The Destruction of the Khilafah

Plots of the Kuffar
Australia's Contribution
Lessons for the Ummah

Hizb ut-Tahrir Australia
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I. Rajab Campaign

Rajab is the seventh month on the Islamic lunar calendar. It is a month of great historical significance, with many momentous events occurring in it in Islamic History. These include the Prophet’s (ﷺ) journey of al-Isra’ wa al-‘Mi’raj, the Battle of Tabuk, Salah al-Din’s liberation of al-Quds from the crusaders, and the abolition of the Khilafah in 1924.

The Rajab campaign is designed to raise awareness amongst the Muslims about these events, with particular focus on the destruction of the Khilafah.

II. Introduction

This booklet comprises of a brief illustrated summary of how the Khilafah was destroyed at the hands of the Western colonialist powers.

It is a summary which serves to paint the general picture. The detailed history is accessible from other works on the topic such as the following:


III. The Khilafah

The Khilafah (Islamic State) is the general leadership of all the Muslim in the world, which implements the Shari’ah and carries Islam to the world. It represents the unity of the Muslims and their lands, and their political and cultural independence from foreign influence to comprehensively live their lives according to Islam.

The Prophet (ﷺ) in many ahadith made clear the purpose and intent with which Islam was sent. It is a message for all of mankind, and its destiny would be to reach every house in every land; everyone would submit to its authority. Understanding this full well the Prophet (ﷺ) worked day and night and succeeded in the establishing the first Islamic State in Madinah and then strengthening its foundation throughout the Arabian Peninsula. He also sent letters to the rulers of the neighbouring empires and thereby set the path of expansion which his successors followed.

Through the institution of Khilafah, Islam brought a new dawn to the world. It took the Arabs from warring, uncivilised tribes and made them military leaders and political ambassadors of the World. The Muslims lead the way in civilisation, science and technology, law, medicine, architecture and in most areas of life. Islam took the Persians away from the barbarity of worshipping fire and being under the yoke of oppressive rule to the justice and light of Allah. They become leading scholars, theologians and jurists. Similarly Islam saved the North Africans, the Afghans and the Indians – all of whom had different beliefs, different cultures and different lifestyles – and it moulded all of them, through the Khilafah, into one Ummah, united by their Islamic creed, ruled by one Imam, under the shade of the Islamic Shari’ah. One powerful, successful, progressive Ummah. This is the greatness and the power of Islam.
The intensity of the struggle we witness in the history concerning the destruction of the Khilafah (as we will see) should not come to us as a surprise. The struggle between Islam and Kufr is as old as time. All the Prophets engaged in this struggle. Nuh (as) struggled against his people for almost a thousand years, whilst they conspired against him and his Muslim followers. Hud (as) struggled against `Ad, Salih (as) against Thamud. Ibrahim (as) underwent an intense struggle with his own tribe such that they sought to burn him alive. Musa (as) faced the plots of Firawn, and Muhammad (ﷺ), the final Messenger, was subject to much persecution from the polytheists of Makkah, who sought to finish him and his call to Islam.

Thus we see that the struggle between Islam and kufr is an ongoing one and is an undeniable reality. It is a struggle rooted in ideology, and will necessarily exist whenever two people carry competing worldviews and seek to implement them in life. As Allah makes it clear, in plain language,

\[
\text{Verily, the disbelievers are ever unto you open enemies. (al-Nisa': 101)}
\]

That is, those disbelievers who seek to fight against you and seek to take people away from the deen of Allah (ﷻ) are open enemies to you.

In line with the open, the final destruction of the Khilafah State was not the first time the Europeans had attacked the Muslims. The first attack came much earlier in the form of the Crusades. The Crusaders came south into the Muslims lands in search of holy conquest and to fight the ‘infidel’ Muslims whom they considered a ‘vile’ race.

Addressing the Council of Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II rallied the Christians of Europe to a religious war against the Muslims, saying:

“Most beloved brethren: Urged by necessity, I, Urban, by the permission of God chief bishop and prelate over the whole world, have come into these parts as an ambassador with a divine admonition to you...O sons of God, as the most
of you have heard, the Turks and Arabs have attacked your brethren in the East and have conquered the territory of Romania...On this account I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends.”

