were it not for hardships, all men would be the masters of this life; for «real» mastery demands generosity, giving, sacrifice in money, time, life and comforts. It also demands courage, and a spirit of adventure in action. And, because generosity makes the generous poor, and courage makes them martyrs, people, run away, only the few remain at the top.

God says, «God will replace (a secessionist) with a people (a nation)». He says that for every secessionist, God will compensate with a people of committed believers. Why «a people» instead of a secessionist? .. because, first, that who abandons belief only has himself to lose. To that effect, Imam Ali says, (He who deprives others of his help and generoisty, deprives them of one open hand, but is deprived of many...). No one should ever imagine that if they do not meet their believing obligations, no one else can do the job. And because, second, when God says, «... will replace (a secessionist) with a people, a nation» He in fact is reminding us that He is with the community, with the many coming together and co-operating in good deeds together; not with the individual; that God wants to see a «believing community» not «believing individuals»; and that «nations» not «individuals», are the victorious. Such nations will have,

first, the quality of deep love of God in their hearts; and, second, of being also loved by God...

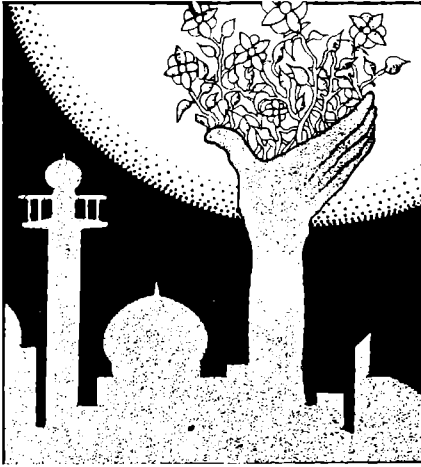
In order to know what God's love for man and man's love of God mean, we should understand that, in whatever actions they do, people have only two motives: either love, or hate, and nothing else. The first is a positive motive; the second, a negative one. Any action taken by a human being is motivated either by love or by hate. The expressions used to word such motives may differ, but the essence is only one and the same thing. Some may call them «desire and fear terror»; others. «hope and fear» etc...

Man's love for himself is the motive of many things he does. Also his love for the values he believes in. His fear of certain things like illness, poverty, humiliations etc... may incite him to look for means to resist those factors. A student whose love for knowledge motivates him to put up with the difficult burden of study, a merchant whose love of money and profit motivates him to face and deal with the difficulties of business; and the revolutionary whose love for his people motivates him to create or participate in a revolution, are all motivated either by love or by fear. Hence, all man's actions are based on a positive and a negative motive. If he can reconcile those two motives, if he can «reform» them, that is, his life activities will be sound and right. Hence, also, our duty to «love» whom we «should love», and hate whom

(and what) we should hate. The only source of fear and hope is one, the Only One, God Almighty, Him we should fear, and Him we should trust and beg. We should only hate that which or whom, God hates, we should only love that which and whom God loves. This is what «resigning to God» and «repudiations» mean in general. Those whose positive motive is the love of God and whose negative motive is fear of God, are on the straight and rightful path, for that will end with them being true slaves of God... For, that is what and how God wants them to be, and that is how He will speak to them in Heaven, in Paradise, when the true believer receives a message from the All Creator, Almighty of Heaven and Earth, beginning as follows:

«From: the Immortal, ever living,
Who never dies...
To: the immortal, ever living who never dies!!
After Greetings,
Like Myself, Who say unto things:
Be! and they exist; you say unto things: Be! and they exist!»

Some may ask: «If God loves people, not for bodies, but for their qualities and merits, what are the qualities which God loves, and what are the qualities which God hates!». The answer lies, both positive and negative, in many Quránic Ayats. Before describing those whom God loves and those whom God does not love, however, we must state the fact that people love their pleasures and material things; they love



immediate gains; they love comfort and money and possessions, they love beauty, a fact stated by God in His Holy Book:

(Men are tempted by the lure of women and offspring, of hoarded treasures of gold and silver..)

(... Yet you men love this fleeting life, and are heedless of the life to come).

(... and you love riches with all your hearts).

(Remember, when Allah promised to grant you one of the two bands, and you wished the one that was not strong...)

