

স্থিতিশীল গণতন্ত্র ও  
সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতির নির্বাচন



মুহাম্মদ কামারুজ্জামান



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## স্থিতিশীল গণতন্ত্র ও সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতির নির্বাচন

বাংলাদেশের রাজনৈতিক অস্থিরতা ও অচলাবস্থা দেশের সামগ্রিক উন্নয়নের ক্ষেত্রে একটি বড় ধরনের সংকট সৃষ্টি করে রেখেছে। দেশের জন্য ইতিবাচক কাজের চাইতে নেতিবাচক কর্মকাণ্ডই অনেক সময় প্রাধান্য পেয়ে যায়। ক্ষমতাসীন দলের লক্ষ্য হয়, যে কোনো মূল্যে ক্ষমতায় টিকে থাকা এবং বিরোধী দলের লক্ষ্য হয়, যে করেই হোক ক্ষমতা দখল করা। গণতন্ত্রের প্রতি জনগণের আগ্রহ এবং নেতাদের অঙ্গীকার সত্ত্বেও বাংলাদেশে গণতন্ত্রের চর্চা মজবুত ভিত্তির উপর দাঁড়াতে পারেনি বরং ক্ষেত্র বিশেষে সুবিধাবাদী রাজনীতির ধারাই প্রবল। বিরোধীদলে থাকলে শতকরা একশত ভাগ গণতন্ত্র এবং সরকারীদলে গেলে স্বৈরাচারী আচরণ কোনো কোনো রাজনৈতিক দলের বৈশিষ্ট্যে পরিণত হয়েছে।

জনগণের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিদের দ্বারা গঠিত সরকার কর্তৃক রাষ্ট্র পরিচালনা গণতন্ত্রের অন্যতম বৈশিষ্ট্য। জনপ্রতিনিধিদের মাধ্যমেই জনগণের ইচ্ছার প্রতিফলন ঘটে থাকে। স্বচ্ছ ও নিরপেক্ষ নির্বাচন নিশ্চিত করার ব্যাপারটা অতটা সহজ নয়। অনেক দেশেই নামকাওয়াজে নির্বাচন হয়ে থাকে যেখানে জনগণের মতামতের সঠিক প্রতিফলন ঘটে না। বাংলাদেশের মত উন্নয়ন ও ভঙ্গুর গণতান্ত্রিক দেশের নির্বাচন নিয়ে নানা কথা রয়েছে। উত্তরাধিকার সূত্রে বাংলাদেশ যে রাজনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা পেয়েছে তাতে গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক রূপ লাভ করেনি। অনেক উত্থান-পতন ও চড়াই-উত্থাই অতিক্রম করে বাংলাদেশ বর্তমান পর্যায়ে উত্তীর্ণ হয়েছে।

১৯৪৬ সালের গণভোটের ফসল ছিল ১৯৪৭ সালের ভারত বিভাগ ও উপমহাদেশের আযাদী লাভ। ভারত বিভাগের মধ্য দিয়ে আলাদা স্বাধীন মুসলিম রাষ্ট্র পাকিস্তান প্রতিষ্ঠার পর যত দ্রুত ভারতে সাংবিধানিক গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় পাকিস্তানে তা সম্ভব হয়নি। ভারত মাত্র নয় মাসের মধ্যে সংবিধান প্রণয়ন করে নিয়মতান্ত্রিক গণতন্ত্রে প্রবেশ করে। পক্ষান্তরে পাকিস্তান ৯ বছরেও গণতান্ত্রিক সংবিধান দিতে ব্যর্থ হয়। ১৯৫৪ সালে শুধুমাত্র পাকিস্তানের পূর্বাঞ্চলে সাধারণ নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয় এবং ক্ষমতাসীন দলের এতে ভরাদুবি হয়। ১৯৫৬ সালে পাকিস্তানের একটি শাসনতন্ত্র প্রণীত হয়। কিন্তু ১৯৫৮ সালে সামরিক শাসন জারী হবার ফলে তাও কার্যকর হতে পারেনি। ১৯৬২ সালে সামরিক শাসক কর্তৃক পাকিস্তানের জন্য একটি নতুন শাসনতন্ত্র প্রণয়ন করে মৌলিক গণতন্ত্র নামক এক অদ্ভূত ব্যবস্থা কায়ম করা

হয়। প্রাপ্তবয়স্কদের ভোটাধিকার প্রতিষ্ঠার দাবীতে গোটা পাকিস্তান ব্যাপী আন্দোলন এবং ১৯৬৯ সালে গণঅভ্যুত্থানের ফলে তদানীন্তন শাসনের উৎখাত হয় কিন্তু পুনরায় দেশটি সামরিক শাসনের আওতায় চলে যায়। প্রচণ্ড জনমতের চাপে ১৯৭০ সালের ডিসেম্বরে প্রথমবারের মত গোটা পাকিস্তানে জাতীয় ও প্রাদেশিক পরিষদের নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। এ নির্বাচনে তদানীন্তন পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে আওয়ামী লীগ এবং পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানে পিপল্‌স পার্টি সংখ্যা-গরিষ্ঠতা লাভ করে। কেন্দ্রের সামরিক শাসকদের সাথে পিপল্‌স পার্টির নেতা জুলফিকার আলী ভুট্টোর যোগসাজসের ফলে বিজয়ী দল আওয়ামী লীগের হাতে ক্ষমতা হস্তান্তর নিয়ে চক্রান্ত করা হয়। বঞ্চিত পূর্ব পাকিস্তানকে এভাবেই স্বাধীনতার পথে ঠেলে দেয়া হয়।

১৯৭২ সালের ১৬ই ডিসেম্বর একটি রক্তক্ষয়ী যুদ্ধের মধ্যদিয়ে বিজয় লাভ করে বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীন দেশের মর্যাদা অর্জন করে। পাকিস্তান জাতীয় পরিষদ ও প্রাদেশিক পরিষদের জন্য যারা ১৯৭০ সালের নির্বাচনে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে জয় লাভ করেন তাদের সমন্বয়ে গঠিত একটি গণপরিষদ বা Constituent Assembly ১৯৭২ সালে বাংলাদেশের সংবিধান রচনা করে। ১৯৭২ সালের সংবিধানের আওতায় বাংলাদেশে বৃটিশ ধাচের গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা চালু করা হয়। তবে পাকিস্তান আমলের যেসব রাজনৈতিক দল ছিল বিশেষভাবে মুসলিম লীগ, জামায়াতে ইসলামী, নেজামে ইসলাম ও পিডিপি নিষিদ্ধ করা হয় এবং ধর্মনিরপেক্ষতা ও সমাজতন্ত্রকে অন্যতম জাতীয় মূলনীতি হিসেবে সংবিধানে ঘোষণা করে ধর্মভিত্তিক দল গঠনকে নিষিদ্ধ করে দেয়া হয়। যদিও বা আওয়ামী লীগের জন্য একটি ধর্মভিত্তিক দল হিসাবেই। কারণ মুসলিম লীগের বিদ্রোহী অংশ আওয়ামী মুসলিম লীগের মুসলিম শব্দ বাদ দিয়ে ১৯৫৪ সালেই আওয়ামী লীগ গঠন করা হয়। যাহোক ১৯৭৩ সালে বাংলাদেশের প্রথম নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। এ নির্বাচনে দলের বিরুদ্ধে কারচুপির অভিযোগ ছিল। মাত্র সাতজন বিরোধী দলীয় সদস্য এতে নির্বাচিত হয়।

১৯৭৫ সালেই মস্কোপন্থী কমুনিষ্টদের ঋগ্নরে পড়ে মরহুম শেখ মুজিব গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা খতম করে এক দলীয় বাকশালী ব্যবস্থা কায়ম করেন। সকল দল নিষিদ্ধ করা হয়, সংবাদপত্র বন্ধ করে দেয়া হয়। সরকারী কর্মচারী ও সেনাবাহিনীর সদস্যদের পর্যন্ত তথাকথিত জাতীয় দল বাকশালে যোগদানে বাধ্য করা হয়। একনায়কত্ববাদী শাসনের কবলে বাংলাদেশে দুর্নীতিবাজ লুটেরাদের দলীয় কর্তৃত্ব প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়। ফলে অনিবার্যভাবে সেনাবিদ্রোহ ঘটে এবং ১৯৭৫ সালের ১৫ই আগস্ট এক ঐতিহাসিক পটপরিবর্তন হয়। শেখ মুজিব সপরিবারে নিহত হবার পর আওয়ামী লীগের একাংশের নেতারা খন্দকার মোশতাক আহমদের নেতৃত্বে ক্ষমতার মসনদে বসেন। খন্দকার মোশতাক

শেখ মুজিবের মন্ত্রিসভার অন্যতম সিনিয়র সদস্য ছিলেন এবং কতিপয় সদস্য বাদে মুজিব কেবিনেটের অধিকাংশ লোকদের নিয়েই খন্দকার মোশতাক মন্ত্রিসভা গঠন করেন এবং সামরিক শাসনের নেতৃত্ব প্রদান করেন। পাকিস্তানের মতই সেনা কর্মকর্তাদের বুটের তলায় বাংলাদেশেও গণতন্ত্র পিষ্ট হতে থাকে। দুর্ভাগ্যের পরিহাস যে, সেনাশাসক জিয়াউর রহমানই বাংলাদেশে মুজিবী সংবিধান সংশোধনী রহিত করে বহুদলীয় গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা পুনঃপ্রবর্তন করেন।

মরহুম শেখ মুজিব যদি আজীবন প্রেসিডেন্ট থাকার স্বপ্ন না দেখে গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা বহাল রেখে বহুদলীয় গণতান্ত্রিক নির্বাচনকে উৎসাহিত করতে পারতেন এবং হত্যা ও প্রতিশোধের পরিবর্তে রাজনৈতিক প্রতিপক্ষকে রাজনৈতিকভাবে মুকাবিলা করতেন তাহলে তার নিজের মর্মান্তিক পরিণতি হতো না এবং গণতন্ত্র হত্যার জন্য ইতিহাসে তাকে দায়ী হতে হতো না।

