



# Ar-Rayah Newspaper

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The Khilafah state for which we strive, adhering to the path of our Messenger ﷺ, is not the state of a specific group or faction. Instead, it is the state of all Muslims. It establishes the Shariah of Allah ﷻ, unifies the Muslims, liberates Al-Masjid Al-Aqsa, and carries the Risaalah message of Islam that will save all of humanity from the oppression of capitalism and the tyranny of man-made systems. It will inevitably be established—by the Permission of Allah ﷻ—despite the machinations of adversaries and the plots of conspirators.

## **Recent Developments in Libya**

**By: Ahmed Al-Muhathab**

In the span of just a few weeks, Libya has plunged into a series of distressing events. The Zawiya Refinery, located west of Tripoli, was struck by drone attacks that ignited massive fires in its oil storage tanks—a critical blow, given that the refinery supplies a significant portion of the fuel consumed in the country’s west, a region already grappling with fuel shortages. Compounding this misery, the country is suffering from an electricity crisis and frequent power outages, adding yet another burden on the population. Amidst this turmoil, the Governor of the Central Bank of Libya submitted his resignation—citing “sensitive” reasons—though it has not yet been accepted.

Simultaneously, the head of Haftar’s military intelligence agency was assassinated. Two weeks prior, small gatherings were held by proponents of a “constitutional monarchy”—a movement advocating for the return of Muhammad Al-Hassan Al-Senussi, the son of the Crown Prince during the reign of King Idris Al-Senussi; Muhammad has lived in the United Kingdom since leaving Libya in the 1980s.

Reflecting on these developments, a major question arises: Is there a connection between these momentous events?

It appears that Libya is rapidly veering off the path of the settlements currently being pursued—most notably the U.S. initiative known as the “Massad Boulos Project.” This proposal was introduced two months ago following a visit to Libya—undertaken at the behest of U.S. President Trump—which was characterized primarily by its economic focus. Shortly after the visit, he submitted his proposal to resolve the crisis. Copies were sent to the Council of Ministers, the Presidential Council, headed by Mohamed al-Menfi, Haftar, and Aguila Saleh’s House of Representatives. However, the House of Representatives, the

Presidential Council, certain local parties, regional figures benefiting from the status quo, as well as various armed factions, all expressed opposition to the proposal, viewing it as a scheme aimed at their removal.

Following the proposal's stalling and the emergence of strong opposition—manifested as mobilization in western Libya, foot-dragging in the east, particularly within Aguila Saleh's House of Representatives, who saw themselves as targets, and calls for amendments—pro-monarchy gatherings emerged. Then came the electricity crisis, with widespread power outages across the country and officials trading blame over responsibility. Matters were further exacerbated by the bombing of the refinery west of Tripoli.

Concurrently, the Governor of the Central Bank of Libya submitted his resignation—citing “sensitive” reasons—though it has not yet been accepted. This coincided with the assassination of Major General Fawzi al-Mansouri, the head of Haftar's military intelligence. Al-Mansouri was a key figure who held the threads of the crisis and knew all the players involved—whether those directly tasked with operations or those in their inner circles. As a close associate of Haftar and a pillar of the security apparatus in eastern Libya, his assassination in Benghazi—a city under Haftar's tight security control—raised a critical question: why was this assassination carried out at this particular time? Ultimately, in light of these successive, “deliberately manufactured” crises and rapidly unfolding events—alongside the funded unrest occurring in the country's west—it is evident that the fierce international conflict over Libya is intensifying. There is a race to dominate the Ummah's resources, particularly energy, especially following the closure of the Strait of Hormuz; the struggle has shifted to a contest over which figures can be installed to serve these interests. These bombings and incidents are designed to disrupt the status quo and facilitate a takeover of the country's western and southern regions—areas rich in oil and gas. They are vying for the Ummah's wealth by using the country's own people as pawns!

Allah ﷻ forbids a Muslim from pledging loyalty (ولاء walaah) to anyone other than Allah ﷻ, declaring with absolute certainty, ﴿الْأَزْيَابُ مُتَفَرِّقُونَ خَيْرٌ أَمْ اللَّهُ الْوَاحِدُ الْقَهَّارُ﴾ **“Are diverse lords better, or Allah, the One, the Prevailing?”** [TMQ Surah Yusuf: 39]. What, then, are we to make of a situation where the “lords” of this era are the human devils from Western states?

## **Where Is the International Conflict in Tunisia Heading?**

The thinly veiled threat directed by Algerian President Abdelmadjid Tebboune at the United Arab Emirates (UAE)—stating, “Whoever threatens Tunisia, we will destroy their very foundations”—was merely an indicator of the intensifying regional and international struggle for influence in Tunisia. This occurred against the backdrop of widespread demonstrations in the capital on July 25, 2026, protesting deteriorating economic and humanitarian conditions. Protesters demanded the departure of President Kais Saied, the fall of the regime, and the release of political prisoners, holding the authorities responsible for soaring prices, declining purchasing power, and recurring water and electricity outages—marking one of the largest popular mobilizations since the measures of July 25, 2021.

Those measures had represented a major turning point in Tunisia’s political landscape; the President invoked Article 80 of the 2014 Constitution, dismissed the Prime Minister, froze parliamentary activity, lifted MPs’ immunity, dissolved the Supreme Judicial Council, and ratified a new constitution in 2022 that returned the country to a presidential system with sweeping powers.

Since February 2023, Tunisia has witnessed a sweeping wave of arrests targeting the President's opponents—including media

figures, activists, judges, businesspeople, and politicians, most notably former Parliament Speaker Rached Ghannouchi. Many of these arrests stemmed from a meeting between businessman Khayam Turki and US embassy officials, in what became known at the time as the “conspiracy against state security” case. Tunisia is witnessing a Western struggle for influence played out through local proxies; President Kais Saied has moved to dismantle the British sphere of influence, leveraging support from France. From the outset, France demonstrated an understanding of the exceptional measures announced by Saied—evident in statements by the French ambassador to Tunisia and a phone call between President Macron and Saied, in which Macron expressed Paris's readiness to stand by Tunisia to safeguard its sovereignty and defend its freedom. Paris issued no condemnation of the process, save for expressing concerns regarding human rights and political pluralism—sentiments clearly reflected in French media coverage, which sought to court the pro-French political forces targeted by President Saied.

France's official stance remained unchanged; President Macron welcomed the constitutional referendum, deeming it an “important milestone” in the political transition, and affirmed his country's readiness to support Tunisia in its negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). He also stated that, “France is ready to work with Tunisia to meet its food needs.” This stance reflects France's determination to preserve its vital network of

interests in Tunisia, particularly across the political, economic, cultural, and security sectors.

In contrast, Britain adopted a stance opposing the measures of July 25, describing the referendum on Saied's constitution as "lacking transparency." It criticized the low voter turnout and the absence of an inclusive political process, calling for respect for the principle of the separation of powers and the engagement of diverse political and civil forces. Britain capitalized on the harsh judicial rulings handed down against the opposition in late 2025 to mobilize the public once again through its political and media channels. Figures aligned with its sphere of influence—such as Hichem Mechichi—returned to the forefront, coinciding with the rising media prominence of outlets perceived as sympathetic to the British stance, most notably Qatar's Al Jazeera. This signaled an attempt to oust President Kais Saied and restore British influence by exerting popular pressure on the incumbent authority and enticing key power centers to abandon him. However, the limited turnout at both pro-government and opposition rallies reflected widespread public apathy, indicating that a large segment of the Tunisian population no longer places its trust in either the ruling authority or its adversaries.

Initially, the European Union adopted a stance similar to Britain's, expressing concern over the political trajectory and calling for respect for the separation of powers. Yet, this position—particularly that of Italy and Germany—shifted during 2023. European states gradually aligned with France's supportive stance

toward President Kais Saied. This shift was evidenced by an intensification of official visits, the provision of financial aid, and the conclusion of economic and security agreements. These efforts culminated in a memorandum of understanding on a “comprehensive strategic partnership”—covering economic cooperation and the curbing of irregular migration—and were further bolstered by sectoral agreements in the energy sector, specifically regarding electricity interconnection projects and green hydrogen destined for the European market. The United States adopted a hardline stance regarding the path initiated by Saied, deeming the new constitution a threat to democracy and human rights. This stance was reflected in statements by the-then US Secretary of State, Anthony Blinken, Tunisia’s exclusion from certain U.S. diplomatic and military engagements, and the remarks of U.S. Ambassador Joey Hood, who affirmed his country’s resolve to leverage its influence to push for a return to democratic governance and to review U.S. aid in alignment with this objective. Delegations from the U.S. Congress also expressed concern during their visits to Tunisia regarding the backsliding of the democratic process.