That is what people love, and how they love it. yet,

(But you may hate a thing although it is good for you, and love a thing although it is bad for you. Allah knows, but you do not).

Some may ask, (What can we do if we love these things!?! .. do you want us to hate them!?)

The answer is, (Of course not. No one may ask a human being to hate what God has invested in him. No one can ask a human being to abandon his human nature, or his desires, provided that they do not dictate his life-style or dominate his being. In other words, what is in fact called for, is not deserting desires or suppressing or cancelling them. What is demanded is that man should control those desires, so that man becomes the master of his desires, but not the other way round.

God orders us to give away some of everything we love:

(Ye will not attain unto piety until ye spend of that which ye love. And whatsoever ye spend. Allah is aware thereof).

If you master and control your love for material and money, you can give away some of it. See what you love, and spend and give away some of it...

You love your money: Give away some of it! .. You love your comfort: Give away some of it! .. You love your children: Give away some of them! .. Otherwise you will not attain piety and true

belief, for love of God, and for His Sake, we must give away everything we love, even every love we have... He who rejects or refutes that can only await the Wrath of God:

(Say: If your fathers, your

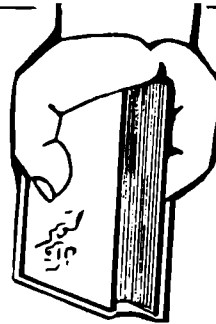
sons, your brothers, your wives, your tribes, the property you have acquired, the merchandise you fear may not be sold, and the homes you love, are dearer to you than Allah, then wait until Allah shall fulfil His decree. Allah does not guide the evil-doers).

God orders us, thus, to oppose and resist our «desires» and whims, which is indeed the greatest of all tests of man's belief... God asks us to give away what we love, whom we love most... Only when a man's «desires» and «whims» take one direction, does God order him to go in a different one:

(... but those who feared to stand before their Lord and curbed their soul's desires shall dwell in Paradise).

Do you realise what that means? .. No, it does not mean the cancellation of such wishes and desires altogether; it only means that a human being should not give way fully to his desires, or become their slave. Though not easy at all, opposing such desires and whims is the road to greatness and glorious heights. Can a student study unless he puts up a strong resistance to his desire to play? .. Can a believer effect a revolution unless he suppresses in himself the desire to enjoy life, even to live? .. Can a human being be that symbol of virtue and benevolence unless he resists all desires and whims?

If you want to know where the



blessings and approval of God lie, find out where your desires lie, then look in the opposite direction and you will find and discover God's blessings and approval.

Have you seen a wind balloon in an airport!? .. Men also have their own «desire» balloons: Wherever such a balloon moves, whatever direction it takes, it is the direction of evil, of the devil, and must be opposed and resisted... Imam Ali says: (Two things worry me about you: Your following your desires, and the long -prolonged- hopes you wait for... Following your desires takes you away from what is right: long hopes make you forget the Hereafter). A holy man was once asked (How far are we from Heaven!?) .. (Two steps) .. he answered, (One that take you away from your desires and whims, and the second lands you in Paradise!) ..

Once again we ask: Who are those that God loves, and that God hates? .. The answer is straightforward:

Those whom God loves are:

1. The charitable and benevolent:

(Lo! Allah loveth the beneficent)

2. The repentant:

(Truly Allah loveth those who turn unto Him, and loveth those who have a care for cleanness).

3: Those who purify and chasten themselves:

(Allah loveth the purifiers).

4. The pious and God-conscious:

(76. Nay, but the (chosen of Allah is) he who fulfilleth his pledge and wardeth off (evil); for lo! Allah loveth those who ward off (evil)).

5. The patient and persevering:

(Allah loveth the steadfast).

6. Those who rely only on God:

(And when thou art resolved, then put thy trust in Allah. Lo! Allah loveth those who put their trust (in Him)).

7. Men of probity and justice:

(But if thou judgest, judge between them with equity. Lo! Allah loveth the equitable).

8. Those who work united:

(Lo! Allah loveth those who battle for His cause in ranks, as if they were a solid structure).