১৯৪৭ থেকে ১৯৭১ পর্যন্ত পাকিস্তানে গণতন্ত্র কার্যতঃ চলতে পারেনি এবং সামরিক ছত্রছায়ায় দেশ পরিচালিত হয়। গোটা পাকিস্তানে মাত্র একটি সাধারণ নির্বাচনের (৭০ সাল) সুযোগ পেয়েছেন দেশের মানুষ। বাংলাদেশের ১৯৭১ থেকে ১৯৯০ পর্যন্ত ৭৩, ৭৯, ৮৬, ৮৮ সালে নির্বাচন হলেও কেবলমাত্র ১৯৯১ সালেই একটি অবাধ ও নিরপেক্ষ নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। বাকী নির্বাচনগুলোর সবকটাই ছিল ক্ষমতাসীনদের দ্বারা প্রভাবিত। বিগত ২৯ বছরের মধ্যে মাত্র ১২ বছর বাদ দিলে বাকী সময়টা সামরিক কর্তাদের প্রত্যক্ষ ও পরোক্ষ নিয়ন্ত্রণ ছিল রাজনীতির উপর বা দেশ পরিচালনায়।

প্রকৃতপক্ষে বিগত অর্ধশতাব্দীর বেশীকাল যাবত বাংলাদেশে সামরিকতন্ত্র, মৌলিক গণতন্ত্র, প্রেসিডেন্ট পদ্ধতি, একদলীয় শাসন ও সংসদীয় ব্যবস্থা ইত্যাদি রাজনৈতিক প্রক্রিয়া চলেছে। কিন্তু অদ্যাবধি গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা কোনো শক্ত ভিত্তির উপর দাঁড়াতে পারেনি। রাজনৈতিক অস্থিরতা শুধু গণতন্ত্র নয়-দেশের সার্বিক উন্নয়ন ও স্থিতিশীলতার অন্তরায় হয়ে আছে। এ সংকট নিয়ে এখনই আমাদের ভাবতে হবে এবং একটি টেকসই গণতন্ত্র আমাদের গড়ে তুলতে হবে। অন্যথায় দেশের ভবিষ্যত এবং অস্তিত্ব বিপন্ন হয়ে পড়বে।

সত্যিকার অর্থে পাকিস্তানের ২৪ বছর ১৯৪৭-৭১ গণতন্ত্র চালু হয়নি বা হতে দেয়া হয়নি। ফলে গণতন্ত্রের ফসল দেশের মানুষ ভোগ করতে পারেনি। গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থাকে কার্যকরই হতে দেয়া হয়নি। অনুরূপভাবে বাংলাদেশের ১৯৭১-২০০০ সাল পর্যন্ত সময়েও প্রকৃত অর্থে গণতন্ত্র কার্যকর রূপ লাভ করতে পারেনি। ১৯৭১ সালের এপ্রিল মাসে যে প্রবাসী অন্তর্বর্তীকালীন সরকার গঠিত হয় তাতে শেখ মুজিবকে প্রেসিডেন্ট পাকিস্তানের কারণে

ছিলেন) এবং সৈয়দ নজরুল ইসলামকে ভাইস-প্রেসিডেন্ট (ভারপ্রাপ্ত প্রেসিডেন্ট) করা হয়। মিঃ তাজউদ্দীন আহমদ ছিলেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী। বাংলাদেশ ১৬ই ডিসেম্বর স্বাধীন হবার পর ১০ই জানুয়ারী দেশে প্রত্যাবর্তন করে সত্ত্বত ১২ই জানুয়ারী শেখ মুজিব নিজেই প্রধানমন্ত্রী ঘোষণা করেন এবং বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীকে প্রেসিডেন্ট নিযুক্ত করা হয়। মাত্র সাড়ে তিন বছর এ পার্লামেন্টারী ব্যবস্থা চালু ছিল। শেখ মুজিব নিজেই জাতীয় সংসদের অধিবেশন ডেকে গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা হত্যা করেন এবং জঙ্গী একদলীয় শাসন জাতির উপর চাপিয়ে দেন। এরপর ৭৯ সালে সামরিক কর্তাদের অভিপ্রায় অনুযায়ী বহুদলীয় গণতন্ত্র চালু করা হলে সেটা ছিল প্রেসিডেন্ট পদ্ধতির শাসন। ১৯৮২ সালে আবার বেসামরিক শাসনের পতন ঘটে এবং দীর্ঘ ৯ বছর চলে। ১৯৯০ সালে গণঅভ্যুত্থানের মধ্য দিয়ে গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থার নতুন যাত্রা শুরু হয়। বাংলাদেশের ইতিহাসে একমাত্র অবাধ ও নিরপেক্ষ নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয় ১৯৯১ সালে। প্রধান বিচারপতিকে অস্থায়ী প্রেসিডেন্টের দায়িত্ব দিয়ে একটি তত্ত্বাবধায়ক সরকার গঠন করা হয় নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠানের জন্য। এ নির্বাচনের পর জামায়াতে ইসলামীর সমর্থন নিয়ে বিএনপি সরকার গঠন করে সংসদীয় ব্যবস্থা চালু করে। কিন্তু শক্তিশালী বিরোধী দল আওয়ামী লীগ অন্যান্য রাজনৈতিক দলকে সাথে নিয়ে আন্দোলন শুরু করে। এক পর্যায়ে বিএনপি ক্ষমতায় থাকার জন্য ১৯৯৬ সালের ১৫ই ফেব্রুয়ারী একটি ভোটাবিহীন নির্বাচন করতে বাধ্য হয়। মাত্র কয়েকদিন টিকে থাকা ঐ সংসদে তত্ত্বাবধায়ক সরকার গঠনের জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় সাংবিধানিক সংশোধন গ্রহণ করে বিএনপি পদত্যাগ করে। সাংবিধানিকভাবে গঠিত কেয়ারটেকার সরকারের অধীন নির্বাচন হয় ১৯৯৬ সালের ১২ই জুন। নানা কূটকৌশলে আওয়ামী লীগ নির্বাচনের ফলকে প্রভাবিত করে ক্ষমতা দখল করে। ফলে স্বাভাবিকভাবেই বিরোধী দলসমূহের মধ্যে অসন্তোষ বিদ্যমান ছিল। বিএনপি, জাপা, জামায়াত একাবদ্ধ হয়ে আওয়ামী লীগের বিরুদ্ধে আন্দোলন শুরু করে ১৯৯৯ সালের ৬ই জানুয়ারী। সংসদীয় ব্যবস্থা এবং কেয়ারটেকার সরকার কর্তৃক নির্বাচন পরিচালনা করার বিধান সংবিধানে সন্নিবেশিত করা সত্ত্বেও বাংলাদেশের রাজনীতি স্থিতিশীলতা অর্জন করতে পারেনি।

অর্থবহু গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থার জন্য কতগুলো উপাদান অপরিহার্য। ১. গণতন্ত্রে বিশ্বাসী শক্তিশালী রাজনৈতিক দল, ২. শক্তিশালী নির্বাচন কমিশন ও নিরপেক্ষ নির্বাচনের ব্যবস্থা, ৩. স্বাধীন বিচার বিভাগ, ৪. স্বাধীন ও নিরপেক্ষ সংবাদ মাধ্যম। স্থিতিশীল ও কার্যকর রাজনৈতিক ব্যবস্থার জন্য গণতন্ত্রের বিকল্প নেই। কিন্তু গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থার সাফল্য উপরোক্ত উপাদানসমূহের উপরই



প্রধানত নির্ভর করে। একথা অস্বীকার করার উপায় নেই যে, বাংলাদেশের রাজনৈতিক দলগুলোর অধিকাংশের মধ্যেই গণতন্ত্র চর্চা এবং গণতান্ত্রিক কৃষ্টির অভাব রয়েছে। দলের অভ্যন্তরে গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রেই কার্যকর নয়। ব্যক্তি ও গোষ্ঠী নির্ভর নেতৃত্বই দলের নিয়ামক শক্তি হিসেবে কাজ করছে। দলের গঠনতন্ত্রের চাইতে ব্যক্তির ইচ্ছাই প্রধান ভূমিকা পালন করে থাকে। বিশেষ করে দুই প্রধান দলের নিয়মিত কোনো কাউন্সিল অধিবেশন বা গণতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতিতে নেতা নির্বাচনের কোনো ব্যবস্থা নেই।

ব্যক্তির সাহস ও সততার উপর নির্বাচন কমিশনের নিরপেক্ষ ও কার্যকর ভূমিকা নির্ভর করে। নিম্ন আদালত সম্পর্কে অভিযোগ থাকলেও উচ্চতর আদালত নাগরিক অধিকার রক্ষার উল্লেখযোগ্য ও সাহসী ভূমিকা পালন করছে।

### সংখ্যা গরিষ্ঠ পদ্ধতির নির্বাচন

বাংলাদেশে সংখ্যা গরিষ্ঠ পদ্ধতির যে নির্বাচন ব্যবস্থা চালু রয়েছে এটাও জনমতের প্রতিফলনের ক্ষেত্রে এবং স্থিতিশীল ব্যবস্থা প্রতিষ্ঠার ক্ষেত্রে একটি বড় ধরনের প্রতিবন্ধকতা বলে মনে হয়। অল্প সংখ্যক লোকের মতামতকেই গোটা নির্বাচনী এলাকায় জনমত হিসেবে গ্রহণ করতে হয়। ফলে সকলের রাজনৈতিক চিন্তা ও মতামতের প্রতিফলন ঘটানো যায় না। বৃটেন, কানাডা, আমেরিকা, ভারত, পাকিস্তানসহ সাবেক বৃটিশ উপনিবেশসমূহে এ পদ্ধতিই চালু রয়েছে। মেজরিটি পদ্ধতিও বিভিন্ন ধরনের রয়েছে। যেমন :