Despite ongoing military cooperation between the two states, Washington withheld the guarantees necessary for Tunisia’s external financing and stalled the agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The aim was to create a rift within the political class and capitalize on any potential popular uprising resulting from the stifling economic crisis. Consequently,

Saied rejected certain IMF conditions, likening them to “a lit match next to highly explosive materials.”

At the regional level, Algeria’s stance emerged as the most consistent and enduring; it viewed Tunisia’s stability as integral to its own national security. Algeria supported the new administration politically and economically, providing financial aid and guaranteeing gas supplies. This cooperation subsequently evolved into military and security agreements, followed by broad economic partnerships, reflecting Algeria’s recognition that Tunisia represents its immediate strategic depth and that any political shift there directly impacts its security and stability.

Conditions will not stabilize for Kais Saied or his adversaries; for the Tunisian people—who ignited the spark of change in North Africa during the era of the Islamic conquests and served as a driving force for Muslim peoples during the Ummah’s revolution—will overturn the status quo imposed by colonialism and its local tools and agents. They will usher in genuine change rooted in Islam, under the Rayah banner of the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly-Guided Caliphate) on the Method of the Prophethood. Allah ﷻ said, ﴿وَمَنْ يَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ فَهُوَ حَسْبُهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَالِغُ أَمْرِهِ قَدْ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدْرًا﴾ **“And whoever relies upon Allah – He is sufficient for him. Indeed, Allah will accomplish His purpose. Allah has already set for everything a decreed extent.”** [TMQ Surah At-Talaq: 3].

# The Scourge of Nationalism Is Hounding Rohingya Children in Malaysia

A surge in online hate speech, misinformation and dehumanizing narratives targeting Rohingya Muslim refugees in Malaysia in recent months has forced the closure of at least 9 Rohingya schools across the country. The schools were shut due to threats and harassment of Rohingya children, or by authorities after demands from the public on social media. This rise in anti-Rohingya sentiment has deprived many Rohingya children of an education and left many others afraid to attend classes or even leave their homes. Some online posts have been advocating violence against Rohingya, including their children, calling for Rohingya refugees to be “put in a room and set on fire,” to “rape them”, to “shoot them like crows”, and for “the women” to be “sterilized”. An online campaign which called for Rohingya refugees to be removed from Malaysia garnered nearly half a million signatures. All this holds echoes of the genocidal and dehumanizing vitriol that the Rohingya faced in Myanmar that caused thousands to be killed and hundreds of thousands to flee their homes.

In response, a press release issued by the Women’s Section of the Central Media Office of Hizb ut Tahrir stated that: It is the toxic concept of nationalism which drives and fuels such an intense and irrational hatred towards a persecuted Muslim community, whose only crime is to seek asylum in a neighbouring Muslim land from a genocide. This poisonous, noxious belief, which our Prophet ﷺ said concerning it, «دَعُوهَا فَإِنَّهَا مُنْتِنَةٌ» **“Leave it, it is rotten”**, causes oppressed Muslims with a different ethnicity or land of origin to be treated like pariahs and criminals, and their

children harassed and threatened and chased out of their schools and homes by their own Muslim brothers and sisters, rather than afforded protection, support, decent housing, a good education and a dignified life. On July 27th, Malaysian authorities detained over 100 Rohingya Muslim refugees who were seeking shelter at the UNHCR office following eviction from their homes in Penang by local residents who declared the area a “Rohingya-free zone”. Malaysia, a Muslim majority country, does not even officially recognize the Rohingya as refugees, branding them illegal migrants, refusing them rights of citizenship, including the right to work and their children to attend government schools, and leaving the threat of arrest looming constantly over them.

The press release continued: All this is shameful and criminal! Does Allah ﷻ not say: ﴿إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِخْوَةٌ﴾ **“The believers are but one brotherhood...”** [Al-Hujurat: 10] and ﴿إِنَّ هَذِهِ أُمَّتُكُمْ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً﴾ **“This Ummah is one Ummah and I am your Lord, so worship Me.”** [Al-Anbiya: 92]?!! And did our Prophet ﷺ not say: «الْمُسْلِمُ أَخُو الْمُسْلِمِ، لَا يَظْلِمُهُ وَلَا يَخْذُلُهُ وَلَا يَحْقِرُهُ» **“A Muslim is the brother of a Muslim. He neither oppresses him nor humiliates him nor looks down upon him.”** (Sahih Muslim)?!! And did he ﷺ not show us the manner by which Muslims treat their brothers and sisters who migrate to their lands when he paired the Ansar and Muhajireen in a bond of Muslim brotherhood in Madinah, with the Ansar offering half their wealth, homes and land to help the refugees from Makkah?

The press release concluded by saying: This sad state of affairs affecting the Rohingya Muslims, the Uyghur Muslims seeking refuge in Turkey, the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, and persecuted Muslims globally who are refused asylum and a dignified life in Muslim lands, will continue as long as we embrace the Haram

concept of nationalism as an Ummah, and as long as we are ruled by nationalistic regimes and systems and maintain the colonial imposed nation-state model and national borders that divide our hearts and minds. The desperate plight of Muslim refugees will remain as long as the Khilafah (Caliphate) based upon the method of the Prophethood is absent from this world – the state which is a guardian of all Muslims regardless of their race, tribe, ethnicity or nationality; a state which rejects nationalism and that will unify the Muslim lands and open them to any oppressed people seeking refuge, providing them full rights of citizenship and a dignified life as obligated by Allah ﷻ and demonstrated by the Khulafaa' (Caliphs) of the past, such as Sultan Bayezid II, who sent his navy to rescue the persecuted Muslims and Jews of Spain during the Spanish Inquisition and settled hundreds of thousands of them in the lands of the Khilafah.

## **O People of Sudan... We Call Upon You: Address the Situation Before Regret Sets In—For the Time For Regret Will Have Passed!**

O our people in the Sudan of great Islam—the Sudan of the Dongola Masjid, the first masjid established by the early Muslims in the region; the Sudan of the great Islamic conquest during the era of Khaleefah Uthman (ra), who ordered the Governor of Egypt to bring the light of Islam to Sudan. He dispatched the soldiers of Islam led by Abdullah bin Abi Sarh, and the conquest took place in the year 31 AH. Thus, by the grace of Allah ﷻ, Islam spread rapidly, filling the entire Sudan from north to south and east to west, and continued to flourish under the Khulafa'a (Caliphs) of Muslims.

O our people in Sudan—a land that waged Jihad against the British from 1896 until the midpoint of World War I in 1916, when the pious and mighty hero Ali Dinar, the ruler of Darfur, was martyred. He was the scholar-mujahid credited with restoring the Miqat (Hajj pilgrimage station) of Dhul-Hulayfah—used by the people of Medina and ash-Sham—and with constructing wells to provide water for pilgrims, wells that bear his name to this day, “Abyar Ali” (Ali's Wells).

O people of Sudan, we call upon you: rectify the situation before regret sets in—when it will be too late for remorse. Seize the warring parties and compel them toward the truth. Support Hizb ut Tahrir in establishing the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate), for therein lies the honor of Islam and Muslims and the humiliation of disbelief and disbelievers—and the pleasure of

Allah, which is greater still. Allah ﷻ said, **﴿إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَذِكْرَى لِمَنْ كَانَ لَهُ قَلْبٌ أَوْ أَلْقَى السَّمْعَ وَهُوَ شَهِيدٌ﴾** “Indeed in that is a reminder for whoever has a heart or who listens while he is present in mind.” [TMQ Surah Qaf: 37]. Thus, Sudan shall return strong and dignified through Islam, with the banner of Al-Uqab—the banner of “There is no god but Allah; Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah”—flying high above it. Allah ﷻ said, **﴿وَيَوْمَئِذٍ يَفْرَحُ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ \*﴾** **﴿بَنَصْرِ اللَّهِ يَنْصُرُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الرَّحِيمُ﴾** “And on that day the believers will rejoice \* in the victory of Allah. He gives victory to whom He wills, and He is the Exalted in Might, the Merciful.” [TMQ Surah Ar-Rum 4-5].

