



# Ar-Rayah **Newspaper**

## Issue 582 (14 January 2026)

(Translated from Arabic)

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It might also be said that Hizb ut Tahrir has no other commodity but the Khilafah; wherever it goes, it speaks only of the Khilafah, knows nothing else, and is familiar with nothing else. We say, yes, the Khilafah is indeed its commodity and its project; it is its glory and its strength; it is the protector of the Deen and worldly life; it is the foundation and the essence. Through it, rulings are established, boundaries are defined, openings are achieved, and heads are raised in truth. It is what the Muslims began with before they began preparing the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and his burial, may Allah's prayers and peace be upon him, despite the importance and greatness of that, and all of that was due to the greatness and importance of the Khilafah, as the senior Companions (ra) saw that being occupied with it was more important than that great obligation.

# On the Anniversary of its Destruction, Our Glory Lies in the Khilafah (Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood

(Translated)

By: Ustadh Khalifa Muhammad

Since the Makkan period, specifically since the revelation of the verse, ﴿اَلْمَ \* غُلْبَتِ الرُّومُ﴾ “Alif Lam Mim \* The Romans have been defeated,” [TMQ Surah ar-Rum 1:2], Muslims have been looking towards the great powers. Although competing with these great powers was not on their minds, the revelation of this verse heralded the universality of Islam. Barely a decade had passed before the armies of the Islamic state were knocking on the doors of the great empire of the Romans in the Battle of Mu’tah. This battle was an immediate response to the martyrdom of the noble Companion Al-Harith ibn Umayr Al-Azdi, whom the Messenger of Allah ﷺ had sent to the king of Busra in Syria. He was killed by the king’s governor, Sharhabil ibn Amr Al-Ghassani, thus violating an established international custom at the time: that an envoy must not be killed. This custom continues to this day in what is known as the immunity of ambassadors.

This was one of the most prominent manifestations of the honor and dignity associated with the application of Islam, ﴿وَلِلّٰهِ الْعَزَّةُ﴾ ﴿وَلِرَسُولِهِ وَلِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ﴾ “And to Allah belongs all honor, and to His Messenger, and to the believers.” [TMQ Surah al-Munafiqoon: 8]. Thus, the killing of a single Muslim man by the Romans warranted the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ preparing a massive army to wage a fierce war in revenge for his death. In doing so, he ﷺ laid the

foundation for the foreign policy of the Islamic state, proclaiming the universality of the ideology of Islam and the universality of its state. The Prophet ﷺ marched at the head of a mighty army to Tabuk to fight the Romans. When they learned of this, the Romans fled, and the Prophet ﷺ was victorious through the terror instilled in them from a distance of a month's journey. Then the Prophet ﷺ passed away, having instructed that the expedition of Usama be dispatched. This was the army whose command the Prophet ﷺ had entrusted to Usama ibn Zayd (ra), to be sent to the borders of ash-Sham, and the Roman Empire.

After the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ, the Khilafah (Caliphate) continued to carry the message of Islam to all people, bringing honor, dignity, happiness, and peace to all who accepted Allah ﷺ as their Lord, Islam as their Deen, and Muhammad ﷺ as their Prophet and Messenger, and to all who were content to live under the protection of the Islamic state. It set the finest examples of mercy, justice, fairness, and humanity. Even in its final days, when it was described as the “sick man of Europe,” the Khilafah (Caliphate) provided relief to the Irish people during the famine known as the “Potato Famine” in the reign of Khaleefah Abdulmejid I between 1845 and 1852 CE.

The Muslims' situation quickly changed after the disbelieving colonialists, aided by treacherous Arabs and Turks, managed to destroy the Khilafah (Caliphate). The Muslim lands were torn apart into more than fifty fragments, resulting in weakness, humiliation, and degradation. Muslims became insignificant in the eyes of others, and because of their rulers, they became pawns for every kafir colonialist. Their blood flowed like rivers everywhere, and the most despicable and contemptible of Allah's creation, the Jews, roamed freely in several Muslim lands, killing

Muslims in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Lebanon, Syria, Yemen, and Iran. The corrupt rulers in their lands did nothing, and their wealth became prey for every plunderer. Muslims experienced poverty in all its forms, and nations descended upon them like hungry people upon a shared dish. It became commonplace to see many of their children dying from the bitter cold, spread of diseases, and hunger, and eating from garbage containers! The Muslims lost not only their honor, dignity, and prestige with the fall of the Khilafah (Caliphate), but also their humanity and every praiseworthy quality. There is no power nor strength except with Allah ﷺ.

A century has passed since the sun of the Khilafah (Caliphate) set, and a little more. What befell the Muslims, after those long centuries of honor and dignity under the Khilafah (Caliphate), has befallen them. This should give hope to the Muslims that their honor, dignity, and prestige among nations will return once again through the re-establishment of the Khilafah (Caliphate). How near it is! If the reason is known, the wonder ceases. This certain that Allah ﷺ honored it with Islam, and that whenever it seeks honor in anything other than Islam, Allah ﷺ will humiliate it. This last century is the best witness to this, and it contains lessons for every rational person.

Allah ﷺ has described the Islamic Ummah as the best nation brought forth for mankind, due to its Iman in Him, its enjoining of ma'ruf (goodness) and forbidding of munkar (evil). This was indeed its nature throughout the centuries of the Khilafah (Caliphate), and now it is time for it to regain its glory, dignity, and prestige by returning to the role and qualities with which Allah ﷺ has described it. It must adopt Islam as a way of life, establish its state, implement its Shariah rulings, and carry its risaalah

message to all people, leading them from darkness to light, from the worship of men to the worship of the Lord of men, and from misery to happiness and success in this world and the hereafter.

The Islamic Ummah is capable of reclaiming its former glory, attaining God Almighty's promise of succession on Earth, and fulfilling the glad tidings of His Messenger (peace and blessings be upon him), **“ثُمَّ تَكُونُ خِلَافَةً عَلَى مِنْهَاجِ النَّبُوَّةِ»** “Then there will be a Khilafah (Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood.” It possesses the human resources capable of achieving this, the wealth to make it the world's leading state, and a strategic geographical location that makes it the critical axis of the world. Furthermore, it possesses what others lack:

- The great ideology revealed by Allah ﷺ to establish justice among humankind.
- Hizb ut Tahrir, the guide who does not lie to its people, has dedicated itself purely to Allah ﷺ to re-establish Islamic ruling governance by establishing the Second Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood. It has prepared itself for this endeavor, adhering to the Shariah rulings of Allah ﷺ and following the example of His Messenger ﷺ in establishing the first Islamic state.

So, to the glory, honor, and dignity we call you, O Muslims, and to the triumph of the two worlds we lead you, O people. So come to the support of Hizb ut-Tahrir and the pledging of the Bayah of allegiance to it, to rule by the Book of Allah ﷺ and the Sunnah of His Messenger ﷺ, and to establish the Second Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood, for in it is your glory and dignity.

# The Anniversary of the Destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate) Necessitates Working to Re-establish It

(Translated)

By: Ustadh Asaad Mansour

On the 28th of Rajab, 1342 AH, 3 March, 1924 CE, a terrible earthquake struck Istanbul, the capital of the Abode of Islam and the Muslims, turning the world upside down. It altered the course of history, fragmented a great Ummah, abolished a tolerant Shariah Law, humiliated honorable men, and spread corruption throughout the land. A devil named Mustafa Kemal, supported by devils amongst men — traitorous Arabs and Turks — and orchestrated by Britain, the head of disbelief at that time, destroyed the Khilafah (Caliphate), the system of ruling governance in Islam, separating the Deen from life and confining it to rituals and morality.

The issue is not so much with these evildoers, as it is with the righteous among the sons of the Islamic Ummah, who did not rise up as one to sever the necks of those evildoers, foremost among them Mustafa Kemal, because the Khilafah (Caliphate) is a vital issue; a matter of life or death.

The Khilafah (Caliphate) is a matter of great importance, and only the ignorant, the foolish, or the treacherous would belittle it. It signifies the supremacy of Islam, the raising of the Word of Allah ﷺ as the highest, and the triumph of His true Deen over all

others. It is the secret to the unity, strength, glory, elevation, and nahdah (revival) of Muslims.

The disbelievers recognize its danger and warn those who call for its establishment, not only because it would deprive them of colonializing Muslim Lands, but also because it would pursue them through conquest to their own abodes, and eradicate their evil decisively.