9. Those who follow the Messenger of God, Muhammad:

(Say, (O Muhammad, to mankind): If ye love Allah, follow me; Allah will love you forgive you your sins, is Forgiving, Merciful).

10. The steadfast and enduring.

(So long as they are true to you, be true to them. Lo! Allah loves those who keep their duty).

Those are the people whom God loves. Those whom God does not love are:

1. Usurpers of other peoples rights

(Fight in the way of Allah against those who fight against you, but begin not hostilities. Lo! Allah loveth not aggressors).

2: Those corrupting the earth

(And when he turneth away (from there) his efforts in the land is to make mischief therein and to destroy the crops and the cattle; and Allah loveth not mischief).

3. The unbelievers

(Lo! He loveth not the disbelievers (in His guidance)).

4. The unjust

(And Allah loveth not wrong-doers).

5. The traitors

(And plead not on behalf of (people) who deceive themselves Lo! loveth not one who is treacherous and sinful).

6. The boastful

(Lo! Allah loveth not such as are proud and boastful).

7. The spendthrift and extravagant

(And be not prodigal. Lo! Allah loveth not the prodigals).

8. The tyrants and superiorist

(Lo! He loveth not the proud)

9. Those involved in merry
naking and rejoicing

*(... His people said to him: Do
not exult in your riches, Allah
does not love the exultant).*

10. Those who spread
corruption and moral indecency.

*(Lo! those who love that slander should
be spread concerning those who believe,
theirs will be a painful punishment in
the world and the Hereafter).*

Those are not loved by God, and
believers should hate them in this
life.

This, then, is the meaning of
«They love God... and God loves
them...». Believing, therefore, is not
in the vibrations and twisting of
tongues, it is a radical rectification
of basic motives in human beings,
motives of love and of hate.
Believing is a great deep love for
God:

*(Yet of mankind are some who take
unto themselves (objects of worship
which they set as) rivals to Allah, loving
them with a love like (that which is the
due) of Allah (only) — Those who believe
are stauncher in their love for Allah —
Oh, that those who do evil had but
known).*

Believing is a feeling of security
with God and in God

*(... Surely in the remembrance
of Allah, all hearts are
comforted..)*

Believing is a total reliance on God

*(In Allah, let the faithful put
their trust).*

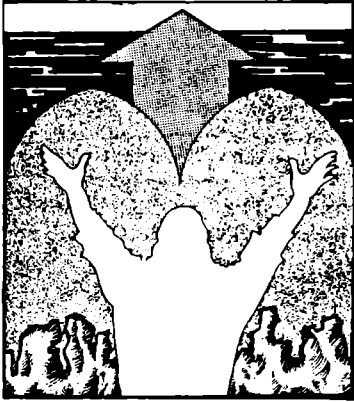
Those who love God obviously do
not love God's enemies, nor side
with them. Also, they have no
grudge or prejudice against God's
righteous slaves:

*(You shall find no believers in
Allah and the Last Day on
friendly terms with those who
oppose Allah and His
Messenger, ...)*

For, Believers

*(Those that came after them
say: Forgive us, our Lord, and
forgive our brothers who
embraced the Faith before us.
Do not put in our hearts any
malice towards the faithful.*

Thus, a committed believer has,
must have two different attitudes
towards believers and towards
unbelievers, respectively. With
believers, he is humble, full of
humility, even to a degree of
self-humiliation. Towards
unbelievers, however, his pride
and haughtiness reaches the climax
of honour and self-respect.
Believers «have mercy on each
other», but «very cruel and stiff
with unbelievers», just as God
Himself is the Most-Merciful of all
the merciful in cases of pardon,
forgiveness and mercy, but His
punishment is the most severe in
cases of inflicting penalty and
wrath. A believer shows all the
humility to another believer, but
despises unbelievers. Once the
Messenger of God entered the
Mosque and said to his
Companions: «I can see the fruit
of believing covering you!» ..
(What is the fruit of believer, O



Messenger of God!) .. they asked, «Humility», answered Prophet Muhammad, may God bless him. Where the unbelievers were concerned, the story was very different. Once Imam Ali was seen walking in the battle field, proudly, haughtily, his nose in the air, even boastful. Someone went to the Prophet, (O Messenger of God! .. Do you see how Ali is walking in the battle field?) .. Then the Prophet said, «Such a manner of walking is hateful to God, except in such places».