# **The Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees**

**By: Muhammad Youssef Salameh**

The 75th anniversary of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees is commemorated globally on July 28th. This convention aims to protect individuals persecuted and fleeing war or due to a well-founded fear of persecution based on political opinion, religion, race, nationality, or membership in a particular social group.

One of the most important principles of the convention is the principle of non-refoulement, meaning that a refugee cannot be returned to a country where they would face danger or persecution. The convention also guarantees refugees fundamental rights such as education, work, housing, and legal protection.

It is well known that the expansion of wars and the worsening economic conditions in what are called Third World countries in Asia and Africa have led to a doubling of the number of refugees and displaced persons. For example, many have fled from Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan as a result of war, while others have fled from Senegal, Mali, Central African countries, and North African countries due to poverty.

Due to this increase in the number of migrants and the rising number of asylum seekers in Europe, the Dublin system was established, beginning with the Dublin Agreement in 1990 and subsequently evolving into successive European regulations, the latest being Dublin III in 2013, which came into effect in 2014. This system aims to determine which European country is responsible for examining an asylum application. Although EU member states continue to declare their commitment to the Geneva Convention, the Dublin system and subsequent policies concerning safe countries of origin and border closures have effectively limited access to the protection afforded by the Convention for many asylum seekers. Many human rights advocates argue that these policies effectively circumvent the objectives of the Geneva Convention.

Amnesty International has described the new amendments to the European asylum system as undermining the foundations of refugee protection, stating that expanding the concept of a “safe third country” could lead to the rejection of asylum applications without due process and the transfer of asylum seekers to countries with which they have no genuine connection. The organization also considered these policies an attempt to evade the responsibility of protecting refugees and shift it to countries outside Europe. It further criticized what it called “Fortress of Europe,” arguing that the expansion of border fences, deterrent measures, and forced returns threaten the individual right to seek asylum.

The major Western powers that are at the forefront of human rights discourse are not far removed from the reasons that have driven millions of people to migrate and seek refuge. They are the ones who ignited or supported wars, and they are the ones who entrenched the unjust capitalist system based on controlling the wealth of peoples, plundering their resources, and keeping many Third World countries in a state of dependency, poverty, and instability. Then, they are the same ones who close their borders to the victims of these policies, erecting walls and barriers, and devising systems and procedures that prevent the vulnerable from accessing the very security they claim to defend.

On the other hand, we emphasize what humanity has known for centuries, long before the Geneva Convention and others, regarding Muslims' adherence to covenants. This principle is further reinforced in Shariah by established texts in the Noble Quran and Prophetic Sunnah, where Allah ﷻ says, ﴿وَإِنْ أَحَدٌ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ اسْتَجَارَكَ فَأَجِرْهُ حَتَّى يَسْمَعَ كَلَامَ اللَّهِ ثُمَّ أَبْلِغْهُ مَأْمَنَهُ ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ﴾ **“And if any one of the polytheists seeks your protection, then grant him protection so that he may hear the words of Allah ﷻ. Then escort him to his place of safety. That is because they are a people who do not know.”** [TMQ Surah At-Tawbah :6]. The Prophet ﷺ said, «الْمُسْلِمُونَ تَتَكَافَأُ دِمَاؤُهُمْ وَيَسْعَى بِدِمَتِهِمْ أَذْنَاهُمْ» **“Muslims are equal in respect of blood. The lowest of them is entitled to give protection on behalf of them,”** or he ﷺ said, «مَنْ قَتَلَ مُعَاهِدًا لَمْ يَرِحْ رَائِحَةَ الْجَنَّةِ» **“Whoever killed a Mu’ahid (covenanted non-Muslim) shall not smell the fragrance of Paradise.”**

An example of this is when Fakhitah “Umm Hani” bint Abi Talib (ra) granted protection to some muhsrikeen on the day of the conquest of Makkah, and some Muslims wanted to harm them. When she informed the Prophet ﷺ, he said, «قَدْ أَجَرْنَا مَنْ أَجَرْتَ يَا أُمَّ هَانِي» **“We have granted protection to whomever you have granted protection, O Umm Hani.”** Thus, he ﷺ affirmed the right of a Muslim to grant protection and obligated the Islamic state to respect this guarantee. This action was not an isolated incident, but instead an application of a Shariah principle that makes fulfilling a guarantee, and a covenant a right that must be upheld by the state and society.

In Islam, a person seeking refuge is granted protection because of their request for safety. Islam bases this protection on the inviolable sanctity of life and the obligation to uphold the pledge of security. In contrast, secular legal systems link protection to conditions and legal procedures that are subject to modification and alteration, according to political balances and laws enacted by states based on political interests and their fluctuations, instead of being a fixed commitment to ideology.

The fundamental difference between Islam and secular legal systems is that the protection of a person seeking refuge in Islam is not a political concession or an administrative procedure that can be reversed according to interests, elections, and the shifts in public opinion. Instead, it is a fixed Shariah ruling obligated by Allah ﷻ, and fulfilling it is a requirement of Iman and justice. Therefore, Islam preceded modern refugee agreements by

centuries in establishing the right of the oppressed and persecuted to security, protection, and the preservation of human dignity.

Now, seventy-five years after the Geneva Convention, millions of refugees still encounter walls, camps, and laws of prevention, deterrence, and return.

The tragedy of refugees in today's world is not a result of the absence of agreements, but instead a consequence of the dominance of an international order crafted by major powers according to their interests and their political and economic influence. These powers have been complicit in many wars and conflicts that have displaced millions, and through their economic policies, they have contributed to the impoverishment of vast populations worldwide. They have then erected walls and barriers and devised systems and procedures to prevent the victims of these policies from accessing the very security they claim to defend. While laws and agreements shift according to interests, pressures, and elections, Islam remains distinguished by the steadfastness of its ideology: the one who seeks refuge is to be granted refuge, the one granted safe passage is to be protected, the one with whom a treaty has been made is not to be wronged, and fulfilling the pledge of security and the covenant is a Shariah obligation, not a political choice. Therefore, Islam did not make the protection of the oppressed a privilege granted by states at will and revoked at will. Instead, Islam established it as a fixed Shariah ruling that safeguards human life, dignity, and security, as affirmed by Allah ﷻ Who said, ﴿وَإِنْ أَحَدٌ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ اسْتَجَارَكَ فَأَجِرْهُ ثُمَّ ادْلُهُ مَأْمَنَهُ﴾ **“And if any one of the polytheists seeks your protection, then grant him protection and escort him**

**to his place of safety.”** [TMQ Surah At-Tawbah :6]. Hence, humanity does not need more slogans and agreements interpreted according to self-interest, but instead a just and ideological system that makes protecting the vulnerable and attending to their needs a Shariah obligation, unchanging with shifting whims and interests.

# A Saudi-Led Multinational Defensive Naval Alliance

**By: Ustadh Ahmed Al-Khatwani**

On July 30, 2026, Saudi Arabia announced the formation of a multinational naval alliance to protect maritime corridors in the Bab al-Mandab Strait, the Red Sea, and the Gulf of Aden, as well as to enhance maritime security and safeguard international trade routes in these areas. Fourteen nations announced their participation in the Saudi-led alliance: Turkey, Pakistan, Egypt, Bangladesh, Jordan, Yemen, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti, and Nigeria; notably, forty-three countries attended the inaugural meeting. An administrative and organizational structure was established for the alliance, comprising a command-and-control center, a joint naval operations center, and a general secretariat.

Following days of discussions and deliberations among the chiefs of staff and representatives of the participating members, Saudi Arabia announced on August 6 the appointment of Rear Admiral Abdullah bin Salem Al-Shehri to lead the alliance's operations. This appointment suggests that the participation of other states is merely symbolic and intended for public relations. No member from outside Saudi Arabia was selected for the alliance's naval leadership. Saudi Arabia will shoulder the entire operational burden, while other states provide external support.