The Christian crusaders won some battles. The Muslims won the war. Salah al-Din sent the crusaders packing with his decisive victory at Hittin in 1187. Importantly, if the Europeans learnt anything from the Crusades, it was that seeking to defeat the Muslims militarily alone was impossible. They learnt, albeit the hard way, that the real strength of the Muslims was their aqeedah, their beliefs, which pushed them to sacrifice everything in the path of Allah, which pushed them to be united under one leadership, which pushed them to have no fear of death and no worldly attachment to life. The next European attack was therefore much more comprehensive, as we shall see.

**V. Destruction of the Khilafah**

The Khilafah was officially abolished on the 28th of Rajab 1342AH, which corresponds in the Gregorian calendar to the 3rd of March 1924. However this was not a one-off attack. Rather it was the culmination of three centuries of work by the Western powers. Furthermore, it is important to appreciate that the measures taken by the Western powers were not of any one type. There was a mixture of attacks. It was not only a cultural invasion through missionary work. It was not only a political invasion through incited rebellion. It was not only a military attack through war and invasion. It was not only a legal invasion through imposition of Western laws. It was not only the co-opting of agents. It was not any one of these things. It was all of these together. Only all of these together, over a period of almost three hundred years, and at a time of historical weakness of the Ummah, were the kuffar able to bring down the might and glory of the Islamic State.

In this section we take a quick look at the condition of the Muslim in the late Uthmani’ period, and then move to highlight some of the details of these various attacks.
VI. Condition of the Muslims in Late Uthmani (‘Ottoman’) Period

Allah does not change the condition of a people until they themselves change. It is important to note that the weakness of the Muslims was a factor which allowed for the possibility of Western attack. After the Khulafa al-Rashideen, whilst the Muslims continued to expand and to reach new heights in knowledge, technology and civilisation, certain factors of weakness crept in. On the one hand, the Muslims’ understanding of Islam in its comprehensiveness began to fade as a level of scholarship began to fade and attention to the Arabic language and ijtihad also faded. On the other hand, the implementation of Islam also saw cracks as provinces were given more autonomy than centralised ruling demands, as mis-implementation of the bay’ah became commonplace and as some political groups sought to impose their sectarian views by force. These are some of the factors which led to Muslim weakness. By the late Uthmani period the effects of this weakness were significant and the Ummah faced a general intellectual decline, which also resulted in scientific and technological stagnation.

Nevertheless, whilst it important to understand that Muslim weakness allowed the West to pounce, it is equally important to appreciate the difference between the weakness of the state, due to actions of the Muslims themselves, and the destruction of the state, a result purely of actions by enemy states. The two are very different things, and the focus of this booklet is on the latter, that is, the role of the West in destroying the Khilafah.

“The Turkish weakness has created among the neighbouring states a lust which must necessarily lead to the total ruin of a country already reduced to pieces ... England had to change her tactics: she is trying to reserve for herself the best possible morsels, [S]he has started by seizing Cyprus to assure herself an observation post which commands Egypt and Syria”.

(French Consul in Aleppo (1898))
VII. Implanting Seeds of Division & Weakness

The Western powers used missionary and political means to apply a policy of divide and conquer.

MISSIONARY INVASION

The kuffar of Europe began with missionary work. They had learnt from the crusades that as long as the Muslims were strongly attached to Islam and the Qur’an, the Khilafah could never be destroyed. So they sought to weaken the aqeedah of the Muslims and their Islamic concepts by the propagation of un-Islamic concepts and ideas. Ideas of nationalism, sectarianism, freedom, secularism, rebellion against the Khalifah and division.

Thus at the end of the 16th century the first missionary centre was established in Malta. It was the beginning of Western culture entering the Muslim world by British, French and American missionaries, who worked under the guise of educational and scientific institutions through centres and associations. Initially they did not progress beyond establishing a few small schools and publishing a few religious books, until, in 1820, the first missionary centre was established in Beirut and the missionary work began again in earnest. By 1834, the missionary expeditions spread out all over the region of al-Sham. In the same year, the noted American missionary Ely Smith opened a school for girls in Beirut with his wife.

