



Islam Rejects the Nation State.

Islam Unifies the Islamic Ummah as a Single, Powerful Khilafah State

Introduction: Unification as one Khilafah Differs from Division as Many Nation States

As the Muslim World collapses with respect to economy and security, the Muslims are searching for a way out. Currently Muslims are divided into fifty-seven nation states, which has weakened them. There is now increased discussion about unity between Muslims to strengthen the Ummah. A unified Ummah would have a single state, larger than any other in the world, with a single treasury, single army and no borders between its provinces. The Khilafah (Caliphate) would have a huge, youthful population, large powerful armies, vast agricultural production, abundant and varied mineral and energy resources and control over all the major trade and sea routes of the world.

Islam is the bond that can achieve a very particular type of unity. It defines the Muslims as a single people, distinct from all others. It rejects any division between Muslims based on race, color, tribe or nationality. It establishes a single authority over the entire Islamic Ummah, a Khaleefah (caliph). It obliges a single state for the Islamic Ummah, the Khilafah. It prohibits the division of the state and the authority of Muslims, regardless of race, tribe and nationality. As such, Islam is far away from the concept of nation state.

Nation State and Nationalism is Alien to Islam in its Origins

The concept of nation state is borne out of the history and beliefs of Christian Europe. It is completely alien to Islam. The Thirty Years War in Europe was fought between Christian religious states. It continued until 1648, the year in which the treaties constituting the Peace of Westphalia began to be signed, ending the religious war. It marked the beginnings of the emergence of the modern nation state, which is an attempt to end the conflict between religious states.

The nation in the capitalist West is based on the notion of the nation state. The land and its government belong to this nation state and are defined upon its basis. It is the people who define the nation state, based on their accepted borders. The people are defined based on single or multiple factors, such as geography, history, race and linguistic heritage.

The concept of nation state is a corrupt concept in its fundamental foundation. It is built on the erroneous understanding of what constitutes a people. In reality, a nation acts as a single people in life only when it has shared concepts, convictions and criteria towards life affairs. As for history, geography, race and linguistic heritage as factors, they only contribute to the formation of shared traits amongst people.

However, they cannot unify the people upon a single viewpoint towards life. Thus, the only correct method to define the nation is based on its shared ideology. Moreover, the nation state did not end conflict. It created a new form of conflict, which is the conflict between nation states. It has scarred the entire world with tensions, rivalries, conflicts, wars and world wars.

The Harm of Nationalism and the Nation State

Contrary to the Western claim, the nation state led to exacerbating conflicts and wars. The nation state has caused both world wars and has been extremely destructive for the world. The nation state concept incites the idea of superiority of one race over all other. It establishes the dominance of one race over all others. This is what Germany, France, Russia, Britain and most of the Western colonialists have sought to do in their history. The nation state conflict is the basis of the destructive war between Russia and the Ukraine, as well as the tensions between the US and China.

The nation state also exacerbated the need for imperial colonialist expansion. The emerging nation states in Europe found themselves incapable of regional land expansion. So they turned to colonialist expansion. They ruined most of the world, including the Muslim World. Colonialism is present even now as neo-colonialism, which relies more on economic and political colonialism,

than direct military occupation. Indeed, perhaps neo-colonialism has now reached more extreme and more pervasive forms, than any previous era of the Western history.

Asides from colonialism, the nation state has harmed the Islamic Ummah through division. This is even though the Muslims thought that the nation state would grant independence from colonialism. The Ummah was destroyed because of the Arab and Turkish nationalism. The Arabs revolted and the Turks shed the responsibility of the Ummah. It is then when Allah imposed the Kuffar over our affairs. The Balkans separated from the Ottoman Caliphate, on the basis of nationalism. Then there is the current history of nationalism. Pakistan supported the US against Afghanistan, on the basis of national interest. Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Kuwait, UAE supporting the US invasion of Iraq on the basis of national interest. The current rulers refuse to fight for the liberation of Kashmir and Palestine, on the basis of nationalism.