These two examples show that humility towards other believers is a duty of every believer, but totally rejected towards unbelievers. for believers are (humble) to other believers and amongst themselves, but not towards (unbelievers), to whom they should show extreme haughtiness. A believer should always feel that he is the most glorious, and the strongest, even if he were a prisoner or a captive, as long as he is confronting an unbeliever or an oppressor.

Zainab, daughter of Ali, addressed Yazid ibn Muawyah, when she was a captive, and most of her male relatives had been killed, not by (please forgive) to the emperor ruling east and west of the Earth, but with an insult in his face. (By God, I despise your positions) .. she roared,(and I loathe even to speak to you ...)

To show humility to other believers is not only religious duty, but a prerequisite condition to forming a united community, to forming an organisation, and for the emergence of a new (nation) that will, with the Will of God, replace those who betray their obligations.

Mutual concession is a first corner stone in the formation of a Jamaá (a community), for unity demands cohesion, which can be achieved through co-ordination, which, in turn, can only be achieved through concession and compromise among believers. By using the word (humiliation) in describing the mutual relations inside a believing community it seems that what is expected of a believer towards other believers is not only an attitude of greetings of peace and showing humility to them, but readiness to accept a stance of humiliation from them, too, which is the climax of benevolence and giving and which must be realised... You must give to your believing brother even if he refrains from doing so; to keep in touch with a believer, even if he breaks of relations. The Messenger of Allah says, «Keep in touch even



with that who breaks relations with you, and be good even to those who do harm to you». It is only too clear that such a relationship based on (humiliation) is prohibited except among brothers. Hence the tales and narrations quoted, for example, from the Bible (New Testament) : (Turn your left cheek to that who slaps you on the right one) .. or (Walk two miles with those who ask you to walk one free) .. are an example of the relationships that should exist among believers, not with unbelievers .. with the unjust, and the oppressors.

If your believing brother slaps you on the right cheek , turn (give) your left cheek to him. If he uses you for a free mile, walk two miles with him.

With unbelievers and tyrant oppressors, it is quite the opposite. Submission to them is most prohibited, that who inflicts injustice, that on whom the injustice is inflicted, and the witness to injustice are three partners. Acquiescing to injustice is more damaging than injustice itself:

(And put no trust in the wrongdoers, lest you get touched by the Fire you have no protectors besides Allah. Then you will not be helped).

How do tyrants deal with their peoples and subjects these days!? .. Are they not (too haughty, too proud) towards believers, but (full of humiliation) when dealing with unbelievers, just the opposite of what God orders believers to do!?

When dealing with their peoples, they are Tarzans, but when the U.S. President, or with any other President in the West, they show the attitudes of a student usually shows to his teacher!! .. They never disobey a (Western) order, but, equally, never meet the demands of their peoples... Is that not exactly the contrary to what God's orders want??!

How , say, was Anwar Sadat? .. Was not he the one who once said. (I am going to the Americans... I am looking for them!?) .. Was he not the one who later said in a press conference, (My rule is strong, invincible, and I will break the neck of any one who opposes my leadership)?? ..

Those and others have in fact reversed the course and attitude ordained by God, thus turning their right cheek to unbelievers, while exercising oppression and humiliation on the believing masses. Describing such people, God says:

(... Whoever of you seeks their

friendship and supports them shall become one of their number).

God will no doubt replace those and other secessionists with believing people whom He loves and who love Him, who show humiliation and humility to their brother believers, but only despise unbelievers, who go to Jihad for God and His Cause, and who never fear the blame in this, of anyone. Such will be the new people that their message and duty will be their open and only burden, doing their Jihad for God by delivering that message. They are, thus, mujahids... They are also honest, sincere and faithful, hence their courage and rejections of any blame.

A question would then present itself, that most important in the process of Jihad are the hardships, problems, and putting up with imprisonment, wounds, death and torture. Why, then, did not the Qurán say so? .. Why, for example, did it not state that, «... Those who go to Jihad never fear death»? .. The answer is plain and simple. First, because the true and honest believer is that who goes to Jihad only for God, not to be applauded and praised, or to be hailed. There is no meaning or value in Jihad done with the hope or expectations of receiving praise and words of support: real Jihad is that performed in an atmosphere wrought and saturated with difficult circumstances and frustrations; full of pessimisms and blame.