Everyone is aware of the state of the Muslims after the destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate); their unity was shattered, their lands were torn apart, and colonialism in all its forms prevailed. Their affairs were taken over by ruwaibadah, lowly figures who declare their allegiance to the colonialist disbelievers and obey their commands. They rejoice when the tyrant Trump addresses them, ordering, forbidding, and humiliating them, and they offer him hundreds of billions of dollars as tribute, claiming it is an investment! They beg him to devise a plan for Gaza, Sudan, Syria, or other Muslim Lands, applauding and praising him as a man of peace, while he declares his control over their countries and resources and kills their sons with his deadly weapons, or with his dirty tool, the Jewish entity. How humiliated and despicable these rulers are! Perhaps they don't even realize they are humiliated and despised because they have never known the taste of dignity, having drunk from the cup of humiliation to the dregs.

They abandoned the people of Palestine, leaving them alone to face the American weapons of mass destruction that the Jews used in the genocide in Gaza. They even conspired against their own people, preventing them from liberating themselves from the grip of the colonialists. Any Muslim who criticizes their injustice, their treachery, or their allegiance to the disbelievers, or

who rises up and calls for the return of Islam to power and the establishment of the Khilafah (Caliphate), is crushed, and their evil henchmen are unleashed to brutalize them. Even the new rulers of Syria have followed in their footsteps, betraying their own people, breaking their covenants, allying themselves with the disbelievers, and displaying humiliation before the Jews, enabling them to dominate the south of the country. They released the murderers and criminals from the remnants of Bashar al-Assad's regime, while keeping the sincere members of Hizb ut Tahrir imprisoned, and sentencing them to prison terms of up to ten years. They defy Allah ﷺ and His Messenger ﷺ, openly declaring their injustice and following in the footsteps of their tyrannical predecessors, Hafez al-Assad and his son Bashar.

The Ummah is seeking its path to liberation (tahrir) and revival, refusing to remain in humiliation and subjugation, and searching for an aware and sincere political leadership. We say to its noble sons: the path is the Khilafah (Caliphate), and the leadership is Hizb ut Tahrir, which has drafted the constitution of the Khilafah (Caliphate), with constitutional articles derived from the Book of your Lord ﷺ and the Sunnah of your Messenger ﷺ.

However, there are those who criticize the Khilafah (Caliphate) and this Hizb, saying, 'You've been going on and on about the Khilafah (Caliphate); don't you have anything else to offer?' We tell them, yes, we have no other option. Let this Khilafah (Caliphate) be established, and see how your circumstances will change and you will become leaders of the world. Do you not remember how you were for thirteen centuries under the Khilafah (Caliphate)? You were the leaders and the shining light, while the West lived in utter darkness.

And we tell you why your Prophet Muhammad ﷺ, who does not speak from his own desires, but rather speaks a revelation revealed to him ﷺ, and who is our perfect example and our leader forever, focused on establishing the Islamic state. It was his primary concern. When he asked people to say, "There is no god but Allah ﷺ, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah ﷺ," it was not merely to say it with their tongues, and be done with it, but to submit their affairs to Allah ﷺ and abide by His judgment. Thus, sovereignty would belong to Allah ﷺ and His Messenger ﷺ, and the sovereignty of those who follow their desires, or what today is called democracy, would end.

Your noble Prophet ﷺ, the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, led the state for ten years until he made it a great power that rivaled the greatest power in the world at that time. When Allah ﷺ took him ﷺ back to Him ﷺ, his noble Companions (ra) delayed his burial for three days, prioritizing the appointment of a Khilafah (Caliph), recognizing the enormity of this obligation and having learned it from their noble teacher, the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ. They fought the apostates and those who refused to pay zakat to preserve this state, and they dispatched the army of Usama (ra), so that the Romans would not be emboldened to believe they were weak and attack their state. They did not deceive themselves or others by saying, 'We are exhausted and weak, so we will focus on building until we become stronger. We must make peace with the Jews and extend our hands to the arrogant Trump,' whilst showering him with praise. Instead, they said, 'We are strong through the strength of Iman, so we place our tawwakul (reliance) upon Allah ﷺ.' And so, they fought, though few in number, and Allah ﷺ granted them victory.

And to those who criticize us, we say: The West, and those who are influenced by it, have been bombarding us with talk of this rotten democracy, which is a system of disbelief, the rule of the wealthy, and a tool of colonialism. So, why don't you stand up to them? When they convened at the Berlin Conference in 1878 to divide the Khilafah (Caliphate), they decided to introduce democracy into the state, and spread it among Muslims, in order to dismantle the Khilafah and replace Islamic Shariah Law with it. Following the conference, those influenced by the West, such as the Committee of Union and Progress and others, began disseminating this idea among Muslims, falsely claiming it represented the Islamic concept of Shurah (consultation), thus deceiving Muslims. This deception continues to this day.

Hizb ut-Tahrir confronted this with all its might, focusing on the Khilafah (Caliphate), which represents the foundation, the source of strength and honor, the protection of the Deen, the well-being of Muslims, and the humiliation for the disbelievers.

Here is the Ameer of Hizb ut-Tahrir, who, by the grace of Allah ﷺ, has not wavered, changed, or weakened, and who remains steadfast through the support of Allah ﷺ, along with his steadfast, pious, and pure members of the Hizb, by the permission of Allah ﷺ, commemorating the destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate) not only with truthful words, but also with dedicated and sincere work for the sake of Allah ﷺ. The Ameer calls upon you to work with him and support him, so that you may attain the reward of this world and the Hereafter. The Ameer reminds you of the Shariah obligation of the Khilafah (Caliphate), with irrefutable evidence from the Book of your Lord ﷺ and the Sunnah of your Messenger ﷺ, and of the legacy of your conquering predecessors. He specifically calls upon your mighty

armies, the people of military strength and power, to grant nussrah (military support) to him for establishing the Khilafah Rashidah Mujahidah (the Rightly Guided Caliphate that wages Jihad), to eliminate the Jewish entity, as your noble Messenger ﷺ foretold, just as he ﷺ foretold of the conquest of Constantinople (Istanbul), which was conquered, and of the conquest of Rome, which will be conquered, by the Permission of Allah ﷺ, and just as he ﷺ foretold of the fall of the oppressive rule that is currently in place, which will fall, by the permission of Allah ﷺ, and of the establishment of the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate), which will be established, by the permission of Allah ﷺ. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, «اللَّهُ أَنْ تَكُونَ، ثُمَّ يَرْفَعُهَا إِذَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَرْفَعَهَا، ثُمَّ تَكُونُ خِلَافَةً عَلَى مِنْهَاجِ النُّبُوَّةِ»  
“Then there will be an oppressive rule, and it will be as long as Allah ﷺ wills it to be, then He will lift it when He wills to lift it, then there will be a Khilafah (Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood.” (Musnad Ahmad) Allah ﷺ said, ﴿وَيَوْمَئِذٍ يَفْرَحُ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ \* 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]

# This is How You Muslims Are After the Khilafah (Caliphate) Was Stripped from You

This is how you Muslims have become, after the Khilafah was stripped from you, and you were ruled by the Ruwaybidha rulers who today take orders from the tyrant Trump, even in Gaza (of Hashim) and all of the Blessed Land. In September 2025, Trump chaired a meeting that included Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar, Egypt, Jordan, Türkiye, Indonesia, and Pakistan, on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly meetings, describing it as the most important meeting. Then he presented, or rather imposed, a 20-point plan on them. The points of his plan spoke volumes about the loss of Gaza, its subjugation, and its colonization to become a backyard for the enjoyment of Trump and the Jewish entity! After that, Sisi held a celebration in Egypt (al-Kinanah) for Trump and his ominous plan. This was a prelude to Security Council Resolution 2803, which imposes a trusteeship or colonization board to administer Gaza (of Hashim), which he calls a Board of Peace! Then Trump declares that he will announce the members of the council headed by him in Gaza at the beginning of this year, 2026. Al Jazeera also quoted him as saying that Trump is likely to appoint an American general to lead the International Stabilization Force (ISF) in the Gaza Strip. (Al Jazeera, 11/12/2025). In other words, Trump controls the governing board and security forces in Gaza! Then, his envoy, Witkoff, meets with the "mediating" countries—Turkey, Egypt, and Qatar—in Miami on 19/12/2025, to advance the second phase of discussions on how to deploy the stabilization forces and disarm Hamas, as well as to discuss the practical steps for implementing this! Then,

Trump met with Netanyahu in Florida and said: [“The meeting was very productive.” He adds to reporters: “The talks addressed the issue of disarming Hamas, stressing that they have to disarm within a fairly short period of time, and then there will be hell to pay for them.” (BBC, 30/12/2025)]. Trump says this while he is supplying the Jewish entity with every weapon, heavy and super-heavy, in a brutal war on Gaza that is harming people, trees, and stones. Trump says and does this under the sight and hearing of the rulers in Muslim countries who have betrayed the Blessed Land by remaining silent about its liberation, and even applauded Trump for his 20-point plan!