Humanity has suffered immensely due to the concept of nation state. It is upon humanity to consider the unique concept of people, brotherhood, unification and state that Islam offers. The movement to considering Islam as a new global order must be led by the Muslims.

The Muslims are a Single Islamic Ummah Unified by Iman

The Muslims are not a people that come together on the basis of land, tribe, race, nationality or language. Islam is far from the Western concepts of nationality, nationhood, nation and nation state. The Muslims are a single Ummah, bound by Islam.

Allah (swt) said, ﴿وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا﴾ **“Hold fast to the rope of Allah and do not be divided.”** [TMQ Surah Aali Imran 3: 103]. Ibn Kathir stated in his Tafsir that, أمرهم بالجماعة ونهاهم عن التفرقة “He (swt) orders the Muslims to be a single community and He (swt) forbids them from dividing.” This verse is an evidence that Muslims are obliged to gather, unified, within a single entity.

Allah (swt) said, ﴿إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِخْوَةٌ﴾ **“Indeed, the believers are a brotherhood.”** [TMQ Surah al-Hujurat 49:10]. Imam Qurtubi said in his Tafsir, أي في الدين والحرمة لا في النسب ، وَلِهَذَا قِيلَ أَخُوهُ الدِّينِ أَتَبْتُ ، وَأَخُوهُ الدِّينِ لَا تَنْقَطِعُ بِمُخَالَفَةِ النَّسَبِ ، فَإِنَّ أَخُوهُ النَّسَبِ تَنْقَطِعُ بِمُخَالَفَةِ الدِّينِ ، وَأَخُوهُ الدِّينِ لَا تَنْقَطِعُ بِمُخَالَفَةِ النَّسَبِ “That is, in Deen and sanctity, not in race. For this reason, it was said, ‘Brotherhood in Deen is of more permanence than brotherhood by race. Brotherhood by race is severed if it violates the Deen, whilst brotherhood in Deen is never severed by racial differences.”

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said, ﴿هَذَا كِتَابٌ مِنْ مُحَمَّدٍ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ وَيَثْرِبَ وَمَنْ تَبِعَهُمْ فَلِحَقِّ بَيْنِهِمْ وَجَاهِدَ مَعَهُمْ أَنَّهُمْ أُمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ دُونَ النَّاسِ﴾ **“This is a pact of the Prophet Muhammad (saw) between the Muslims and the believers from the tribes of Quraysh and Yathrib, and those under them, waging war in their company. Indeed, they are one Ummah, distinct from all other people.”** [Narrated by Al-Bayhaqi in Al-Sunan Al-Kubra.] The Islamic Ummah is a single Ummah and Islamic unity must be practically achieved within it. As for this political unity, it is embodied in the establishment of the Khilafah.

Thus, the Islamic State in Madinah al-Munawwarah was not a nation state. It was an authority over a single people, the believers, unified by their Iman, despite the diversity in tribes and races. History is witness to how Islam unified peoples of three entire continents by Iman. It molded them into a single Ummah, loyal to Islam.

Muslims Must Not Be Divided by Race and Nationality

Islam rejects all forms of division and discrimination based on race, tribe, nationality and language.

The Prophet ﷺ said in his Farewell Sermon, ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ أَلَا إِنَّ رَبَّكُمْ وَاحِدٌ، وَإِنَّ أَبَاءَكُمْ وَاحِدٌ، أَلَا لَا فَضْلَ إِلَّا بِالْتَّقْوَى﴾ **“O humankind, indeed your Lord is one, and your original forefather is one. Indeed, neither the Arab has superiority over the non-Arab, nor the non-Arab over the Arab, nor the white over the black, nor the black over the white, except by piety.”** [Ahmad]