১. আপেক্ষিক সংখ্যা গরিষ্ঠতা : এতে প্রতি আসনের জন্য একজন সদস্য অথবা একটি আসনের জন্য একাধিক সদস্য নির্বাচনের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়। যুক্তরাজ্যের হাউজ অব কমন্সের জন্য এক আসনে দুইজন এমপি নির্বাচনের ব্যবস্থা ছিল ১৮৮৫-১৯৪৫ পর্যন্ত। কানাডার প্রাদেশিক পরিষদ, গ্রীসের চেম্বার অব ডেপুটিস, তুরস্কের জাতীয় সংসদ (১৯৫০-৫৭) ও সুইজারল্যান্ডের ন্যাশনাল কাউন্সিলের (১৯১৯ সালের পূর্ব পর্যন্ত) নির্বাচনে এক নির্বাচনী এলাকায় একাধিক সদস্য নির্বাচনের ব্যবস্থা লক্ষ্য করা যায়।

২. নিরংকুশ সংখ্যা গরিষ্ঠ পদ্ধতি : (ক) এক নির্বাচনী এলাকায় দ্বিতীয় ব্যালট অথবা বিকল্প ভোট দেয়ার অধিকার। অর্থাৎ ৫০% এর কম ভোট হলে দ্বিতীয়বার নির্বাচন অথবা বিকল্প প্রার্থীকে ভোট দেয়ার নিয়ম। ফ্রান্সে চেম্বার অব ডেপুটিস নির্বাচনে ১৯২৮-৪৫ পর্যন্ত এক নির্বাচনী এলাকায় একজন সদস্য নির্বাচিত হবে কিন্তু তাকে অবশ্য ৫০% এর অধিক ভোট পেতে হবে। যদি তা না হয় তাহলে দ্বিতীয় ব্যালট বা বিকল্প প্রার্থীকে ভোট দেবার ব্যবস্থা। ১৯৫৮ সাল থেকে অস্ট্রেলিয়ায় প্রতিনিধি পরিষদের নির্বাচন এ পদ্ধতিতে হয়ে আসছে।

(খ) এক আসনে একাধিক প্রার্থীর বেলায়ও অনুরূপ দ্বিতীয় ব্যালট বা বিকল্প ভোট দেয়ার পদ্ধতি বেলজিয়ামের প্রতিনিধি পরিষদ ১৯০০ পূর্ব পর্যন্ত এবং অস্ট্রেলিয়ার সিনেটের নির্বাচন ১৯১৯-৪৯ পর্যন্ত এ পদ্ধতিতে হয়েছে।

### সমানুপাতিক প্রতিনিধিত্বের নির্বাচন

প্রতিনিধিত্ব মূলক নির্বাচনের অন্য পদ্ধতিটি হলো সমানুপাতিক প্রতিনিধিত্ব অর্থাৎ প্রাপ্ত ভোটের ভিত্তিতে আসন সংখ্যা নির্ধারণের পদ্ধতি। এ পদ্ধতির ভিত্তি হচ্ছে এ চিন্তাধারা যে সংখ্যা লঘু বা সংখ্যা গুরু তথা গোটা নির্বাচক মণ্ডলী যাতে পার্লামেন্টারী সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ প্রক্রিয়ায় প্রতিনিধিত্ব করতে পারে বা তাদের মতামত প্রতিফলিত হতে পারে। ভোট দাতা জনগোষ্ঠীর আপেক্ষিক অবস্থানটা যাতে পার্লামেন্টে মোটামুটিভাবে প্রতিফলনের সুযোগ হয়। কোনো একটি ভোটদাতা গোষ্ঠী সংখ্যার দিক থেকে কম হলেও তাদের মতামতের প্রতিনিধিত্বের সুযোগ যাতে পার্লামেন্টে থাকে তা নিশ্চিত করার উদ্দেশ্যে সমানুপাতিক নির্বাচন পদ্ধতি চালু হয়। এ পদ্ধতি বাস্তবায়নের অনেক উপায় আছে। তবে এর মূল কথা হচ্ছে জনগণের মধ্যে সমর্থনের অনুপাতে পার্লামেন্টে অবস্থান নির্ধারিত করা। জনগণের মধ্যে যেমন সমর্থন আছে তার অনুপাতে পার্লামেন্টে অবস্থান হবে এবং সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ প্রক্রিয়ায় সেই অনুপাতে অবদান রাখতে পারবে। সংখ্যা লঘু ও সংখ্যা গুরু সকলেরই একটা যথার্থ প্রতিনিধিত্বের এবং সকল মতামতের যথার্থ প্রতিফলনের সুযোগ সৃষ্টি করে সমানুপাতিক নির্বাচন পদ্ধতি।

সমানুপাতিক নির্বাচনেরও আবার অনেক রকম আছে। যেমন : ১. দলীয় তালিকা প্রার্থী পছন্দের সুযোগবিহীন, ২. দলীয় তালিকা প্রার্থী পছন্দের সুবিধাসহ, ৩. মিশ্র পদ্ধতি (মেজরিটি পদ্ধতি+দলীয় তালিকা), ৪. একক স্থানান্তর যোগ্য ভোট পদ্ধতি।

বেলজিয়াম প্রতিনিধি পরিষদ নির্বাচনের জন্য সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতি অনুসরণ করে আসছে ১৮৯৯ সাল থেকে। ডেনমার্ক পার্লামেন্ট (Folketing) নির্বাচনে এ পদ্ধতি অনুসরণ করছে ১৯২০ সাল থেকে। নেদারল্যান্ড (Second Chamber) এর জন্য ১৯১৭ এবং First চেম্বারের জন্য ১৯২৩ সাল, ইটালী চেম্বার অব ডেপুটিস নির্বাচনে এবং সুইডিস পার্লামেন্টের উভয় নির্বাচনে ১৯০৯ সাল থেকে, সুইডিস ন্যাশনাল কাউন্সিল নির্বাচনে ১৯১৯, গ্রীস চেম্বার অব ডেপুটিস নির্বাচনে (১৯৪৬-৫২), ফিনল্যান্ড পার্লামেন্ট নির্বাচনে (১৯০৬-৩৫) এবং লুক্সেমবার্গ চেম্বার অব ডেপুটিস নির্বাচনে ১৯১৯ সাল থেকে এ পদ্ধতি অনুসরণ করে আসছে।

জার্মানী, (Reichstag) ১৯১৯-৩৩, চেকোস্লাভাকিয়া চেম্বার অব ডেপুটিস ও সেনেট (১৯১৯-৩৮) ও (১৯৪৫-৪৮), ফ্রান্স জাতীয় পরিষদ (১৯৪৫-৪৬) ইসরাইল Knesset, তুরস্ক ১৯৬১ সাল থেকে এবং ঘানা ১৯৬৪ থেকে সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতির অনুসরণ করে।

রিপাবলিক অব আয়ারল্যান্ড পার্লামেন্টের উভয় হাউসের নির্বাচন ১৯২২ সাল থেকে, নর্থ আয়ারল্যান্ড, সেনেট, ইউনিভার্সিটি MPS (১৯২১-৬৫) ও নিম্নকক্ষ ১৯২১-২৫ অস্ট্রেলিয়ায় কমন্ওয়েলথ সেনেট ১৯৪৯ সাল থেকে, সাউথ আফ্রিকা সেনেট ১৯০৯ সাল থেকে, মালটা সেনেট ও আইন পরিষদ ১৯২১ সাল থেকে এবং জিব্রাল্টার আইন পরিষদ (১৯৫০-৬৯) সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতি অনুসরণ করে।

মেজরিটি পদ্ধতি ও সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতি এ উভয় পদ্ধতিতেই ভালো মন্দ রয়েছে এবং সুবিধা ও অসুবিধা রয়েছে। ইতিবাচক ও নেতিবাচক দিক আছে। বাংলাদেশে আমরা নির্বাচনের সাথে যতটা পরিচিত তা মেজরিটি পদ্ধতি। বৃটিশ শাসনামলে ১৯৩৭ সালের নির্বাচন, ১৯৪৬ এর গণভোট এ অঞ্চলের জনগণের ভাগ্য নির্ধারণে ভূমিকা রেখেছে। ১৯৭০-এর নির্বাচন বাংলাদেশে বড় ধরনের রাজনৈতিক পরিবর্তন এনেছে। তবে ১৯৯১-এর নির্বাচনকেই একমাত্র অবাধ নির্বাচন হিসেবে এ দেশের জনগণ প্রত্যক্ষ করার সুযোগ পেয়েছে। নিয়মতান্ত্রিক নির্বাচনের অব্যাহত প্রক্রিয়ার মধ্যে দিয়ে এখনকার রাজনীতি অগ্রসর হয়নি বরং বলা যায় জনগণ মাঝে মাঝে নির্বাচনের স্বাদ গ্রহণ করতে পেরেছে। মেজরিটি পদ্ধতির নির্বাচন বৃটেনসহ পৃথিবীর অনেক দেশেই আছে। পৃথিবীর অনেক দেশই এ পদ্ধতির পরিবর্তে সমানুপাতিক বিভিন্ন পদ্ধতি নিয়ে পরীক্ষা নিরীক্ষা করে দেখছে। একটি পদ্ধতির সাথে আমরা পরিচিত বলেই সেই পদ্ধতিটিই বহাল রাখতে হবে এটি যেমন কোনো যুক্তি হওয়া উচিত নয় তেমনি নতুন একটি পদ্ধতি অনেকে অনুসরণ করছে শুধু এ কারণেই আমাদের গ্রহণ করতে হবে সেটাও কোনো যুক্তি নয়। বর্তমান মেজরিটি পদ্ধতি যদি আমাদের জন্য তেমন কোনো ভাল ফল না দিয়ে থাকতে পারে তথাপি সেটাকেই ধরে রাখতে হবে এমন চিন্তা-ভাবনার অবকাশ নেই। আমাদের সততার সাথে দেখা দরকার যে, কোন্ পদ্ধতিটি আমাদের গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থাকে স্থিতিশীলতা দিতে পারে।

নির্বাচন প্রক্রিয়াকে ত্রুটি মুক্ত করতে পারার উপরই গণতন্ত্রের সাফল্য অনেকটা নির্ভর করছে। যদি নির্বাচন প্রক্রিয়াকে প্রভাবিত ও ক্ষমতা দখলের জন্য ব্যবহার করা হয় তাহলে নির্বাচনের যে আসল উদ্দেশ্য বিভিন্ন মত ও