Fundamentally, this alliance is confined to the Red Sea region and its southern gateways. It has no direct connection to the Strait of Hormuz or Iran. Its primary objective is to attempt to sever the link between the Houthis and Iran—a goal that aligns perfectly with U.S. plans to strike Iran’s proxies in Yemen, Lebanon, and Iraq. Thus, it represents a consistent U.S. policy in the region, executed by Saudi Arabia with the backing of the states comprising this alliance. Battles and confrontations in Yemen are expected to be protracted, and the war will not be easily resolved; the Houthis control the capital and are entrenched in mountainous terrain, making it difficult to dislodge or decisively defeat them.

Saudi Arabia has previously engaged in long conflicts in Yemen—spanning from Operation Decisive Storm and Operation Restoring Hope in 2015 through 2019 and beyond, ultimately lasting a decade or more—without achieving a decisive victory. Wars in Yemen typically prove ruinous for the attacking forces. This was the case for Egypt under Gamal Abdel Nasser, whose troops entered Yemen in 1960, and fought fruitlessly until 1967. Egypt suffered catastrophic losses, with tens of thousands of soldiers killed, and failed to establish full control, ultimately withdrawing its forces empty-handed.

Today, the United States and its partners in the new coalition are well aware of these realities. Consequently, American participation alongside Saudi Arabia is likely to be merely

nominal, leaving the heaviest burden on the Saudis, while the war itself is unlikely to yield any decisive results.

The U.S. seeks to ignite a war in Yemen to exhaust and weaken Iran, and to preoccupy the region with new conflicts, instead of a direct war with Iran. It is indifferent to the war's duration or the heavy casualties inflicted on both sides. Its sole priority is sparking a conflict that costs the U.S. nothing—and perhaps even advances some of its regional objectives—after failing to decisively resolve its own confrontation with Iran.

Following U.S. plans in the region will bring nothing but ruin and destruction, yielding no gains for the warring parties. The United States alone stands to benefit, while all others will lose. Peoples must not be deceived by the lies of their rulers, who paint a false picture of victory in wars against one another. Instead, they must fully realize that America and the states of kufr (disbelief) are the true enemy and must treat them as such. These peoples are part of a single Ummah—sharing one Deen, one Messenger ﷺ, and one Qibla—and must therefore know where to direct their compass. They must work first to expel American and Western influence from Muslim lands, hold fast together to the Rope of Allah ﷻ, and unify their concerns and goals in support of this Deen and establishing the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly-Guided Caliphate) on the Method of the Prophethood.

## Naval Alliances and Defense Agreements to Protect America's Interests!

The Jewish entity continues its assaults on the cities and villages of the Blessed Land of Palestine; they violate the sanctities, arrest people in a humiliating manner, evict them from their homes, and seize their lands. Indeed, not even stones, trees, or animals are spared from their malice. Scarcely a day goes by without such attacks; if the army of the monstrous Jewish entity does not carry them out, then the settlers do so under the army's protection.

**Rayah Newspaper:** Amidst all this, rulers and officials in Muslim lands gather—but why do they meet? Some meet to form a naval alliance at America's behest to protect its interests in the region! Others meet to establish a defense agreement—also at America's command—to safeguard its interests! Some issue statements of condemnation and denunciation, holding the international order responsible for the Jewish entity's assaults; some appeal to the UN Security Council for aid, while others announce the creation of a platform to document the Jewish entity's violations!

Rulers of Muslims act as though the presence of the Jewish entity in the Blessed Land of Palestine has become an established fact, and they want Muslims to view it from that perspective. Yet, by the permission of Allah ﷻ, this will not come to pass. The cause of Palestine is central and pivotal to the hearts of Muslims; their hearts are attached to Al-Masjid Al-Aqsa just as they are to the Sacred Masjid, Al-Kaaba, and Al-Masjid An-Nabawwi. The collusion of rulers with colonialist disbelievers and the Jewish entity will not turn it into an established reality. The Ummah will soon rise to rid itself of these contemptible rulers and eradicate

the Jewish entity from existence; and tomorrow is near for those who await it.

## **Delegations from Hizb ut-Tahrir / Wilayah Sudan Continue Meetings with Notables and Leaders of the People of Sudan**

In two separate meetings, on Monday, 27 Safar 1448 AH, corresponding to 10 August 2026 CE, a delegation from Hizb ut Tahrir / Wilayah Sudan met, led by Ustadh Nasser Reda Muhammad Othman, Chairman of the Central Communications Committee of Hizb ut Tahrir in Wilayah Sudan, accompanied by Ustadh Muhammad Mukhtar, member of the Hizb ut Tahrir Council in Wilayah Sudan, and the two Ustadh Abdul Samad Al-Tayeb and Al-Munawwar Dafallah, members of the Hizb.

The first visit was to the Sufi mosque in al-Qadarif, where the delegation met with Sheikhs Uthman Abd al-Rahman al-Azraq, Hamad Abd al-Rahman al-Azraq, and Ahmad Uthman Abd al-Rahman al-Azraq. The head of the delegation, Nasser, spoke about the political and military situation in Sudan and the dangers of the colonialist kafir's (disbelievers) plan to fragment the country. This prompted Hizb ut Tahrir to reach out to community leaders, tribal chiefs, and elders to enlighten them about this perilous reality. He emphasized that any talk or call for governance by Islam other than the Khilafah (Caliphate) is deception and a circumvention of the truth.

The honorable sheikhs agreed with what Ustaadh Nasser said, especially Sheikh Othman, who prayed for the Hizb to be well.

In the second meeting, the delegation met with Nazir Awad al-Karim Mahmoud Zayed (Wad Zayed); the paramount chief of the Dhubayna tribe and deputy head of the Native Administration in Sudan, at his office in the Qadarif market. After the Nazir

welcomed the delegation and briefed them on the tribe's history, emphasizing their generosity and chivalry, the head of the delegation, Nasser, explained the purpose of the visit: To raise awareness of the colonialist kaffir plans for Sudan, to work towards thwarting them, to unite the ranks, to unify their voice, and to encourage the tribes to fulfill their duty in unifying the Ummah and establishing the Khilafah according to the methodology of the Prophethood.

The observer agreed with the proposal, and said: We are with you and support your efforts to unite the ranks, unify the word, and establish the Khilafah.

On Tuesday, 28 Safar al-Khayr 1448 AH, corresponding to 11 August 2026 CE, a delegation from Hizb ut Tahrir / Wilayah Sudan met on with the Mek of the Bawadra, Ustadh Mutawakkil Hassan Dakeen, at his office in Gedaref.

The head of the delegation, Br. Nasser, explained to the Mek the reason for the visit, highlighting Sudan's political and military situation and the ongoing arming of tribes in service of the project of the disbelieving colonial West, which is working to fragment and divide Sudan. He stressed that what unites the people of Sudan, with their different tribes, is the great religion of Islam, and that the duty of tribal leaders is to work to support Islam by establishing the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate) on the method of the Prophethood.

The Mek thanked the delegation for the visit, expressing agreement with what Nasser had said and affirming that no one rejects the project of Islam.

After sunset on Tuesday, the delegation visited the General Nazir of the Darfur Tribes, Sheikh Saif al-Dawla Haidar al-Tahir Bakr, at

his home in Gedaref. Also present with him were the Nazir's deputy, al-Tahir Haidar, and a member of the Executive Office, Aziz Haidar.

After introductions, the head of the delegation, Br. Nasser, began by introducing Hizb ut Tahrir and explaining that its aim is to resume Islamic way of life through the establishment of the Khilafah (Caliphate) on the method of the Prophethood.

He explained that the purpose of the visit was to raise awareness of Sudan's current situation and the conspiracies it is facing, which require concerted efforts to confront the colonial project seeking to fragment and divide Sudan, through the great Islamic project of the Khilafah Rashidah on the method of the Prophethood.

The Nazir's deputy then spoke, praising the role of Hizb ut Tahrir and its sincerity in raising the awareness of the Ummah. He commended its activities and efforts to establish the Khilafah. The Executive Office member, Aziz, also spoke, affirming the deputy's remarks and calling on everyone to remain connected in this blessed work.