The Prophet ﷺ said, ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ قَدْ أَذْهَبَ عَنْكُمْ عُبْيَةَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ وَفَخَرَهَا بِالْأَبَاءِ مُؤْمِنٍ تَقِيٍّ وَفَاجِرٍ شَقِيٍّ أَنْتُمْ بَنُو آدَمَ وَأَنْتُمْ مِنْ تُرَابٍ لِيَدْعَنَّ رَجَالٌ فَخَرَهُمْ بِأَقْوَامٍ إِنَّمَا هُمْ فَحَمٌ مِنْ فَحَمٍ جَهَنَّمَ أَوْ لِيَكُونَنَّ أَهْوَنَ عَلَى اللَّهِ مِنَ الْجَعْلَانِ الَّتِي تَدْفَعُ بِأَنْفِهَا النَّتْنَ﴾ **“Allah (swt) has removed from you the pride of the era of ignorance, and its boasting**

according to what I know. The evidence is the speech of Allah (swt), "Indeed, the believers are a brotherhood," as well as the speech of the Messenger of Allah (saw), "And be servants of Allah as brothers." [Narrated by Bayhaqi in As-Sunan As-Saghir]

Badr ud Din Al-Ayni Al-Hanafi, who died in 855 AH, said in "Umdat al-Qari Sharh Sahih ul-Bukhari" that, **قوله، (مَا بَالَ دَعْوَى الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ؟) يَعْني، لَا تَدَاعُوا بِالْقَبَائِلِ بَلْ تَدَاعُوا بِدَعْوَةِ وَاحِدَةٍ بِالْإِسْلَامِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ، مَا شَأْنُهُمْ؟ أَي، مَا جَرَى لَهُمْ وَمَا الْمَوْجِبُ فِي ذَلِكَ؟ قَوْلُهُ، (دَعُوهُمْ) ، أَي، دَعُوا هَذِهِ الْمَقَالَةَ، أَي، اتْرَكُوها أَوْ، دَعُوا هَذِهِ الدَّعْوَى، ثُمَّ بَيَّنَّ جُحْمَةَ التَّرْكِ بِقَوْلِهِ، (فَإِنَّهَا خَبِيثَةٌ) أَي، فَإِنَّ هَذِهِ الدَّعْوَةَ خَبِيثَةٌ أَي قَبِيحَةٌ مُنْكَرَةٌ كَرِيهَةٌ مُؤْذِيَةٌ لِأَنَّهَا تُنْثِرُ الْعُضْبَ عَلَى غَيْرِ الْحَقِّ، وَالتَّقَاتِلَ عَلَى الْبَاطِلِ، وَتُوْذِي (As for the saying of the Prophet (saw), إِلَى النَّارِ. كَمَا جَاءَ فِي الْحَدِيثِ، (مَنْ دَعَا بِدَعْوَى الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ فَلَيْسَ مِنَّا وَلِيَتَّبِعُوا مَقْعَدَهُ مِنَ النَّارِ) "Why call to Ignorance?"** It means, do not call upon the basis of tribalism. Instead, call for unity upon Islam. Then he (saw) asked, **"what is the matter with them?"** It means, what happened to them, and what is the reason for that. As for his saying, **"Leave it,"** it means leave this stance, that is, leave it, or leave this claim. Then he (saw) clarified the wisdom of leaving it, by saying, **"Indeed it is rotten."** It means it is ugly, reprehensible, hateful and harmful, because it incites anger upon what is not right and fighting over falsehood, drawing towards Hellfire, as stated in the hadith, **«مَنْ دَعَا بِدَعْوَى الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ فَلَيْسَ مِنَّا وَلِيَتَّبِعُوا مَقْعَدَهُ مِنَ النَّارِ»** **"Whoever calls to Ignorance is not from us, so let him take his seat in Hellfire."**

The Muslims Must Have a Single Khaleefah in Authority Over Them

The Islamic Ummah is not only a single distinct people from other peoples. It has a single Khaleefah over it, within a single state.