পথের প্রতিফলনের অবাধ সুযোগ সৃষ্টি করা তা মারাত্মকভাবে বিঘ্নিত হবে। নির্বাচনে যদি ভোটারদের মতামতের প্রতিফলন স্বাধীনভাবে না ঘটানো যায় তাহলে গণতন্ত্র অচল ও অর্থহীন হয়ে পড়বে। আমাদের দেশের বর্তমান নির্বাচন ব্যবস্থায় অনেক ত্রুটি-বিচ্যুতি আছে। এজন্য নির্বাচনী আইন সংস্কারেরও প্রশ্ন উঠেছে। আমাদের দেশের যে কটা নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয়েছে তার বিশ্লেষণ করলে এটা সুস্পষ্টভাবে বের হয়ে আসবে যে, আমাদের গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা যেন শক্ত ভিত্তির উপর দাঁড়াতে পারছে না।

আমাদের বাংলাদেশের প্রচলিত মেজরিটি পদ্ধতির নির্বাচনে যেহেতু কম সংখ্যক ভোটারের সমর্থনে সরকার গঠিত হয় এবং মেজরিটি ভোটারদের প্রতিনিধিগণ সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ প্রক্রিয়ায় অংশ নিতে পারে না ফলে রাজনীতির অংগনে নির্বাচন হওয়া সত্ত্বেও সংখ্যা লঘিষ্ট দলই কার্যতঃ দেশ চালায় ও সরকার পরিচালনা করে। ফলে বিক্ষুব্ধ ও অসন্তুষ্ট লোকের সংখ্যাই বেশী থেকে যায়। তারা সরকারের বিরুদ্ধে অবস্থান নিয়ে পার্লামেন্টকে অকার্যকর প্রতিষ্ঠানে পরিণত করার সুযোগ পায়। ফলে দেশে লক্ষ্যহীন রাজনৈতিক অস্থিরতা বৃদ্ধি পায়।

মেজরিটি পদ্ধতির পরিবর্তে সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতির নির্বাচন চালুর প্রস্তাবকে অনেকে একটি নন-ইস্যুকে ইস্যু বানানোর প্রশ্ন তুলতে পারেন। নির্বাচন ব্যবস্থা হচ্ছে দেশের জন্য সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণকারী নেতা ও শাসক নির্ধারণের একটি প্রক্রিয়া। সুতরাং জাতির জন্য এটা খুবই একটা গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয়। এ প্রক্রিয়া যদি ত্রুটি পূর্ণ এবং অস্বচ্ছ হয় অথবা এতে যদি ইনসাফের সাথে সকলের মতামতের প্রতিফলন নিশ্চিত না করা যায় তাহলে নির্বাচনের মাধ্যমে গঠিত জাতীয় সংসদ জাতীয় স্বার্থ সংরক্ষণ ও সকল জনগণের আশা-আকাঙ্ক্ষার প্রতীক হওয়ার পরিবর্তে কোনো কোনো গোষ্ঠী ও ব্যক্তি স্বার্থের প্রাধান্য প্রতিষ্ঠিত করবে এটাই স্বাভাবিক। অতএব বর্তমান মেজরিটি পদ্ধতির পরিবর্তে বাংলাদেশে সমানুপাতিক নির্বাচন পদ্ধতি চালুর বিষয়টি আমরা অতীব সতর্কতা ও গুরুত্বের সাথে বিবেচনা করার পক্ষে।

মেজরিটি পদ্ধতির দুর্বলতা, অসামঞ্জস্যতা ও ব্যর্থতা এবং সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতির সম্ভাবনাময় দিকসমূহ যার মাধ্যমে অধিকতর কার্যকর প্রতিনিধিত্বমূলক পার্লামেন্ট গড়ে তোলা সম্ভব তা পুংখানুপুংখভাবে বিবেচনা করেই সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করতে হবে। উপরন্তু কোন পদ্ধতিটি গণতান্ত্রিক মূল্যবোধের অধিকতর প্রতিফলন ঘটাতে সক্ষম তাও বিবেচনা করতে হবে।

মেজরিটি পদ্ধতিতে শক্তিশালী দলীয় সরকার প্রতিষ্ঠার সুযোগ আছে। এ প্রক্রিয়ায় সরকার পরিচালনায় যেহেতু জনগণের একাংশ অর্থাৎ বিজয়ী দলের মতামতকেই গোটা দেশের জনগণের ও সকলের মতামত বলে গণ্য করা হয় তাই বহুদলীয় মতামত প্রতিফলনের কোনো সুযোগই থাকে না। এ পদ্ধতি মেজরিটি পার্টিকে স্বৈরতন্ত্র ও একনায়কত্ববাদী স্বৈচ্ছাচারী শাসনের দিকে ঠেলে দেয়। এ পদ্ধতিতে আপেক্ষিক মেজরিটি দল যার পার্লামেন্টে সদস্য সংখ্যা অন্য দলের চাইতে বেশী সেই দলই সরকার গঠন করে থাকে। ভোটের দিক থেকে বা আসন সংখ্যার দিক থেকে কম হলেও তারা সরকার গঠন করতে সক্ষম হয়। ফলে দলীয় লোকদেরকে সর্বত্র অধাধিকার দেয়া হয়। দলীয়করণ প্রক্রিয়া গ্রহণ করে কার্যতঃ দলীয় ত্রাস সৃষ্টি করা হয়। সকল নিয়োগের ক্ষেত্রে দলীয় ব্যক্তিদের অধাধিকার দেয়া এবং যোগ্যতা সম্পন্ন লোকদের সঠিক জায়গায় কাজ করার সুযোগ থেকে বঞ্চিত করা হয়। প্রশাসনকে পর্যন্ত দলীয়করণ ও আত্মীয়করণের আওতায় আনা হয়। এতে দুর্নীতি ও স্বজনপ্রীতি বাড়তে থাকে। ফলে সরকারী সুযোগ থেকে বঞ্চিত বৃহত্তর জনগোষ্ঠীর মধ্যে ক্ষোভ ও অসন্তোষ বৃদ্ধি পেতে থাকে। এ পদ্ধতিতে ক্ষমতাসীন দলটি সর্বোচ্চ সংখ্যক আসন পেলেও সর্বোচ্চ সংখ্যক ভোটারের প্রতিনিধিত্ব করে না। বরং অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে এটাই প্রমাণিত যে মেজরিটি পদ্ধতির নির্বাচনের মাধ্যমে অধিকাংশ সময়ই এমন সরকার গঠিত হয় যে সরকার সংখ্যালঘু ভোটের প্রতিনিধিত্ব করে অর্থাৎ অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রে মেজরিটির প্রতিফলন ঘটে না।

বুটেন একমাত্র দেশ, যে দেশটি দীর্ঘতম সময় যাবত এ পদ্ধতি অনুসরণ করে আসছে। বুটেনের ১৮৮৫ সাল থেকে ১৯৭০ সাল পর্যন্ত ৮৫ বছরের ইতিহাসে দেখা যায় ২৩টি নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। এ ক্ষেত্রে মাত্র ৫টি নির্বাচনে বিজয়ী দল প্রদত্ত ভোটের ৫০% ভাগ বা তার চাইতে বেশী ভোট পেয়ে সরকার গঠন করে। বাকী ১৮টি নির্বাচনেই ৫০% ভাগের কম ভোট পেয়েই পার্লামেন্টে সরকার গঠনের জন্য পর্যাপ্ত আসন লাভ করে এবং সরকার গঠন করে দেশ শাসনের অধিকার লাভ করে। ১৯৫১ সালে ঘটে মজার ঘটনা। লেবার পার্টি ৪৮.৫% ভাগ ভোট পেয়ে কনজারভেটিভ পার্টির নিকট পরাজিত হয়। অথচ রক্ষণশীল দল ভোট পায় ৪৮%। কারণ ছিল যে রক্ষণশীলরা আসন পায় ৫০.৫% ভাগ এবং লেবার পার্টি ৪৮.৫% ভাগ ভোট পাওয়া সত্ত্বেও আসন লাভ করে ৪৭ ভাগ। ভোট বেশী পেয়েও নির্বাচনে পরাজিত হয় লেবার পার্টি এবং কম ভোটেই জিতে যায় রক্ষণশীল দল। নিম্নে উল্লেখিত বুটেনের ১৮৮৫-১৯৭০ সাল পর্যন্ত ৮৫ বছরের নির্বাচনী ফলাফল সতর্কতার সাথে পর্যবেক্ষণ করলে পরিষ্কার হবে যে, এ পদ্ধতি ভোটারদের ইচ্ছার প্রতিফলন

ঘটাতে কিভাবে ব্যর্থ হয়েছে। কেবলমাত্র ১৮৯২ সাল এবং ১৯২৩ সালের দু'টি নির্বাচন বাদে বাকী সকল নির্বাচনে ভোটারদের ইচ্ছার প্রতিফলন ঘটেনি। ভোট প্রাপ্তি সামান্য কম বেশী হলে আসন প্রাপ্তিতে ব্যাপক পার্থক্য দলের অবস্থান পরিবর্তন করে দিয়েছে। জনগণের প্রদত্ত ভোটের অনুপাতে পার্লামেন্টের প্রতিনিধিত্ব যথার্থভাবে প্রতিফলিত হয়নি।

