

## Return of the Khilafah is the Greatest Obligation of this Deen

Al-Waie Magazine Issue 43, 9 November 1990

The research below is taken from the pamphlet written by Sheikh 'Ali Belhadj. He is one of the leaders of the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria. Some regard him as the second man after the party's leader 'Abbasi Madani. The pamphlet is entitled as "A Warning the Heedless and Information for the Unaware that the Return of Khilafah is the Greatest Obligation of this Deen." Al-Waie Magazine sees this research of great value to make Muslims aware. It thus decided to publish this as a contribution to spreading the Message of Islam.

As a significant side, we wish to draw attention of those who say: "There is no sin for the Muslims who cannot appoint the Khalifah (caliph) as Allah (swt) says, ﴿لَا يُكْفِئُ اللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا﴾ **"Allah does not charge a soul except [with that within] its capacity."** [TMQ Surah al-Baqarah 2:286]." We wish to draw attention to them by saying that Muslims of today can appoint a Khalifah if they are serious about it. If they are heedless of this obligation, citing the fatwas of those who say it is not an obligation, and if most of them remain negligent to the matter of this obligation, then appointing the Khalifah will be delayed. No one will be absolved from the sin of Muslims without a Khalifah except those who diligently work to appoint him.

If Muslims cannot appoint a Khalifah immediately, it is upon them to work continuously to prepare the causes, removing the obstacles and putting matters in order, even if it takes many years. The Prophet (saw) continuously worked with his Companions (ra) for thirteen years with diligence until he (saw) was able to take authority and establish the state in Al-Madinah Al-Munawwarah.

As for the saying that Muslims are not capable today, and thus Allah will not charge them with the work of establishing the Khilafah, this statement is absolutely wrong. A Muslim will not be absolved from the sin if he follows such a statement as the statement contradicts with the clear verses, sound Ahadith, the Unanimous Consensus of the Companions (ra) of the Prophet (saw) and the statements of noble leaders and 'Ulema over the generations.

The following is the research of the eminent 'Aalim, Ali Belhadj:

Nothing is more comforting for the soul, more appealing to the eyes and more gratifying for the hearts than seeing the youth who work with unparalleled enthusiasm to revive the effaced Sunnah and to suppress the reprehensible evil that is widespread here and there. How blessed are they and their place of return! Would they stand shoulder to shoulder with grandfathers to revive the great obligations of the Deen, the obligation without which there is no establishment of the Deen; they would have combined two virtues. One of them is greater in reward and nobler in its value, whilst the second cannot be achieved without the first. The Messenger of Allah (saw) was keen on reviving the obligations, whose features were destroyed by Jews, and when he (saw) was successful in reviving those, he would praise Allah (swt) much.

It is reported in Sahih Muslim from Ba'ra bin A'dib who said: There happened to pass by Allah's Messenger (saw) a blackened and lashed (as punishment) Jew. Allah's Messenger (saw) called them (the Jews) and said, «هَكَذَا تَجْدُونَ فِي كِتَابِكُمْ حَدَّ الزَّانِي» **"Did you find this in your Book (the Torah) as the punishment for the adulterer?"** They said: Yes. He (saw) called one of the scholars from amongst them and said: «أَتَشُدُّكَ بِاللَّهِ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ التَّوْرَةَ عَلَى مُوسَى أَهَكَذَا تَجْدُونَ حَدَّ الزَّانِي» **"I ask you in the name of Allah (swt) Who sent down the Torah on Moses, if that is the prescribed punishment for adultery that you find in your Book."** He said: "No. Had you not asked me in the name of Allah, I would not have given you this information. We find stoning to death (as punishment prescribed in the Torah). But this (crime) became quite common amongst our aristocratic class. So when we caught hold of any rich person (indulging in this offence) we spared him, but when we caught hold of a helpless person we

imposed the prescribed punishment upon him. We then said: Let us agree (on a punishment) which we can inflict both upon the rich and the poor. So we decided to blacken the face with coal and flog as a substitute punishment for stoning". Thereupon Allah's Messenger (saw) said: «اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أَوَّلُ مَنْ أَحْيَا أَمْرَكَ إِذْ أَمَاتُوهُ» **"O Allah, I am the first to revive your command, when they had made it dead."** Then the Prophet (saw) commanded the person to be stoned. (Ibn Maajah) **End quote.**

What a victory for those who work to revive the greatest obligations and all of the honorable Sunnah! There is no doubt amongst the people of knowledge that the greatest obligation is the obligation (fard) of the Khilafah, which we must work tirelessly to revive and remind of its importance, as without it, neither is the Deen established nor the worldly affairs.

How can the Khilafah (Caliphate) upon the Method of Prophethood not be, when the 'Ulema and the knowledgeable of Islam agree that Khilafah is the fundamental obligation amongst the obligations of this noble Deen. Moreover, it is the greatest obligation upon which all the other obligations depend. Abstention from establishing this obligation is amongst the major sins. All the losses, diversions, differences and conflicts that emerge amongst Muslims, both as individuals and as an Islamic people amongst nations, are nothing but through the negligence of Muslims in establishing this greatest obligation. It is mandatory to leave this reality and the grave consequences resulting from the fall of Khilafah.