The Prophet (saw) said, **«وَأِنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي وَسَتَكُونُ خُلَفَاءُ فَتَكُنُّ»** **"There is no Prophet after me. There will be Khaleefahs in large numbers."** His Companions (ra) said, **«فَمَا تَأْمُرُنَا قَالَ»** **"What do you order us to do?"** He said, **«فُوا بِبَيْعَةِ الْأَوَّلِ فَلِأَوَّلٍ»** **"Give bay'ah to only one, at a time."** [Muslim]. Regarding this Hadith, Imam An-Nawawi said in his Sharh that, **وَمَعْنَى هَذَا الْحَدِيثِ إِذَا بُيِعَ لِخَلِيفَةٍ بَعْدَ خَلِيفَةٍ بَاطِلَةٌ بِحُرْمِ الْوَفَاءِ بِهَا وَيَحْرُمُ عَلَيْهِ طَلْبُهَا وَسَوَاءٌ عَقَبُوا لِلثَّانِي عَالِمِينَ بِعَقْدِ الْأَوَّلِ جَاهِلِينَ فَبَيْعَةُ الْأَوَّلِ صَاحِبَةٌ بِجِبِّ الْوَفَاءِ بِهَا وَيُبْعَهُ الثَّانِي بَاطِلَةٌ بِحُرْمِ الْوَفَاءِ بِهَا وَيَحْرُمُ عَلَيْهِ طَلْبُهَا وَسَوَاءٌ كَانَا فِي بِلْدَيْنِ أَوْ بِلْدٍ أَوْ أَحَدَهُمَا فِي بِلْدِ الْإِمَامِ الْمُفْصَلِ** **"If a Khaleefah is given bay'ah after another Khaleefah has already been appointed, then the first appointment is valid. It must be fulfilled. The second is invalid. It is forbidden to fulfil it. It is forbidden for him to demand that fulfilment. This is irrespective of whether the Muslims knew of the first Khaleefah or not. It is irrespective of whether they were in the same or different lands, or one of them was in a land totally separated from the other."**

Ibn Ishaq narrates, that in his Khutba, that the first Khaleefah Rashid, Abu Bakr (ra), said, **وَأِنَّهُ لَا يَجِلُّ أَنْ يَكُونَ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ أَمِيرَانِ، فَإِنَّهُمَا يَكُنْ ذَلِكَ يَخْتَلِفُ أَمْرُهُمْ وَأَحْكَامُهُمْ، وَتَتَفَرَّقُ جَمَاعَتُهُمْ، وَيَتَنَازَعُوا فِيمَا بَيْنَهُمْ، هُنَاكَ تَتْرَكُ** **"Indeed, it is not permitted for the Muslims to have two ameer. If that were to occur, there would be disagreement over their affairs and laws, the community of Muslims would be split and they would dispute with each other. That would result in the Sunnah being abandoned. Innovation (bid'ah) would appear, discord (fitnah) would be widespread, whilst none of that would be righteousness for any one"**

Thus, the Khaleefah Umar (ra) was a Khaleefah over Muslims who lived in three continents. That was achieved in the era of messages by camel riders and travel by road and seas. So how can it not be achieved now, in the information age and air travel?

The Islamic Civilization Prohibits Two Khaleefahs, Over the Muslims Anywhere in the World

Imam Shafi'i, who died in 204 AH, said in "Ar-Risaalah" that, **وما أجمع المسلمون عليه من أن يكون الخليفة** **"The Muslims have Unanimous Consensus that there can only be one, single Khaleefah. The one who judges is one (in dispute), the Ameer is one (in affairs) and the Imam is one (in Deen)."**

Imam Mawardi, who died in 450 AH, said in his book, "al-Ahkam as-Sultaniyyah," that, **وَإِذَا عَقِدَتْ** **"الإمامة لإمامين في بلدين لم تتعقد إمامتهما؛ لأنه لا يجوز أن يكون للإمامة إمامان في وقت واحد** **"If two Imams are appointed in separate lands, their joint leadership is not contracted. It is not permitted for the Ummah to have two Imams (Khaleefahs) at one time"**.

Ibn Hazm, who died in 458 AH, stated in “Maraatib al-Ijmaa’a” that, **وَاتَّفَقُوا أَنَّهُ لَا يَجُوزُ أَنْ يَكُونَ عَلَى** “There is Ijma’a (Consensus) that it is not permitted for the Muslims to have two Imams (Khaleefahs), anywhere in the world, at the same time. This is whether the two Imams agreed upon this matter, or they disagreed. It is also not permitted whether the two Imams were in the same place, or in two different places.”