\* Palestine is not alone in which these rulers have betrayed, they also betrayed the countries they governed, acting on behalf of and at the behest of the kaffir colonizers, especially America. South Sudan was separated from the North, and Darfur is now on the same path. Libya is also embroiled in conflict and divided into two states. Yemen is divided into North and South, and the South is even splitting apart! The new Syria has thrown itself into America's arms, releasing the henchmen and thugs of the former tyrant's regime while detaining the members of Hizb ut Tahrir, who call for the Khilafah (Caliphate), imprisoned and sentencing them for up to ten years. These Ruwaybidha (insignificant ignorant) rulers were not content with this; they surrendered or handed over other parts of the land of Islam. Kashmir was annexed by the Hindu polytheists (mushrikeen). Russia annexed Chechnya and other Muslim lands in Central Asia. East Timor was taken from Indonesia. Cyprus, a stronghold of Muslims for many years, is now mostly controlled by Greece. The Rohingya Muslims are being slaughtered in Myanmar, and if they seek refuge in Bangladesh, the regime oppresses them and fails to support them by fighting their enemy! Then there is East Turkestan, which China

is brutally attacking, with brutality that even beasts would avoid. And the existing states in the Muslims lands are silent as the graves; if they speak, they say that China's oppression of the Muslims is an internal matter! ﴿كُبِرُتْ كَلِمَةً تَخْرُجُ مِنْ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ إِنْ يَقُولُونَ إِلَّا كَذِبًا﴾ “They have no knowledge of this, nor did their forefathers. What a terrible claim that comes out of their mouths! They say nothing but lies” [Al-Kahf: 5]

Excerpt from the Address of Eminent Scholar and Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah (May Allah Protect him) On the 105th Anniversary of the Destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate).

# On These Similar Days, One Hundred and Five Years Ago

On these similar days, 105 years ago, in late Rajab 1342 AH, corresponding to early March 1924 CE, the kaffir (disbelieving) colonialists, led by Britain at that time, in cooperation with traitors of the Arabs and Turks, managed to destroy the Khilafah (Caliphate). The criminal of the era, Mustafa Kemal, openly declared open disbelief (kufr) by abolishing the Khilafah, besieging the Caliph in Istanbul, and expelling him at dawn that very day. Thus, a terrible earthquake struck the lands of the Muslims with the destruction of the Khilafah, the source of their glory and the pleasure of their Lord. It was incumbent upon the Ummah to fight him with the sword, as stated in the agreed-upon Hadith of the Prophet ﷺ on the authority of Ubadah ibn al-Samit, may Allah be pleased with him, said, **وَأَنَّ لَا تُنَازِعَ الْأَمْرَ أَهْلَهُ إِلَّا أَنْ تَرُواْ كُفُّراً بَوَاحِدَةً عِنْدَكُمْ مِنْ أَنَّ اللَّهَ فِيهِ بُرْهَانٌ** “And that we should not dispute the authority of those in charge unless you see clear disbelief for which you have proof from Allah.” But the Ummah fell short in this, and did not do what would stop that criminal and his supporters and defeat him and his supporters. Rather, the earthquake of the loss of the Khilafah continued. Then the influence of the kaffir colonizers spread in the lands of the Muslims, so they divided the lands and tore it into pieces that reached about 55 fragments!

\* Then, the Ruwaybidha (insignificant incompetent) rulers in the Muslim lands added another earthquake to this one, failing to prevent the Jews from occupying the Blessed Land, the site of the Prophet's Israa wal Miraj (Night Journey and Ascension). They then sank even lower, rushing towards normalization with the

Jewish entity without it withdrawing from anything! Some committed the crime of normalization behind closed doors, while others did so openly, day and night! Thus, they all hasten towards this crime, heedless of the humiliation that surrounds them from head to toe. ﴿سَيُصِيبُ الَّذِينَ أَجْرَمُوا صَعَارٌ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَعَذَابٌ شَدِيدٌ بِمَا كَانُوا يَمْكُرُونَ﴾ “The wicked will soon be overwhelmed by humiliation from Allah and a severe punishment for their evil plots” [Al-An'am: 124].

**Excerpt from the Address of Eminent Scholar and Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah (May Allah Protect him) On the 105th Anniversary of the Destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate).**

# The Causes of the Protests in Iran

By: Ustadh Latif Al-Rasekh

Iran's regime interprets the new wave of protests that erupted there in late December as foreign interference. This rhetoric is not new to Iran's regime; it has used it for decades, starting with the Green Movement in 2009, and continuing through the protests of 2017, 2019, and 2022. In each of these events, the focus has been on the role of foreign powers seeking to destabilize and weaken the state. However, while this explanation is politically expedient for Tehran, it does not answer the question: Why are the protests increasingly encompassing broader segments of society, and why do they resurface time and again?

Initially, it is illogical to deny the influence of foreign interests on these events. Iran is a major player in the region, and there is no doubt that weakening its domestic stability would significantly disrupt the balance of power in the Middle East. For its geopolitical rivals, such as the Jewish entity and its partners, the domestic crisis in Iran signifies a decline in its power — a decrease in its ability to exert influence beyond its borders, a reduction in its involvement in regional conflicts, and a weakening of its capacity to defend its foreign policy objectives.

Added to this is the active role of a segment of the Iranian opposition abroad, which has been working for years to internationalize the country's domestic problems and portray the protests as evidence of the regime's complete loss of legitimacy. Foreign media outlets, online platforms, and political statements contribute to amplifying the impact of the protests, giving them further resonance and attracting broader international attention.

How crucial, however, is distinguishing between exploiting the crisis and its origins and root causes. Foreign powers may exploit the situation to serve their own interests, interpret it in a way that benefits them, and even contribute to escalating tensions through the media, but this does not necessarily mean they created the crisis itself.

### **How Plausible is the Foreign Conspiracy Theory?**

The assertion that the protests in Iran are the result of centralized foreign management is entirely inconsistent with the reality on the ground. These movements lack unified leadership, a clear narrative, and a coordinated program. They appear sporadically in different parts of the country for varying reasons, often arising spontaneously. They involve social groups with radically different interests: from industrial workers and small merchants, to students and the retired. The protesters' demands range from purely economic issues, to general political slogans. This does not indicate organized foreign influence, but rather the accumulation of widespread popular discontent within society. The participation of diverse segments of society in the protests makes it difficult for the authorities, as well as for foreign observers, to control or manage these movements.

### **The Main Reason for the Protests: Economic Deterioration**

The basis of the current protests lies in a chronic economic crisis. For Iran, this crisis is no longer merely an abstract macroeconomic problem; it has become a crisis that affects the daily lives of the majority of Iranians. The sharp and continuous decline in the value of the local currency has shattered public confidence in the economic system, and effectively wiped out the savings of the middle class. In recent years, the Iranian rial has lost a significant portion of its value. In 2015, the dollar was

trading between 30,000 and 35,000 rials, while by the end of 2022, it had surpassed 400,000 rials! The decline accelerated further in 2025; at the beginning of the year, the dollar was worth approximately 800,000 rials, and by the end of the year, it had exceeded 1.4 million rials on the free market! Thus, in a single year, the rial lost more than 40% of its value, and in a decade, it lost almost all of its previous purchasing power. This reality, coupled with the ensuing inflation rate exceeding 40%, has dealt a severe and direct blow to the standard of living.

High inflation rates and soaring prices for food, housing, and basic services have made the previous standard of living unattainable for millions of families. Real incomes have declined, and social mobility has virtually ground to a halt. In the current crisis, sanctions undoubtedly play a significant role, but they only serve to exacerbate existing domestic problems, including mismanagement, corruption, structural imbalances, and the economy's reliance on limited revenue streams. Consequently, economic discontent transforms from a temporary issue into a chronic, long-term condition, making protests and demonstrations almost inevitable.