Sheikh Abdur Rahman Abdul Khaliq says in his book *المسلمون والعمل السياسي* "Muslims and the Political Action," page 13:

ولكن بعد سقوط آخر سلاطين آل عثمان (1345هـ: 1927م) سقطت الخلافة الإسلامية التي استمرت ثلاثة عشر قرناً من الزمان وقابل المسلمون بذلك في بلادهم الإسلامية أوضاعاً شاذة لم يكلها شبيهه طيلة القرون السابقة، وأهم أوجه الاختلاف ما بين الأوضاع المعاصرة والماضي ما يلي:

- 1- قسمت أمة الإسلام إلى أقاليم جغرافية متعددة كانت معظم هذه الأقاليم واقعة تحت سلطان العدو الكافر: «إنجلترا، فرنسا، إيطاليا، هولندا، وروسيا».
- 2- أقام الكفار في كل إقليم حكومة تابعة لهم من أهالي البلاد ممن يطيع أمرهم ويستطيع أن يضبط الأوضاع في بلده.
- 3- بدأ الكفار يستبدلون بالقوانين والنظم الإسلامية المطبقة في حياة الناس قوانين ونظماً كافرة من عندهم.
- 4- عمد الكفار إلى تغيير مناهج التعليم لإخراج أجيال جيدة تؤمن بالمفهوم الغربي للحياة، وتعادي العقيدة والشريعة الإسلامية.
- 5- ألغيت الخلافة الإسلامية نهائياً، وأصبح العمل لاستردادها والدعوة إليها جريمة يعاقب عليها القانون.
- 6- تحولت مقدرات المسلمين وأموالهم وثرواتهم نهياً للمستعمر الكافر الذي استغلها أسوأ استغلال وأذل المسلمين أعظم الذل. وليكن في علم سائر المسلمين حيثما وجدوا أن أعداء الإسلام بذلوا جهوداً جبارة للإطاحة بالخلافة الإسلامية وجعلوا ذلك من خططهم الجهنمية.

"But after the fall of the last Sultan of the Ottoman dynasty (1345 Hijri/ 1927 CE), the Islamic Khilafah, which lasted for thirteen centuries, Muslims in their Islamic lands faced unprecedented circumstances, unlike those in previous centuries. The most important differences between the current and past situations are as follows:

1- The Islamic Ummah was divided into several geographic regions, with most of the regions under the authority of disbelieving enemies such as England, France, Italy, Holland and Russia.

2- The Kuffar established governments in each region, subordinate to them, from the people of the regions who obey their command, who are able to control the situations in the land.

3- The Kuffar began replacing the Islamic laws and systems that were implemented upon the people's life with the Kufur laws and systems of their own.

4- The Kuffar deliberately changed educational curricula to raise new generations who believe in the Western concept of life and are hostile to the Islamic belief and Shariah.

5- The Islamic Khilafah was abolished once and for all, whilst the work to restore it and the call for it became a crime, punishable by law.

6- The capabilities of Muslims, their wealth and their resources were plundered by the colonialist kafir, who exploited them greatly and humiliated the Muslims with the greatest of humiliations.

Let all the Muslims know, wherever they are found, that the enemies of Islam have exerted great efforts to overthrow the Islamic Khilafah and made it amongst their infernal plans.” **End Quote.**

Jalal Al-Alim said in his book “Destroy Islam, Exterminate its People” p-48,

أولاً: القضاء على الحكم الإسلامي بإنهاء الخلافة الإسلامية المتمثلة بالدولة العثمانية التي كانت رغم بُعد حكمها عن روح الإسلام إلا أن الأعداء كانوا يخشون أن تتحول هذه الخلافة من خلاله شكلية إلى خلافة حقيقية تهددهم بالخطر... ولما ابتدأت مفاوضات مؤتمر لوزان لعقد صلح بين المتحاربين اشترطت إنجلترا على تركيا أنها لن تنسحب من أراضيها إلا بعد تنفيذ الشروط التالية:

1- إلغاء الخلافة الإسلامية وطرد الخليفة من تركيا ومصادره أمواله.

2- أن تتعهد تركيا بإخماد كل حركة يقوم بها أنصار الخلافة.

3- أن تقطع تركيا صلتها بالإسلام.

4- أن تختار لها دستوراً مدنياً بدلاً من دستورها المستمد من أحكام الإسلام.

فنفذ كمال أتاتورك الشروط السابقة فانسحبت الدول المحتلة من تركيا.

ولما وقف كروزون وزير خارجية إنجلترا في مجلس العموم البريطاني يستعرض ما جرى مع تركيا احتج بعض النواب الإنجليز بعنف على كروزون واستغربوا كيف اعترفت إنجلترا باستقلال تركيا التي يمكن أن تجمع حولها الدول الإسلامية مرة أخرى وتهجم على الغرب - فأجاب كروزون: لقد قضينا على تركيا التي لن تقوم لها قائمة بعد اليوم... لأننا قضينا على قوتها المتمثلة في أمرين: الإسلام والخلافة، فصفق النواب الإنجليز كلهم وسكتت المعارضة

“Firstly: Elimination of the Islamic rulings by ending the Islamic Khilafah represented by the Ottoman state, which, despite its rulings being far from the spirit of Islam, the enemies were afraid of in case this Khilafah would formally turn into a real Khilafah that is a dangerous threat... When the Lausanne Conference was held to form a peace treaty between the warring nations, England stipulated Turkey that it will not withdraw from its lands, except after the implementation of the following conditions:

1- To abolish the Islamic Khilafah and to expel the Khaleefah, his sources and wealth from Turkey.