On Thursday, 30 Safar al-Khayr 1448 AH, corresponding to 13 August 2026 CE, a delegation from Hizb ut Tahrir / Wilayah Sudan met with the Mek (Chief) of the Nuba, Mamoun al-Jak, at his home in Gedaref. Also present with him were Kafi Kowa Dodai, Chairman of the Tribe's Shura Council in Gedaref State and a chief of one of the Nuba sub-tribes (Al-Shah); Ibrahim Makki, chief of one of the Nuba sub-tribes (Al-Kutla); and Muhammad Tih Daqaq, chief of Abu Hishaim.

Ustadh Nasser Reda spoke about the current situation and the conspiracies of the colonial powers against our lands through a

plan to divide the country. He said: “These days, we are clearly witnessing the mobilization of tribes and the creation of an army for each tribe. Even worse, the state is working to arm armed movements and making each movement affiliated with a tribe. This is an ominous warning.”

He therefore called on them, and on all the tribes of Sudan, to work to thwart the project of the colonial powers and to guide the tribes toward the correct direction: supporting the project of establishing an Islamic state, the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate) on the method of the Prophethood, just as the Ansar, al-Aws and al-Khazraj, did.

Mek Mamoun agreed with the proposal, thanked the delegation, and said: “There is no party in the country putting forward a unifying project like the project of Hizb ut Tahrir.” Chief Kafi Kowa then said: “Good words; this is what brings people together.” The chief of Abu Hishaim also expressed his agreement with Ustadh Nasser's remarks. Ibrahim Makki, Chief of Al-Kutla, likewise agreed with his remarks. All of them emphasized the importance of maintaining communication.

# Upon the Anniversary of the Abrogation of Article 370, the Khilafah (Caliphate) is the Only Solution for the Liberation of Occupied Kashmir

**By Ustadh Muhammad Abdullah, Occupied Kashmir.**

Seven years have passed since the Indian Hindu State revoked Article 370 on August 5, 2019—a day added to the long series of catastrophes that have befallen the Muslims of Kashmir. On that day, the Hindu State formally abolished the last vestiges of Jammu and Kashmir’s special status, incorporating the region into its fascist Hindutva project.

What followed August 5th was a systematic, multi-layered siege designed to erase the land’s Islamic identity and demographic character. New residency laws were drafted, and vast tracts of land and natural resources were put up for sale to Hindu capitalists, transforming a Muslim majority into a targeted minority through cold legal engineering.

Following August 5, 2019, the occupation transformed the Kashmir Valley into the world’s largest prison; a brutal curfew and a months-long communications blackout stifled millions. Thousands of Muslim men, women, and even children were detained under draconian laws—such as the Public Safety Act and the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act—that permit indefinite detention without trial. Prisons and torture centers overflowed, while every voice of resistance and dissent was crushed beneath the boots of 900,000 Indian soldiers.

This was a parallel which is not by coincidence. In 2017, Hindutva ideologue Ram Madhav stated, “We must learn from Israel how it dealt with terrorism and border security.” The Jewish entity’s model of intensive, high-tech military occupation—reinforced by watchtowers, drones, and AI-driven surveillance—is precisely what was deployed in Kashmir. The very same Jewish companies— NSO Group and Verint—companies that provided spyware to monitor the people of Palestine—sold surveillance systems to the Indian government, which uses them to crush even the faintest whisper of resistance in Occupied Kashmir. It is a cohesive, transcontinental Hindu-Zionist alliance, unified by a shared hatred of Islam and Muslims.

For decades, the criminal Hindu state hesitated to take this step, fearing the singular, traditional threat posed by the Pakistani military and its historic insistence that Kashmir was Pakistan’s “jugular vein.” The oppressed Muslims of the Valley also clung to the fragile hope that Article 370 would serve as a “red line” for Pakistan’s military leadership. It was this perceived threat that, for a time, kept the “Hindutva wolf” at bay. Yet, by 2019, India’s Hindutva rulers had already been informed—through treacherous backchannels—that the “jugular vein” rhetoric was hollow. The subservient military leadership in Pakistan had effectively sold-out Kashmir’s blood, before the ink on the revocation decree had even dried.

This betrayal is not a recent setback but the continuation of a sordid pact coursing through the veins of every Pakistani ruler since the nation-state’s inception. They have consistently used the Kashmir issue as a bargaining chip to secure their own thrones, while appeasing their disbelieving colonial masters.

This unbroken chain of betrayal began with Field Marshal Ayub Khan in Tashkent in 1966, when he surrendered the military gains of the 1965 war and accepted a hollow “no-war pact” in exchange for American approval. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto deepened the sell-out in Shimla in 1972, transforming the ceasefire line into the Line of Control. Nawaz Sharif masked betrayal with the Lahore Declaration, only to disown the Mujahideen during the Kargil crisis under Clinton’s dictation. Musharraf—an overt Western agent—perfected this trade, putting forward the infamous “four-point formula,” a blueprint for capitulation. General Kayani, the architect of “silent surrender,” unleashed futile artillery barrages while back-channels reassured Delhi and Washington that the saber-rattling was merely a pressure-release valve for domestic consumption.

Then came the architect of the 2019 betrayal, General Bajwa, who mastered the art of surrender by cloaking it in the language of “geoeconomics.” Under his watch, the aggression of August 5th was met with nothing more than a sigh; he and his civilian partner, Imran Khan, carefully orchestrated the containment of Muslim outrage across Pakistan, permitting performative “dharna” protests that yielded no results, while arresting sincere voices calling for concrete action and the severance of diplomatic ties with India. Imran Khan banged the table before the cameras and sent his minister to plead before the UN Security Council, only to quietly swallow the humiliation, reopen trade, and pursue peace talks sponsored by the disbelievers—adopting that infamous, shameful policy of U-turns.

Today, General Asim Munir upholds the same script: crushing genuine Muslim anger and turning a deaf ear to the silent screams of the oppressed. From Ayub to Bhutto, from Nawaz to

Musharraf, from Kayani to Imran and now Munir—methods may shift, but the plot remains constant: Kashmir is merely a bargaining chip traded by these treacherous agents to preserve their crooked thrones, rested upon systems of disbelief, and serve the will of their master, America. This powerlessness and humiliation are the direct and inevitable fruit of the absence of the Khilafah (Caliphate). The nationalistic borders imprisoning the Muslims of Kashmir—drawn by a departing British colonial power in 1947—are a deep wound in the body of the Ummah. The only solution free from the stench of compromise—and the only path that will strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of Allah ﷻ, from Washington to Tel Aviv and New Delhi—is to dismantle these colonialist structures and unify all Muslim lands, from Kashmir to Andalusia and from the Caucasus to the Sahara, under the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly-Guided Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood.

O sincere officers of the armed forces of Pakistan: recognize the betrayal of your rulers—an elite faction that has consistently rejected the ruling governance of Allah ﷻ in favor of implementing the disbelieving nation-state system. Do not be fuel for these agent rulers; you are the descendants of Khalid ibn al-Walid (ra) and Muhammad ibn Qasim (rh)—warriors called to uphold the word of truth, not to defend a throne built upon the blood of the Ummah. This fleeting world, for which they have sold their Hereafter, is merely a waystation before the Great Reckoning, where all deeds will be laid bare: did we adhere to the Shariah Law of Allah ﷻ, or did we implement the laws of the disbelievers?

Let your Iman answer, for it cries out to you to be like Sa'd ibn Mu'adh (ra)—a man whose decisive stance shook the thrones of

falsehood. Rise up and grant Nussrah (نصرة military support) to the sincere leadership of Hizb ut Tahrir, which is working to establish the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly-Guided Caliphate). The Ummah—children and women, young and old, from the oppressed valleys of Kashmir to the captive Al-Masjid Al-Aqsa—awaits you to rise, overthrow these tyrannical rulers, and establish the Caliphate. O sincere officers of the armed forces of Pakistan: On the seventh anniversary of the abrogation of Article 370, let the crying of the mothers of martyrs and the screams of orphaned children—from the Kashmir Valley to Gaza—serve as a resounding call for you to rise up and take action. Corrupt, agent rulers will never liberate a single inch of occupied Muslim lands; true refuge, power, and dignity lie solely in the Khilafah—the state that will govern the world according to the law of Allah. Allah ﷻ says, **﴿هَذَا بَلَاغٌ لِلنَّاسِ وَلِيُنذَرُوا بِهِ وَلِيَعْلَمُوا أَنَّمَا هُوَ إِلَهُ وَاحِدٌ وَلِيَذَّكَّرَ أُولُو الْأَلْبَابِ﴾** **“This is a notification for mankind that they may be warned thereby and that they may know that Allah ﷻ is but one God and that those of understanding will be reminded.”** [TMQ Surah Ibrahim: 52].