ছক-১								
বুটেনের সাধারণ নির্বাচন ১৮৮৫-১৯৭০								
নির্বাচনের বছর	কনজারভেটিভ		লিবারেল		লেবার		অন্যান্য	
	ভোট%	আসন%	ভোট%	আসন%	ভোট%	আসন%	ভোট%	আসন%
১৮৮৫	৪৪	৩৭	৪৯	৫০	-	-	৭	১৩
১৮৮৬	৫১.৫	৫৯	৪৫	২৮	-	-	৩.৫	১৩*
১৮৯২	৪৭	৪৭	৪৪	৪১	-	-	৯	১২
১৮৯৫	৪৯	৬১	৪৬	২৬.৫	-	-	৫	১২.৫
১৯০০	৫১	৬০	৪৬.৫	২৭.৫	-	-	২.৫	১২.৫
১৯০৬	৪৪	২৩.৫	৫৫	৬৪	-	-	১	১২.৫
১৯১০ (জুনঃ)	৪৭	৪০.৫	৪৩	৪১	৮	৬	২	১২.৫
১৯১০ (ডিসেঃ)	৪৬	৪১	৪৪	৪০	৭	৬	৩	১৩
১৯১৮	৩৫	৫৪	২৩	২৩.৫	১৫	১০	২৭	১২.৫
১৯২২	৩৯	৫৬	২৯	১৮.৫	২৯.৫	২৩	২.৫	২.৫
১৯২৩	৩৮	৪২	২৯.৫	২৬	৩০.৫	৩১	২	১
১৯২৪	৪৭	৬৭	১৮	৬.৫	৩৩	২৪.৫	২	২
১৯২৯	৩৮	৪২	২৩.৫	১০	৩৭	৪৭	১.৫	১
১৯৩১	৫৫	৭৬	১১	১২	৩০	৮.৫	৪	৩.৫
১৯৩৫	৫৪	৭০	৬.৫	৩	৩৭.৫	২৫	২	২
১৯৪৫	৪০	৩৩	৯	২	৪৮	৬২	৩	৩

১৯৫০	৪৩	৪৭.৮	৯	১.৫	৪৬	৫০.৪	২	০.৩
১৯৫১	৪৮	৫০.৫	২.৫	১	৪৮.৫	৪৭	১	০.৫
১৯৫৫	৪৯.৮	৫৫	২.৭	০.৯	৪৬.৩	৪৪	১.২	০.২
১৯৫৯	৪৯.৪	৫৮	৫.৯	০.৯	৪৩.৮	৪১	০.৯	০.১
১৯৬৪	৪৩	৪৩	১১	১.৪	৪৪	৫০.৩	৫.৩	০.১
১৯৬৬	৪২	৪০	৮.৫	২	৪৮	৫৮	১.৭	০.১
১৯৭০	৪৬.৪	৫২.২	৭.৫	১	৪৩	৪৫.৫	৩.২	১

ছক-২

সরকারের প্রতি জনসমর্থন-বৃটেনের সাধারণ নির্বাচন ১৯১০-১৯৭০

		ভোট		আসন	
নির্বাচন	সরকার	সরকার	অন্য সকল দল	সরকার	অন্য সকল দল
১৯১০ (জুনঃ)	লিবারেল	২,৮৭৩,২৫১	৩,৭৯৪,৫৫৩	২৭৫	৩৯৫
১৯১০ (ডিসেঃ)	লিবারেল	২,২৯০,০২০	২,৯৪৪,২৭৩	২৭০	৪০০
১৯১৮	কোয়ালিশন	৫,১৮০,৬৪১	৫,৬০২,০৪৬	৪৮৫	২২২
১৯২২	কনজারভেটিভ	৫,৫০০,৩৮৭	৮,৮৯৩,২৫০	৩৪৪	২৭১
১৯২৩	লেবার	৪,৪৩৮,৫০৮	১০,১১০,০১৩	১৯১	৪২৪
১৯২৪	কনজারভেটিভ	৭,৮৫৪,৫২৩	৮,৭৮৬,২৫৬	৪১২	২০৩
১৯২৯	লেবার	৮,৩৮৯,৫১২	১৪,২৫৮,৮৬৩	২৮৮	৩২৭
১৯৩১	কোয়ালিশন	১৪,৫৩২,৫১৯	৭,১২৩,৮৫৪	৫৫৪	৬১
১৯৩৫	কোয়ালিশন	১১,৮১০,৫৫২	১০,২১৫,১৫২	৪৩৩	১৮২
১৯৪৫	লেবার	১১,৯৯২,২৯২	১২,৯৮১,০০৬	৩৯৩	২৪৭
১৯৫০	লেবার	১৩,২৯৫,৭৩৬	১৫,৪৭৩,৭৪১	৩১৫	৩১০

১৯৫১	কনজারভেটিভ	১৩,৭১৮,০৬৯	১৪,৮৭৮,৬২৬	৩২১	৩০৪
১৯৫৫	কনজারভেটিভ	১৩,৩১৫,৮৯১	১৩,৪৪৩,৮৩৮	৩৪৫	২৮৫
১৯৫৯	কনজারভেটিভ	১৩,৭৫০,৯৬৫	১৪,১১১,৭৭৩	৩৬৫	২৬৫
১৯৬৪	লেবার	১২,২০৫,৮১২	১৫,৪২১,৩৩৬	৩১৭	৩১৩
১৯৬৬	লেবার	১৩,০৬৪,৯৫১	১৪,১৯৮,৬৫৫	৩৬৩	২৫৭
১৯৭০	কনজারভেটিভ	১৩,১৪৪,৬৯২	১৫,২০০,১১৫	৩৩০	৩০০

প্রদত্ত ছক নং ১ ও ২ থেকে এটা পরিষ্কার হয়েছে যে, বৃটিশ মেজরিটি পদ্ধতি মেজরিটির শাসনের নিশ্চয়তাও দিতে ব্যর্থ হয়েছে। ১৯১০ সাল ১৯৭০ সাল পর্যন্ত মাত্র দু'টি সরকার ১৯৩১ ও ১৯৩৫ প্রদত্ত ভোটের অর্ধেকের বেশী ভোট লাভে সক্ষম হয় তবুও এ দু'টোই ছিল কোয়ালিশন সরকার। ১৯২৯ এবং ১৯৫১ সালের সরকার দু'টি আপেক্ষিক মেজরিটিও লাভ করতে ব্যর্থ হয়।

ছক-৩			
কানাডার সাধারণ নির্বাচন (হাউজ অব কমন্স)			
		ভোট	আসন
১৯৫৩	লিবারেল	২,৭৪৪,৮২০ = ৪৮.৫%	১৭০ = ৬৪%
	কনজারভেটিভ	১,৭৪৯,০০৯ = ৩১%	৫১ = ১৯%
	সিসিএফ (লেবার)	৬৩৬,২৯২ = ১১%	২৩ = ৯%
	অন্যান্য	৫১০,১৩৫ = ৯.৫%	২১ = ৮%
১৯৫৭	লিবারেল	২,৭০৪,৬৯০ = ৪০%	১০৬ = ৪০%
	কনজারভেটিভ	২,৬৫৬,৩১২ = ৩৯%	১১১ = ৪২%
	সিসিএফ	৭০৭,৮৩৩ = ১১%	২৩ = ৯%
	অন্যান্য	৬৩০,৬৯৭ = ১০%	২৫ = ৯%
১৯৬৮	লিবারেল	৩,৫৮৩,০৯০ = ৪৫.৩%	১৫৪ = ৫৮.৪%
	কনজারভেটিভ	২,৪৮৩,৫৯৭ = ৩১.৪%	৭১ = ২৬.৮%



	নিউ ডেমোক্রেটিক	১,৩৫৭,৪৪৩ = ১৭.২%	২৩ = ৮.৭%
	সোসাল ডেমোক্রেডিট (কুইবেক)	৩৪৭,৫৯৭ = ৪.৪%	১৫ = ৫.৭%
	অন্যান্য	১৩১,৭৪৮ = ১.৭%	১ = ০.৪%
১৯৭২	লিবারেল	৩,৭২১,৪৮৬ = ৩৮.৪%	১০৯ = ৪১.৩%
	কনজারভেটিভ	/ ৩,৩৯১,৭১১ = ৩৫.১%	১০৭ = ৪০.৫%
	নিউ ডেমোক্রেটিক	১,৭১৩,৩৮৬ = ১৭.৪%	৩১ = ১১.৭%
	সোসাল ডেমোক্রেডিট	৭৩৮,০৩৮ = ৭.৬%	১৫ = ৫.৭%
	ইনডিপেন্ডেন্টস	১১৪,১২০ = ১.২%	২ = ০.৮%

কানাডায় নির্বাচনের চিত্রও খুব একটা ভিন্ন নয়। ৩নং ছকে কানাডার চারটি সাধারণ নির্বাচনের ফলাফল দেখানো হয়েছে। ১৯৫৩, ১৯৫৭, ১৯৬৮ এবং ১৯৭২ এ চার বছরের কানাডায় হাউজ অব কমন্সের নির্বাচনের ফলাফল থেকে দেখা ১৯৫৭ এর নির্বাচন বাদে বাকী নির্বাচনগুলোর অবস্থা বৃটেনের মতই।

### বাংলাদেশের বিগত নির্বাচনসমূহের বিশ্লেষণ

নির্বাচিত হলেই গণতান্ত্রিক হয় না। একথাটার সাক্ষী বাংলাদেশ। ১৯৭৩ সালে নির্বাচনের মাধ্যমেই পার্লামেন্ট গঠিত হয়েছিল। কিন্তু সেই পার্লামেন্ট গণতান্ত্রিকভাবে কর্মকাণ্ড চালাতে পারেনি। দলীয় স্বৈরাচারের হাতে বন্দী হয়ে যায় পার্লামেন্ট এবং পার্লামেন্টেই প্রস্তাব গ্রহণের মাধ্যমে গণতন্ত্র হত্যার এক নজীরবিহীন ইতিহাস সৃষ্টি করা হয়। ১৯৯১ সালে কেয়ারটেকার সরকারের অধীন নিরপেক্ষ নির্বাচনের সুফল ভোগকারী দল বিএনপি কেয়ারটেকার ব্যবস্থা প্রবর্তনে বা কেয়ারটেকার সরকারের হাতে ক্ষমতা দিয়ে নির্বাচনে প্রথম রাজী হয়নি বরং একতরফা ভোটাবিহীন নির্বাচন করে ১৫ই ফেব্রুয়ারী এবং সেই পার্লামেন্টেই কেয়ারটেকার বিধান পাশ করে। ১৯৯৬ সালে ক্ষমতায় অধিষ্ঠিত হয়ে আওয়ামী লীগ ক্ষমতার দাপটে মেজরিটি ভোটাবিহীন দাবীকে উপেক্ষা করে যাচ্ছে। মেজরিটি ভোটাবিহীন প্রতিনিধিত্বশীল দলসমূহের দাবী উপেক্ষা করে পৌরসভা নির্বাচন ও ভোটাবিহীন চট্টগ্রাম সিটি কর্পোরেশন নির্বাচন সম্পন্ন করেছে। ফলে বিরোধী দলসমূহ ওসব নির্বাচনে অংশগ্রহণ করেনি। সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ ভোটের প্রতিনিধিত্বকারী দলসমূহের দাবী প্রত্যাখ্যান করে জননিরাপত্তা আইনের খড়গ দেশবাসীর উপর চাপিয়ে দিয়েছে। ফলে স্বাভাবিকভাবেই দেশে