2- Turkey must undertake to subjugate every movement formed by the supporters of Khilafah.

3- Turkey must cut its relation with Islam.

4- The civil constitution must be chosen for Turkey, instead of its own rulings from Islam.

So Kamal Ataturk implemented the above conditions and thus the occupying nations withdrew from Turkey. When Curzon, the Foreign Minister of England, stood in the British House of Commons, reviewing what happened with Turkey, some of the British representatives objected violently to Curzon. They postulated about Britain's recognition of the independence of Turkey, which could potentially unify other Islamic peoples, once again, to attack the West. Curzon responded by saying: “We have destroyed Turkey and it shall never rise again, because we have destroyed its spiritual power, the Caliphate and Islam”. Thus all the English representatives applauded, whilst the opposition fell silent.” **End Quote.**

### **Evidence for the Obligation of Khilafah:**

Who amongst us cannot know that establishing the Khilafah (Caliphate) upon the Method of Prophethood is of the greatest obligations of the Deen, whilst it is affirmed by the creed of Ahl us-Sunnah wal Jama'ah and whilst its validity is evidenced by Quran, Sunnah and the Principles of Fiqh?

## 1- From the Noble Quran:

﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُكُمْ أَنْ تُؤَدُّوا الْأَمَانَاتِ إِلَىٰ أَهْلِهَا وَإِذَا حَكَمْتُمْ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَنْ تَحْكُمُوا بِالْعَدْلِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ نِعِمَّا بِهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ سَمِيعًا بَصِيرًا﴾  
Allah (swt) said, **“Indeed, Allah commands you to render trusts to whom they are due and when you judge between people, to judge with justice. Excellent is that which Allah instructs you. Indeed, Allah is ever Hearing and Seeing.”** [TMQ Surah Nis’aa 4: 58].

Manna Khalil al-Qata’ (page 301) wrote about the obligation of implementing the Shariah. فقد توجه الخطاب بالأمر بأداء الأمانات إلى أهلها وهذا عام في جميع الأمانات، فالدين أمانة والشريعة أمانة، والحكم بالشريعة...أمانة “...the address (of Shaari) directs the command of fulfilling the trusts (Amanah) upon its people. This address is general for all the trusts. Thus Deen is a trust, Shariah is a trust and Hukm Shariah is a trust...” **End Quote.**

Ibn Jareer, in his Tafseer of this verse, brings many narrations saying that the verses were revealed about those in authority. Ibn Jareer said, “Musab bin Sa’d reported from Ali (ra) who said, **“حَقٌّ عَلَى الْإِمَامِ أَنْ يَحْكُمَ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ، وَأَنْ يُؤَدِّيَ الْأَمَانَةَ، فَإِذَا فَعَلَ ذَلِكَ فَحَقٌّ عَلَى النَّاسِ أَنْ يَسْمَعُوا لَهُ وَأَنْ يُطِيعُوا وَإِنْ يُجِيبُوا إِذَا دُعُوا**” It is the right upon the Imam to rule by all that Allah (swt) has revealed and to fulfill the Amanah (trust). Only when he does so, is it a right upon the people to hear and obey him and to answer his call.”

Ibn Jareer also said, “The best of these statements are correct such as the statement of the one who said, **هو خطاب من الله لولاة أمور المسلمين بأداء الأمانة التي من أولوا أمره في فيئهم وحقوقهم وما انتتموا عليه**, The verse is the Address from Allah to those in authority over the affairs of Muslims to honor the trust which they are entrusted by the people, the rights of people and what they are entrusted in the affairs with justice amongst them, in terms of equity and justice amongst them.” Ibn Taymiya has precious words about the meaning of this verse that are similar, which can be seen at a glance in his book **السياسة الشرعية** “The Policy of Shariah,” pages 6-7.

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلًا﴾  
**“O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you should believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is the best [way] and best in result.”** [TMQ Surah An-Nisaa 4: 9].

Imam at-Tabari commentated, **وأوفى الأقوال في ذلك بالصواب قول من قال: هم الأمراء والولاة فيما كان لله طاعة وللمسلمين مصلحة** “This is the most accurate statement about that and it is correct, from those who said: “they are ameers and those in authority in what is obedience from Allah (swt) and Muslims have benefit (Maslahah).” Ibn Kathir commentated, **الآية عامة في جميع أولي الأمر من الأمراء والعلماء** “The verse is general for all those in authority from amongst the Ameers and the ‘Ulema.” There is no doubt that the command to obey is the command to establish the one who deserves obedience and he is the Khalifah.

The two verses constitute the pillars of the state:

- 1- The rulers who are those in authority over the affairs.
- 2- The Ummah upon whom it is obligatory to obey those in authority.
- 3- The laws and systems, which is the Shariah.