Second, because the most difficult task facing revolutionaries is not wounds, imprisonment or execution, but words of blame and grudge and vengeance. The most important test revolutionaries face is their surpassing attempts to frustrate them, attempts that come from friends, relations and brothers...

For, words of vengeance are far more painful than wounds, of far greater adverse influence than prison walls, even far more horrifying than execution ropes. You may easily put up with wound pains and enemy propaganda, but you need the will and determination of great men to put up with words of grudge and vengeance, especially at times of failure and retreat.

Hence the fact that indifference to words of blame is part and parcel of Jihad.

He who starts the march on the road of Jihad must expect to hear much of vengeance, blame and (didn't I tell you!)... But he should never fear that. He should expect not only encouragement, but blame, frustrating words, and blame, too. Throughout history, mujahids faced the fateful attitudes of avengers, and of blame. Only heroes were the ones who resisted those and rejected them .. their pressures, and destroyed all obstacles of frustrations. Take Imam Husain for example, who had to face frustrating elements of (Karbala) before he faced the swords of Ibn

Ziad. He resisted that fiercely, hence his rare and unique heroism on the Day of (Ashoora)... Defeatists tried to frustrate his determination with all kinds of words, they even told him that: (You will be killed on this road, with no supporters or friends to support you...) .. (God wants to see me killed), Imam Hussein said, (It is not right.) .. they argued, (that you get killed by a mean debased person like Yazid ibn Muáwiyah!!) .. Is it not a humiliating irony of this world, he wondered, (that the chopped head of John, the son of Zakaria -the Baptist- was given to a whore of the children of Israel as a present?) .. (Why, then) .. they asked again, (do you take your family and children with you? .. God wants to see them taken captive slaves?)

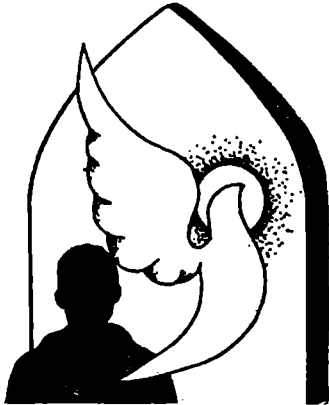
Every mujahid should be aware of the fact that the course of Jihad is saturated with negative and adverse elements, and counter-pressures. Every mujahid is bound to be inhibited by parents, brothers and relatives, before he is thus frustrated by an oppressive regime of tyranny. A mujahid's real test, therefore, is to surpass the obstacles represented in relatives and friends, and to get rid of the negative and adverse counter-pressures, at home and with friends. A revolutionary is always one step ahead of those around him, leading them, but never lead by them.

In his will which he left to his

mother, a martyr once wrote: (Remember mother, that all martyrs were the children of mothers. You are not the first mother to lose her son in the field of martyrdom, neither will you be the last...)

Do you think that all mujahids receive the encouragement and backing of mothers, relatives and friends!? .. In fact, there are two categories of people who exert such pressures on mujahids. The first are those whose parental emotions push them to do so, like parents and relatives. It is only too a natural a feeling that parents do not like their children to be harmed, hence their aversion to their children's going to Jihad. The second category are the drop-outs and failurs whose failure to do their duties motivates them to show vengeance, blame, and even to try to frustrate mujahids. Those are the (secessionist believers) who justify their failure to go to Jihad by trying to prove that Mujahids are wrong. Thus, instead of being (debtors) they become (creditors), too...

I have in fact heard some of these failures speak of Mujahids who were facing all the honours of torture and war: (Have you got the permission from the Faqih -the highest Jurisprudent-?) .. they asked, (First of all, -I answered- why do you ask whether such a permission has been sought, while forgetting to ask if the oppressor himself had sought such a permission before starting killing, torturing, and



detaining the believers? .. why do you remember the need for permission on one side and forget it on the other!? .. Second, mujahids have had their permission from the Faqih's God Himself, Who says:

(... Permission to take up arms, is hereby given to those who are attacked, because they have been wronged. Allah has power to grant them victory).