In 1842, the American mission established the “Association of Arts and Sciences.” In 1850 the “Oriental Association” was established. In 1857 the “Syrian Scientific Association” was formed. Its program was designed to accommodate all sects and to serve as the spark for Arab nationalism. Wilfrid Blunt and James Finn were two British authors engaged in the covert British policy to establish an Arab caliphate and turn the Arabs against the Turks. They published The Future of Islam (1882) and James Finn’s Stirring Times (1880) respectively to this end.
Importantly, the missionaries had two main objectives:

1. To separate the Arabs from the Uthmani state; and
2. To remove the Islamic bond from the Muslims; that is, to divide their unity which was based on Islam by pushing ideas of nationalism and sectarianism.

The effects of the missionary invasion were devastating. The Muslims educated in the missionary schools and centres became Westernised in their culture and become agents for the Western agenda. Many politicians too were made to stand against the Uthmani State by promises of big rewards.

**POLITICAL SCHEMING**

The missionary invasion was not designed as a solitary attack. It was rather the spearhead, behind which political and military attacks would follow. Thus when the effect of the missionary work in Syria and Lebanon came to fruition, as serious disturbances broke out in the mountains of Lebanon between the Christians and the Druze in 1841, Britain and France welcomed the opportunity to become involved in the dispute inciting civil strife. The French sided with the Maronites and the British sided with the Druze. The scenes were horrifying: theft, killing and pillage became common practice, whereas the Islamic State had not seen such sectarian violence over its thousand year history.

Also part of the political invasion was support for rebellion against the Uthmani Khilafah. The Western powers incited the people of the Balkans to rebel in 1804. They incited Greece to rebel in 1821. Most of the inhabitants of these places were subsequently expelled from their homes and forced to flee due to the savagery of the disbelievers. They went further still, secretly encouraging and supporting separatist movements, backing the nationalist movements and assisting in the establishment and operation of Turkish and Arab political parties such as the ‘Young Turks’, the ‘Union and Progress Party’ and the ‘Arab Independence Party’.
Together with, and behind, the political and missionary attacks, the military attacks came strong and fast.

INVASION AND OCCUPATION

During the rule of Catherine (1762-1796), Russia took the city of Azov and the Crimea, as well as the whole of the Northern coast of the Black sea. They founded the city of Sevastopol as a military base in the Peninsula and built the commercial port of Odessa on the Black Sea in the South of the Ukraine. In 1884, Russia cut the whole of Turkistan from the Islamic State, and then completed its occupation of all of the Caucuses.

In 1798, Napoleon attacked Egypt and quickly occupied her. In February, 1799, he attacked the southern port of al-Sham and seized Gaza, al-Ramlah and Yafa. He stood near the fort of Akka (Acre), but his onslaught faltered and so he returned to Egypt, then to France and his venture finally failed in 1801. In the aftermath of this Napoleonic military adventure, most of the countries of Europe queued up to attack the Islamic world and occupy parts of its land.

The French occupied Algeria in 1830, and worked towards occupying Tunisia until they did so in 1881. They occupied Marrakesh in 1912. The Italians occupied Tripoli in 1911 and this marked the separation of North Africa, which was no longer under Islamic rule, from the Uthmani State. It came to be ruled by the disbelievers and was directly colonised by them.

Britain occupied Aden (in Yemen) in 1839 and expanded its covenant to include the Lahaj and the other areas which spread from the Southern Yemeni border to the East of the Arabian Peninsula. The British had long before seized India, therefore, stripping the Muslims from their authority over it in the process. In 1882, Britain seized Egypt and in 1898 Sudan. Meanwhile, Holland occupied the East Indies; Afghanistan was put under Anglo-Russian pressure and so was Iran.