I suffice with these out of dozens of verses for the establishment of the rulings of Allah, such as the Hudood, the Retribution and Jihad. These obligations cannot be performed without the establishment of the Imam, who is obeyed over the Deen of Allah (swt).

## 2- From the Prophetic Sunnah:

The Ahadith that oblige the establishment of Khilafah are too many to count and too well-known to mention.

Imam Bukhari, may Allah have mercy upon him, compiled a chapter in his Sahih that has all the Sahih Ahadith related to Khilafah and the affairs of ruling. He named the chapter as "The Book of Rulings." كتاب الأحكام

Also Imam Muslim, may Allah have mercy upon him, compiled Sahih Ahadith related to Khilafah and its rulings. He named the compilation as "The Book of Governance." كتاب الإمارة  
In this way, all the other Sunnah books were compiled. So refer to it and reflect upon it, O my Muslim brother! You would realize immediately that we have neglected this obligation, in an extreme manner.

May Allah (swt) forgive us.

### 3- The Unanimous Consensus (Ijmaa’):

Perhaps, this is the strongest evidence for appointing the Imam. Particularly when there is Consensus of the Companions (ra) for they are the best of the pious predecessors who are absolutely righteous. As for the Consensus, even though it is rare and even though the supporter of the Sunnah and suppressor of Bid’ah, the great Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal (rh) said, "Whoever claims Consensus is mistaken," Consensus is confirmed through texts from the Qur’an and Sunnah.

Ziyau Din Ar-Raes says in his book "Islam and Khilafah," (page 38): والإجماع كما قرره أصل عظيم من أصول الشريعة الإسلامية وأقوى إجماع أو أعلاه مرتبة هو إجماع الصحابة رضي الله عنهم لأنهم هم الصف والرعيّل الأول من المسلمين، وهم الذين لازموا الرسول عليه السلام واشتركوا معه في جهاده وأعماله وسمعوا أقواله فهم الذين يعرفون أحكام وأسرار الإسلام وكان عددهم محصوراً وإجماعهم مشهوراً وهم قد أجمعوا عقب أن لحق الرسول عليه السلام بالرفيق الأعلى على أنه لا بد أن يقوم من يخلفه واجتمعوا ليختاروا خليفته ولم يقل أحد منهم أبداً أنه لا حاجة للمسلمين بإمام أو خليفة "Consensus, they have unanimously agreed that it is the great Islamic Shariah Usool from amongst the Usool. The strongest Consensus or the highest in rank of them is the Unanimous Consensus of the Companions, may Allah be pleased with them. This is because they are the highest rank and first generation of Muslims. They are the ones who adhered to the Messenger of Allah (saw) and participated with him in his Jihad and deeds. They heard the sayings of the Messenger of Allah (saw). They are the ones who knew the rulings and secrets of Islam. Their numbers are limited, but their consensus is famous. After the Messenger of Allah (saw) joined the Supreme Companion (swt), they unanimously agreed that there must be someone who succeeds the Messenger (saw). They unanimously agreed to choose his Khaleefah (successor). No one amongst them said that there is no need for Muslims to have an Imam or a Khalifah. This affirms their Unanimous Consensus on the obligation of the existence of Khilafah. This is the basis of Consensus upon which the Khilafah depends." **End Quote.**

Then al-Shahristani was quoted as saying: وما دار في قلبه (أي الصديق) ولا في قلب أحد أنه يجوز خلو الأرض عن إمام فدل ذلك كله على أن الصحابة وهم الصدر الأول - كانوا على بكرة أبيهم متفقين على أنه لا بد من وجوب الإمامة "it did not occur to his mind (i.e. Abu Bakr Siddiq) nor to the mind of anyone to leave the earth without an Imam. All these indicate that the Companions are the first source. And they all agreed that it is obligatory to have an Imam." **End Quote.**

### 4- Sharia principles:

It is not hidden to those who studied the great Deen in the correct manner that the establishment of Muslim state is not an objective in itself alone. It is one of the requirements of this Deen, as there are several obligations that are not achievable by individuals, including the establishment of Hudood, Jihad in the Path of Allah (swt), raising the word of Allah (swt) as the highest, collecting and distributing Zakah, amongst others.

These Shariah obligations depend on the appointment of a Khaleefah. There is no doubt that it is decreed by our glorious Shariah that: "That which is needed for the obligation is itself an obligation."

### Statements of the ‘Ulema on the Obligation to Appoint the Khaleefah

O my Muslim brothers and sisters living in any part of the countries of Allah! Now I present some quotations and testimonies of the classical and modern distinguished 'Ulema on the obligation of appointing a Muslim Imam, who will take care of the affairs of the Muslims.

1- Imam Mawardi said in الأحكام السلطانية "al-Ahkam as-Sultaniyyah," page 5: عقد الإمامة لمن يقوم "The Contract of the Imamah (leadership) for whoever is standing with it, is an obligation by Ijmaa'a (consensus)."

2- He also said in al-Ahkam as-Sultaniyyah: واجب إقامة إمام يكون سلطان الوقت و زعيم الأمة "it is indispensable to appoint an Imam who will be ruler and leader of the (whole) Ummah at the same time so that the Deen can be protected by his authority by applying the laws and rules of the Deen."