This is the case of two Khaleefahs, who rule the Muslims by Islam. So what of the case of dozens of rulers, who rule by other than Islam and divide the Muslims?!

Division of the Single Authority Over the Muslims is Strictly Forbidden

The Muslims have a single Khaleefah over them and it is a grave sin to divide their unity. It is a vital issue in Islam to maintain the unity of the authority, to an extent that the shedding of Muslim blood is allowed.

The Prophet (saw) said, **«إِذَا بُوِيعَ لِخَلِيفَتَيْنِ فَأَقْتُلُوا الْآخَرَ مِنْهُمَا»** “**When the Bayah has been taken for two Khaleefahs, kill the latter of them.**” [Muslim]. Regarding this Hadith, Imam an-Nawawi said in his explanation, that, **وَاتَّفَقَ الْعُلَمَاءُ عَلَى أَنَّهُ لَا يَجُوزُ أَنْ يُعَقَّدَ لِخَلِيفَتَيْنِ فِي عَصْرِ وَاحِدٍ سِوَاءِ اتَّسَعَتْ دَارُ الْإِسْلَامِ أَمْ لَا** “The ‘ulema have agreed that it is not permissible for two Khaleefahs to be appointed, at the same time. This is irrespective of whether the Islamic state was widely spread or not.” Imam al-Haramain (al-Juwaini) said in his book “al-Irshad,” that, **قَالَ أَصْحَابُنَا لَا يَجُوزُ عَقْدُهَا لِشَخْصَيْنِ قَالَ وَعِنْدِي أَنَّهُ لَا** “Our contemporaries view that it is not permitted for two people to be appointed at one time (as Khaleefah). My opinion is that it is not permitted to appoint two Khaleefahs in a single land. This opinion is agreed upon.”

The Messenger of Allah (saw) said, **«فَمَنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يُفَرِّقَ أَمْرَ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ وَهِيَ جَمِيعٌ، فَاصْرُبُوهُ بِالسَّيْفِ كَانِنًا مَنْ** “**Anyone who tries to divide the affairs of this Ummah, while it is unified, you must strike him with the sword, whoever he may be.**” [Muslim]. Regarding this Hadith, An-Nawawi said in his Sharh, **فِيهِ الْأَمْرُ بِقِتَالِ مَنْ حَرَجَ عَلَى الْإِمَامِ أَوْ أَرَادَ تَفْرِيقَ كَلِمَةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَتَحْوِ ذَلِكَ وَيُنْهَى عَنْ ذَلِكَ فَإِنْ لَمْ يَنْتَهَ فُوتِلَ** “Within this is the command to fight whoever revolts against the Imam (Khaleefah), or wants to divide the affair of the Muslims and similar. He is forbidden from doing that. If his evil could not be repelled except by killing him, then he is killed.” In origin, this Islamic Ummah is to be unified, under a single authority, the Khilafah. The legal punishment for anyone who wants to divide and tear it apart into small entities and states, is killing.

Conclusion: The Khilafah is the Practical Method to Unify the Islamic Ummah

It is the great Deen of Islam alone that can end the perpetual conflict created by the nation state. Islam establishes a powerful brotherhood based on the true purpose of humanity, worship of Allah (swt). It treats the division between people on the basis of race, tribe and nationalities by the warmth of Iman. Islam establishes a single authority over the Islamic Ummah and forbids its division.

It is that Khilafah that will return soon inshaa Allah, at a time that pleases Allah (swt) to extend His Nasr (Victory), to practically unify us. It will be established in one of the regions of the Muslims, on the basis of Islam and not on the basis of nationality. The Khilafah (Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood will work actively to unify all the regions of the Muslim World as single powerful state. It will call upon all Muslims, from Indonesia to Morocco, as Islam calls upon them, as believers, in a single brotherhood. It will work to remove the nation state borders that have divided and weakened the Muslims for so long.

**Written for the Central Media Office of Hizb ut Tahrir by
Musab Umair – Wilayah Pakistan**