### **In Conclusion**

The protests in Iran must not be viewed as a plot imposed by foreign forces, but primarily as an indicator of the country's domestic structural problems. While foreign forces certainly have a stake in the current instability, and actively seek to exploit it for their own benefit, this is not the cause, but rather a consequence. Therefore, interpreting events solely as a foreign conspiracy allows the Iranian authorities to oversimplify the situation, and avoid addressing the fundamental economic, political, and institutional issues. These same issues, however, are what shape

the social environment within Iranian society. In such an environment, protests are not a rare occurrence, but rather a recurring element of daily life in Iran. Under these circumstances, the name “Islamic” that the state bears, has become nothing more than a cosmetic, nominal element.

# Al-Burhan's Visit to Turkey is Instrumental to Consolidate His Rule and Execute America's Plan

By: Ustaadh Ibrahim Musharraf \*

The recent visit by Sudanese Transitional Sovereignty Council Chairman, Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, to Turkey has sparked widespread debate in political circles, between those who view it as a step to bolster regional cooperation and support, and those who see it as a protocol with limited impact on the trajectory of the war and the escalating crisis in Sudan. (Al Jazeera Net)

Al-Burhan's visit to Turkey comes at a time when the Sudanese army, the Rapid Support Forces, and their ally the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North are witnessing a halt in military operations, with sporadic advances and retreats in the Kordofan region, alongside international pressures on the Sudanese government to accept the roadmap presented by the American "Quad," which includes Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and the United States on September 12, to end the conflict. Khartoum insists on rejecting Abu Dhabi's participation due to its support for the Rapid Support Forces. In addition to internal pressure against accepting any truce with the Rapid Support Forces.

The Turkish capital Ankara represented al-Burhan's third stop within ten days, which he visited last December 25, following his trips to Riyadh and Cairo on the 15th and 18th of the same month, as part of an international tour, amid mounting foreign pressures on Khartoum, and battlefield setbacks for the army in the Kordofan region that links the country's west and east. It is

noteworthy that Turkey has not ceased providing extensive support and backing to Sudan in the fields of security and defense. There are agreements between the two countries in that regard.

In the wake of the meeting, the Turkish presidency issued a statement clarifying that cooperation between Turkey and Sudan will be enhanced in various fields, starting from trade and agriculture, extending to defense industries and mining. The statement indicated that Turkey will continue to meet the needs of the Sudanese people, who are facing a humanitarian crisis, by providing more humanitarian aid.

It is noteworthy that the reception ceremony was attended on the Turkish side by Foreign Minister Hakan Fidan, Defense Minister Yasar Guler, Agriculture Minister Ibrahim Yumakli, Intelligence Chief Ibrahim Kalin, and Head of the Defense Industries Authority Haluk Gorgun.

Meanwhile, accompanying the Transitional Sovereignty Council Chairman were Under-Secretary of the Foreign Ministry, Muawiya Osman Khalid, Director of the General Intelligence Service, Lieutenant General Ahmed Ibrahim Mufaddal, and Director General of the Defense Industries System, Lieutenant General Mirghani Idris.

Following the reception ceremony, the two countries' leaders held a bilateral meeting, followed by a working dinner between the delegations of the two countries (sources: Al Jazeera and Anadolu), and al-Burhan clarified that Sudan and Turkey had signed memoranda of understanding and cooperation earlier, but their implementation had been slow, pointing out that his current visit established the mechanisms capable of enhancing cooperation in multiple fields. He indicated that he requested

from President Erdogan, in light of Turkey's role in establishing peace in several crises around the world, assistance in reaching a solution to the Sudanese crisis. Al-Burhan affirmed that among the objectives of his visit was also benefiting from the Turkish experience within the framework of the "Terror-Free Turkey" project, considering it an experience worth emulating.

On the economic front, al-Burhan said that Sudanese authorities are consulting on lifting visa requirements for Turkish businessmen to facilitate their arrival in Sudan, affirming his country's need in the upcoming phase for Turkey's capabilities in the fields of reconstruction, infrastructure rehabilitation, and the energy sector.

Regarding efforts to halt the war in Sudan, al-Burhan said there is talk of initiatives and endeavors to stop it, but the presence of what he described as "the militia," the Rapid Support Forces, and those behind it prevents achieving that, calling on these forces to lay down their arms.

He added that the Sudanese Sovereignty Council "has sought since the beginning of the war to stop it and agreed to all proposed initiatives, but the other side refused," pointing out that stopping the war is possible today, but Sudan's demands have not changed since the Jeddah Agreement in 2023, chief among them being the disarmament of the Rapid Support Forces, their assembly in designated locations, and then addressing their status.

Al-Burhan emphasized that the solution must be "Sudanese-Sudanese," and that the political solution must be preceded by a resolution to the military situation, considering that anyone speaking of merging solutions has an interest in the continued existence of the Rapid Support Forces.

In the same context, al-Burhan said that Sudan trusts the intentions of Saudi Arabia and Egypt, and recently the American administration, and their ability to contribute to resolving the Sudanese predicament and ensuring the sustainability of the solution in the future.

Al-Burhan concluded with an appeal to U.S. President Trump, saying, "If President Trump wants to be the man of peace for this year, he must look into the Sudanese issue and resolve it, and we tell him that you can do that." (TRT Arabic)

It appears that al-Burhan's visit to Ankara is an extension, not a rupture, of his visit to Saudi Arabia, America's cash cow; and to Egypt's Sisi, Trump's favorite dictator. The Riyadh visit represented the gateway to political legitimacy and the negotiating track, while Cairo embodies the depth of security and sovereignty, whereas Ankara, the regional player in Syria and Lebanon, offers America additional maneuvering space for al-Burhan and grants him a card to make the Sudanese people forget past defeats, and the current halt in military operations. Al-Burhan is implementing America's plan for Darfur's secession by creating the Libyan scenario of two governments and two armies... and that is why military operations have stopped. Thus, actions were necessary to deceive people into believing the war continues, so that they rally around al-Burhan and he does not lose his popularity.

These heads, mere semblances of rulers, engage in shuttle diplomacy that resembles political work, while they are farthest from it and from what characterizes a statesman; for they are agents in vassal states that serve the disbelieving West. The statesman is the one who tends to the affairs of his Ummah, knows no lying or deception, but rather performs what the Prophets (as) performed. Narrated that the Prophet ﷺ said,

«كَانَتْ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ تَسْوُسُهُمُ الْأَنْبِيَاءُ، كُلُّمَا هَلَكَ نَبِيٌّ خَلَقَهُ نَبِيٌّ، وَإِنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي»،  
وَسَتَكُونُ حُلْقَاءُ فَتَكْثُرُ»، قَالُوا، فَمَا تَأْمُرُنَا؟ قَالَ، «فُوا بِبَيْعَةِ الْأَوَّلِ، فَالْأَوَّلُ»،  
وَأَعْطُوهُمْ حَقَّهُمْ، فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَائِلُهُمْ عَمَّا اسْتَرْعَاهُمْ» **The Bani Israeel were governed by Prophets: Whenever a Prophet died, another would take over his place. There will be no Prophet after me, but there will be Caliphs (Khulafaa) who will be large in number.** The people asked, **“Then what should we do?”** He ﷺ replied: **“Fulfill your pledge of allegiance to them one after another, and give them their due rights, for Allah ﷺ will hold them responsible for that which He ﷺ has entrusted to them.”** [Sahih al-Bukhari]