VIII. Military Onslaught
WORLD WAR I

The Great War brought the final blows upon the Uthmani Khilafah. Having been forced to side with Germany, the Islamic State ended up on the defeated side, left to face the savagery of victorious allies.

AUSTRALIA’S CONTRIBUTION

In reality, and the truth be said, the Australian troops partaking in World War I were used as fodder for British imperial designs. But whilst their contribution was relatively insignificant, they did play a role in attacking and colonising Muslim lands, and thereby contributing to the destruction of the Khilafah.

In August 1914 Australian troops were sent first to Egypt. After four and a half months of training near Cairo, they departed by ship for the Gallipoli peninsula where they were used, along with other allied troops, as a means to prop up Mustafa Kemal. In the latter period of the war, Australian troops in the Middle East fought a mobile war against the Uthmani Khilafah. In 1916 they partook in the fight for the Suez Canal and the allied conquest of the Sinai Peninsula. In 1917 Australian troops advanced into Palestine, partaking in the capture of Gaza and Jerusalem. By 1918 they had played there part in occupying Lebanon and Syria.
IX. Co-opting Agents - Conspirators From Within

But even all this was not enough to destroy the Khalifah. Cultural, political and military attacks were still not enough. The Western powers used one final important tool to complete its task, and that was the use of agents. Hypocrites amongst the believers. Those secularists and nationalists seduced by Western culture like Mustafa Kemal, and those political sellouts like Sharif Hussain.

ARAB REVOLT

When the seeds of Arab nationalism came to fruition in 1916, Britain ordered its agent Sharif Hussein, the wali of Makkah, to launch the Arab Revolt against the Uthmani Khilafah. This revolt was successful in dividing the Arab lands from the Khilafah and placing them under British and French mandates.

“James Zohrab was appointed as the British consul in Jeddah. He exploited the disaffected Arabs to promote the scheme of detaching the Arabs from Turkish rule and bringing them under British influence in collusion with the pro-British Sharif Hussain.”

(Karpat, 2000, p247)

FAR-TOP: Sharif Hussain ibn Ali rebelled against the rule of the Ottomans during the Arab Revolt of 1916.

TOP: Faisal sided with Great Britain in World War I and with the help of T. E. Lawrence organised a revolt against the Ottoman Caliphate and this way helped ending the Caliphate.

LEFT: With the help of Lawrence and Gerud Bell when Britain dominated the Middle East after 1918, Abdullah and Faisal acquired thrones in Baghdad and Amman.
THE YOUNG TURKS & MUSTAFA KEMAL

The Young Turks were a nationalist party aided and supported by the British. Also known as the Committee of Union & Progress, it had been established at first in Paris by Turkish youth who had been saturated by French thoughts and deeply cultured about the French revolution. It was established as a secret revolutionary Committee. The leader of this revolutionary group was Ahmed Redha Beik. He was a prominent personality among people and his idea was to import the Western culture to his home country of Turkey. The Committee established other branches in Berlin, Slanik and

The Young Turks instituted a revolution in 1908 and soon after gained total control of the state. No sooner had the party seized the reins of power than the pickaxe of destruction started to work on the body of the State and to dig between its subjects a ditch over which a bridge could not be arched. This is so because nationalism is the most harmful thing that divides people and generates amongst them animosity, hatred and war.

TOP: 1908 Young Turks leader Enver Bey.
LEFT: Mustafa Kemal Attaturk.
BELOW: A letter by Queen Elizabeth II stating: ‘It is an honour to pay my respects to Mustafa Kemal Attaturk, a much valued friend of the United Kingdom and one of the great figures of modern history.’
X. Response of the Muslims

UTHMANI KHALIFS

Sultan Abdul Hamid was quite aware of British plots, although he had little power to do much about them. In 1900, he wrote that the English press was advocating that, ‘Arabia should become an English protectorate for it was natural for England which had 56 million Muslim subjects to take possession of the Muslim holy cities. It is regrettable that the influence of England in Arabia is very strong. Now the English have started to create difficulties for us in Yemen. They have incited the Arab tribes to rebellion. Aden is the general headquarters of the English campaign in Arabia... We are in a difficult situation there. We are trying to defend ourselves the English intrigues...’