Anyhow, Jihad is such a great thing that the Messenger of God, may God bless him, once said. «He who dies before going to Jihad, or thinking and contemplating doing so, dies an un-Islamic death...», which means that if you do not, for some reason, join other mujahids going to Jihad, but you are determined to join one day, you are a good Muslim. But if you neither go to Jihad nor contemplate doing so, then you die, your death is a non-Islamic one, you have not died as a perfect Muslim.

Real and true Islam is a sequel of

Jihad. Islam, once void of Jihad, becomes Americanised Islam, like that of Anwar Sadat, dubbing himself (the believing President), which meant, among other things, his wife dancing the tango with the U.S. ex-President, Jimmy Carter, then dancing with Manahim Begin to the tune of the Camp David Accord, and not last nor least, opening Egypt- Muslim Egypt- gates wide to Zionist action and activity. Or, it became Saudi brand Islam, which provides oppressors all anti-Islamic regimes, with all means of survival, and abates peace with Israel. and sells our Islamic Holy Places to U.S. sacrilege..

Such anti-Islamic patterns of Islam never advocate Jihad, which to them, too extreme an attitude, and, hence, non-Islamic!!

God's Islam, however, is the Religion of Jihad and mujahids for and in the Cause of God, who never fear or care for blame or frustration:

(Such is the grace of Allah which He giveth unto whom He will. Allah is All-Embracing, All-Knowing).

Jihad needs the blessings and favour of God, for it is the highest degree of Muslim faith. Imam Ali says: (No one will find their way to Jihad and true Islam without the guidance of God ..

Of The Mujahid Prophet, God says:

(Many a Prophet has fought side by side with many learned followers).

They derive their name for that of God... The Imams of the Prophets offspring are proud of that, (Each and every one of us dies either poisoned or killed...):

(Such is the grace of Allah which He giveth unto whom He will. Allah is All-Embracing, All-Knowing).

The Quránic Ayat above reveals, thus, five important facts:

First: that when some believers fail to do their assigned duty of Jihad, they only harm themselves; for, God then will replace them with other people.

Second: that the spiritual state of true and committed believers emanate from their deep love of God, and their unlimited endeavours to please Him and attain His blessings.

Third: that a believer's attitude towards another believer is one of humility and giving; and that, towards an unbeliever, is one of firmness and haughtiness.

Fourth: that a believer is never content to express a verbal ideological stance. He will always go to actual Jihad against falsehood. Whilst doing such duty, a believer never seeks applause or praise. He always expects to hear words of blame and vengeance. But he never fears such blame or vengeance...



And Fifth: that is one of God's blessings and graces to believers to find their way to Jihad, If a believer attains that honour, he will know its great value, and educate himself in all that leads to the continuation of that honour, and its source, (Jihad):

(... Believers, if any of you renounce the faith, Allah will replace them by others who love Him and are loved by Him. Humble towards the faithful and stern towards the unbelievers. Striving for Allah's cause and fearless of man's censure. Such is the Grace of Allah: He bestows it on whom He will. He is Munificent, Knowing).