\* Member of the Media Office of Hizb ut-Tahrir in the Wilayah of Sudan

# The Establishment of the Khilafah is the Muslims' Vital Issue

**O Muslims! O Armies in the Lands of the Muslims:** The establishment of the Khilafah is the Muslims' vital issue. We are confident in Allah's victory, in the glory of Islam and the Muslims, in the return of the rightly guided, striving Khilafah, in the elimination of the Jewish entity occupying Palestine, and in the opening of Rome as Constantinople was opened and Istanbul became the abode of Islam (Dar al-Islam). We are confident of this, even if the disbelievers (kuffar) and hypocrites say otherwise, ﴿إِذْ يَقُولُ الْمُنَافِقُونَ وَالَّذِينَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ مَرَضٌ غَرَّ هُوَلَاءُ دِينِهِمْ﴾ “Remember when the hypocrites and those with sickness in their hearts said, “These ‘believers’ are deluded by their faith.” [Al-Anfal: 49]. All of this victory for the Muslims is in the promise of Allah ﷺ ﴿وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَحْلِفُنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ﴾ “Allah has promised those of you who believe and do good that He will certainly make them successors in the land” [An-Noor: 55]. And the glad tidings of His Messenger ﷺ after this oppressive rule in which we live: «شَاءَ اللَّهُ فَتَكُونُ مُلْكًا جَبْرِيلَةً فَتَكُونُ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ» «أَنْ تَكُونَ ثُمَّ يَرْفَعُهَا إِذَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَرْفَعُهَا ثُمَّ تَكُونُ خِلَافَةً عَلَى مِنْهَاجِ النُّبُوَّةِ ثُمَّ سَكَتَ» “Then there will be an oppressive rule, and it will last as long as Allah wills it to last. Then He will remove it when He wills to remove it. Then there will be a Khilafah (Caliphate) on the method of Prophethood.” Then he remained silent. (Musnad Ahmad). So the Khilafah will inevitably return, Allah willing. However, it requires serious and diligent work to establish it. For the way of Allah, the Almighty, the Wise, has decreed that He will not send down angels from heaven to establish a Khilafah for us and fulfill the promise of Allah, the Mighty, the Exalted, and the glad tidings of His Messenger ﷺ while we sit idly by. Rather, He

will send down angels to assist us while we work diligently, earnestly, truthfully, and sincerely. Then Allah ﷺ will grant us victory and success in both worlds, and that is the supreme triumph. Hizb ut Tahrir is working earnestly for it, anticipates imminent establishment. So, hasten, O Muslims! Hasten, O people of power! Join the call and support (nusrah), and hasten to establish the Khilafah with the party, not merely witness it from them. For victory, by Allah's permission, is near.

إِنَّ اللَّهَ بِالْغُلْمَانِ قَدْرًا ﴿٣﴾

“أَمْرِهِ قَدْ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدْرًا” Certainly, Allah achieves His Will.

وَيَوْمَئِذٍ [At-Talaq:3]

﴿وَيَوْمَئِذٍ﴾

“بِنَصْرِ اللَّهِ يَنْصُرُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الرَّحِيمُ ﴿٤﴾ \* يُفْرَحُ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ

And on that day the believers will rejoice \* at the victory willed by Allah. He gives victory to whoever He wills. For He is the Almighty, Most Merciful” [Ar-Rum: 4-5].

Excerpt from the Address of Eminent Scholar and Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah (May Allah Protect him) On the 105th Anniversary of the Destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate).

# If the Khilafah Returns, You Will Return to the Glory of Your Forefathers

**O Muslims! O Armies in the Lands of the Muslims!** If the Khilafah returns, you will return to the glory of your forefathers, for their deeds speak of their might and the greatest pleasure of Allah. They established the Khilafah and preserved it, so they were honoured and prevailed and attained the pleasure of their Lord. You are their descendants, so come to the truth they followed and follow it, and to the glory they created and create it. Restore the Khilafah and preserve it. Hizb ut Tahrir is among you, so support it, for it works day and night to resume the Islamic way of life by establishing the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate). It leads the Ummah and guides it to this great task, and it disturbs the sleep of the disbelieving colonizers with its call for the Khilafah. So, what will happen when the Khilafah is established and removes the borders and barriers drawn by the disbelieving colonizers from the edges of the Pacific Ocean, where Indonesia and Malaysia are located, to the shores of the Atlantic, where Morocco and Andalusia are located?! Then the Muslims will return to being one Ummah under one state, the Khilafah Rashidah which will honour Islam and the Muslims, and humiliate disbelief and the disbelievers (kufr and the kuffar). It will reclaim the lands of Islam and the Muslims from the hands of the colonizing disbelievers, pursue them to the depths of their own lands, and illuminate the world anew. On that day, truth will prevail and falsehood will perish. ﴿وَقُلْ جَاءَ الْحَقُّ وَزَهَقَ الْبَاطِلُ إِنَّ الْبَاطِلَ كَانَ زَهُوقًا﴾  
“And declare, “The truth has come and falsehood has vanished. Indeed, falsehood is bound to vanish.” [Al-Isra: 81].

\* It might be asked, "Does the Khilafah (Caliphate) accomplish all this? Does it achieve victory and repel defeat? Does it liberate Muslim lands from the colonizing kuffar and even pursue them to their own lands?" We say, "Yes, our Lord, the Exalted, says this ﴿إِنَّ تَنْصُرُوا اللَّهَ يَنْصُرُكُمْ وَيُبَتِّئُ أَفْدَامَكُمْ﴾ "O believers! If you stand up for Allah, He will help you and make your steps firm" [Muhammad: 7]." Allah's true victory can only be achieved through the establishment of the state of Islam that implements His Laws. When it is established, Allah ﷺ grants it victory, and it becomes firmly established and powerful, so that its allies respect it and its enemies fear it. The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said this: «الإِمَامُ جُنَاحٌ يُقَاتَلُ مِنْ وَرَائِهِ وَيُنَقَّى بِهِ» "The Imam is a shield behind whom people fight and by whom people are protected." The Caliph (Khaleefah) and the Caliphate (Khilafah) are a shield, i.e., a protection. And whoever has protection will, by Allah's permission, be victorious in the end; his land will not be lost, and his enemies will not approach him. The history of the Khilafah testifies to this. Where is Byzantium and its scepter? Where is Ctesiphon and Khosroes? And who else but the Islamic State, the soldiers of Islam, and the justice of Islam raised the call of Takbeer in those vast lands stretching from ocean to ocean? Had the Khilafah known of lands beyond the two oceans, east and west, it would have traversed their depths, calling to Allah, the All-Powerful, the All-Mighty, the All-Wise.

**Excerpt from the Address of Eminent Scholar and Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah (May Allah Protect him) On the 105th Anniversary of the Destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate).**

# **Fear, Misery, and Destruction: A Gift of the Capitalist West to Women and Their Children. There Is No Way Out Except Through the Khilafah (Caliphate)**

**By: Ustadha Hanan Ibrahim (Umm Ali Sa'eed)**

A wretched life is lived by women and their children under capitalist systems whose flames scorch the entire world, foremost among them the United States. Women in Syria, Sudan, Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Gaza, the West Bank, and elsewhere, have seen these tragedies with their own eyes and heard them with their own ears.

Those women who remain in Syria now fear marriage and childbirth, lest their children live a miserable life like the one endured today.

As for Gaza, Al Jazeera reported that Palestinian women find themselves at the heart of the humanitarian catastrophe, produced by the genocidal war committed by the Jews in the Gaza Strip. The figures reveal the scale of the disaster that has befallen women and girls after two years of bombardment, destruction, and starvation.

Data from the Government Media Office in Gaza indicate that more than 12,500 women have been martyred, among them over 9,000 mothers who lost their lives during the war, while the number of widows has reached 21,200 women. Some 12,000 cases of miscarriage have been recorded due to the harsh conditions, at a time when 107,000 pregnant and breastfeeding

women face grave danger to their lives amid shortages of food and healthcare.

Regarding humanitarian intervention priorities, a UN official stated that women and girls in Gaza need “everything,” from shelter and food to protection, noting that “one out of every seven households in Gaza is headed by a woman.”

The United States and its followers have committed, and continue to commit, the same crimes in Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, and other Islamic lands.

However, who facilitated, eased, and paved the way for the West to humiliate Muslim women? Who aided America, Russia, Britain, and France in roaming freely across our lands as they please? Are they not the rulers of the Muslims, Arabs and non-Arabs alike? Are they not the tools through which the West extends its hands over our honor, our wealth, and our resources?

In the absence of the Khilafah (Caliphate) State, the world is passing through a phase of unrest and anxiety unmistakable to any observer, amid an expanding map of conflicts. According to a report issued by the UN Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres, the world is witnessing the highest number of conflicts since 1946, with all that entails of grave repercussions for international peace and security, and for the lives of millions of people. The report was issued on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

The report indicates that approximately 676 million women and girls today live in deadly conflict zones or within 50 kilometers of them the highest level since the 1990s. In 2023, documented cases of sexual violence in conflict zones increased by 50% compared to 2022, with 3,688 confirmed cases against women

and young girls. The situation worsened further in 2024, with an additional increase of 25%. These numbers are not mere statistics; they are muffled screams expressing the collapse of the moral and humanitarian order, in a world where wars are conducted upon the bodies of women.

Sudan, of course, has not been absent from this dark list, amid the most violent and bloodiest war in its modern history. UNICEF reported on 27 August 2025 that, after 500 days of siege, the city of El Fasher in North Darfur has become a focal point of children's suffering, as malnutrition, disease, and violence cause daily child deaths.