3- Abu Ya'la al-Fara said in الأحكام السلطانية "al-Ahkam as-Sultaniyyah" page 19: نصب الإمام (واجبة و قد قال أحمد رضي الله عنه في رواية محمد ابن عوف بن سفيان الحمصي) الفتنة إذا لم يكن إمام يقوم بأمر الناس "The appointment of Imam is an obligation and Ahmad (ra) said in a narration by Muhammad Ibn Auf Ibn Sufiyan Al-Himsi: الفتنة إذا لم يكن إمام يقوم بأمر الناس "The trails and turmoil will occur if there is no Imam who can enjoin and instruct the people."

Al Shawkani said in Nailul Authar, "Nailul Authar," Volume 8 / page 265: عند العترة و أكثر المعتزلة و "In the opinion of Antarah and the majority of Mu'tazilites and Ash'arites it is an obligation from Shari'ah viewpoint."

4- Ibn Taymiyyah said in السياسة الشرعية "al-Siyasah al-Shar'iyyah" on page 161: فالواجب اتخاذ الإمارة ديناً و قرابة يتقرب بها الى الله، فإن التقرب إليه فيها بطاعته و طاعة رسوله، من أفضل القربات، و إنما يفسد فيها حال أكثر الناس، لا ابتغاء الرئاسة أو المال فيها "It is necessary to take the Imaarah (the office of an amir) as a religious duty and pious act in order to get close to Allah through it because coming near to Allah by obeying Allah (swt) and His Messenger (saw) through Imaarah is the best acts of worship. Verily, most of the people get corrupted due to seeking the leadership or the wealth through it."

He also said in مجموع الفتاوى "Majmu' al-Fataawa" Volume 28/page 62: و كل ابن آدم مصلحتهم لا تتم في الدنيا و لا في الآخرة إلا بالاجتماع و التعاون و التناصر، فالتناصر على جلب منافعهم، و التناصر لدفع مضارهم. و لهذا يقال: الإنسان مدني بالطبع، فإذا اجتمعوا فلا بد لهم من أمور يفعلونها يجتلبون بها المصلحة، و أمور يجتنونها لما فيها من المفسدة، و يكونون مطيعين للأمر بتلك المقاصد و الناهي عن تلك المفاصد، فجميع بني آدم لا بد لهم من طاعة أمر و ناه "The interest of every son of Adam is not achieved in this world and the Hereafter except by the social life, cooperation and mutual assistance of one another as the mutual assistance and cooperation help bring them the benefits and repel the damages from them. It is, therefore, said that the human being is civil by nature. If they come together, they must do certain things by which they bring benefits for them and must avoid some other things in which they find harm. In addition, they must be obedient to the entity that enjoins such objectives and forbids such harms. So, all of the sons of Adam must obey the one who has the authority to command and prohibit."

5- Also he said on page 64: و لهذا أمر النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم أمته بتولية ولاة أمور عليهم و أمر ولاة الأمور أن يردوا الأمانات الى أهلها و إذا حكموا بين الناس أن يحكموا بالعدل، و أمرهم بطاعة ولاة الأمور في طاعة الله تعالى- ففي سنن أبي داود- عن أبي سعيد أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم قال (إذا خرج ثلاثة في سفر فليؤمروا أحدهم). و في سننه أيضاً عن أبي هريرة مثله، و في مسند الإمام أحمد و عن عبد الله بن عمر ان النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم قال ( لا يجزئ لثلاثة يَكُونُونَ بِقَلَاةٍ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ إِلَّا أَمَرُوا عَلَيْهِمْ أَحَدَهُمْ) . فإذا كان قد أوجب في أقل الجماعات و أقصر الجماعات أن يولي أحدهم، كان هذا تنبيهاً على وجوب ذلك فيما هو أكثر من ذلك، و لهذا كانت الولاية لمن يتخذها ديناً يتقرب به الى الله و يفعل فيها الواجب بحسب الامكان من افضل الأعمال الصالحة، حتى قد روى الإمام أحمد في مسنده عن النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم أنه قال (إن أحب الناس إلى الله إمامٌ عادلٌ وأبغض الناس إلى الله إمامٌ جائرٌ) "And that's why the Prophet (saw) commanded his Ummah to appoint rulers upon them and ordered the rulers to render back the trusts to those to whom they are due and when they judge between people, they must judge with justice. Similarly, he (saw) ordained the Ummah to obey the rulers in order to obey Allah (swt). It is narrated in Sunan Abu Dawood on the authority of the Messenger (saw) of Allah (swt) said, «إذا خرج ثلاثة» "When three people set out on a journey, they should appoint one of them as amir." A similar Hadith is mentioned in the same Sunan Abu Dawood on the