(Karpat, 2000, p251)

RESPONSE FROM THE UMMAH

The Ummah still had some life notwithstanding the dilapidating decline. The response of certain parts of the Ummah was both to resist the invasion, and to garner public opinion to save the Khilafah from being abolished.

Steps were taken to resist the Western military invasion. Resistance movements broke out in several Muslim lands. “Guiltily conscious that his personal fears and narrow minded bigotry can never reconcile him to England’s policy of regeneration of Turkey, on broad states-manlike lines, Abdul Hamid has opposed to that policy one of the revival of Islam, and has chosen to imagine England as his personal enemy...In his policy of the revival of Islam he has spent large sums, chiefly drawn from his State domains... he has gradually removed all Turkish statesmen of influence and liberal views, in whom he scented opposition to this policy of his, more noteworthy of a seventh century caliph than a nineteenth century Sovereign.”

(British Consular reports (1895) regarding the Khalifah Sultan Abdul Hamid)

FAR-LEFT: Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar was among the leading figures of the Khilafat Movement.

LEFT: Maulana Shoukat Ali was the leader of the Khilafat Movement and brother to Maulana Muhammed Ali.

RIGHT: A news clipping reporting on a resolution passed by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and that Muslims in India must owe the Caliph allegiance.
“The enemies of Islam have left no stone unturned to strike against and harm the honour and prestige of Islam. Iraq, Palestine and Syria that were won over by the Prophet’s companions and his followers, after innumerable sacrifices, have once again become the targets of greed of the enemy of Islam. The honour of Khilafah is in tatters. Khalifat-ul-Muslimin, who used to unite the entire community on this planet; who as vice-regent of Allah on this earth used to implement the universal law of Islam...has been surrounded by the enemies and made redundant...The flag of Islam is flying low today.”

(Shaykh al-Hind, Maulana Mahmood Hasan, 1920)

A revolution erupted in Algeria, the Muslims of China rose up in arms, as did the Mahdiyyun in Sudan. The Sanusiyya revolution also erupted in North Africa. However, all these attempts completely failed, unable to salvage the Islamic world.

Moves were also made to save the Khilafah. The ‘Khilafah movement’ was established in the Indian Subcontinent. Its avowed aim was to use whatever leverage they had to protect the Khilafah. Its members, who comprised scholars and activists from many different schools of thought within Islam, organised Khilafah Conferences in several northern Indian cities. They were united in the objective of working for the maintenance of the Khilafah.

Nevertheless it was a reactionary movement with no clear methodology and so did not last for very long, but the fact that the strongest reaction to the Western attack on the Khilafah came from India is a point of pride for the Muslims of the Subcontinent.
XI. A Comprehensive Victory

The Muslim response was too little and too late. The sustained efforts of the Western powers paid off in a comprehensive victory in all aspects: political control, military occupation and the abolition of the Khilafah.

**POLITICAL SIEGE**

In 1916 Britain and France agreed to the division of the lands of the Khilafah. The Sykes-Picot agreement was a secret agreement between the governments of the UK and France, with the assent of Russia, defining their respective spheres of influence and control in the Muslim world after the expected downfall of the Uthmani Khilafah in World War I. The agreement was concluded on 16 May 1916 by the French diplomat François Georges-Picot and Briton Mark Sykes. Under agreement Britain was allocated control of Jordan, Iraq and a small area around Haifa. France was allocated control of South-eastern Turkey, Northern Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. They were left free to decide on state boundaries within these areas, and it was their arbitrary decisions which fashioned the map of the Muslim World as we know it today.

**MILITARY OCCUPATION**

After the First World War, those Islamic lands which remained were also occupied by the victorious allies. They shared the Muslim lands between them as war booty, as the Uthmani State was fragmented into small statelets. The allies seized Egypt, Syria, Palestine, TransJordan and Iraq. All that remained with the Uthmanis was Turkey, and even she had been invaded; British, French and Italian troops moved in.