রাজনৈতিক অঙ্গনে উত্তেজনা ও অস্থিরতা বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছে। বিরোধী দলকে মোকাবিলার নামে সরকার পুলিশের ছত্রছায়ায় সশস্ত্র দলীয় ক্যাডারদের রাজ পথে নামিয়ে দিয়েছে। সরকারী ক্ষমতার অপব্যবহার করে সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ জনতার প্রতিনিধিত্বকারী বিরোধী দলের বিরুদ্ধে সরকারের এ অবস্থান দেশে এক অশান্ত পরিবেশের সৃষ্টি করেছে। ফলে পার্লামেন্ট একটি অকার্যকর প্রতিষ্ঠানে পরিণত হয়েছে। দেশকে এ রাজনৈতিক সংকট থেকে উদ্ধার করার জন্য অনেকেই সর্বাত্মক জাতীয় সংসদ নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠানের দাবী তুলেছেন। দেশের চারটি প্রধান বিরোধী দল বিএনপি, জাপা, জামায়াতে ইসলামী ও ইসলামী ঐক্যজোট জোট বন্ধ হয়ে সরকারের পদত্যাগ ও নির্বাচন দাবী করেছে। এটা হয়তোবা তাৎক্ষণিক একটা সমাধান হতে পারে। কিন্তু বাংলাদেশের জন্য সুদূর প্রসারী একটি স্থিতিশীল রাজনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা গড়ে তোলার জন্য বর্তমান নির্বাচন পদ্ধতির পরিবর্তন করে সমানুপাতিক হারের নির্বাচন পদ্ধতি চালুর জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় নির্বাচনী আইনের সংস্কার সাধন অনিবার্য। শুধুমাত্র সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতি চালু করলেই সব সমস্যার সমাধান হবে আমরা এমনটা মনে করি না। বরং আমাদের ধারণা নির্বাচনী আইনেরও ব্যাপক পরিবর্তন আনয়ন করতে হবে এবং নিরপেক্ষ নির্বাচন পরিচালনার উপযুক্ত শক্তিশালী নির্বাচন কমিশন গঠন করাও জরুরী হয়ে পড়েছে।

### কেন সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতির নির্বাচন ?

১. প্রতিনিধিত্বের পরিধি সম্প্রসারণের জন্য : সমানুপাতিক প্রতিনিধিত্ব এমন একটি ব্যবস্থা যার মাধ্যমে একটি নির্বাচনে সকল প্রদত্ত ভোটই সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণকারী ফোরামে কিছু না কিছু প্রভাব বিস্তার করার বা ভূমিকা পালনের সুযোগ পায়। অর্থাৎ মেজরিটি পদ্ধতিতে পরাজিত প্রার্থীকে প্রদত্ত ভোট নষ্ট হওয়ার যে ধারণা সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতিতে কোনো ভোটই নষ্ট হবে না। পরাজিত প্রার্থী যে ভোট পান সেই ভোট সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ প্রক্রিয়ায় কোনো কাজে আসে না। কিন্তু সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতিতে যেহেতু দলকেই ভোট দেয়া হয়ে থাকে তাই সেই ভোট কাজে লাগে অর্থাৎ ‘পঁচে’ যায় না। এ পদ্ধতির মাধ্যমে সকল মতের প্রতিফলন ঘটে থাকে পার্লামেন্টে। নির্বাচনে অংশগ্রহণকারী দলসমূহ প্রাপ্ত ভোটের অনুপাতে আসন লাভ করে পার্লামেন্টে অবদান রাখতে পারে। দলের প্রকৃত জনসমর্থনের সাথে পার্লামেন্টে দলের অবস্থানের একটি সামঞ্জস্য থাকে। জনগণের মধ্যে যে শক্তি তা পার্লামেন্টে প্রতিনিধিত্বের সুযোগ পায়। এর ফলে বড় দল ও ছোট দলগুলোর মধ্যে মতামতের আদান-প্রদান ও সহ-অবস্থানের রাজনৈতিক কালচার গড়ে উঠে যা বহুদলীয় গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থার জন্য অপরিহার্য।

এ পদ্ধতির মাধ্যমে দলীয় রেষারেষি, বিরোধ ও উত্তেজনা হ্রাস করে ক্রমান্বয়ে একটি সুষ্ঠু গণতান্ত্রিক ও সহনশীল ব্যবস্থা গড়ে উঠতে পারে। সংখ্যালঘুদের বঞ্চনা ও হতাশা থেকে মুক্ত করে অংশীদারিত্ব প্রতিষ্ঠার সহায়ক হতে পারে। এ প্রক্রিয়ায় যেহেতু সকলেরই কমবেশী ভূমিকা বা আদান-প্রদান রাখার সুযোগ আছে তাই এর মাধ্যমে সমাজে একটি ব্যাপকতর জাতীয় ঐক্য গড়ে তুলে বিচ্ছিন্নতা ও বিভাজনের প্রবণতা থেকে সমাজকে বাঁচাতে পারে। ভাষা, ধর্ম ও সাংস্কৃতিক বিভাজনের হাত থেকে দেশকে রক্ষা করতে পারে। নেদারল্যান্ড, বেলজিয়াম, সুইডেন, নরওয়ে, ডেনমার্ক, আয়ারল্যান্ড, নর্থ আয়ারল্যান্ড, ইসরাইল এর দৃষ্টান্ত।

২. রাজনৈতিক প্রাতিষ্ঠানিকীকরণ : সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতিতে ব্যক্তি প্রার্থীর পরিবর্তে দলের গুরুত্ব স্বীকৃত হয়। ব্যক্তির প্রভাব পুরোপুরি উচ্ছেদ না করলেও পার্টি এবং পার্টির জাতীয় চরিত্রের উপরই গুরুত্বারোপ করা হয়। ব্যক্তির চাইতে দলের এ তুলনামূলক গুরুত্বের ফলে এ পদ্ধতি গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থাকে শক্তিশালী করার ক্ষেত্রে একটি সুস্থ পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি করতে পারে। দলকে যেহেতু বিজয়ী করার প্রশ্ন তাই দলকে শক্তিশালী প্রতিষ্ঠানে পরিণত করার দিকেই তৎপরতা ও কর্মকাণ্ড পরিচালনা করা হয়। ব্যক্তিগত প্রভাব প্রতিপত্তির চাইতে দলের কর্মসূচী, মেনিফেস্টো প্রাধান্য পায় এবং দল ক্ষমতাসীন হলে জনগণকে কি দিতে পারবে তার ভিত্তিতেই কার্যক্রম গ্রহণ করা হয়। এটা রাজনৈতিক ব্যক্তিগত পর্যায় থেকে সামাজিক এবং আদর্শিক ইস্যুর দিকে নিতে এবং জাতির জন্য সঠিক রাজনৈতিক দিগদর্শন নির্ধারণে সহায়ক হয়। সারাদেশব্যাপী দলীয় সাংগঠনিক তৎপরতা জোরদার করার ব্যাপারে দলের সর্বস্তরে তৎপরতা ও উৎসাহ উদ্দীপনা বৃদ্ধি পায়। দলীয় শৃংখলার উন্নতি হয় এবং দলীয় কর্মসূচী বাস্তবায়নের বিরূপ সুযোগ সৃষ্টি হয় দল ক্ষমতায় যেতে পারলে। ফলে রাজনীতিতে শৃংখলা ও জবাবদিহিতা বৃদ্ধি পাবে এবং দলবদল ও ডিগবাজীর সম্ভাবনাও হ্রাস পাবে। অর্থাৎ গণতন্ত্র এ ব্যবস্থায় অধিকতর সুসংহত হবে।

৩. রাজনৈতিক প্রশিক্ষণ : সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতি পার্লামেন্টে অধিকতর শিক্ষিত, যোগ্যতা সম্পন্ন ব্যক্তিদের নির্বাচিত করার সম্ভাবনা সৃষ্টি করবে। মেজরিটি পদ্ধতি প্রার্থী বাছাই করার ক্ষেত্রে প্রার্থীর ব্যক্তিগত প্রভাব, আঞ্চলিকতা, সামাজিক মর্যাদা ও খ্যাতি বংশীয়/গোত্রীয় অবস্থান, অর্থনৈতিক সামর্থ এবং সর্বোপরি বিজয় লাভের সম্ভাবনা ইত্যাদি অনেক বিষয় বিবেচনা করা হয়। এ পদ্ধতিতেই অনেক সময় অশিক্ষিত এবং অযোগ্য প্রার্থীরা নির্বাচিত হয়ে

আসার সম্ভাবনা থাকে। কিন্তু প্রার্থী যখন দল তখন দলের পক্ষে রাজনৈতিক অভিজ্ঞতা সম্পন্ন, উচ্চ শিক্ষিত, জ্ঞানী, যোগ্য ও পরিষ্কীত ব্যক্তিকেই মনোনীত করতে পারে। এ প্রক্রিয়ার মাধ্যমে কায়েমী স্বার্থবাদী মাস্তানদের সংখ্যা হ্রাস করে পার্লামেন্টারী রাজনীতিতে গুণগত পরিবর্তন আনা সম্ভব।