authority of Abu Hurairah (ra) and in Musnad Ahmad it is narrated on the authority of ‘Abdullah ibn ‘Umar (ra) that the Prophet (saw) said, «لَا يَجِلُّ لِثَلَاثَةٍ يَكُونُونَ بِفَلَاةٍ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ إِلَّا أَمَرُوا عَلَيْهِمْ» “It is not permissible for a group of three to be in a desert except if they appoint one of them as amir.” If it has been enjoined for such a tiny group to appoint one of them as amir, how can it be allowed for a larger group or a whole community to live without a single amir. So, it is a clear warning concerning the obligation to appoint an amir for a group bigger than that mentioned in the Hadith. The authority or leadership is to the one who takes it as a religious duty in order to get close to Allah (swt) thereby and performs the best of the righteous deeds as much as possible. Even Imam Ahmad has narrated in his Musnad that the Prophet (saw) said, «إِنْ أَحَبَّ النَّاسُ إِلَى اللَّهِ إِمَامًا عَادِلًا وَأَبْغَضَ النَّاسَ إِلَى اللَّهِ إِمَامًا جَائِرًا» “The most beloved human being in the sight of Allah (swt) is the just ruler and the most repugnant creation in the sight of Allah (swt) is a tyrant ruler.”

6- Ibn Taymiyyah quoted in his book Ali ibn Abi Talib (ra) who said, لا بد للناس من إمارة برة، كانت أو فاجرة، فقيل يا أمير المؤمنين هذه البرة قد عرفناها فما بال الفاجرة؟ فقال يقام بها الحدود و تأمن بها السبل و يجاهد بها «An amir is a must for the people, whether that amir is pious or dissolute. It was asked, O commander of the believers! We have seen the pious amir, so who is a dissolute amir? He answered: the one who establishes the Hudood, secures the routes, fights the enemy and distributes the booty.» [Fatawa of Ibn Taymiyyah 28/page 279].

It is very amazing that today we are living neither under a pious/righteous Amir nor under a debauched Amir as the Hudood are suspended, highway robbery is wide spread and Jihaad in the Muslim lands is banned. So, woes and affliction be to those who instigated such a dismal state of affairs!!!

7- It was mentioned in the Fatawa of Ibn Taymiyyah in Volume 28/page 390 that, Ibn Taymiyyah said, يجب ان يعرف أن ولاية أمر الناس من أعظم واجبات الدين بل لا قيام للدين و لا للدنيا إلا بها، فإن بني آدم لا تتم مصلحتهم إلا بالاجتماع لحاجة بعضهم الى بعض و لا بد لهم عند الاجتماع من رأس حتى قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم (إذا خرَجَ ثلاثة في سفرٍ فليؤمروا أحدهم) رواه أبو داود من حديث أبي سعيد و أبي هريرة و روى الإمام أحمد في المسند عن عبد الله بن عمر أن النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم قال (لا يجِلُّ لِثَلَاثَةٍ يَكُونُونَ بِفَلَاةٍ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ إِلَّا أَمَرُوا عَلَيْهِمْ) فأوجب صلى الله عليه و سلم تأمير الواحد في الاجتماع القليل العارض في السفر تنبيهاً بذلك على سائر انواع الاجتماع، و لان الله تعالى أوجب الأمر بالمعروف و النهي عن المنكر و لا يتم ذلك إلا بقوة و إمارة و كذلك سائر ما أوجبه من الجهاد و العدل و اقامة الحج و الجمع و الاعياد و نصر المظلوم و إقامة الحدود لا تتم إلا بالقوة و الإمارة و لهذا روي (السُّلْطَانُ ظِلُّ اللَّهِ فِي الْأَرْضِ) و يقال (ستون سنة من إمام جائر أصلح من ليلة واحدة بلا سلطان) . و التجربة تبين ذلك و لهذا كان السلف -كالفضيل بن عياض و أحمد بن حنبل و «It is obligatory to know that the office in charge of commanding over the people (i.e.: the Khilafah post) is one of the greatest obligations of the Deen. In fact, the affairs of Deen and Duniya cannot be established except by it as the well-being of the sons of Adam is not achieved except through social life because they are dependent on each other. So they must have a leader for their social life, even the Prophet (saw) said, «إِذَا خَرَجَ ثَلَاثَةٌ فِي سَفَرٍ فَلْيُؤْمِرُوا أَحَدَهُمْ» “When three people set out on a journey, they must appoint one of them as amir.” Reported by Abu Dawud (ra) on the authority of Abu Said and Abu Hurairah (ra) and it was narrated in Musnad Ahmad on the authority of Abdullah Ibn Umar (ra) that the Prophet (saw) said, «لَا يَجِلُّ لِثَلَاثَةٍ يَكُونُونَ بِفَلَاةٍ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ إِلَّا أَمَرُوا عَلَيْهِمْ» “It is not permissible for a group of three to be in a desert except if they appoint one of them as amir.” So, the Prophet (saw) enjoined on appointing the one as amir in a tiny and temporary get-together such as travel and cautioned thereby to appoint an amir (Khaleefah) for all other affairs of the social life, owing to the fact that Allah has obligated enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong and that cannot be achieved except through the power and authority. Same is the case with all other obligations related to it such as carrying out Jihaad, establishing justice, performing the Hajj, establishing Jum’ah and the two ‘Eids, helping the oppressed and establishing Hudood, which cannot be fulfilled except the power and authority. In a narration, it is said, السُّلْطَانُ ظِلُّ اللَّهِ فِي الْأَرْضِ “The Sultan is the shadow of Allah (swt) on the earth.” It is also said, ستون سنة من إمام جائر أصلح من ليلة واحدة بلا سلطان “Sixty years of an unjust Imam is better than a single night without Imam.” The experience shows the same and for that reason, the as-Salaf as-Saleh like Fuzail Bin Ayaz and Ahmad Bin Hanbal said, لو كان لنا دعوة مجابة لدعونا بها للسلطان “if we have had a call to be answered, we would use that to call for the Sultan.”