# O Muslims of Pakistan: Abandon Your Rulers, Just as They Have Abandoned You and the Muslims

We must abandon the rulers of Pakistan as they have abandoned Muslims and their causes. There is no hope in the path of advising them, reforming them or even appealing to them. They have no independent will of decision because they are subordinate agents to a disbelieving master. They have no capacity for independence in thinking and their role is only to execute orders, whilst spinning narratives to deceive us. They have allied with the Jews and Christians, even though Allah ﷻ warned us that those who do so become of them. Allah ﷻ said, ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَىٰ أَوْلِيَاءَ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّهُمْ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنَّهُ مِنْهُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الظَّالِمِينَ﴾ **“O you who have believed, do not take the Jews and the Christians as allies. They are allies of one another. And whoever among you takes them as allies—indeed, he is one of them. Indeed, Allah does not guide the wrongdoing people.”** [TMQ Surah Al-Ma'idah 51].

## O Muslims of Pakistan!

There is only one path which ends betrayal and humiliation before the disbelievers. It is the path of establishing the Shariah of Allah ﷻ, the Lord of all humanity, in Pakistan, the Pure, the Good. It is the path of ensuring the unification of all the Muslim states as a single Islamic state, the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood, with Pakistan being its nucleus, for it is materially capable of being so, whilst its good people are deserving of that honor. So strive with the shebaab of Hizb ut Tahrir for the dominance of the Deen of Allah

ﷺ over the Jews, Hindus and American crusaders, and instruct your sons, brothers and fathers in the armed forces to grant their military support (نصرة nussrah) to the Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir, the eminent alim and statesman, Sheikh Ata Ibn Khalil Abu Ar-Rashta. Strive for the empowerment of the Deen, sacrificing for the sake of Allah ﷻ, seeking forgiveness and reward from Him ﷻ, even though the disbelievers and hypocrites dislike it. Allah ﷻ said, ﴿وَسَارِعُوا إِلَىٰ مَغْفِرَةٍ مِّن رَّبِّكُمْ وَجَنَّةٍ عَرْضُهَا السَّمَاوَاتُ وَالْأَرْضُ أُعِدَّتْ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ﴾ **“And rush forth in the way which leads to forgiveness from your Lord, and for Paradise as wide as are the heavens and the earth, prepared for Al-Muttaqeen (the pious).”** [TMQ Aali ‘Imrān: 133]

# The Ship of the Depraved People of the Prophet Lut (as) Docks in Morocco!

On the morning of Sunday, August 9, 2026, the cruise ship Celebrity Equinox docked at the port of Tangier. Arriving as part of a Mediterranean cruise organized by the company VACAYA—specifically tailored for homosexuals and transgender individuals—this marked the participants' first stop in Morocco on their itinerary.

The ship arrived at the port around 7:00 AM, after which a number of homosexual passengers headed toward Tangier's city center. Their tours covered several well-known, pre-planned locations and neighborhoods—including the Old City, the Kasbah, and the Grand Square—as well as visits to various shops, restaurants, and cafes, before the ship departed the port around 4:00 PM.

**Al-Rayah Newspaper:** This renegade regime has spared you, the people of Morocco, no form of immorality without inflicting it upon you. It brought you the obscenity of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) convention, imposing it as a social system and law; in doing so, it ruined your families, displaced your children, and turned your society into a living hell.

It did not stop there; it went on to afflict you with the vilest and most heinous of immoralities—the gravest of major sins—by thrusting into your midst the dregs of the depraved people of the Prophet Lut (as). It forced them into your homes, seeking to normalize you to the ultimate filth—a corruption that defiles the entire earth and spells ruin for humanity. Is it not time for you to

shake off the dust of humiliation, cast aside the garment of disgrace, and shatter the shackles of oppression? This can only happen if you make the implementation of your Lord's Shariah your defining cause; wrest back your usurped authority from those Ruwaibadah insignificant, incompetent rulers who have gone astray and led others astray, inflicted upon you grievous suffering, driven you to ruin, and incurred the wrath of the Supreme Judge; and pledge a Bayah of allegiance to your rightly-guided Imam based on the Book of Allah ﷻ and the Sunnah of His Prophet ﷺ—thereby attaining security and honor, fulfilling the true worship of your Lord, and meriting His mercy.

## **Islam Honored Women; Secularism Degraded Them**

A press release issued by the Media Office of Hizb ut Tahrir in the Wilayah of Tunisia stated that: Under this title, members of Hizb ut Tahrir, along with a group of residents of Kelibia, organized a protest on Thursday, 13/8/2026, in front of the city's governorate building to condemn the local authorities' permission to hold a scandalous beauty pageant on the beach to choose the city's beauty queen.

The statement added: During the protest, Ustadh Nizar Al-Qabji delivered a speech denouncing this reprehensible act, which violated modesty, degrades the honour of Muslim women, and turns their bodies into cheap commodities in a slave market.

Ustadh Nizar expressed the people of Kelibia's rejection of this heinous crime, which targets Muslim values and honour. He emphasized that the people of Kelibia are Muslims, proud of their Deen, committed to their Islamic identity, and reject the decadent Western civilization.

Ustadh Nizar held the local authorities responsible for allowing these dubious displays, which exploited the innocence of Muslim girls and enticed them to appear in a manner that contradicts Islam's view of women and dishonours the city's residents.

The press release noted that: This demonstration was preceded by an extensive outreach campaign by Hizb ut Tahrir members in the city, urging residents to condemn this abhorrent practice. Their efforts were met with widespread support from the city's residents, who denounced these suspicious activities as incompatible with their way of life. They expressed their

adherence to the values of Islam, which honours women, recognizing them as mothers and an honour to be protected. They also affirmed their rejection of secularism, that has degraded women and reduced them to cheap commodities, asserting that their only salvation lies in Islam and its rule.

# How Do We Uproot Secularism from Our Country?

**By Ustadh Abdullah Hussein (Abu Muhammad al-Fatih) \***

British colonialist intervention in Sudan began following the occupation of Egypt in 1882; in 1896, Kitchener's military campaign to topple the Mahdist State commenced.

The Battle of Omdurman took place on September 2, 1898, and the capital of the Mahdist State fell into British colonial hands. Sudan was governed under systems rooted in the doctrine of separating religion from life—a principle entrenched in public life and state institutions. Political parties and the army were established on this same foundation. Eventually, the era of so-called “self-determination” arrived, leading to the British colonialist withdrawal in 1956. Direct colonialism was replaced by indirect colonialism, installing a political class and rulers from among the Sudanese people themselves to follow the same path—implementing a republican, democratic system based on the separation of religion and state—thereby turning Sudan into a “vassal state” that served British interests instead of those of the local population.

Then came the Anglo-American rivalry; Sudan fell under American influence following Jaafar Nimeiry's coup on May 25, 1969, a state of affairs that persisted through the rule of al-Bashir, who was eventually ousted by a popular revolution in December 2019.

To this day, Sudan continues to operate under a secular system, despite the succession of civilian and military elites in power—some championing democracy, others raising Islamic slogans. The question remains: what is new about the push for secularism with such momentum and persistence by political forces and the colonialist powers standing behind them, the US and Britain? Is the aim to eradicate the final stronghold of Islam—the social system embodied in the relationship between men and women—or to combat Islam’s system of ruling governance, the Khilafah (Caliphate), and criminalize the call for its establishment and those striving towards it, especially following the growing support for the Khilafah (Caliphate) among the Ummah and the local population?

Sudan’s roots are deeply embedded in the history of the great Islamic era, dating back to the Islamic conquest during the reign of the Khaleefah Rashid (Rightly Guided Caliph) Uthman ibn Affan (ra) in 31 AH; he ordered his governor in Egypt to dispatch the soldiers of Islam under the command of Abdullah ibn Abi Sarh.