৪. **অবাধ ও নিরপেক্ষ নির্বাচন :** মেজরিটি পদ্ধতির চাইতে সমানুপাতিক নির্বাচনে অবাধ ও নিরপেক্ষ নির্বাচনের সম্ভাবনা বেশী। যদি কোনো দল কারচুপিও করে তাহলে ফলাফলের আমূল পরিবর্তন করতে সক্ষম হবে না। ধরা যাক একটি দল ৩০% ভোট নিয়ন্ত্রণ করে এবং সেই দলটির যদি ৫% ভোট কারচুপি করে তাহলে ৫% আসন বেশী পাবে। কিন্তু মেজরিটি পদ্ধতিতে যদি ৫% কারচুপি করে তাহলে ৫০% বা তার চাইতেও বেশী আসন পেয়ে যেতে পারে। প্রকৃতপক্ষে দেখা গিয়েছে যে ৩৫% বা ৪০% ভাগ ভোট পেয়ে কোনো কোনো পার্টি ৬০% ভাগের বেশী আসন পেয়েছে। কিন্তু সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতিতে এমনটি কখনও সম্ভব নয়।

৫. **আদর্শিক চর্চার বিকাশ ঘটবে :** রাজনৈতিক দলসমূহ ভোটারদেরকে আঞ্চলিকতা, গোষ্ঠীপ্রীতি, ব্যক্তি পূঁজার পরিবর্তে দলীয় আদর্শের দিকে আহ্বান জানাবে এবং সেভাবেই জনমত গড়ে তুলতে প্রয়াস পাবে। নির্বাচন অভিযানের সময় দলীয় আদর্শ ও কর্মসূচী কেন্দ্রিক আলোচনা হবে। এভাবে আদর্শ ভিত্তিক রাজনীতি বিকাশে এ সমানুপাতিক নির্বাচন সহায়ক হবে। অনেক ইউরোপীয় দেশে আনুপাতিক পদ্ধতির নির্বাচনের ফলে আদর্শ ভিত্তিক রাজনৈতিক দলের উত্থান ঘটেছে এবং পক্ষান্তরে গোত্রীয় এবং টাকার খেলার প্রভাব হ্রাস পেয়েছে। Social Democratic Party কর্তৃক সুইডেনের ট্রাডিশনাল বাধা দূরীভূত হয়েছে এ নির্বাচন পদ্ধতির বদৌলতেই। ইউরোপীয় রাজনীতির এটা একটি ইতিবাচক দিক।

৬. **রাজনৈতিক সমীকরণ :** কতিপয় ইউরোপীয় দেশের অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে এটা আশা করা যায় যে, সমানুপাতিক পদ্ধতির নির্বাচন সমমনা রাজনৈতিক দলসমূহের মধ্যে ব্যাপকতর সহযোগিতা এবং সমন্বয় ও সংহতি গড়ে তুলবে। দলসমূহের মধ্যকার চুক্তি ও জোটবদ্ধতা এসব দলকে অধিক জাতীয় চরিত্র অর্জন ও ঐক্যবদ্ধ হতে সাহায্য করবে। বিপুল সংখ্যক রাজনৈতিক দলের অর্থহীন প্রতিযোগিতার অবসান ঘটিয়ে স্থায়ী জোটের আবির্ভাব রাজনৈতিক অংগনের কুয়াশাচ্ছন্ন পরিবেশকে স্বচ্ছ করতে এ পদ্ধতি সাহায্য করতে পারে। নিঃসন্দেহে রাজনৈতিক মেরুকরণ ও

নিজেদের মধ্যে জোটবদ্ধ হবার প্রবণতা এ ব্যবস্থায় বৃদ্ধি পাবে। সম্প্রতি দেখা গেছে ইন্দোনেশিয়ার নির্বাচনে আটটি ক্ষুদ্র ইসলামী দল জোটবদ্ধ হয়ে নির্বাচন করে ৪০টি আসন লাভ করে দেশের পঞ্চম রাজনৈতিক শক্তিতে পরিণত হয়েছে। আনুপাতিক নির্বাচনের পদ্ধতি থাকার কারণেই এটা সম্ভব হয়েছে।

৭. অংশীদারিত্বের চেতনা ও আস্থা : মোটামুটি দেশব্যাপী একটি ন্যূনতম সমর্থন থাকলে ছোট দলও রাজনীতিতে টিকে থাকতে পারে এ পদ্ধতির মাধ্যমে। সম্পূর্ণ মূলোৎপাটিত হবার আশংকা থাকে না। রাজনীতিতে তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ অবস্থান রাখে এমন সকল গ্রুপ পার্লামেন্টে প্রতিনিধিত্ব করার সুযোগ পাওয়ায় রাজনীতিতে সহিংসতা ও সন্ত্রাস তাৎপর্যপূর্ণভাবে হ্রাস পায়। কাংখিত ফলাফল এবং প্রকৃত ফলাফলের ব্যবধানটা কম হওয়ায় নির্বাচনী ফলাফল বিরুদ্ধে গেলেও সকল দলই তা মেনে নেয়।

৮. ভিন্ন মতের প্রতি সহনশীলতা : আনুপাতিক পদ্ধতির নির্বাচনের দীর্ঘস্থায়ী প্রভাব খুবই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। ক্রমান্বয়ে রাজনৈতিক মতপার্থক্য ও ভিন্ন মতের প্রতি শ্রদ্ধাশীল হতে এবং গ্রহণ করতে এ পদ্ধতি জনগণের মানসিকতার পরিবর্তন আনতে সাহায্য করে। বিভিন্ন গ্রুপ ও দলের মধ্যে এক ধরনের সখ্যতা ও সহনশীলতা সৃষ্টি হয় এবং তাদের কোয়ালিশন সরকার গঠনেও এ ব্যবস্থা উদ্বুদ্ধ করে। যেহেতু সকল অঞ্চল, ভাষা, গোষ্ঠীর ও মতের প্রতিনিধিত্ব এ পদ্ধতিতে সহজতর এবং নীতি নির্ধারণী সর্বোচ্চ সংস্থায় অংশগ্রহণের সুযোগও তাদের রয়েছে। তাই আঞ্চলিকতাবাদ ও বিচ্ছিন্নতাবাদের পরিবর্তে বৃহত্তর জাতীয় দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি সৃষ্টি হয়। ফলে জাতীয় রাজনীতি সুস্থ ধারা বিকাশে এ পদ্ধতি বেশ গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অবদান রাখতে পারে।

৯. নেতৃস্থানীয় ও প্রতিভাবান ব্যক্তিদের জাতীয় রাজনীতিতে অবদান রাখার সুযোগ সৃষ্টি করে : যেহেতু দলীয় তালিকার ভিত্তিতে এ নির্বাচন সম্পন্ন হয় সেহেতু দলের মধ্যে নেতৃস্থানীয় এবং প্রতিভাবান ব্যক্তিগণ পার্লামেন্টে ভূমিকা রাখার সুযোগ লাভ করে। ফলে পার্লামেন্টে বিভিন্ন ইস্যু বিতর্ক ও আলোচনার মানও উন্নত হতে বাধ্য। উপরন্তু অতি ক্ষুদ্র দলের সম্ভাবনাময় নেতারা ক্ষুদ্র দলের বড় নেতা হবার চাইতে বড় দলে शामिल হয়ে বড় দলের কাঠামোর মধ্যে রাজনীতি করতে আগ্রহী হয়। কারণ দল

যদি এমন ক্ষুদ্র হয় যে, ন্যূনতম যত ভাগ ভোট পেলে পার্লামেন্টে আসন পেতে পারে তত ভাগও যদি না পায় তাহলে সেই দলে থেকে পার্লামেন্টে সদস্য হওয়া সম্ভব নয়। আর বর্তমান বিশ্বে গণতন্ত্রের যে জোয়ার চলছে তাতে পার্লামেন্টে না যেতে পারলে রাজনৈতিক অস্তিত্ব বহাল রাখাই কঠিন। ফলে ছোট দলগুলোর মধ্যে বড় দলের সাথে একীভূত হওয়া অথবা বড় দলের সাথে জোটবদ্ধ হয়ে নির্বাচন ও রাজনীতি করার প্রবণতা বৃদ্ধি পায়। এতে দলের সংখ্যাও হ্রাস পাওয়ার সম্ভাবনা রয়েছে।

**সমাপ্ত**



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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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

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SEPT/OCT 1986

## 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.*

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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 assassination 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 assassination. 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.

OVERSEAS NEWS

**INDISCRIMINATE ARRESTS OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS**

The Saudi press is reporting the arrest of some 700 political activists in Saudi Arabia. The arrests are being reported as a result of the activities of the Saudi Communist Party in the country.

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COMMITTEE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SAUDI ARABIA  
88, BEECH CREK  
LONDON, WC1N 3JX 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**



...of the Saudi government to answer about human rights violations in the country, the Riyadh government is adamant to deny everything. But for how long?

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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 Ajaduya 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.

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.

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## 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

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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 forcing 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.

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## 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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

## AN ISLAMIC POINT OF VIEW:

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# 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 people's 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*

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**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 Masood 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 Saïd 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 Saïd 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



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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 (jurisprudents 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 Mufazilah and the Khawarej.

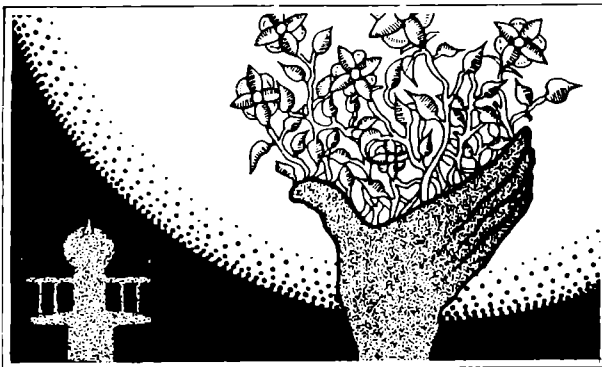
No jurisprudents in those days would have imagined that a ruler

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

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

It is clear, therefore, that jurisprudent's 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 rakás 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

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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 and 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 -the ruler- 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

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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 legitimate 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

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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 imamite 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.