8- Ibn Khaldun said in *المقدمة Al-Muqaddimah*, page 167: **نصب الإمام واجب قد عرف وجوبه في الشرع بإجماع الصحابة والتابعين؛ لأن أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عند وفاته بادروا إلى بيعة أبي بكر رضي الله عنه وتسليم النظر إليه في أمورهم، وكذا في كل عصر من بعد ذلك ولم يترك الناس فوضى في عصر من الأعصار، واستقر ذلك إجماعا دالا على وجوب نصب الإمام** “*Imaamah is wajib and its obligation in the Shari’ah is known by the Unanimous Consensus of the Sahabah and the Tabi’een, as the Companions of our beloved Prophet (saw) at his death hastened to give pledge of allegiance to Abu Bakr (ra) and handed over the responsibility of Khilafah to him to take care of their affairs before the burial of the Prophet (saw). Same was the case with the issue of Imaamah in the centuries to come as the people (Muslims) did not leave the matter, thus avoiding chaos in any age. So, it indicates a clear and binding consensus on the obligation to appoint the Khaleefah.*”

9- Ibn Hazm stated in *الفصل فى الملل والاهواء والنحل al-Fasl fi al-Milal wa-al-Ahwa' wa-al-Nihal* 4/87: **اتفق جميع أهل السنة وجميع المرجئة وجميع الشيعة وجميع الخوارج على وجوب الإمامة و أن الأمة واجب عليها، الإقتياد لإمام عادل يقيم فيهم أحكام الله و يسوسهم بأحكام الشريعة التي أتى بها رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم حاشأ النجدات من الخوارج فإنهم قالوا : لا يلزم الناس فرض الإمامة و إنما عليهم أن يتعاطوا الحق بينهم** “*All of Ahl as-Sunnah, all of al-Murji’a, all of Shia, all of Khawarij have agreed on the obligation of Imaamah. And that the Ummah is obliged to appoint an Imam, who will apply the rules of Allah and look after their affairs (yasoosuhum) with the Shari’ah rulings, which the Messenger of Allah (saw) brought, except some from the Khawarij, who said that the people are not obliged to appoint an Imam; they are only obliged to fulfill the rights to each other.*”

10- Al Qurtubi said in his *Tafseer*, Volume 1, page 264: **هذه الآية أصل في نصب إمام وخليفة يُسمع له ويطاع؛ لتجتمع به الكلمة؛ وتنفذ به أحكام الخليفة. ولا خلاف في وجوب ذلك بين الأمة ولا بين الأئمة إلا ما روي عن الأصمّ- أبو بكر الأصم من كبار المعتزلة- حيث كان عن الشريعة أصمّ؛ وكذلك كل من قال بقوله واتبعه على رأيه ومذهبه** “*This ayah is a basis for appointing an Imam and Khaleefah who is listened to and is obeyed, for the matter is unified through him and the Ahkam (laws) of the Khaleefah are implemented through him, and there is no dispute regarding the obligation of that amongst the Ummah, nor among the Imams, except al-Asamm who was most deaf regarding the Shari’ah, as well as all those who quoted his saying and followed his opinion and school of thought.*”

11- Al-Haythami explained the *Ijmaa’* of the Sahabah in *الصواعق المحرقة Al-Sawa’iq al-Muhriqah*: **اعلم أيضا أن الصحابة رقصوا الله عليهم أجمعوا على أن نصب الإمام بعد انقراض زمن النبوة واجب بل جعلوه أهم** “*It is known that the Sahabah (raa) unanimously agreed that the selection of Imam, after the end of the era of Prophethood, was an obligation (Wajib). Indeed, they made it more important than the other obligations, such that they were busy with it, over the burial of the Prophet (saw).*”

12- Imam Al-Nawawi in his commentary of *Sahih Muslim* 12/205 said: **أجمعوا على أنه يجب على المسلمين نصب خليفة** “*The ‘Ulema agreed that it is an obligation upon the Muslims to appoint a Khaleefah.*”

13- Al-Jurjani stated: **نصب الإمام من أتم مصالح المسلمين و أعظم مقاصد الدين** “*Appointing an Imam is the best in meeting the interests of the Muslims and in achieving the greatest aims (maqasid) of the Deen.*”

14- The Imam of the two Holy Mosques said in his book *غياث الأمم Ghiyath Al-Umam*: **الإجماع على وجوب تنصيب خليفة يحكم بين الناس بالاسلام** “*There is Unanimous Consensus on the obligation of appointing a Khaleefah, who rules between the people through Islam.*”