It also stated in a press release that at least 600,000 people, half of them children have been displaced from El Fasher and the surrounding camps in recent months and within the city. Around 260,000 civilians, including 130,000 children, remain besieged in miserable conditions, cut off from aid for more than 16 months.

Catherine Russell, UNICEF's Executive Director, said on 27 August 2025, "We are witnessing a devastating tragedy – children in Al Fasher are starving while UNICEF's lifesaving nutrition services are being blocked." UNICEF also reported 221 documented cases of child rape, including 16 victims under the age of five, and four children who had not yet reached their first year.

What level of human degradation could justify such sadism and barbarity? The report of UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres goes beyond description; it draws attention to a painful paradox: "women are being killed in wars in record numbers."

After the demolition of the Khilafah (Caliphate) State, this catastrophic event that left devastating effects on the lives of women, their children, and their families—women lost a state

that had long been their guardian and protector of their rights, as the Prophet ﷺ said, «الإِمَامُ رَاعٍ وَهُوَ مَسْؤُلٌ عَنْ رَعْيَتِهِ» **“The Imam is a guardian and he is responsible for his charge.”** They were afflicted with death, destruction, poverty, and deprivation. Islam elevated the status of women, and there are many evidences in Islam obligating men and society to treat women with respect and to preserve their dignity. The Prophet ﷺ said, «اسْتَوْصُوا بِالنِّسَاءِ حَيْرًا» **“Treat women kindly,”** narrated by Muslim. Therefore, the Khilafah (Caliphate) will make the dignity and security of women a foundational pillar of its policy, “The primary role of women is that she is a mother and responsible over the household and she is an honour that must be protected.” (Article 112 of the Constitution of the Khilafah (Caliphate) State). The state encourages piety and awareness of Islamic Shariah rulings within society, which will enhance values of responsibility in how men view and treat women. The Khilafah (Caliphate) will implement its political, educational, and media rulings, as well as all other available ways, to reinforce a respectful view of women.

Islam forbids any form of violence against women, whether in the home or in the street. The Prophet ﷺ said, «لَا تَصْرِيبُوا إِمَاءَ اللَّهِ» **“Do not strike the female servants of Allah.”** Article 119 of the Draft Constitution of the Khilafah (Caliphate) State states, “It is prohibited for any man or woman to undertake any work which could undermine the morals, or causes corruption in the society.” The comprehensive Islamic social system places the preservation of women’s dignity at the core of its Shariah rulings.

The Islamic social system provides a framework through which women’s dignity can be preserved in practice:

First: By reapplying the principle that a woman is not a commodity to be displayed.

Second: By creating a chaste and pure environment.

All of this helps to protect women and to end violence and other crimes against them. The result will be the establishment of a society in which a woman is a mother, a housewife, and a protected honor, safeguarded by the guardianship of men.

“Marital life is one of tranquillity; and the couple should live together as companions. The guardianship (Qawwamah) of the husband over the wife is a guardianship of care and not ruling. It has been made obligatory for her to obey him, and obligatory upon him to financially support her according to the expected standard of living of one like her.” (Article 120)

Islam has clarified the rights of the wife over the husband and regulated their worldly relationship through Shariah rulings that eliminate harshness and ill-treatment toward women. Court records from the era of the Khilafah (Caliphate) show that husbands who were violent toward their wives were punished by the state, including imprisonment in some cases. Judges often required the husband to accept a condition stipulating that if he were violent toward his wife again, the marriage would be dissolved without the wife forfeiting her financial or marital rights.

The Khilafah (Caliphate) will take intensive steps to preserve the dignity of its women, including mobilizing its armies against foreign forces that threaten women, because safeguarding women’s honor holds a great and exalted status in Islam under the shade of the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly-Guided Caliphate) upon the Method of Prophethood.

# **Hizb ut-Tahrir/Wilayah Sudan: Invitation to Attend a Conference Commemorating the Destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate)**

On the occasion of the 105th lunar anniversary of the destruction of the Muslim state, the Khilafah (Caliphate), on the 28th of Rajab, 1342 AH, and continuing to remind Muslims of the obligation to work towards its re-establishment as a Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly-Guided Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood, Hizb ut-Tahrir/Wilayah Sudan is honored to invite you to attend a conference entitled:

**“Sudan Between the Policies of Bloodshed and the Unification of People into One Ummah”**

The conference will begin with a speech by the esteemed alim and ameer of Hizb ut-Tahrir, Ata bin Khalil Abu Rashta (may Allah preserve him), on the occasion of the 105th anniversary of the destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate).

Then, a group of Dawah carriers will discuss a number of important papers at the conference, addressing several critical issues.

**Time: Saturday, 28 Rajab 1447 AH, corresponding to January 17, 2026 CE, at 12:30 PM, God willing.**

**Location: Port Sudan, Al-Basiri Plaza Hotel Conference Hall in the Grand Market.**

We would be delighted and honored by your presence.

# Are You Not Capable of Following in the Footsteps of Those Who Came Before You from the Soldiers of Islam?

(Translated)

**O Soldiers in the Armies of the Muslims:** Are you not capable of following in the footsteps of those who came before you from the soldiers of Islam, and fulfilling the obligation of Allah Al Qawi Al Aziz, by liberating Palestine and Gaza (of Hashim) through jihad in the path of Allah, the very pinnacle of Islam? And then reclaiming every inch of Muslim land that has been severed from its origin or seized by the kaffir colonizers in the east and west of the earth, and pursuing them to their very lands? Are you not capable? Yes, by Allah's permission, you are indeed capable:

\* You are the sons of the Muslim Ummah, the Ummah of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, the Ummah of the Muhajiroon and Ansar (Emigrants and the Helpers), the Ummah of the Khulafaa' ar-Rashidoon (Rightly Guided Caliphs) and those who followed them, the descendants of Harun al-Rashid, who responded to the Byzantine emperor's breaking of his treaty with the Muslims and his aggression against them: "The response is what you see, not what you hear!" and so it was. You are the descendants of al-Mu'tasim, who led a mighty army to the aid of a woman wronged by a Roman man, who cried out, "O Mu'tasim!" And you are the descendants of Salahudin, the vanquisher of the Crusaders and the liberator of al-Aqsa from their defilement on the 27th of Rajab 583 AH (October 2, 1187 CE).

\* You are the descendants of Muhammad al-Fatih, the young Ameer whom Allah honoured by the praise of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, for the conqueror of Constantinople: «وَلِنَعْمَ الْأَمِيرُ أَمِيرُهَا، وَلِنَعْمَ الْجَيْشُ ذَلِكَ الْجَيْشُ» **“The best Ameer is its Ameer, and the best army is its army!”** It was opened by him, may Allah have mercy on him and bless him, in 857 AH (1453 CE). You are the descendants of Sultan Selim III, during whose reign the United States of America paid an annual jiziyah tax to his governor in Algeria amounting to \$642,000 in gold, in addition to 12,000 Ottoman gold liras, in exchange for the release of its prisoners held in Algeria and permission to pass through the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea without intervention from the Ottoman navy. And for the first time, America was forced to sign a treaty not in its own language, but in the language of the Ottoman State, on 21 Safar 1210 AH (September 5, 1795 CE).

\* You are the descendants of Caliph Abdul Hamid, who summoned the French ambassador in Istanbul and deliberately met him in military uniform, then threatened him to stop the play that slandered the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ, saying, "I am the Caliph of the Muslims... I will turn the world upside down on your heads if you do not stop that play." France complied and banned it in 1307 AH (1890 CE). You are the descendants of this Caliph who was not tempted by the millions of gold coins offered by the Jews to the State Treasury (Bayt ul-Mal), nor was he intimidated by the international pressure they mobilized against him to allow them to settle in Palestine. He famously said, "It is easier for me to have my body cut to pieces than to see Palestine severed from the Khilafah (Caliphate)." He was foresighted, adding, "...Let the Jews keep their millions... If the Khilafah is ever torn apart, then

they can take Palestine for free." And that is exactly what happened!

