

# THE CALL FOR THE ISLAMIC STATE

Photos (L to R) : Sir Thomas Arnold, Mustafa Kemal, Sheikh Rashid Reda, Sheikh Hasan al-Banna, Sheikh Taqi-ud-deen an-Nabahani, George W. Bush Jr., Usama bin Laden, Charles Clarke  
Sketch Drawings (L to R) : Sheikh Taqi-ud-deen an-Nabahani, Sheikh Hasan al-Banna, Mustafa Kemal, Tony Blair



## WHO has talked about the CALIPHATE (*Khilafah*), and WHY

*"There will be Prophethood for as long as Allah wills it to be,...then there will be **Khilafah** on the Prophetic method and it will be for as long as Allah wills,...then there will be biting kingship for as long as Allah Wills,...then there will be oppressive kingship for as long as Allah wills,...and then there will (again) be **Khilafah** upon the Prophetic method"*

The Prophet Mohammad, Musnad Ahmed

*"...there can be no negotiation about the re-creation of the **Caliphate**; there can be no negotiation about the imposition of Shariah (Islamic) law..."*

British Home Secretary Charles Clarke , October 6, 2005, Heritage Foundation

الإسلام لا يفرق بين الناس



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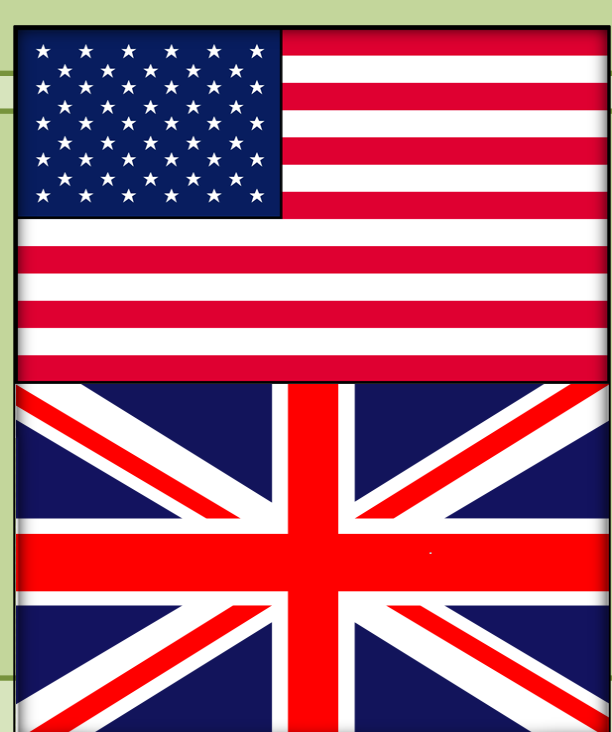
## Al-Azhar vs Abdul-Raziq The Caliphate at the turn of the Century - between Rejection, Reform and Revival

## Muslim Brotherhood The immediacy of colonial occupation relegates the Caliphate to an aspiration



HIZB-UT-TAHRIR

## Liberation Party The Caliphate as the political program for true liberation in the post- colonial era



## The Jihad Groups Historical symbolism of the Caliphate utilized as a transnational rallying cry

## From World War One to a "War on Terror" The Caliphate according to its detractors & opponents

### An Alternative Starting Point

There is an implicit assumption of the universality of liberal democracy that underlies much of the analysis of Islam and Muslim polity. This study adopts the view that any analysis of such topics have to take into account the 'ideational' or 'discursive' realms, where 'Political Islam' derived from Islamic sources represents an alternative paradigm from liberal democracy with secularism as its basis.

### Overview of the Discussions around the Caliphate

The Caliphate has represented different things to its various supporters and detractors. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the supporters of the institution variously thought it to be a symbol of Islamic unity, a last hope against Western imperialism, a focal point to strengthen communal identity against other new nationalisms and a useful tool to extend the elite's political influence in the region, among other meanings attributed to it. Since then, the various political leaders, thinkers and groups advocating Islamic governance that have adopted and utilize the call for the Caliphate, have done so in various ways according to their differing understanding of what are the critical or root causes for the political malaise which they were determined to resolve, and what methods should be adopted to alter the political situation to reach their proposed solution.

While the root of the call for a Caliphate is based upon an alternative ideological framework, its opponents construct the Caliphate and their opposition to it in a manner to claim its particularity while promoting the universality of secularism and the various forms of democracy derived from it. Its detractors claim that it is a symbol of a civilisation whose time had passed - anti-modern, totalitarian and barbaric. At the same time some of its deniers claim it is a modernist construct.

In all cases the Caliphate has again become a powerful symbol which can be reconstructed and promoted in different ways in both the regional and international struggle over the future of the "Greater Middle East".

### The aims of this work include providing insight into:

- ❖ The nature and nuances of Islam in politics
- ❖ The path of Islamic revival across the last century
- ❖ The importance of symbols and their varying levels of meaning in forming and strengthening identities
- ❖ The debate over the roots and reason of 'Political Islam'

***"That many governments in Muslim countries are badly in need of reform is not in doubt...But why has this sorry state of affairs not led to the emergence of domestic political movements seeking the creation of liberal democracy as we saw, for example, in Eastern Europe? What is different about the Muslim World?"*** Noah Feldmen