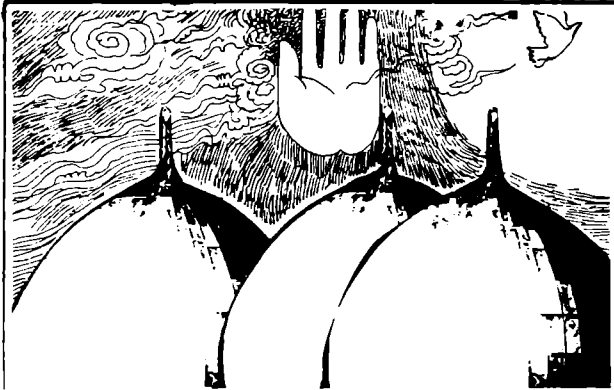
They not only increasingly allow

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 unbelieve.

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,*

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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 want them to inherit the wealth and resources of their homeland, as well as its know-how and its potentialities.

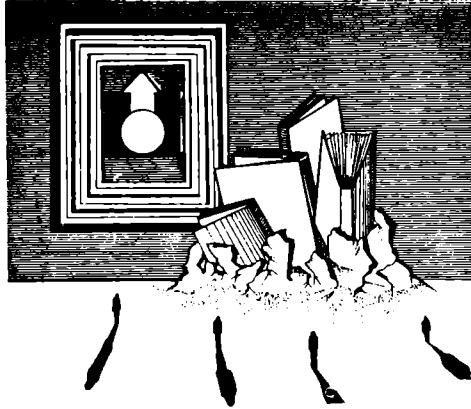
Spreading the Word of God and proclaiming His Oneness has never been separate from or alien to the Nations problems, issues and conditions, to its aspirations to justice, honour and dignity, freedom and prosperity. All Prophets, may God bless them all, called on their nations to believe in the Creed 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:*





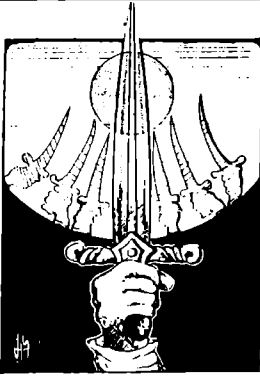
*Will you not have fear of Allah? .. I am indeed your true Messenger. Fear Allah then and follow me, I demand of you no recompense for this, none can reward me except the Lord of the Creation. Will you fornicate with males and leave your wives, whom Allah as created for you?. Surely you are great transgressors!»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

□ It is quite clear that Prophet Shuáíb's call was directed against merchant's 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 Pharaohs 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!

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# **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 unprotected 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:

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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. Similarly, 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 desperate situation, 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 mutual support among believers in normal circumstances, do, no doubt, emphasize 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 servants 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 revolutionary 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



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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

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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

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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.

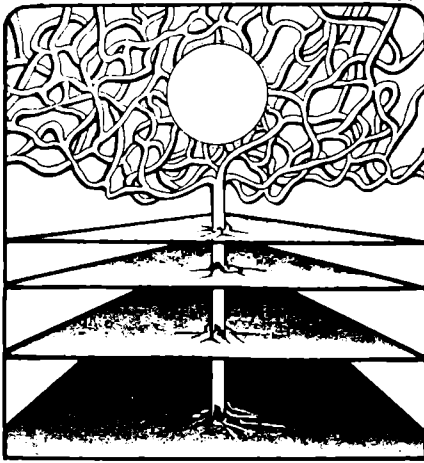
That is why, too heroes are, but a few throughout history

*(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,

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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 Qur'anic 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*

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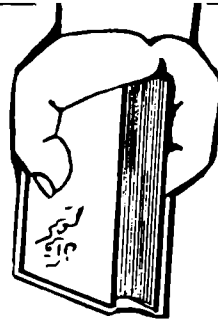
sons, your brothers, your wives, your tribes, the property you have acquired, the merchandise you fear may not be sold, and the homes you love, are dearer to you than Allah, then wait until Allah shall fulfil His decree. Allah does not guide the evil-doers).

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 cancelation 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:



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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).*

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## 8. The tyrants and superiorist

*(Lo! He loveth not the proud)*

9. Those involved in merry making 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).*

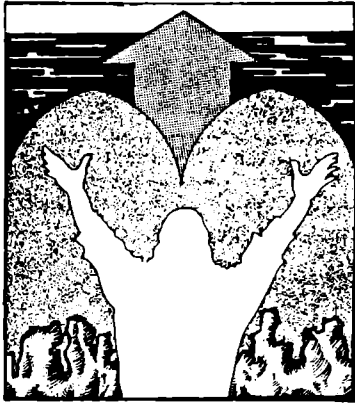
Those who love God obviously do not love God's enemies, nor side with them. Also, they have no grudge or prejudice against God's righteous slaves:

*(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*

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*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?)

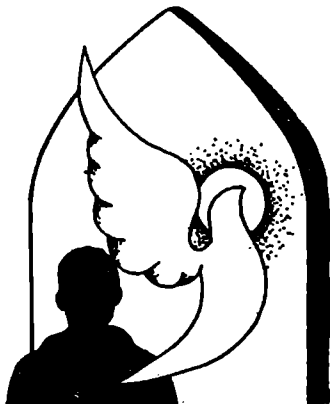
Every mujahid should be aware of the fact that the course of Jihad is saturated with negative and adverse elements, and counter-pressures. Every mujahid is bound to be inhibited by parents, brothers and relatives, before he is thus frustrated by an oppressive regime of tyranny. A mujahid's real test, 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 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 failures 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:

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*(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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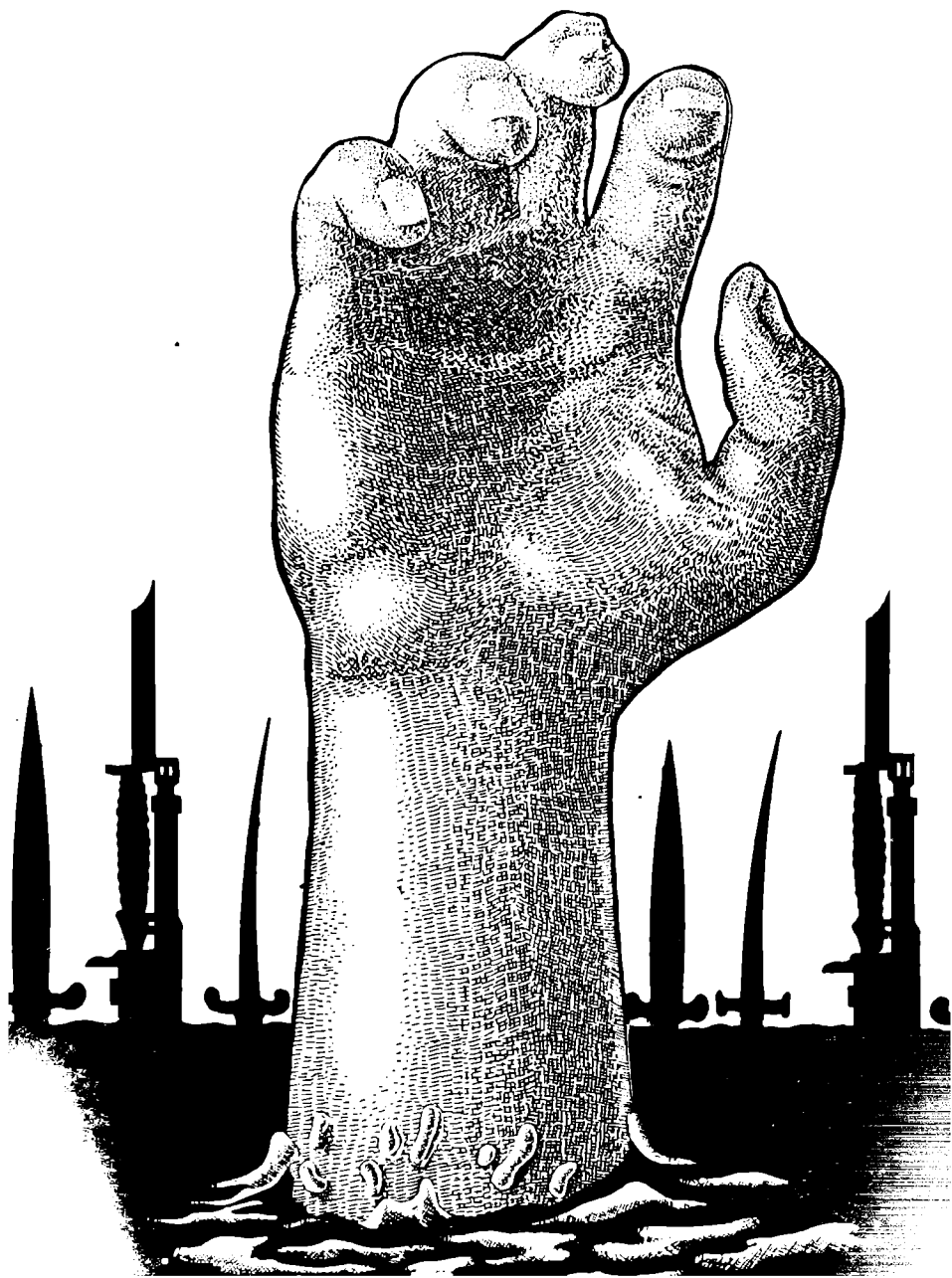
## THE KNIGHT WHO MUST LAY LOW

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.



বাংলাদেশে সংখ্যা গরিষ্ঠ পদ্ধতির যে  
নির্বাচন ব্যবস্থা চালু রয়েছে এটাও  
জনমতের প্রতিফলনের ক্ষেত্রে এবং  
স্থিতিশীল ব্যবস্থা প্রতিষ্ঠার ক্ষেত্রে একটি  
বড় ধরনের প্রতিবন্ধকতা বলে মনে হয়।  
অল্প সংখ্যক লোকের মতামতকেই গোটা  
নির্বাচনী এলাকায় জনমত হিসেবে গ্রহণ  
করতে হয়। ফলে সকলের রাজনৈতিক  
চিন্তা ও মতামতের প্রতিফলন ঘটানো  
যায় না। বৃটেন, কানাডা, আমেরিকা,  
ভারত, পাকিস্তানসহ সাবেক বৃটিশ  
উপনিবেশসমূহে এই পদ্ধতিই চালু  
রয়েছে। মেজরিটি পদ্ধতিও বিভিন্ন  
ধরনের রয়েছে।