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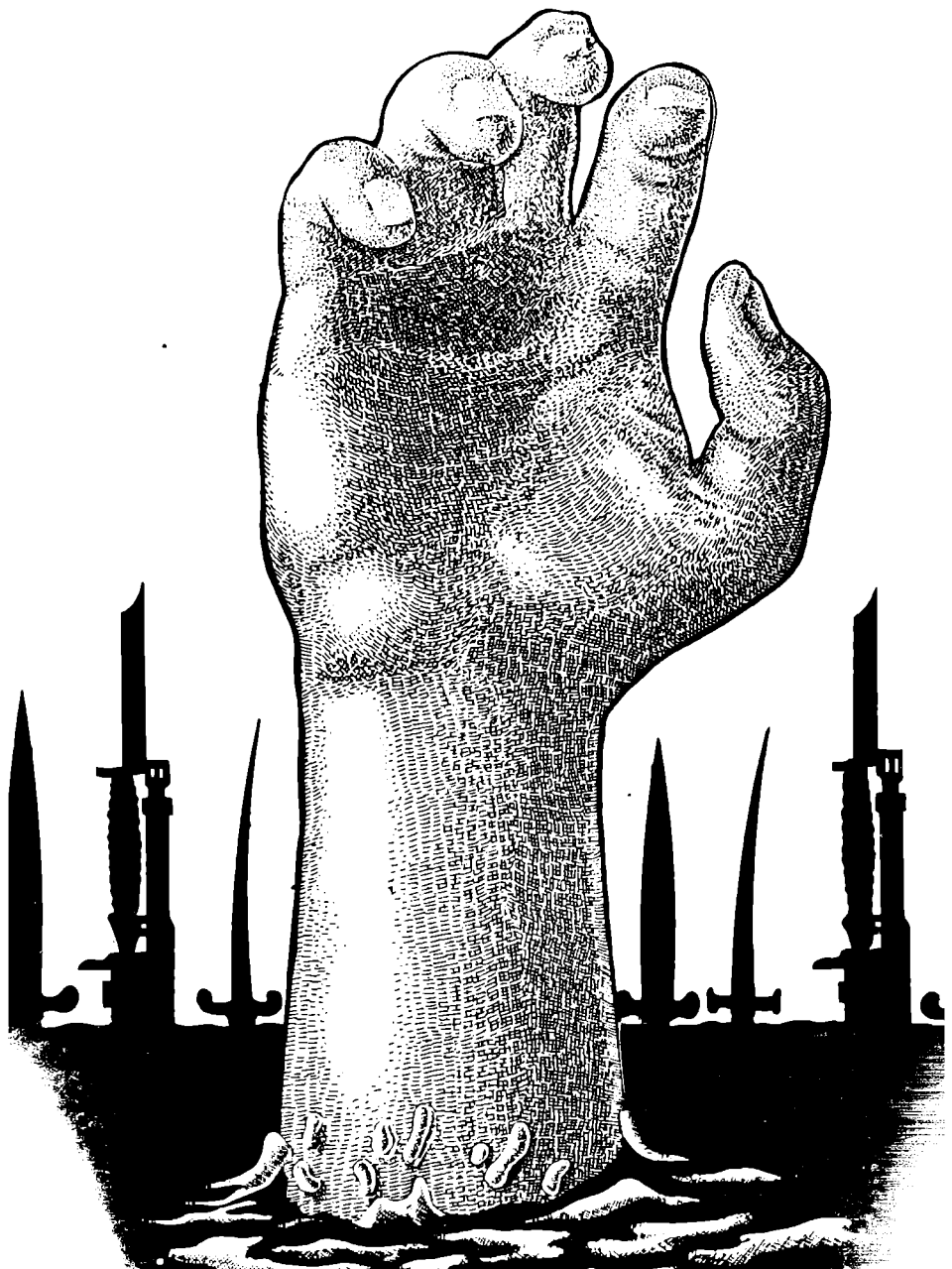
THE KNIGHT WHO MUST LAY LOW

While *MAKKA CALLING* was on its way to the printer, a controversy in Britain erupted over a letter allegedly written by a former British ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Sir James Craig, to the Foreign secretary in which Sir James is reported to have indulged in private thoughts about the country and its ruling regime. If published, the letter will embarrass the British government which was planning a visit by the Prince and Princess of Wales to Saudi Arabia scheduled shortly. A court injunction has ordered the would-be publisher of the letter, the magazine *New Statesman*, to stop publishing the letter.

For all those Middle Eastern specialists who know of Sir James, he is a man of great experience in Arab affairs and his comments have no doubt carried weight with the

British government over policy towards Saudi Arabia which is one of the most important allies of the West and a customer of British industry in the region.

We can only speculate at this stage as to what the exact content of the letter was. But one thing remains clear: the Saudis would not like it. Sir James is known to be the kind of person who on occasions would not hesitate to speak his mind. Although the letter to his employers at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London must have been written in confidence, it can only be assumed that Sir James must have expressed unorthodox views about the conduct of the Saudi regime and the royal family. But since relations with Saudi Arabia are an extremely sensitive issue as far as Britain is concerned, the Knight must lay low.



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