Consider Sudan during the reign of the Abbasid Khaleefah (Caliph) Al-Ma’mun: when some Muslims purchased land in Nubia, the Christian leader objected to the validity of the sale, arguing that the Christian seller was his subject and could not sell his land without his permission—permission he refused to grant. The case was referred to Khaleefah (Caliph) Al-Ma’mun, who passed it to the judiciary; the judicial ruling affirmed that the landowner had the right to dispose of his property without the

Christian leader's consent, as he was not a slave subject to such restrictions. That just ruling judgement became a cause for many Christians to embrace Islam—a Deen whose governance wrongs no one.

Consider Sudan under the Ottomans, when it became a single wilayah (ولاية Shariah province) with Egypt in 1821. All of this confirms that Sudan was part of the body of the Khilafah (Caliphate) state throughout various eras—until the arrival of Crusader-style colonialism with its project to dismantle the Khilafah (Caliphate), fragment its provinces, and establish secular nation-states. Through this, colonialism achieved its ambitions of shattering the unity of the Islamic state and sidelining Islamic ruling governance; consequently, the Ummah reaped bitter fruits: weakness, poverty, strife, and internecine wars over the nationalistic “borders of blood.”

Uprooting and eliminating secularism in Sudan—and across all Muslim lands—requires striving and working for change following the method of the Prophet ﷺ to resume the Islamic way of life by establishing the Islamic State, emulating the Prophet's example:

- 1- Forming a structuring of Companions (ra).
- 2- Creating public opinion for Islam and its system.
- 3- Seeking Nussrah (نصرة military support) from the people of power and protection among the tribes.

This led to the Second Pledge of Aqabah, the Hijrah (هجرة Shariah migration), and the establishment of the State.

Since its inception in 1953, Hizb ut-Tahrir has been working by following the example of the Messenger (peace be upon him). Allah ﷻ says, ﴿لَقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ لِّمَن كَانَ يَرْجُو اللَّهَ﴾ **“There has certainly been for you in the Messenger of Allah an excellent pattern for anyone whose hope is in Allah and the Last Day and who remembers Allah often.”** [TMQ Surah Al-Ahzab: 21].

Hizb ut Tahrir engages in preparing men and generating Islamic personalities through concentrated culturing, creating public opinion and awareness through collective culturing, and seeking nussrah (نصرة military support) from the armies in Muslim lands. The solution lies in resuming the Islamic way of life and establishing the Khilafah (Caliphate), which is a Shariah obligation.

Abu Hazim narrated: "I sat with Abu Hurairah for five years and heard him narrate from the Prophet ﷺ, who said, «كَانَتْ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ تَسُوسُهُمُ الْأَنْبِيَاءُ، كُلَّمَا هَلَكَ نَبِيٌّ خَلَفَهُ نَبِيٌّ، وَإِنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي، وَسَتَكُونُ خُلَفَاءُ فَتَكْتَرُ» **“The Prophets used to govern Bani Israeel; whenever a Prophet died, another succeeded him. There will be no Prophet after me, but there will be Khulafa’a, and they will be numerous.”** They asked, «فَمَا تَأْمُرُنَا؟» **“What do you command us to do?”** He ﷺ replied, «فُوا بِبَيْعَةِ الْأَوَّلِ فَالْأَوَّلِ، وَأَعْطُوهُمْ حَقَّهُمْ؛ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَائِلُهُمْ عَمَّا اسْتَرْعَاهُمْ» **“Fulfill the pledge of allegiance to the first, then the next, and give them their due right; for Allah will**

question them about what He entrusted to their care.” Abu Sa’id al-Khudri narrated that the Messenger ﷺ said, « إِذَا بُوِيعَ لِخَلِيفَتَيْنِ؛ » “If allegiance is pledged to two Caliphs, kill the latter of the two.” It is also narrated from ‘Abdullah bin ‘Amr bin al-‘As that he heard the Messenger ﷺ say, « مَنْ بَايَعَ إِمَامًا فَأَعْطَاهُ » “Whoever pledges allegiance to an Imam, giving him the clasp of his hand and the fruit of his heart, let him obey him.” Furthermore, Abu Hurairah (ra) narrated from the Prophet ﷺ who said, « إِنَّمَا الْإِمَامُ جُنَّةٌ يُقَاتَلُ مِنْ وَرَائِهِ وَيُتَّقَى بِهِ » “Only the Imam a shield; fighting is done from behind him, and protection is sought through him.” This is in response to the words of Allah ﷻ Who said, ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اسْتَجِيبُوا لِلَّهِ وَلِلرَّسُولِ إِذَا دَعَاكُمْ لِمَا يُحْيِيكُمْ ۚ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ يَحُولُ بَيْنَ الْمَرْءِ وَقَلْبِهِ وَأَنَّهُ إِلَيْهِ تُحْشَرُونَ﴾ “O you who have believed, respond to Allah and to the Messenger when he calls you to that which gives you life. And know that Allah intervenes between a man and his heart and that to Him you will be gathered.” [TMQ Surah Al-Anfal: 24].

These Shariah texts served as a guide for the Companions (ra), the Tabi’un (the generation following that of the Companions), and the Tabi’oo Tabi’een (the generation that followed the Tabi’un)—including the Umayyads, Abbasids, and Ottomans—for thirteen centuries. The Khilafah (Caliphate) acted as the protector of Muslims, defending their lands and sanctities, safeguarding their lives, preserving their honor and dignity, establishing justice, and eradicating poverty. Indeed, regarding the Ottoman

Caliphate, European travelers attested to the fact that the realm was free of beggars.

Today, in order to emerge from a life of humiliation, disgrace, misery, disunity, and fragmentation, we must work to restore the Caliphate and join forces with those striving to establish it. Here stands Hizb ut Tahrir—the pioneering guide that never lies to its people—striving day and night to establish the Khilafah, thereby fulfilling the promise of Allah ﷻ and the glad tidings of the Beloved Chosen One, Muhammad ﷺ. Allah ﷻ says, ﴿وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَى لَهُمْ وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا﴾ “Allah has promised those among you who believe and do righteous deeds that He will surely grant them succession upon the earth, just as He granted it to those before them; that He will surely establish for them their Deen which He has approved for them; and that He will surely replace their fear with security,” [TMQ Surah An-Nur: 55], and the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, «ثُمَّ تَكُونُ خِلَافَتُهُ عَلَى مِنْهَاجِ النَّبُوَّةِ» “Then there will be a Khilafah (Caliphate) on the method of the Prophethood.” [Ahmed]

**O people of Sudan:** To realize this glad tidings, we must hasten our steps to strive towards uprooting secularism from Sudan, so that it may become a support point for the state of the Khilafah (Caliphate). Thus, we shall carry Islam to countries and peoples, illuminating the earth with the light of Islam after it had been shrouded in the darkness of secularism. Allah ﷻ said, ﴿وَيَوْمَئِذٍ يُفْرَخُ﴾

﴿وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ﴾ \* بِنَصْرِ اللَّهِ يَنْصُرُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الرَّحِيمُ ﴿And on that day the believers will rejoice \* In the victory of Allah. He gives victory to whom He wills, and He is the Exalted in Might, the Merciful.﴾ [TMQ Surah Ar-Rum: 4-5].

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# Uzbekistan's World Trade Organization (WTO) Membership: Interests, Risks, and Expected Outcomes

**By: Islam Abu Khalil – Uzbekistan**

According to official data, Uzbekistan's plan to join the World Trade Organization (WTO) by 2026 aims to boost exports, attract investment, and enhance economic competitiveness. However, such statements merely present an idealized picture to the public; significant economic integration brings not only opportunities but also serious risks. Undoubtedly, Uzbekistan's agricultural sector will be the first to feel the impact of these shifts.

For years, Russia has been a primary market for Uzbek agricultural exports. Yet, in recent times, it has leveraged migration and foreign trade as tools for political pressure, resulting in border delays for Uzbek products, a decline in quality, and significant financial losses—or even bankruptcy—for some businesspeople. Consequently, Tashkent's pursuit of alternative export markets stems from both economic necessity and geopolitical pressures.

Uzbekistan views increasing its GDP as a top priority to cover the budget deficit, boost exports, and attract investment. With external debt exceeding \$48 billion, the country regards improved economic indicators as the key to maintaining access to further external financing; without such improvements, covering the budget deficit would become increasingly difficult.