**Excerpt from the Address of Eminent Scholar and Ameer of Hizb ut Tahrir Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah (May Allah Protect him) On the 105th Anniversary of the Destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate).**

# From the Caesar Act to Custodianship: Sanctions Transform into Direct Control

By: Ustadh Abdo Al-Dali\*

The talk of lifting or suspending sanctions on Syria was neither innocent nor humanitarian, as it was portrayed in the media. Instead, it came laden with heavy conditions, clearly revealing a shift in pressure from comprehensive sanctions to a more dangerous and profound form: direct political control, oversight of sovereign decisions, and linking economic recovery to the limits of American approval.

What is being proposed today is not an exit from the Caesar Act, but rather its reproduction with more subtle, more intrusive, and more closely aligned tools that permeate the very fabric of the state and society.

From the outset, the suspension of sanctions was portrayed as an achievement or a historic opportunity, while ignoring the fundamental truth that the sanctions themselves were an injustice and an act of aggression, primarily targeting the people in every aspect of their lives: their livelihoods, their medicine, and their sustenance. Therefore, lifting the law is not a favor, let alone something for which one should pay a price. However, America, as is its wont, does not relinquish its tools of pressure; instead, it adapts them to the exigencies of the moment.

The Caesar Act, in its essence, was not merely economic sanctions, but a political framework for imposing a specific course on Syria. This course aimed to restructure governance, control the political and security environment, and link reconstruction and economic development to the conditions of a political

transition according to the American vision. With the fall of the Bashar al-Assad regime, it was expected — had the West been sincere — that the sanctions would be lifted automatically, given that they were imposed on a regime that no longer existed. However, the opposite occurred: the sanctions were maintained, and then the door was opened for conditional easing, transforming them from a collective punishment, into a sophisticated tool of pressurizing extortion.

The image dominating current discussions, concerning the conditions set by the US Congress for lifting the Caesar Act, clearly reflects this shift. The conditions do not relate to providing aid to the people or rebuilding what the war destroyed, but rather focus on sensitive security and political issues: combating terrorism according to the American definition, ending the role of those it calls "foreign fighters," protecting minority groups according to imposed standards, and controlling military decision-making. All of this is subject to a specific timeframe, with steps that could be described as factory reset buttons, allowing for the immediate reinstatement of sanctions if the course deviates from the prescribed path. The latest statements were more explicit than ever. EU foreign ministers didn't speak of a complete lifting of sanctions, but rather of a "roadmap," "close monitoring," and "reversing the decision if mistakes are made." This amounts to a system of continuous oversight, essentially a form of custodianship, granting them the right to assess internal policies, judge the state's direction, and intervene when necessary. Even the reopening of embassies wasn't presented as diplomatic normalization, but as a means for them to have a direct, visible, and pervasive presence in Damascus.

Most dangerous of all is the explicit link between easing sanctions and the form of government. The repeated emphasis on “inclusive, non-sectarian governance” and a “secular state” reveals that the issue is not economic, but fundamentally ideological and political. America doesn’t fear chaos as much as it fears Islam filling the political vacuum as a way of life and governance, outside the capitalist frameworks it has traditionally imposed. This is why the slogans of “combating extremism” and “protecting minorities” are invoked as readily available tools to counter any deviation from the desired model. In this sense, the shift from sanctions to monitoring is not a reduction of pressure, but rather a reorganization of it. During the Caesar Act, the pressure was harsh, far-reaching, but politically costly. Today, the pressure is selective, conditional, and accompanied by a softer humanitarian and media discourse, with a greater capacity for direct intervention in the details of political and economic decision-making. It is an attempt to manage Syria from the outside, not through military occupation, but through international recognition.

Ignoring these realities and celebrating the lifting of sanctions only serves to perpetuate illusions. Historical experience with the West, in Syria and elsewhere, confirms that every concession demanded today will be followed by another demand tomorrow, and that the ceiling of conditions is limitless. Those who tie their livelihood to foreign approval will find themselves incapable of making any independent decision, no matter how simple.

What is needed today is not a message of reassurance to the West, nor a race to appease it, but rather an aware understanding of the nature of the political battle after the fall of the regime. The battle has not ended; its form has simply changed. Therefore,

independent decision-making, building a self-reliant economy, investing available resources, and establishing internal security free from external dictates are essential elements for thwarting the new form of tutelage. Relying on the suspension or lifting of sanctions as a path to salvation is a gamble on a mirage.

In conclusion, what is happening today is a true test. Either the sacrifices of years will be crowned with a free and sovereign decision that rejects turning the country into a testing ground for political and economic experiments, or dependency will be reproduced through more subtle means. Between these two extremes, it remains a fact that America and its allies have never been, and never will be, concerned with the interests of this Ummah, and that the path to dignity is not opened with keys from Washington, but rather with an aware domestic will that does not sell out its decision-making authority for a temporary easing of the siege.

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# On the 105th Anniversary of the Abolition of the Khilafah, Renewed Determination and Growing Hope

By: Engineer Salah al-Din Adada

Anyone who contemplates the global developments, including those related to Muslim countries, will see that they are witnessing major transformations that reveal changes that are inevitably coming. The state of stagnation, or near-stagnation, is no longer present. Instead, the world is almost boiling with these developments, and with specific reference to those related to the Islamic Ummah and the conflict between it and colonialism.

The campaign of the West and kuffar against Islam and Muslims, which has intensified and appeared in its ugliest forms in the war on the Gaza Strip, after the colonialists bared their fangs and united against the Ummah, has been met by the Ummah with increased steadfastness and defiance, that has baffled them and is almost shattering their dreams.

It is noteworthy that America no longer thinks as it once did, after its new administration realized the futility of acting as the world's policeman or leader. It has begun to think about its interests from the perspective of a strong man who wants to obtain everything he can, while retreating into itself under the slogan "America First" and "Make America Great Again," to the point that its former president, Joe Biden, called on the United States on 15 December 2025 to continue playing its leading role on the international stage, warning of the repercussions of a decline in this role, and wondering who could fill the void if Washington

withdrew from its position of global leadership, saying, “If we don’t lead the world, who will lead the world?”

A sense of fear and terror of the coming Islam now dominates the new administration’s leaders, a feeling we can discern from the words of US Secretary of State Marco Rubio in an interview with Sean Hannity of Fox News on 2 December 2025, “all radical Islamic movements in the world identify the West writ large but the United States in particular as the greatest evil on the Earth,” and his statement, “the notion that somehow radical Islam would be comfortable with simply controlling some province in Iraq or Syria is just not borne out by history” and his assertion, “Radical Islam has shown that their desire is not simply to occupy one part of the world and be happy with their own little caliphate,” and his claim that, “they want to expand. It is a – it’s revolutionary in its nature. It seeks to expand and control more territories and more people.”

This is the same obsession or nightmare that haunts the Prime Minister of the Jewish entity, Netanyahu, who stated on 21 April 2025, “I have said repeatedly, we will change the face of the Middle East, and this is what we are actually doing now. Thanks to the bravery of our fighters and the firm and informed decisions made by the government under my leadership, we broke the axis of evil—we broke it in Gaza, we broke it in Lebanon, we broke it in Syria, we broke it in other places. We see these beasts, and we will not accept this claim here on the shores of the Mediterranean. Just a few kilometers from here, we will not accept this caliphate—neither here nor in Lebanon. We are working to ensure Israel’s survival.”

The Jewish entity has been waging its brutal war on the Gaza Strip and the West Bank for more than two years, with the support of all the colonialist and disbelieving states, and its evil has extended to Yemen, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Iran. It boasts of its air superiority over the entire region, and its possession of the latest aircraft and defense systems, and similarly, the US president Trump boasts of the stealth aircraft and the giant bomber. Similarly, the rulers and leaders of European countries have not hesitated for a moment to wage war against Muslims and supply the Jewish entity with all the means of oppression and criminality. Also Russia and China have shed the blood of Muslims in Central Asia, Crimea, and East Turkestan. Yet, despite all this oppression, criminality, and arrogance, they themselves are all terrified of the giant of Islam, which they see as inevitably awakening soon.

This is why they are racing against time in places like Syria, for example, in cooperation with the new Syrian government, to prevent its awakening, after the Islamic Ummah has become like a boiling cauldron that is about to spill over.

Thus, the utter darkness that envelops the Muslim lands hides behind it great hope and imminent relief, so that the Words of Allah ﷺ may be fulfilled, ﴿قَالَ مُوسَى لِقَوْمِهِ اسْتَعِينُو بِاللَّهِ وَاصْبِرُو أَإِنَّ اللَّهَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَوِيرٌ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يُورِثُهَا مَنْ يَشَاءُ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ﴾ “Said Moses to his people, ‘Seek help through Allāh and be patient. Indeed, the earth belongs to Allah. He causes to inherit it whom He wills of His servants. And the [best] outcome is for the righteous.’” [TMQ Surah al-Araaf 128]

Although Muslims still lack a Khilafah (Caliphate) to unify them and gather their scattered forces, and an Imam to guide them, fight alongside them, and show them compassion, their

unwavering commitment to life and their steadfast adherence to Islam remain strong.