15- Al Qazi Azduddin Iji said (in *Almawaqif*), which was explained by Al-Jurjani at page 603: **إنه تواتر إجماع المسلمين في الصدر الأول بعد وفاة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم على امتناع خلو الوقت من إمام حتى قال أبو بكر رضي الله عنه في خطبته المشهورة حين وفاته عليه السلام : " ألا إن محمد قد مات و لا بد لهذا الدين من يقوم به " فبادر الكل الى قبوله و تركوا له أهم الأشياء و هو دفن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم و لم يزل الناس على ذلك في كل عصر الى زماننا هذا** “*there is the continuous Unanimity of the Muslims on this subject in the early period, after the death of Prophet (saw), as the Muslims did not waste time in selecting an Imam, even Abu Bakr (may Allah be pleased with him) said in his first Khutbah: Listen carefully! Muhammad (saw) has died and it is essential for this Deen to appoint the one who can assume the responsibilities of this Deen.*” So, everyone rushed to accept it and for its sake they abandoned the most important thing





enough to fulfill this obligation, all the Muslims will be sinful until this responsibility is accomplished by those who are capable. Some opine that the sin will fall only on the two groups of the Islamic Ummah. One of them are the people of opinion, until they choose one of them as the Khaleefah, and the second group is the one in whom the conditions of Khilafah is met, until one of them is selected as Khaleefah. However, the truth is that all the Muslims will be sinful in view of the fact that all are addressed by the Shari'ah and all are obliged to establish it... and if the selection is left to only one group of the people, the whole Ummah will be duty bound to bear carrying out of this responsibility, along with this group. Otherwise, they will be partners in the sin..."

21- Sulaiman Ad Diji said in his book الإمامة العظمى Al Imamah Al 'Uzhma, page 75: والحق أنه لا شك أن وجوبها على الطائفتين أكد من غيرهما، ولكن إذا لم تقوما بهذا الواجب فإنَّ الإثم يلحق الجميع، وهذا هو المفهوم من كونها فرض كفاية، أي إذا قام بها بعضهم سقطت عن الباقيين، ولكن إذا لم يقم بها أحد أتم الجميع كالأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر والجهاد والعلم وغير ذلك. واليوم وقد تقاعست هاتان الطائفتان عن القيام بهذا الواجب أو حيل بينهم وبين ما يشتهون، فتعين على كل مسلم-كل بحسب استطاعته-العمل لإقامة الخلافة الإسلامية العامة، التي تجمع شمل المسلمين تحت راية التوحيد الصادقة وترد لهذا الدين هيمنته وقيادته وترد للمسلمين كياناتهم ومكانتهم التي فقدوها بسبب تقصيرهم في راية التوحيد الصادقة وترد لهذا الدين هيمنته وقيادته وترد للمسلمين كياناتهم ومكانتهم التي فقدوها بسبب تقصيرهم في القيام بهذا الواجب العظيم والله المستعان "In fact, there is no doubt on the fact that the Khilafah's obligation that lies on the shoulders of the two groups is more important. However, if these two groups did not fulfill this obligation, all will be sinful and this is the concept of being a Fard of Sufficiency; i.e. if some of them accomplish this duty, then the remaining will be exempted. However, if no one performed the obligation, all will be sinful, such as in the case of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil, Jihaad and learning and so forth. Today, these two groups have failed to fulfill this obligation or have been prevented from realizing their aspirations. So every Muslim is duty bound, everyone in proportion to his capability, to work for establishment of an Islamic Khilafah, which will reunify the Muslims under the banner of true Monotheism and restore supremacy and leadership to this Deen. This will also reinstate the entity and position of Muslims, which they lost due to their negligence in fulfilling this great obligation and it is Allah (Alone) Whose Help can be sought."

22- Dr. Mahmood Al-Khalidi said in his book قواعد نظام الحكم في الإسلام The Principles of the Ruling System in Islam, page 248: وما الذل الذي يخيم على المسلمين فيجعلهم يعيشون على هامش العالم وفي ذيل الأمم ومؤخرة التاريخ إلا قعود المسلمين عن العمل لإقامة الخلافة وعدم مبادرتهم إلى نصب خليفة لهم، التزاماً بالحكم الشرعي الذي أصبح معلوماً من الدين بالضرورة كالصلاة والصوم والحج، فالقعود عن العمل لاستئناف الحياة الإسلامية معصية من أكبر المعاصي، لذلك كان نصب خليفة لهذه الأمة فرضاً لازماً لتطبيق الأحكام على المسلمين وحمل الدعوة الإسلامية إلى جميع أنحاء العالم "The humiliation which is prevalent over Muslims, making them live on the sidelines of the world, at the bottom of nations and at the vanguard of history, is owing to the fact that the Muslims have neglected to work for establishment of Khilafah. They have failed to take the initiative to appoint a Khaleefah for them in compliance with the Shar'ee ruling which, as we have seen and known, makes it an obligation similar to Salah, Fasting and Hajj. So, any negligence and carelessness as regards to the work to resume the Islamic way of life is one of the greatest crimes and sins. That is why, appointment of a Khalifaah for this Ummah is a binding obligation in order to apply the rulings upon the Muslims and carry the Islamic Da'wah to all over the world."