British warships seized the Bosporus and the British army occupied parts of the capital, Istanbul, all the Dardanelle fortresses, and most of the strategic points throughout the whole of Turkey. The French meanwhile had also occupied parts of Istanbul and their Senegalese soldiers filled its streets. The Italian army occupied Bira and the railways, and the allied forces took over the running of the police, the national guard and the ports.

“*The Italian government supports the Russian government’s opinion of the necessity of separating the Islamic government, which is to be established in Hizaj, from the Khilafah, and to put it under the absolute control of Britain. The Italian government wholeheartedly supports wresting the Khilafah from the Turks and abolishing it if necessary.*”

(Telegram from the Russian ambassador in London to the Russian foreign minister, 1915)
TOP-LEFT: Zones of French and British influence and control established by the Sykes-Picot Agreement

TOP-RIGHT: The Middle East as it currently stands divided by borders.

BELOW: Australian troops charging near an Ottoman trench in Gallipoli, 1915.
In 1922, at the Lausanne conference, the then British foreign Secretary Lord Curzon stipulated four conditions for Turkey to be given independence:

1. The total abolishment of the Khilafah
2. The expulsion of the Khalifah beyond the borders
3. The confiscation of his assets
4. Declaration that Turkey become a secular state

The deal was finalised. Mustafa Kemal would ensure that the Khilafah was abolished, and that Turkey became a secular republic, and the British in turn would grant Turkey independence. Kemal was true to his promise. First he spread false propaganda against the Khalifah in order to consolidate public opinion in his favour. Then he coerced his own National Assembly to separate the sultanate from the Khilafah. Yet his British masters would not be satisfied with even a powerless Khalifah. They would not settle for anything less than no Khalifah. So Kemal formed a new party, called the ‘People’s Party’. He initiated a smear campaign against the National Assembly, forcing its dissolution, and creating the conditions to form his government, declaring Turkey to be a republic with himself as its President. Finally, when he deemed the time to be right, on March 3rd, 1924 he presented to the National Assembly a motion stating the annulment of the Khilafah and the removal and expulsion of the Khalifah. Addressing the assembly he said.

“The Khalifah and the legacies of “Ahl ul Uthman” must go, the ancient religious courts and their laws must be replaced by modern courts and modern laws, the schools of the clergy must give way to secular government schools.”
We saw at the beginning the great heights to which the Muslim Ummah reached with her Islam in the early years. Today, whilst the greatness of Islam remains, the greatness of the Muslim Ummah of the past is not yet crystallised. This is in spite of the fact that we have the same Islam as the early Muslims did. We have the same Qur’an and the same Sunnah of our beloved Messenger (ﷺ). We occupy the same strategic lands, which contain the same great natural resources. The difference however is in the political unity of the early Muslims provided by the institution of Khilafah.

The early Muslims were united under one state and one ruler, whereas we are divided into 54 states and as many rulers. They had one united army which fought in the path of Allah with the aim of securing the Muslim lands and taking Islam to the non-Muslim lands, whereas we have many armies today who are all either locked up in their barracks or are being used for the interests of Western powers. They had independent political leaders with a strong will, whereas we have agent rulers who work for Western powers. They used the vast natural resources in the Muslim lands for the interests of Islam and the Muslims, whereas our resources today are sold at cheap prices to Western powers.

Furthermore, it was the destruction of the Khilafah which opened the doors for the kuffar to treat the Muslims as animals. To divide our lands, steal our resources, dishonor our woman, kill our children, and to use us for their benefit. Did we except anything different, when Allah says about the kuffar,

Should they gain the upper hand over you, they would behave to you as enemies, and stretch forth their hands and their tongues against you with evil, and they ardently desire that you disbelieve. (al-Mumtahinah: 2)

In short, the Muslims, as an Ummah, have not seen a single day of happiness since the destruction of the Khilafah.

All of these points make clear the absolute importance of the Khilafah and the difference it makes, an imperative lesson for us, and a reminder of why we must re-double efforts to re-establish the Khilafah.

May Allah (ﷻ) consolidate our efforts in this momentous path.