This is something the West and colonialist powers have witnessed, as trials and tribulations have only refined them further, and the blows that did not kill them have only increased their strength and resilience, fulfilling the Words of Allah ﷺ, ﴿وَلِيُمْحَصَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَيَمْحَقَ الْكَافِرِينَ﴾ “And that Allāh may purify the believers through trials and destroy the disbelievers.” [TMQ Surah Aali Imran: 141]

This 105th anniversary of the destruction of the Khilafah passes this year, as we witness a renewed determination within the Islamic Ummah, and among those calling for the resumption of the Islamic way of life, accompanied by a deepening and growing hope amidst the collapse of regimes, and their fall from the eyes of the people and the masses, and the retreat of the West, preoccupied with itself and its conflict with Eastern countries.

We are all certain that Allah's victory is near, and it will inevitably come, by Allah's will. Allah ﷺ says, يَا أَيُّهُمْ مَّا أَنْ تَدْخُلُوا الْجَنَّةَ وَلَمَّا يَأْتِكُمْ مَّثَلُ الَّذِينَ خَلُوا مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ مَّسْتَهُمُ الْبَأْسَاءَ وَالضَّرَاءَ وَرُلُزُوا حَتَّىٰ يَقُولَ الرَّسُولُ ﴿وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مَعَهُ مَتَّ نَصْرَ اللَّهِ أَلَا إِنَّ نَصْرَ اللَّهِ قَرِيبٌ﴾ “Or do you think that you will enter Paradise while such [trial] has not yet come to you as came to those who passed on before you? They were touched by poverty and hardship and were shaken until even their messenger and those who believed with him said, "When is the help of Allah? Unquestionably, the help of Allāh is near.” [TMQ Surah Al-Baqarah:214]

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# The Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate) is the Project of Coming Change

All the nations of the earth have united to fight Islam and the return of the Khilafah (Caliphate), especially since its mention has become commonplace, even on the lips of the spiteful enemies of Islam and Muslims, upon whom humiliation and subjugation have been decreed. Everyone is aware that the Khilafah (Caliphate) is the coming project of change, Allah ﷺ willing, and that its greatness, if it were to return, would unleash the energies of the Ummah and restore it to its role in the world, making it the savior of this world from its current state. The disbelieving West is fully aware that it will not be able to eliminate the vitality of the Ummah as a single, living Ummah with a firm aqeedah.

The leaders of disbelief in the world fear the return of the Khilafah (Caliphate). Therefore, we must realize that the reunification of the Islamic Ummah with its state will be an event akin to a nuclear explosion in the history of humanity, because the state is the productive executive power. With its existence, the Ummah's forces are organized, its energies are unleashed, and its scattered capabilities are organized, making it a productive force. With its absence, the Ummah falls and its resources are plundered.

Therefore, we call upon the Islamic Ummah, with its people, scholars, armies, and those with power and influence, to hasten to work with Hizb ut Tahrir to establish the Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood so that we may attain the pleasure of Allah ﷺ.

# The State of the Quran is the One that Implements its Rulings

The State of the Quran is the one that implements the Shariah Law of Allah ﷺ, rules according to all that Allah ﷺ has revealed, establishes the prescribed punishments, protects the borders, and strives in the way of Allah ﷺ to spread the message of Islam to the entire world, and cuts off any hand that reaches out to harm the Quran. However, we find that the regimes existing in our lands today do not rule by the Quran, and this is a deviation from Islam — the Noble Quran and the Prophetic Sunnah. Moreover, they rule by man-made laws, spread immorality, vice, and depravity, and wage a relentless war against those working to establish Islamic ruling governance.

All the man-made regimes currently in place in Muslim lands are desperate to maintain their rule through tyranny and perpetuate it, implementing man-made laws and persecuting all who oppose them, point out their errors and their contradiction of Islam, and claim sovereignty for the people. They perpetuate division among Muslims and facilitate the domination of non-Muslims over them.

The State that implements the Quran and all the Shariah rulings of Islam is the Khilafah (Caliphate), which establishes sovereignty for Islamic Shariah Law, unifies Muslims, and fights the enemies of Islam. The Second Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate) on the Method of Prophethood, is the only one that implements Islam and establishes it in people's lives. It is the one that cuts off every tongue that insults Islam, its Prophet ﷺ, the Noble Qur'an, or Muslims. So hasten, O Muslims, to work diligently with Hizb ut Tahrir and rally behind its leadership to establish the Khilafah, for the Khilafah is the obligation of your Lord, the source of your glory, the vanquisher of your enemy, the protector of your Deen and your sanctities, and the liberator of your land.

# Hizb ut Tahrir / Wilayah of Sudan Holds Several Rallies in Various Cities in Sudan

As part of commemorating the 105th anniversary of the destruction of the Khilafah (Caliphate), in Rajab 1342 AH, and to remind the Ummah of the tragic event that caused the Ummah to lose its Imam, the shield, its unity to be shattered, and the colonizing kaffir to dominate it, controlling its political, economic, and military decisions, and to mobilize the Ummah to work towards resuming the Islamic way of life by establishing the second Khilafah Rashidah (Rightly Guided Caliphate) on the method of the Prophethood, the members of Hizb ut Tahrir / Wilayah of Sudan held several rallies in various cities throughout Sudan after Friday prayers on 13th of Rajab 1447 AH, corresponding to 2/1/2026 CE, as follows:

- \* A rally was held in Port Sudan, in front of the College of Engineering Mosque, addressed by Ustadh Hussein al-Hadi, a member of Hizb ut Tahrir.
- \* A rally was held in Kosti, in front of the Grand Mosque.
- \* A rally was held in Omdurman, at the Sabreen Market, addressed by Sheikh Fadlallah Ali Suleiman, a member of Hizb ut Tahrir.
- \* A rally was held in Wad Madani, in front of the Grand Mosque, addressed by Ustaadh Abdul Aziz Ibrahim, a member of Hizb ut Tahrir.

During the rallies, the members carried banners expressing the significance of the anniversary and highlighting the importance of living under the Caliphate. The attendees at the rallies interacted very positively to these gatherings, demonstrating the Ummah's yearning for the return of the Khilafah (Caliphate), which they believe brings them glory and the pleasure of their Lord.

# Establishing the Khilafah (Caliphate) Today is But a Decision to be Made by Those with Military Power and Strength

What the Islamic Ummah must realize is that establishing the Khilafah (Caliphate) today is but a decision to be made by those with military power and strength within it — its armies — and it will be achieved in hours. Yes, hours. All its sons yearn for the borders between them to be opened, for their lands to become one unified abode, and for their youthful energies to unify under one Rayah banner, so that they may confront their enemy, reclaim their sanctities, and mobilize their resources. Nothing prevents them from this except claims of weakness and impotence, which are nothing but illusions, lies, and fabricated myths. The simplest response to these illusions, lies, and myths is that the Islamic Ummah is bold, swift, and unified in purpose. If it realizes it is capable of achieving something, it accomplishes it in the blink of an eye. We have seen it surprise the most tyrannical and oppressive regimes, rendering them mere shadows of their former selves, while they were being led to believe that their rule was secure and unshakeable! Thus, the profound darkness that pervades the lands of the Muslims today conceals within it great hope and imminent relief, Allah ﷺ willing. This is the Sunnah (Way) of Allah ﷺ in His universe, as confirmed by His words, ﴿إِنَّ يَمْسَكُمْ قَرْحٌ فَقَدْ مَسَّ الْقَوْمَ قَرْحٌ مِّثْلُهُ وَتُلَكَ الْأَيَّامُ نُدَاوِلُهَا بَيْنَ النَّاسِ وَلِيَعْلَمَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَيَتَّخِذَ مِنْكُمْ شُهَدَاءَ وَاللَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الظَّالِمِينَ﴾ “If a wound afflicts you, a similar wound has afflicted the opposing people. And such days of varying fortunes We alternate among people so that Allah may distinguish those who have believed and take from among you martyrs - and Allah does not love the wrongdoers.” [TMQ Surah Aali Imran 110]