The farmers' protests witnessed across Europe in recent years could serve as a valuable lesson for both the state and society in

Uzbekistan. In France, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, and other nations, farmers have staged widespread protests against soaring fuel and fertilizer prices, tax burdens, bureaucratic red tape, and mounting competition from imports. They have argued that certain European Union environmental policies have driven up production costs and disadvantaged local farmers in the marketplace. In response to these protests, some governments have been compelled to offer tax relief, postpone specific environmental mandates, and adjust import policies.

Another issue under discussion is urbanization. While urbanization is often portrayed as a natural component of economic development, it can negatively impact national food security if it leads to a depletion of human resources in rural areas, reduced efficiency in land use, and a decline in food production. Aligning with European standards is frequently cited as a primary justification for accelerating this process.

Meanwhile, mandatory animal registration and identification procedures, along with stricter veterinary oversight, have been implemented since August. Official statements claim the system aims to improve regulation and monitoring; however, it could also be leveraged to track private assets and wealth, boost tax revenues, and enforce absolute control—all while Western capitalist interests seek to amass further wealth.

If the state persists on this path, there is a risk that major foreign corporations operating in Uzbekistan's agricultural sector will outcompete local farmers, effectively reducing them to a state of dependency on these corporate giants. Signs of this trend have already emerged with the entry of Chinese companies into the Uzbek market. Such a trajectory could drive farmers and

agricultural workers to abandon the sector—a scenario that aligns with the West's primary objective.

Who, then, is behind these decisions and requirements?

Western capitalist circles leverage specific initiatives and international experts to advance their political and economic interests. Examples include the activities of Jeffrey Sachs and the projects of the Sustainable Development Solutions Network in Uzbekistan and Central Asia—activities viewed as part of this broader trend. Uzbekistan is also actively participating in the implementation of these reforms.

According to statements by Bill Gates, his investment team has been purchasing vast tracts of agricultural land in the United States. This is not merely an isolated initiative. Major investment funds and pension funds have been actively acquiring farmland over the past fifteen to twenty years, treating it as a strategic asset. Key players in this arena include CalPERS, Bill Gates's investment firm, TIAA, the Harvard University endowment, and Farmland LP. These funds and companies have invested in agricultural assets across the United States, Brazil, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, and Central Asia is now also being viewed as a strategic region for future investment.

Uzbekistan's accession to the World Trade Organization must not come at the expense of local businesspeople, farmers, or the country's natural resources. Instead, the state must foster an economic environment that enables local producers to compete and establish effective legal safeguards to prevent strategic assets from passing into foreign hands without oversight. Safeguarding the Ummah's interests is not demonstrated through slogans, but rather through such practical decisions.

The most crucial task for Uzbekistan is to deeply consider the long-term political and economic consequences before integrating into the international economic order; for merely exchanging one form of economic dependence on foreign powers for another does not guarantee the people's well-being. Relying first on the Soviet Union, then being influenced by Russia, and today becoming beholden to the West, will never lead the country onto the path of independent development.

For Muslim peoples, the ultimate standard is not found in man-made economic systems, but in the Shariah rulings of Allah ﷻ. Islamic economics does not aim to concentrate wealth in the hands of a select few; instead, it seeks to distribute wealth equitably and serve the interests of society. As Allah ﷻ stated, ﴿كَيْ لَا يَكُونَ دُولَةً بَيْنَ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ مِنْكُمْ﴾ **“So that it may not circulate solely among the wealthy from among you.”** [TMQ Surah Al-Hashr: 7].

# **Pivotal Historical Moments Do Not Wait for Bystanders!**

The Ummah's vital issue demands neither patchwork solutions nor halfway compromises. Instead, it requires a comprehensive vision for a revival that restores the Islamic way of life to actual practice, grounded in ideology and a solid intellectual foundation impervious to the fluctuations of transient realities. It demands comprehensive political awareness—exposing the schemes of major powers and exposing the instruments used to dominate the destinies of peoples. It requires formulating an alternative and presenting a comprehensive Islamic approach to every sphere of life—economic, political, social, and international relations—as a prepared civilizational alternative dedicated to managing human affairs with justice.

To everyone possessed of a sound mind and heart: pivotal historical moments do not wait for bystanders. Today, the call goes out to every individual of this Ummah, to every thinker, and to everyone concerned for its future: possessing a clear vision and steadfast adherence to the Islamic ideology is the first step toward resurgence. We do not call merely for intellectual theorizing, but for profound political awareness, unyielding resolve, and sincere action that restores the Ummah's independence and human dignity—ensuring that Islam remains, as it has always been, a light leading humanity out of the darkness of ignorance and utilitarianism into the justice and mercy of the Truth.

## The Islamic Ummah Does Not Lack Men; It Lacks Ruling Governance by Islam

Allah ﷻ says, ﴿وَلِلَّهِ الْعِزَّةُ وَلِرَسُولِهِ وَلِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ﴾ **“But honor belongs to Allah, and to His Messenger, and to the believers.”** [TMQ Surah Munafiqoon: 8]. The Islamic Ummah does not lack men; instead, it lacks ruling governance by Islam under the Khilafah (Caliphate) state—a state that implements Islam domestically and conveys it to the world through Dawah to Islam and Jihad.

O armies in the lands of the Muslims: History does not remember with respect those who appease Trump—or other presidents who control the capitalist system and collaborate with it, or those who serve other man-made systems. Instead, history respectfully remembers those who support the Deen of Allah ﷻ and establish it among the people.

The approval of America—or any other power—is fleeting, whereas the pleasure of Allah ﷻ is the supreme triumph. Return to seeking judgment in the Book of Allah ﷻ and the Sunnah of His Messenger ﷺ, and cease submitting to the dictates of America and other colonialist states. True honor lies in Islam, dignity in obedience to Allah, and genuine security in the implementation of His Shariah—not in seeking protection from Trump or other tyrannical, unjust, and arrogant international powers.

O people of Islam: True change, in accordance with the sunan (ways) of Allah ﷻ, is not achieved by merely swapping faces or replacing groups founded upon democracy. Instead, it is achieved by establishing the ruling governance of Islam, so that Muslims may regain the political entity that unifies them, safeguards their sanctities, and conveys the message of Islam to the world.

# Who Will Rise Upon the Example of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ and Defend His Ummah?

Our people in Gaza are being exterminated, and in the West Bank, they are being displaced; our Uyghur brothers are being stripped of their Islamic belief day by day; the people of Sudan are being tormented and their country torn apart; Syria has been subjected to those who trade compromise for its revolution and the sacrifices of its honorable people; and no corner of the earth where Muslims reside is free from suffering and wounds.

Such is the state of Muslims since their Khilafah (Caliphate) was demolished and the authority of Islam vanished from their lives; enemies have conspired against them, and fools have been imposed as their rulers—men who seized control of the Muslims' necks in exchange for rickety seats of power, and who molded their 'ulema from the same clay as the rulers: into “mute devils.”

The Islamic Ummah is in the midst of a huge tribulation—yet, by the Permission of Allah ﷻ, the magnitude of the relief to come matches the magnitude of the trial. We see no end to this anguish except through the State of the Khilafah (Caliphate) and a pious Khaleefah (Caliph) who will make the arrogant disbelievers—and the tools of destruction they wield—forget even the whispers of Satan.

O armies of the Muslims: who will be the impregnable fortress and the mighty pillar for this wounded Ummah? O descendants of Salahudin, who will rise upon on the example of Muhammad ﷺ and defend his Ummah? O descendants of the conquerors,

who will break the shackles and liberate the lands and the people from the grip of tyrants?

Hizb ut Tahrir calls upon you and rouses your resolve to support the cause—to shake off the dust of these barren decades from yourselves and your Ummah, to transform humiliation into honor, and to write with your own hands the dawn of victory and empowerment. Answer the call and join the ranks of the sincere Muslims striving to uphold the Word of Truth and the Deen. Thus, you shall attain the honor of liberating your Ummah by establishing the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly-Guided Caliphate) upon the method of the Prophethood; for by Allah ﷻ, this is the paramount Shariah obligation of the time and the duty of the hour.